

North Korea's Criminal Sanctions to Control Infectious Diseases: Changes in the Age of Covid-19

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Information on the Covid-19 situation in North Korea and the country's policy response to the pandemic has been fragmented and incomplete. To better understand North Korea's Covid-19-related policies, this article assesses the legal measures that have been implemented by this isolated, totalitarian country to counter the pandemic, including the Emergency Law on the Prevention of Epidemics (ELPE), which was enacted in August 2020. Compared to related laws prior to the outbreak of Covid-19, North Korea's legal measures implemented in the face of the current pandemic have distinct characteristics. The measures, which appear to supersede other laws, prescribe draconian punishments for violations and expedite criminal sanction. This article concludes that stringent measures have been implemented in North Korea to prevent the spread of Covid-19, to protect Kim Jong-un, and to reinforce the regime's stability. These measures are likely to be repeated in future epidemics, as they have achieved the status of law.

Keywords: North Korea, Kim Jong-un, the Law on the Prevention of Infectious Diseases, Emergency Law on the Prevention of Epidemics, Martial Law

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I. INTRODUCTION

North Korea is notorious for its information control. Although the ongoing pandemic has been sweeping the globe for more than two years, North Korea remains one of few sovereign states¹ - and the only one with a population of over 10 million² - to have reported no confirmed Covid-19 cases. That figure, however, is questionable, given that North Korean authorities have considered the pandemic extremely seriously. Actually, the North Korean state media have delivered in-depth coverage on the efforts to prevent the spread of Covid-19 both within and outside its territory,³ presumably to heighten awareness of the pandemic among the general public.

RODONG SINMUN (Labor Newspaper)-the official magazine of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea⁴ -reported 47 and 53 articles mentioning epidemic prevention in 2018 and 2019, respectively, but the number jumped to 1,731 in 2020, representing an almost 3,200 percent's increase over the previous year. The number remained high in 2021: 1,361 as of December 31, 2021.⁵ This shift is significant, considering that RODONG SINMUN, by far the most prominent newspaper in North Korea, typically includes only six pages - often with a few dozen articles -with a substantial portion of the space devoted to the news about Chairman Kim Jong-un.

Moreover, in a secret circular document, Kim Jong-un admitted as early as July 25, 2020 that: “[d]espite the fact that strong emergency quarantine measures have been taken throughout the country over the past six months, we have ultimately not been able to block the entry of the coronavirus at our borders.”⁶ In spite of the evidence mentioned above, information regarding the Covid-19 situation and policy in North Korea has remained fragmented and incomplete.⁷ However, the text of an unofficially obtained North Korean law -the Emergency Law on the Prevention of Epidemics (ELPE) - sheds light on how this impoverished and isolated socialist country has coped with, or has attempted to cope with, the ongoing pandemic.

This research aims to analyze North Korea's policy on the prevention of infectious diseases; how it has changed in the wake of Covid-19; and what this change implies. The author focuses on criminal sanctions against violations of the laws related to infectious disease prevention for the following reasons. First, the North Korean penal code has traditionally been the basic law of preventing and

punishing these violations.⁸ Second, the penal code, first enacted in 1950, reflects and impacts changing social dynamics in North Korea better than other laws because it is the oldest major substantive law in the country and has been most frequently and extensively amended.⁹ Third, as explained below, it is essential to compare the ELPE with the penal code because the ELPE itself functions as a special penal code, thereby superseding the standard code in the field of epidemic prevention. This paper is composed of five parts including Introduction and Conclusion. In Part two, this paper will discuss North Korea's legal measures to prevent infectious diseases before and after the Covid-19 outbreak. Part three will investigate how criminal sanctions against infectious disease-related offenses have evolved over time in North Korea. Part four will mention the recent developments regarding border control by the North Korean authorities and concludes with an outlook on the future of the ELPE.

II. LEGAL MEASURES TO PREVENT INFECTIOUS DISEASES IN NORTH KOREA

A. Before the Covid-19 Pandemic

1. The Kim Il-sung Era (1946-94): The Development of Public Health Law

North Korea began to promulgate a series of regulations and decrees to control infectious disease under the Soviet occupation even before the country was founded in September 1948.¹⁰ Before the current pandemic, public health was not generally considered a top priority for the North Korean regime. Legal grounds for infectious disease control in North Korea are as follows. First, the last chapter of the special part of the first penal code of 1950 identifies the violation of public health regulations as a crime for the purpose of combating epidemics.¹¹ North Korean legal scholars have made it clear that the chapters in the special part of the penal code were organized in order of importance.¹² Second, public health laws and regulations have often been listed near the end of compilations of laws published in North Korea.¹³ Up until the 1990s, infectious disease prevention might not be a major concern for the North Korean authorities. For example, the People's Public Health Law, enacted in 1980, had a provision on the prevention of infectious diseases,¹⁴ which was, however, more aspirational than real, as no law on the prevention of infectious

diseases was enacted thereafter until 1994 when Premier Kim Il-sung died.¹⁵ Third, the North Korean penal code, from 1974 to 1994 when Kim Il-sung died, contained no provision on the violation of infectious disease control.

2. The Kim Jong-il Era (1994–2011): The Law on the Prevention of Infectious Diseases

In the second half of the 1990s, public health-related laws were adopted in North Korea (Table 1), which seems to be the result of both internal and external factors. First, in the mid to late 1990s, public health in the country continued to deteriorate due to economic crisis coupled with natural disasters.¹⁶ Second, it seems that North Korean authorities became more aware of the importance of international cooperation in countering transnational public health problems under “the principle of exchange and cooperation with other countries and international organizations” emphasized in many public health-related laws.¹⁷

Table 1: Public Health-Related Laws of North Korea

Name	Year of Enactment	Year of Revision
People’s Public Health Law ¹⁸	April 1980	March 1999 / February 2001 / August 2008 / April 2012
Law on the Health Quarantine on the Border ¹⁹	January 1996	December 1998 / September 2007
Law on the Quarantine Inspection of Animals and Plants on the Border ²⁰	July 1997	December 1998 / September 2007 / April 2008
Law on the Prevention of Infectious Diseases	November 1997	December 1998 / December 2005 / May 2014 / January 2015
Law on Pharmaceuticals Management ²¹	November 1997	December 1998
Law on Medical Treatment ²²	December 1997	December 1998 / August 2000 / November 2012
Law on Veterinary Epidemic Prevention ²³	December 1997	December 1998 / April 2013
Law on Veterinary Pharmaceuticals Management ²⁴	June 1998	December 1998

Law on Public Sanitation ²⁵	July 1998	December 1998 / May 2014
Law on Food Hygiene ²⁶	July 1998	December 1998 / December 2005 / July 2008 / December 2011 / April 2013
Law on Administration of Narcotic Drugs ²⁷	August 2003	May 2005
Law on Medicinal Herb ²⁸	December 2004	August 2008 / June 2009
Law on Tobacco Control ²⁹	July 2005	December 2009 / November 2012 / June 2016
Emergency Law on the Prevention of Epidemics	August 2020	
Tobacco-Prohibition Law ³⁰	November 2020	
Law on Disinfection of Imports ³¹	March 2021	

The Law on the Prevention of Infectious Diseases (LPID)³² was enacted in November 1997. It is a notable change, in that this law is the first devoted to preventing infectious diseases in North Korea. The LPID consists of five chapters (Table 2). Chapter 1 stipulates the objective of the law (Article 1), the principles of detection and containment of infectious diseases (Article 3), the principle of vaccination (Article 5), and the principle of exchange and cooperation with other countries and international organizations in the prevention of infectious diseases (Article 8).³³ Chapter 2 details the investigation and control of sources of infection (Article 10), the organization of an emergency committee for the prevention of infectious diseases at various levels (Article 13), and the quarantine of infected patients (Article 16). Chapter 3 provides that the paths of infection shall be blocked (Article 23), and areas affected by intestinal infectious disease shall be controlled (Article 29). Chapter 4 prescribes the place of vaccination (Article 33) and vaccinations against zoonotic diseases (Article 39). Chapter 5 stipulates the duty of administrative institutions (Articles 39-42), the supervision and control of infectious disease prevention projects (Article 43), restoration and compensation for damages (Article 44), and administrative or criminal punishments (Article 45).

Table 2: The Structure of the LPID

Chapter	Articles
1. Basics of the Law on the Prevention of Infectious Diseases	1–8
2. Detection and Containment of the Sources of Infectious Diseases	9–22
3. Blocking Paths of Infection	23–31
4. Vaccination Against Infectious Diseases	32–37
5. Guidance and Control of Infectious Disease Prevention Projects	38–45

3. The Kim Jong-un Era (2011–Present): The Amendments to the LPID

From the time Kim Jong-un came to power in 2011 and up to the Covid-19 pandemic, the LPID had been amended twice in May 2014 and in January 2015. These amendments were made soon after the outbreaks of Middle East respiratory syndrome (MERS) and the Ebola virus, respectively. North Korea amended the LPID, which remained unchanged for more than 15 years, twice in a period of less than eight months. It suggests that North Korea took the MERS and Ebola epidemics very seriously.

The addition of the phrase “When there is an outbreak of a highly infectious disease in another country, this occurrence and the epidemiological situation shall be closely monitored and promptly dealt with” to Article 10 (Table 3) in 2015 attests to the North Korean authorities’ heightened awareness of global epidemics.

Table 3: The 2015 Amendment to Articles 10 and 15 of the LPID [Emphasis Added]

Before the 2015 Amendment	The 2015 Amendment
<p>Article 10 (Investigation and Control of the Sources of Infection)</p> <p>The infectious disease prevention institution and other relevant institutions shall rapidly establish an epidemiological investigation, inspection, and carrier inspection system and investigate and control infected patients, those living with them, carriers, and animals suffering from a zoonosis.</p>	<p>Article 10 (Investigation and Control of the Sources of Infection)</p> <p>The infectious disease prevention institution and other relevant institutions shall rapidly establish an epidemiological investigation, inspection, and carrier inspection system, properly organize sanitary inspections, and investigate and control infected patients, those living with them, carriers, and animals suffering from a zoonosis in a timely manner.</p> <p>When there is an outbreak of a highly infectious disease in another country, this occurrence and the epidemiological situation shall be closely monitored and promptly dealt with.</p>
<p>Article 15 (Suspension of the Management or Operation of Units Where a Patient Has Been Infected)</p> <p>To prevent the spread of infectious disease germs, the health guidance institution and other relevant institutions may suspend the management of the institutions, enterprises, and organizations where a patient has been infected.</p>	<p>Article 15 (Suspension of the Management or Operation of Units Where an Infectious Disease Has Broken out)</p> <p>To prevent the spread of infectious diseases, the health guidance institution and other relevant institutions may suspend the management or operations of the institutions, enterprises, and organizations where an infectious disease has broken out or where such a risk exists.</p>

The 2015 amendment to Article 15 (Table 3) has enabled North Korean authorities to counter an epidemic even before the infectious disease broke out inside the country. North Korean authorities have thus realized the importance of preemptive measures to guard against global epidemics.

Another notable change can be found in further amendments. The two following paragraphs were added to Article 16 of the LPID by the 2014 and 2015 amendments, respectively.³⁴

Those infected with dangerous infectious diseases that do not exist in our country shall be blocked in certain areas and be subject to thorough quarantine measures until they are no longer infectious.

In the event of a globally contagious and dangerous infectious disease, the Non-

Standing National Emergency Committee on the Prevention of Infectious Diseases shall substantially limit the number of people traveling to other countries. Anyone coming from other countries shall be quarantined at appropriate quarantine sites for a certain period, and medical surveillance measures shall be taken.

It appears that the 2014 and 2015 amendments to Article 16 were made pursuant to Article 31 (Health Measures relating to Entry of Travelers) of the World Health Organization (WHO)'s International Health Regulations (IHR) 2005. Unlike the IHR 1969, the 2005 IHR provides that a WHO member state may, when a public health risk exists, deny entry to a traveler on certain conditions or compel the traveler to undergo measures that prevent or control the spread of disease, including quarantine.

B. Legislation to Counter the Covid-19 Pandemic

1. The 2020 Amendments to the LPID

In March 2020, the LPID was reportedly revised again in response to the Covid-19 pandemic. Although the full text of the March 2020 LPID has not been made available, it seems that these amendments incorporated some of the major differences between the 2015 LPID and the 2020 ELPE. For example, like its Chinese³⁵ and Vietnamese³⁶ counterparts,³⁷ Article 3 of the ELPE classifies epidemics into three types - Level 1, Urgent, and Extremely Urgent - according to the level of gravity. This type of classification was reportedly added to the LPID when the law was amended in March 2020.³⁸ Another addition to the LPID in March 2020 was a new chapter on criminal and administrative sanctions.³⁹ The 2020 amendments also replaced the non-standing emergency committees for the prevention of infectious diseases at various levels (Article 13) specified in the 2015 LPID with emergency epidemic prevention headquarters at various levels.⁴⁰

2. The Emergency Law on the Prevention of Epidemics (ELPE)

It appears that North Korea responded to the Covid-19 pandemic with the aforementioned amendments to the LPID at least until April 2020. At that time, MINJU CHOSON, the second most widely circulated state-run newspaper in the country, published a series of articles on the revised LPID.⁴¹ In August 2020, however, North Korea enacted the ELPE, which appears to supersede the LPID.

What might have contributed to the enactment of the ELPE? The alleged infection of a member of Kim Jong-un’s bodyguard team in April 2020 may have increased Kim’s sensitivity to the possibility of infection and led to the conclusion that a completely new law was needed.⁴² Kim Jong-un is known for his extreme concern with poisoning and viral infection, which was illustrated by the excessive disinfection measures taken before the summits with South Korean President Moon Jae-in April 2018⁴³ and with the US President Donald Trump in June 2018 in Singapore.⁴⁴

Table 4: Structure of the ELPE

Chapter	Articles
1. Fundamentals of the Emergency Epidemic Prevention Law	1–9
2. Preparation of Countermeasures Against an Epidemic Crisis	10–19
3. Establishment of the National Emergency Epidemic Prevention System	20–32
4. Countermeasures Against an Epidemic Crisis	33–58
5. Legal Responsibility for Violation of Emergency Epidemic Prevention Order	59–70

The ELPE consists of five chapters (Table 4). Similar to most other North Korean laws, Chapter 1 contains the objective and principles of the law, the definitions of terms, and the scope of application. Chapter 2 stipulates the responsibilities of North Korean institutions, enterprises, and organizations as well those of the central public health guidance agency and local people’s committees during normal times in preparation for an epidemic crisis. Chapter 3 details the process of transition to the national emergency epidemic prevention system when “a risk to the safety of our country and the lives and safety of the people” materializes due to the outbreak of an epidemic either inside or outside the country (Article 20). This chapter dictates the specifics of how to organize emergency epidemic prevention headquarters and emergency epidemic prevention command teams at various levels and their respective duties and powers. Chapter 4, the longest chapter of the ELPE, details the responsibilities of the central and local emergency epidemic prevention headquarters; sanitation and epidemic prevention agencies; medical institutions; other relevant institutions, enterprises, and organizations; and individuals in the

face of an epidemic crisis. For example, it stipulates: how to detect and quarantine persons infected or suspected of being infected with an epidemic disease (Article 34); how a quarantined person should behave in a quarantine zone (Article 37); how to release a person from quarantine (Article 38); and how to monitor and control suspected agents of infection, such as water, air, animals, and waste (Articles 46, 52-54). Chapter 5 contains 12 provisions on criminal and administrative punishments for violation of the ELPE, including fines, demotion, discharge, imprisonment, and capital punishment.

3. The Differences between the 2015 LPID and the 2020 ELPE

The ELPE differs significantly from the 2015 LPID in many respects. First, the 2015 LPID applies to infectious diseases in general (Article 2), while the ELPE only governs “malignant infectious diseases” (Article 3) and applies only to situations where a serious infectious disease has posed or may pose a grave danger to the safety of the state and the people (Article 2). Second, the ELPE is far more detailed than the 2015 LPID. The length of the ELPE is almost triple that of the 2015 LPID. Third, the ELPE focuses on measures that must be taken immediately, whereas the 2015 LPID places more emphasis on mid- to long-term public health policies. The ELPE does not have any provision on international exchange and cooperation, which is prescribed in Article 8 of the LPID. Fourth, Article 5 of the LPID provides the principle of vaccination, but no such provision is found in the ELPE. This seems to be either because no Covid-19 vaccine had been developed when the ELPE was enacted in August 2020, or because the ELPE presupposes an emergency where no vaccine is available yet for a novel epidemic.

III. CRIMINAL SANCTIONS AGAINST THE VIOLATION OF LAWS ON THE CONTROL OF INFECTIOUS DISEASES

A. Before the Covid-19 Pandemic

1. The Kim Il-sung Era (1946–1994)

The North Korean penal code of 1950 was modeled after its Soviet counterpart.⁴⁵ For example, Article 261 of the 1950 North Korean penal code was strikingly like Article 181 of the then-Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR)⁴⁶

penal code (Table 5).

Table 5: Penal Sanctions against Violations of the Laws or Regulations on Infectious Diseases in North Korea during the Kim Il-sung Era

1926 RSFSR Penal Code Article 181	1950 North Korean Penal Code Article 261
Any violation of public health regulations issued for the special purpose of combating infectious diseases shall be punished by corrective labor for a maximum of six months or a fine of a maximum of 500 rubles.	A person who violates the public health regulations established for the special purpose of combating infectious diseases shall be punished by corrective labor for a maximum of six months or a fine of a maximum of 2,000 won.

Article 261 was removed by the 1974 amendments to the penal code. This provision, however, failed to be revived in several subsequent amendments to the penal code during the Kim Il-sung era. It suggests that North Korea did not undergo a major threat due to infectious disease in the 1970s and 1980s. Indeed, North Korean society, including politics and the economy, remained generally unaffected by any existential threats during this period.

2. The Kim Jong-il Era (1994-2011)

In the 1990s, due to the serious and prolonged economic hardships, the North Korean health system was weakened by a chronic shortage of funds and a lack of essential medicines and medical supplies.⁴⁷ According to a recent study, two censuses conducted in North Korea in 1993 and 2008 suggest that life expectancy fell substantially during that period, with the greatest contribution being from rising deaths in childhood and late middle age.⁴⁸

Despite deteriorating public health conditions in the 1990s, the penal code did not respond to changing public health conditions. It was not until 2004—three decades after removing the crime of violating infectious disease control—that such crimes were reinstated in the penal code. Articles 212 and 213 were added to the penal code in 2004, which appears to be a response to the 2003 SARS outbreak (Table 6). The two provisions remained unchanged until Kim Jong-il's death in December 2011.

Table 6: Penal Sanctions against Violations of the Laws or Regulations on Infectious Diseases in North Korea during the Kim Jong-il Era

Year	Chapter 6: Crimes Impairing Socialist Culture
	<p>Article 212 (Failure in Disease Control Due to Negligence) A person who irresponsibly executes disease control measures resulting in the spread of an infectious disease shall be sentenced to training through labor⁴⁹ for a maximum of two years. If the offense is grave, the person shall be sentenced to reform through labor for a maximum of three years.</p>
2004	<p>Article 213 (Irresponsible Border Quarantine) A border quarantine worker who neglects sanitation or irresponsibly executes the quarantine of persons, goods, flora, or fauna resulting in the spread of an infectious disease shall be sentenced to training through labor for a maximum of two years. If the offense is grave, the person shall be sentenced to reform through labor for a maximum of four years.</p>

However, there are noticeable differences between Article 261 of the 1950 penal code and Articles 212 and 213 of the 2004 penal code. First, whereas the former applies to any person, the latter stipulates only the criminal responsibilities of workers, not general citizens. Second, the maximum punishment increased in the latter, from six months to three or four years of reform through labor. According to a secret reference book published by the North Korean Ministry of Social Security, “irresponsible execution” in Article 212 refers to acts that caused or spread infectious diseases due to the negligence of sanitation and epidemic prevention workers or their failure to implement projects to eliminate or prevent the transmission of infectious disease vectors and to properly administer vaccinations to increase resistance to infectious diseases.⁵⁰ In the same book, “irresponsible execution” in Article 213 is explained as a border quarantine worker’s failure to properly quarantine personnel, animals, and plants entering the country, to take necessary measures for quarantine or disinfection, or to control waste disposal, thereby allowing an infectious disease or harmful insects to spread throughout the country.⁵¹ If the spread of an infectious disease or harmful insects results in human casualties or causes animals and plants to die, the latter part of this article shall apply.⁵²

3. The Kim Jong-un Era (2011–Present)

Articles 212 and 213 of the 2004 penal code were renumbered in the 2012 amendment as Articles 203 and 204, respectively. However, the content of the two provisions was not revised until the July 2015 amendment. (Table 7)

Table 7: Penal Sanctions against Violations of the Laws or Regulations on Infectious Diseases in North Korea during the Kim Jong-un Era

Year	Relevant Provisions in the Penal Code
2015	<p>Article 203 (Neglect of Disease Control Work)</p> <p>A person who irresponsibly executes disease control measures, resulting in serious consequences, shall be sentenced to training through labor for a maximum of one year.</p> <p>If the offense, as provided in the preceding paragraph, is grave, the person shall be sentenced to reform through labor for a maximum of three years.</p>
	<p>Article 204 (Neglect of Border Quarantine Work)</p> <p>A person who irresponsibly executes the quarantine of persons, goods, flora, or fauna, resulting in the spread of an infectious disease or harmful insects, shall be sentenced to training through labor for a maximum of one year.</p> <p>If the offense, as provided in the preceding paragraph, is grave, the person shall be sentenced to reform through labor for a maximum of two years.</p>

There is no clear evidence why those amendments were made despite the MERS and Ebola outbreaks in 2014 and 2015 because North Korea has been highly sensitive to global epidemics. This may be attributed to the Kim Jong-un regime's policy of relaxing criminal punishment which was also applied to crimes related to infectious diseases. The overall level of punishment in the penal code thus decreased with the 2012 amendments and was generally maintained throughout the 2015 amendments.⁵³ Instead, North Korea might close its borders due to the fears of Ebola in 2014 and 2015⁵⁴ and took rigorous preemptive measures to prevent MERS in 2015.⁵⁵

B. Criminal Sanctions to Counter the Covid-19 Pandemic

The ELPE stipulates crimes of violation and sanctions against them in several articles. Compared to the relevant provisions in the existing penal code, penal sanctions for crimes prescribed in the ELPE have distinct characteristics.

First, the ELPE provides much harsher punishment for similar conduct, including capital punishment, in the gravest case than the 2015 LPID which prescribes both criminal and administrative sanctions for violations. The penal sanctions prescribed for violations of the ELPE are harsher than other socialist states including Russia.⁵⁶ In China, for example, those responsible for the spread of epidemics were subject to seven years of imprisonment before the current pandemic began. The scope of crimes related to infectious disease was expanded with amendments to the Chinese penal code adopted in December 2020. However, the maximum punishment of China's penal code 2020 remains unchanged even after the outbreak of the current pandemic, although significantly higher than that prescribed in the 2015 North Korean penal code (Table 8). Neither have other socialist states, such as Vietnam and Lao PDR, increased the upper limits of statutory sanctions for infectious disease-related crimes. In contrast, in North Korea, the maximum punishment for the same type of crime has dramatically increased to capital punishment. This is remarkable, considering the level of criminal punishment for infectious disease-related crimes was reduced in the 2015 amendment to the penal code, the most recent known revision of the code.

Table 8: Criminal Sanctions for the Gravest Cases of Spreading Infectious Diseases in Socialist States

State	Before the Outbreak of the COVID-19 Pandemic	Currently (As of December 31, 2021)
North Korea	Three years of imprisonment ⁵⁷	Capital punishment ⁵⁸
China	Seven years of imprisonment ⁵⁹	Unchanged ⁶⁰
Vietnam	12 years of imprisonment ⁶¹	Unchanged ⁶²
Lao PDR	15 years of imprisonment ⁶³	Unchanged ⁶⁴
Cuba	Eight years of imprisonment ⁶⁵	Unchanged ⁶⁶

Although capital punishment is generally an exception among the penalties prescribed in the North Korean penal code,⁶⁷ two out of the six provisions (33.3%) that stipulate penal sanctions for North Koreans in the ELPE prescribe capital punishment as the maximum penalty. This ratio is almost as high as the chapter on crimes against the state - traditionally the most heavily punished crimes - in the penal code which stipulate 'death' as the maximum punishment in five out of the 14 provisions (35.7%). The fact that crimes regarding epidemics are equated with state crimes shows how seriously North Korea is taking the current pandemic.

Second, the ELPE, albeit indirectly, discloses its supremacy over other laws. The ELPE is distinct from other North Korean laws in the sense that the law does not delegate criminal and administrative punishments for violations to the penal code and the administrative penalty law (APL),⁶⁸ but stipulates both criminal and administrative punishments therein.⁶⁹ This distinction is important because the penal code and the APL have been the single source of statutory sanctions in North Korean law. To put it differently, the two laws have regulated any other laws in terms of sanctions against all kinds of offenses in North Korea. In that regard, the ELPE has been the only ascertained North Korean law that is not regulated by the penal code and the APL. The fact that the ELPE is treated quite differently from other laws suggests that it is above other laws, including the penal code. In other words, although the ELPE is effective only when an emergency epidemic situation persists, it seems to supersede other laws, as does martial law.

Third, the ELPE might aim to punish its offenders in an expedited manner. Unlike the 2015 penal code, the ELPE stipulates the exact amount of fines for various offenses (Table 8). As both prosecutors and judges do not have to carefully consider each case before deciding on the amount of fines, offenders will be punished without delay.

Table 9: Fines for Violating Emergency Epidemic Prevention Measures (Arts. 59–60)⁷⁰

Object of Sanction	Amount of Fine	Conduct Subject to Sanction
Citizen	5,000 Won ⁷¹	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not wearing a mask • Failure to participate in the inspection, examination, or vaccination organized by a health institution without justifiable reasons • Violation of a home or general quarantine order following emergency epidemic prevention measures
	5,000 to 10,000 Won	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Failure to notify the relevant institution of oneself or one’s family member suspected of an epidemic, suspicious items, or dead animals whose cause of death is unknown
	10,000 to 50,000 Won	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gathering in a group to throw a party, drink, eat, or engage in entertainment or amusement in a public place
	50,000 to 100,000 Won	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attracting many people while providing services illegally • Thoughtlessly increasing the price of goods or creating disorders by buying goods in bulk
Institutions, Enterprises, and Organizations	10,000 to 50,000 Won	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Failure to disinfect means of transportation and public places as prescribed
	100,000 to 200,000 Won	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Failure to establish a medical inspection, examination system, or hand sanitization facility
	100,000 to 500,000 Won	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Service beyond the prescribed service hours or service, such as a wedding ceremony, for people exceeding the prescribed occupancy limit • Thoughtlessly increasing the price of goods, refusing to sell goods in anticipation of a price increase, or handing over goods to individuals in bulk
	500,000 to 1,000,000 Won	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bringing in or taking out imported goods in violation of the required storage period and disinfection order • Discharging untreated sewage

IV. CONCLUSION

Kim Jong-un stressed that guaranteeing unqualified success to ensure emergency epidemic prevention was the highest priority across the country in 2021,⁷² which suggests that North Korea had prepared for protracted, tightened social control in the name of the war against Covid-19. This policy was also confirmed by a *RODONG SINMUN* article that emphasized the importance of the utmost vigilance, ideological education, and surveillance in all regions and units in preparation for the prolonged emergency epidemic situation.⁷³ Although some North Korea watchers speculate that it might be preparing to lift its lockdown in the near future,⁷⁴ others expect that the country will likely keep the China-North Korea border generally closed into 2022.⁷⁵

The ELPE, as discussed above, could be likened to martial law that supersedes other laws, at least with respect to the prevention of epidemics, including the current pandemic. The stringent measures that the ELPE adopted might be an effective model for epidemic prevention in countries with less capacity to respond to a health crisis.⁷⁶

However, recent legal developments in North Korea - the extremely high level of punishment prescribed by the ELPE - in particular show that the country's measures against the Covid-19 pandemic have prioritized the regime's stability, or Kim Jong-un's personal safety, over public health.⁷⁷ North Korea's penal sanctions regarding Covid-19 are an extreme case of infectious disease prevention. In a sense, the ongoing pandemic, which has reinforced authoritarianism in many countries,⁷⁸ may be a gift to the North Korean regime.

Even if the pandemic ends in the future and the emergency legal measures to counter Covid-19 are no longer in effect, the criminal sanctions the ELPE stipulated will remain highly relevant, as they can be re-enforced at any time in the future if another epidemic poses a threat to North Korea.

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Appendix

Emergency Law on Prevention of Epidemics of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (Unofficial Translation)

Adopted on August 22, Juche 109 (2020), by Decision No. 369 of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly

Chapter 1: The Fundamentals of the Emergency Epidemic Prevention Law

- Article 1 (Mission of the Emergency Epidemic Prevention Law)

The Emergency Epidemic Prevention Law of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea shall establish a strict system and order⁷⁹ in emergency epidemic prevention work, thereby contributing to protecting the safety of the nation and the lives and safety of the people and ensuring socioeconomic stability.

- Article 2 (Definition)

Emergency epidemic prevention is preemptive and proactive epidemic prevention work that is rapidly and intensively organized and carried out at the national level when an epidemic crisis poses or may pose a great danger to the safety of the State and the lives, safety, and socioeconomic activities of the people.

- Article 3 (Classification of Emergency Epidemic Prevention Work)

Depending on the transmission speed and level of risk of an epidemic, the level of emergency epidemic prevention work is divided into Level 1, Urgent, and Extremely Urgent, which are determined as follows:

1. Level 1 refers to the situation where border crossing and imports of animals and plants and supplies must be limited due to the possibility of a malignant epidemic entering our country or where, due to the outbreak of a malignant epidemic in our country, the movement of people, animals, and materials must be limited in the affected area.
2. Urgent refers to the situation where the border must be blocked due to the risk of a malignant epidemic entering our country or where, due to the outbreak of a malignant epidemic in our country, it is necessary to block the affected area in our country and conduct epidemic prevention work therein.
3. Extremely Urgent refers to the situation where all spaces, including borders, land, sea,

and air, are blocked and group gatherings and studies are stopped, due to the risk of a fatal and destructive disaster in our country caused by a malignant epidemic that occurred in a neighboring country or region, or where, due to the outbreak of a malignant epidemic in our country, it is necessary to completely block the affected area and adjacent areas and carry out more intense epidemic prevention work nationwide. The specific order of conduct according to each level of emergency epidemic prevention shall be determined separately.

- Article 4 (Basic Principle of Emergency Epidemic Prevention Work)

Rapid and proactive epidemic prevention measures are a basic requirement for preventing the influx and spread of an epidemic.

The State shall establish an emergency epidemic prevention system for responding quickly and proactively to an epidemic crisis and strict rules as in wartime for preventing the influx and spread of an epidemic.

- Article 5 (Principle of Ensuring Systemization, Consistency, and Compulsoriness in Emergency Epidemic Prevention Work)

Ensuring systemization, consistency, and compulsoriness in emergency epidemic prevention work is a decisive factor in ensuring the performance of emergency epidemic prevention work.

The State ensures systemization, consistency, and compulsoriness in emergency epidemic prevention work to prevent the influx and spread of an epidemic and to maintain a stable situation of epidemic prevention.

- Article 6 (Principle of Mass Mobilization for Emergency Epidemic Prevention)

Emergency epidemic prevention is a mass nationwide endeavor.

The State shall strengthen sanitation propagation and education programs related to emergency epidemic prevention, thereby establishing an atmosphere in which institutions, enterprises, organizations, and citizens are thoroughly warned of self-conceit, neglect, and chronic social ills, are obligated to comply with emergency epidemic prevention regulations and order, and help and control each other.

- Article 7 (Principle of Work Organization during the Period of Emergency Epidemic Prevention)

During the period of emergency epidemic prevention, the State shall organize and carry out all work on the basis of the principle of thoroughly protecting the lives and safety of the people, minimizing economic losses, and ensuring that the needs are met for people's lives.

- Article 8 (Principle of Punishment of Persons Who Commit Crimes or Offenses during the Period of Emergency Epidemic Prevention)
During the period of emergency epidemic prevention, the State shall impose strict administrative and legal sanctions on those who violate epidemic prevention regulations and order or commit crimes or offenses as in wartime.
- Article 9 (Subject of Application and Application of Relevant Laws and Regulations)
This law applies to institutions, enterprises, organizations, citizens, and foreigners in the territory of our country during the period of emergency epidemic prevention.
Matters related to emergency epidemic prevention work but not regulated by this law shall be governed by the relevant laws and regulations.

Chapter 2: Preparation of Countermeasures against an Epidemic Crisis

- Article 10 (Basic Requirements for Preparation of Countermeasures against an Epidemic Crisis)
Good preparation for responding to an epidemic crisis is a prerequisite for emergency epidemic prevention work. Institutions, enterprises, and organizations shall establish and accurately implement strategies and plans to respond to an epidemic crisis.
- Article 11 (National Emergency Epidemic Prevention Strategy)
The central public health guidance agency shall, in accordance with the national epidemic prevention policy, establish a national emergency epidemic prevention strategy that clarifies the course of development, goals, and implementation plans of the epidemic prevention work. The national emergency epidemic prevention strategy shall be ratified by the Cabinet.
- Article 12 (Delivery of the National Emergency Epidemic Prevention Strategy Guidebook)
The central public health guidance agency shall prepare a guidebook for the implementation of the national emergency epidemic prevention strategy and deliver it to the local people's committee and relevant institutions, enterprises and organizations.
- Article 13 (Preparation and Execution of Emergency Epidemic Prevention Plan)
Local people's committees and relevant institutions, enterprises, and organizations shall, in accordance with the *National Emergency Epidemic Prevention Strategy Guidebook*, establish and strictly implement plans to prevent an epidemic in advance with scientific and realistic measures suitable for mass mobilization.
Emergency epidemic prevention plans shall be deliberated and approved by the central public health guidance agency and be aligned with the national plan.

- **Article 14 (Adjustment and Modification of Emergency Epidemic Prevention Plan)**
The local people's committee and relevant institutions, enterprises, and organizations may not adjust or modify the emergency epidemic prevention plan at will.
When it is necessary to adjust or modify the emergency epidemic prevention plan, it shall be approved by the central public health guidance agency.
- **Article 15 (Creation and Storage of Emergency Epidemic Prevention Reserve Supplies)**
National planning agencies, the central public health guidance agency, and other relevant institutions, enterprises, and organizations shall ensure that medicines, medical equipment, medical consumables, disinfectants, fuel oil, equipment, and materials as reflected in the emergency epidemic prevention plan are produced and secured.
Emergency epidemic prevention reserve supplies may be stored, according to their characteristics, in the relevant public health institution or production unit under the unified guidance of the central public health guidance agency.
- **Article 16 (Construction of Quarantine Facility)**
The central public health guidance agency, local people's committees, and other relevant institutions shall set up a quarantine facility capable of separating infected people, suspected infected people, and contacts from each other in accordance with epidemic prevention and quarantine requirements.
- **Article 17 (Review of Implementation of Emergency Epidemic Prevention Plan)**
National planning agencies, the central public health guidance agency, and local people's committees shall regularly review the status of implementation of emergency epidemic prevention plans by the relevant institutions, enterprises, and organizations.
- **Article 18 (Organizing Technical Training)**
The central people's public health guidance committee and the central public health guidance agency shall organize regular technical training related to epidemic virus detection methods and treatment methods, thereby cultivating competent experts.
- **Article 19 (Tabletop Training and Practical Training)**
The central people's public health guidance committee and each level of people's public health guidance committees shall prepare concrete action plans and operational plans for responding promptly when there are persons infected with an epidemic or infectious substance and systematically organize and conduct tabletop training and practical training according to the actual circumstances.

Chapter 3: Establishment of the National Emergency Epidemic Prevention System

- Article 20 (Transition to, and Proclamation of, the National Emergency Epidemic Prevention System)

If an epidemic from other countries or regions poses a risk of entering our country or an epidemic breaks out in our country and creates a risk to the safety of our country and the lives and safety of the people, the central people's public health guidance committee shall immediately declare that it will switch from the normal sanitation and epidemic prevention system to a national emergency epidemic prevention system and shall determine the level of emergency epidemic prevention work.

- Article 21 (Organization of the Central Emergency Epidemic Prevention Headquarters)
The central people's public health guidance committee shall organize the central emergency epidemic prevention headquarters to prevent the spread of an epidemic.

The central emergency epidemic prevention headquarters shall be led by the Prime Minister and be composed of the top level officials of relevant ministries, central agencies, and medical institutions including the Cabinet, the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces, the General Staff Department of the Korean People's Army, the national agencies in charge of state security, prosecution, social security, military supply, and special tasks, national planning agencies, and the central foreign affairs guidance agency.

- Article 22 (Organization of Local Emergency Epidemic Prevention Headquarters)

The people's public health guidance committee of a province (or a municipality directly under the central authority), a city (or a district), or a county shall organize emergency epidemic prevention headquarters to prevent the spread of an epidemic.

The emergency epidemic prevention headquarters of a province (or a municipality directly under the central authority), a city (or a district), or a county shall be led by their heads and be composed of competent workers from the people's committee, the armed forces, the local agencies in charge of state security, prosecution, social security, military supply, and special tasks, medical institutions, sanitation and epidemic prevention agencies, veterinary epidemic prevention agencies, communication agencies, and power supply agencies.

- Article 23 (Emergency Epidemic Prevention Headquarters or Emergency Epidemic Prevention Command Team in Institutions, Enterprises, and Organizations)

Institutions, enterprises, and organizations shall organize their own emergency epidemic prevention headquarters or emergency epidemic prevention command teams and conduct emergency epidemic prevention work under the unified command of the central emergency epidemic prevention headquarters.

- Article 24 (Divisions and Mobile Teams of the Emergency Epidemic Prevention Headquarters)

The emergency epidemic prevention headquarters shall organize divisions, such as the general division, the epidemic prevention division, the containment and quarantine division, the sanitation propagation division, and the medical treatment division, and organize mobile teams, such as a mobile quick-response epidemic prevention team, a containment team, and a medical treatment team, and properly assign responsibilities to them.

Members of the divisions and teams of the emergency epidemic prevention headquarters shall be made up of competent hands-on workers.

- Article 25 (Duties and Powers of the Central Emergency Epidemic Prevention Headquarters)

The central emergency epidemic prevention headquarters shall have the following duties and powers:

1. Command work to prevent the inflow and spread of an epidemic in unified way.
2. Prepare and report a national emergency epidemic prevention plan and take appropriate measures according to its conclusion.
3. Take preemptive measures to proactively cope with an epidemic crisis.
4. Prepare and deliver instructions, work guidance books, and technical guidance books related to emergency epidemic prevention to institutions, enterprises, and organizations; command and take control of the relevant groups to increase their sense of responsibility and roles.
5. Command and direct the work of the emergency epidemic prevention headquarters of provinces (or municipalities directly under the central authority), cities (or districts), counties, and the relevant sectors in a unified way.
6. Issue a command to mobilize workers, equipment, instruments, etc. at any time.
7. Block the border or an area; restrict or block the flow of people, materials, animals, and plants.
8. Immediately organize the production, import, and supply of medical supplies and materials necessary for emergency epidemic prevention work.
9. Determine the period, facilities, and conditions of quarantine.
10. Approve imports of materials from other countries.
11. Restrict or prohibit collective gatherings, including events and meetings, sports games, performances, business, education, tourism, etc., as necessary.
12. Command and supply funds and materials for emergency epidemic prevention work that are provided by other countries, international organizations, institutions, enterprises, organizations, and citizens in a unified way.

- **Article 26 (Duties of Local Emergency Epidemic Prevention Headquarter)**
The emergency epidemic prevention headquarters of a province (or a municipality directly under the central authority), a city (or a district), or a county shall take measures to prevent the influx and spread of an epidemic in the area under the unified command of the central emergency epidemic prevention headquarter.
- **Article 27 (Duties of a Mobile Quick-Response Epidemic Prevention Team)**
When notified of a person suspected of being infected with an epidemic, a mobile quick-response epidemic prevention team shall immediately move to the site to collect samples, examine or request permission to examine the samples, and conduct epidemiological investigations, disinfection, and medical treatment work.
- **Article 28 (Duties of a Containment Team)**
When a containment team is notified of a person suspected of being infected with an epidemic, it shall immediately move to the site to determine the contained area and completely contain the person and the surroundings thereof.
- **Article 29 (Duties of a Medical Treatment Team)**
When a person infected with an epidemic is found, a medical treatment team shall immediately evacuate the person to a quarantine ward or quarantine zone and administer medical treatment.
- **Article 30 (Establishment of Information and Notification System for Emergency Epidemic Prevention)**
The central emergency epidemic prevention headquarters and each level of emergency epidemic prevention headquarters shall establish a national information and notification system for emergency epidemic prevention to ensure the promptness and accuracy of emergency epidemic prevention directions from the center to the end and to immediately take control of and report problems that have emerged.
- **Article 31 (Disinfectant Production and Supply System)**
The emergency epidemic prevention headquarters, sanitation and epidemic prevention agencies, and other relevant agencies shall scientifically produce disinfectants and establish a strict system for supplying them to quarantine zones and preventive disinfection units.
- **Article 32 (System of Importing Materials)**
The central emergency epidemic prevention headquarters, the central foreign economic guidance agency, and other relevant agencies shall reduce import and export channels, the volume of materials to be hauled, the volume of international trade transactions, and establish a materials importing system based on the principle of importing the same type

of materials through a single channel.

Chapter 4: Countermeasures against an Epidemic Crisis

• **Article 33 (Containment, Restriction, or Blockade; Organization of Surveillance)**

Depending on the level of emergency epidemic prevention work, the General Staff Department of the Korean People's Army, the State Security Agency, and the Social Security Agency shall block all spaces, including borders, land, sea, and air, restrict or block the flow of persons, materials, animals and plants, and organize surveillance of a quarantine zone.

• **Article 34 (Detection and Quarantine Treatment of Persons Infected or Suspected of Being Infected with an Epidemic)**

Sanitation and epidemic prevention agencies, medical institutions, other relevant institutions, enterprises, and organizations shall detect persons infected or suspected of being infected with an epidemic, transport them to quarantine facilities that have been physically and epidemiologically quarantined, and have them undergo quarantine treatment.

• **Article 35 (Order of Conduct of Emergency Epidemic Prevention Headquarters)**

When an epidemic breaks out, the order of conduct for the emergency epidemic prevention headquarters is as follows:

1. When the emergency epidemic prevention headquarters is notified of a person suspected of being infected with an epidemic, it shall immediately dispatch a mobile quick-response epidemic prevention team to the site, collect specimens, and conduct tests for confirmation in a designated laboratory.
2. The central emergency epidemic prevention headquarters shall coordinate and command the first test in real time and, if the result of the first test is positive, urgently organize the second test for all contacts including patients with a real-time test facility.
3. The central emergency epidemic prevention headquarters shall immediately report to the relevant agencies if the result of the first test of the person suspected of being infected with an epidemic is positive and, depending on the conclusion, provide an urgent notification to each level of the emergency epidemic prevention headquarters and organize and direct the emergency epidemic prevention and containment work in the affected area.
4. The emergency epidemic prevention headquarters shall require workers mobilized to evacuate patients to wear personal protective equipment, quarantine the evacuated patients to meet the epidemiological requirements, and disinfect the place where the patients stayed.

5. The central emergency epidemic prevention headquarters shall immediately organize medical treatment for persons infected with an epidemic and, if necessary, dispatch relevant medical workers to the site to reinforce the treatment capacity.
6. The emergency epidemic prevention headquarters shall install a general treatment room, an intensive care room, an image diagnosis room, and an experiment and test room at the treatment site.

• Article 36 (Command of Contacts and Medical Surveillance)

Sanitation and epidemic prevention agencies and medical institutions shall thoroughly search for those infected with an epidemic, those who have come into contact with persons infected with an epidemic, those who have entered our country from a country where the epidemic has occurred, and those who have been in contact with them; classify them by their level of risk; quarantine them in quarantine zones for a specified period; and place them under medical surveillance.

After a quarantined person is released, the person shall continue to be under medical surveillance for a certain period of time and the person's activities shall be limited.

• Article 37 (Order of Conduct to Be Observed in a Quarantine Zone)

The following order of conduct shall be observed in a quarantine zone:

1. A quarantined person shall voluntarily observe the order of conduct and public order shall not go outside their room or contact another quarantined person unnecessarily.
2. A quarantined person shall thoroughly maintain individual hygiene, clean the room, immediately notify the doctor in charge or other relevant workers of any abnormal symptoms, and act according to their instructions.
3. Sanitation and epidemic prevention workers shall command and take control of quarantined people and support workers to ensure their strict compliance with the sanitation and epidemic prevention regulations and shall conduct strict medical surveillance of them.
4. Sanitation and epidemic prevention workers shall organize preventive disinfection work for quarantine zones, take control of all issues raised, report them immediately to the sanitation and epidemic prevention agencies, and take appropriate measures.
5. Medical workers shall wear personal protective equipment when in contact with a quarantined person, regularly conduct medical screening and examinations of quarantined persons, and immediately notify the emergency epidemic prevention headquarters of any issues.
6. Medical workers shall conduct sanitation propagation work in various forms and methods and educate and control quarantined persons so that they voluntarily observe the rules.

7. Service workers shall strictly observe individual hygiene instructions and carry out all work in accordance with the directions of sanitation and epidemic prevention workers.
 8. Service workers shall handle food and waste left by quarantined people after meals according to the sanitation and epidemic prevention regulations and disinfect kitchen utensils and appliances.
- **Article 38 (Release from Quarantine)**
A person's release from quarantine shall proceed as follows:
 1. Approval by the central emergency epidemic prevention headquarters shall be required to release a person from quarantine.
 2. The place where the quarantined person stayed shall be disinfected.
 3. The person that has been released from quarantine shall be under medical surveillance for a specified period.
 - **Article 39 (Disinfection of Place of Occurrence and Quarantine Zone)**
Sanitation and epidemic prevention agencies, medical institutions, and urban management agencies shall disinfect and waste, sewage, and excrement originating from the place where a person was found infected with an epidemic and a quarantine zone.
 - **Article 40 (Disinfection of Public Places and Means of Transportation)**
Relevant institutions, enterprises, and organizations shall accurately carry out daily disinfection work for public places and means of transportation, such as trains, subways, trolley buses, buses, and taxis.
 - **Article 41 (Medical Surveillance, Inspection, Examination, and Vaccination)**
Sanitation and epidemic prevention agencies and medical institutions shall thoroughly conduct medical surveillance, checkups, and examinations on residents to find persons suspected of being infected with an epidemic in a timely manner and shall provide emergency vaccinations to residents.
 - **Article 42 (Ensuring Security of the Capital)**
Social security agencies, local people's committees, and other relevant agencies shall strictly restrict access to Pyongyang during a period of emergency epidemic prevention and concentrate on maintaining the capital's security and carrying out an intensive crackdown to prevent illegal entry into Pyongyang and importation of goods from countries and regions where an epidemic has broken out.
 - **Article 43 (Inspection and Quarantine)**
The inspection and quarantine agencies and other relevant agencies shall strictly conduct

inspection and quarantine of people, materials, animals, and plants coming from other countries in accordance with the regulations and order set by the emergency epidemic prevention headquarters and completely separate inspection and quarantine workers from others for the workers to conduct work under medical surveillance.

- Article 44 (Prohibition of Dispatching and Inviting Delegations and Protection of Citizens Staying Overseas)

The central foreign affairs guidance agency, the central foreign economic guidance agency, the local people's committee, and other relevant agencies shall suspend dispatching and inviting delegations and take measures to protect the citizens of our country in other countries from an epidemic.

- Article 45 (Departure of Foreigners During a Period of Emergency Epidemic Prevention)

The central foreign affairs guidance agency, the central foreign economic guidance agency, the local people's committee, and other relevant agencies shall have foreigners who wish to leave our country do so during the period of emergency epidemic prevention.

In this case, the subject in quarantine shall leave our country after the specified quarantine period has passed.

- Article 46 (Water Quality Inspection and Control of Sewage and Waste Treatment)

Sanitation and epidemic prevention agencies, urban management agencies, land and environmental protection agencies, maritime supervisory agencies, local people's committees, and other relevant agencies shall conduct inspections of water quality in rivers, lakes, reservoirs, and water sources regularly and exercise supervisory control over the ships in our territorial waters, rivers, and lakes so that they refrain from irresponsibly disposing of waste.

- Article 47 (Guarantee of Medicines, Daily Necessities, Etc.)

The Cabinet, national planning agencies, the central public health guidance agency, electricity supply agencies, local people's committees, and other relevant agencies shall prioritize securing medicines, medical equipment, and medical consumables necessary for emergency epidemic prevention work and supplying electricity, food, subsidiary food, firewood, beverages, daily necessities, etc. to contained areas and quarantine zones.

- Article 48 (Scientific Research Projects for Epidemic Prevention and Treatment and Data Security)

Scientific research and educational institutions shall prioritize scientific research projects related to epidemic prevention and actively introduce advanced treatment methods to

develop our own effective treatment methods and therapeutic drugs.

The central foreign affairs guidance agency, the central science and technology administrative guidance and management institution, and the relevant institutions shall, in a timely manner, collect domestic and foreign data related to epidemiology, prevention, inspection, diagnosis, and treatment of an epidemic and send them to the central emergency epidemic prevention headquarters.

- Article 49 (Protection Measures for Medical Workers)

The emergency epidemic prevention headquarters shall be thoroughly equipped with personal protective equipment, such as protective clothing and protective glasses, and establish thorough protective measures for medical workers mobilized for emergency epidemic prevention work.

- Article 50 (Stabilizing People's Lives)

Cabinets, committees, provinces, central agencies, local people's committees, institutions, enterprises, and organizations shall scientifically predict problems that may arise in people's lives during a period of emergency epidemic prevention and ensure supplies of food, subsidiary food, firewood, and daily necessities that are essential for people's lives according to the demand.

- Article 51 (Propagation of Sanitation)

Publishing and reporting agencies, institutions, enterprises, and organizations shall properly propagate sanitation related to the prevention and treatment of an epidemic in various formats and methods, including newspapers and broadcasts, so that citizens are well aware of the dangers of an epidemic and actively engage in emergency epidemic prevention work.

- Article 52 (Disposal of Enemy Propaganda Leaflets, Dead Animals, and Sea Waste)

Each level of the emergency epidemic prevention headquarters, national security agency, sanitation and epidemic prevention agency, and veterinary epidemic prevention agency shall ensure that citizens do not touch enemy propaganda leaflets, dead animals, and sea waste. All such materials must be reported to the appropriate institutions in a timely manner. Their inspection and handling shall be carried out according to the requirements of scientific epidemic prevention.

- Article 53 (Surveillance of, and Countermeasures against, Air Pollution and River Waste)

Each level of the emergency epidemic prevention headquarters, national land and environmental protection agency, and other relevant agencies shall strengthen surveillance of air pollution and river pollutants and properly handle disinfection and collection, incineration, and burial of waste in rivers in the border area during the rainy season,

thereby preventing an epidemic transmitted through air and river waste.

• Article 54 (Surveillance of, and Countermeasures against, Migratory Birds and Animals)

The emergency epidemic prevention headquarters shall take measures to completely block the space where an epidemic can be spread by migratory birds and animals moving from other countries.

National land and environmental protection agencies, institutions, enterprises, and organizations shall thoroughly monitor migratory birds and animals and notify the emergency epidemic prevention headquarters immediately when they discover any abnormalities.

• Article 55 (Obligations of Citizens and Foreigners during a Period of Emergency Epidemic Prevention)

During a period of emergency epidemic prevention, citizens and foreigners in the territory of our republic have the following obligations:

1. Absolutely obey national emergency epidemic prevention measures.
2. Immediately notify the local sanitation and epidemic prevention agency of a person suspected of being infected with an epidemic.
3. If dead animals, sea waste, and suspicious items, such as enemy propaganda leaflets, are found, without approaching them, immediately notify the national security agency, sanitation and epidemic prevention agency, and veterinary epidemic prevention agency.
4. Always wear a mask and keep a certain distance.
5. Sanitize hands frequently and avoid shaking hands.
6. Do not bring items that have not been inspected or quarantined in Pyongyang; Do not illegally enter the city.
7. Do not enter the border or sea illegally or engage in smuggling activities.
8. Do not move to other areas unnecessarily.
9. Quarantined people must observe the quarantine order and not leave a quarantine zone.
10. Do not disobey the legitimate demands of enforcement personnel or hit or beat them.
11. Dispose of the body of a person who died from an epidemic as prescribed.
12. Do not raise the price of goods or buy them in bulk, and do not make and sell fake drugs or medical consumables.
13. Do not gather in a group to throw a party, drink, eat, or engage in entertainment or amusement in a public place.
14. Do not fabricate or disseminate baseless rumors.
15. Remain vigilant and actively participate in emergency epidemic prevention work until national emergency epidemic prevention measures are lifted.

16. Do not perform other acts that would interfere with emergency epidemic prevention work.

- **Article 56 (Duties of Drivers and Crew Members)**

During a period of emergency epidemic prevention, the duties of drivers and crew members working in transportation agencies are as follows:

1. Disinfect the means of transportation regularly.
2. Ensure ventilation of the means of transportation.
3. During operation, propagate epidemic prevention.
4. Do not carry people not wearing a mask.
5. Conduct inspection prior to picking up people on passenger trains and long-distance buses, and do not pick up suspected infected people.

- **Article 57 (Maximum Emergency System)**

The maximum emergency system is the highest level of national emergency epidemic prevention measures taken in the event of a risk that could cause fatal and destructive disaster to the safety of the State and people.

When the maximum emergency system is proclaimed, the central emergency epidemic prevention headquarters, each level of the emergency epidemic prevention headquarters, and other relevant agencies shall completely block the borders, frontlines, land, air, and sea while strictly implementing containment and quarantine measures for each region and area and shall immediately block and extinguish the risk of epidemic transmission by upgrading the epidemic prevention measures to the highest level while conducting medical surveillance of all residents.

- **Article 58 (Lifting National Emergency Epidemic Prevention System)**

The central people's public health guidance committee shall proclaim that the national emergency epidemic prevention system is lifted if the possibility of an epidemic entering our country from another country or region is completely eliminated, if our country is able to cope with it, or if the risk posed by an epidemic that has occurred in our country to people's safety is completely eliminated.

Chapter 5: Legal Responsibility for Violation of Emergency Epidemic Prevention Order

- **Article 59 (Fines for Citizens Violating Emergency Epidemic Prevention Order)**

A citizen who violates the emergency epidemic prevention order shall be fined as follows:

1. 5,000 won for not wearing a mask.
2. 5,000-10,000 won for failure to notify the relevant institution of oneself or one's family member suspected of an epidemic, suspicious items, or dead animals whose cause of death is unknown.
3. 5,000 won for failure to participate in the inspection, examination, or vaccination organized by a health institution without justifiable reasons.
4. 5,000 won for violating a home or general quarantine order following emergency epidemic prevention measures.
5. 10,000-50,000 won for gathering in a group to throw a party, drink, eat, or engage in entertainment or amusement in a public place.
6. 50,000-100,000 won for attracting many people while providing services illegally.
7. 50,000-100,000 won for thoughtlessly increasing the price of goods or creating disorders by buying goods in bulk.

• **Article 60 (Fines for Institutions, Enterprises, and Organizations that Violate the Emergency Epidemic Prevention Order)**

An institution, enterprise, or organization that violates the emergency epidemic prevention order shall be fined as follows:

1. 100,000-200,000 won for failure to establish a medical inspection, examination system, or hand sanitization facility.
2. 10,000-50,000 won for failure to disinfect means of transportation and public places as prescribed; 100,000-500,000 won to service providers for service beyond the prescribed service hours or service, such as a wedding ceremony, for people exceeding the prescribed occupancy limit.
3. 100,000-500,000 won for thoughtlessly increasing the price of goods, refusing to sell goods in anticipation of a price increase, or handing over goods to individuals in bulk.
4. 500,000-1,000,000 won for bringing in or taking out imported goods in violation of the required storage period and disinfection order.
5. 500,000-1,000,000 won for discharging untreated sewage.

• **Article 61 (Suspension or Closure of Business)**

If the act prescribed in Article 60 of this law is serious, the business shall be suspended or closed.

• **Article 62 (Education through Labor for Citizens Violating the Emergency Epidemic Prevention Order)**

A citizen who violates the emergency epidemic prevention order as follows shall be punished by education through labor:

1. Intentional departure from national quarantine facility.
 2. Failure to comply with legitimate instructions of a relevant worker conducting epidemic prevention work.
 3. Illegal contact with a person in a national quarantine facility.
 4. Violation of the order of entry into Pyongyang, blocked or contained areas, or the sea.
 5. Touching, storing, or using enemy propaganda leaflets at will.
- Article 63 (Unpaid Labor, Demotion, Dismissal, or Dismissal with Education through Labor for Workers Who Violate the Emergency Epidemic Prevention Order)
- A worker who violates the emergency epidemic prevention order as follows shall be punished by unpaid labor:
1. Irresponsible preparation and delivery of plans related to emergency epidemic prevention work.
 2. Irresponsible inspection, examination, or medical surveillance in the relevant region or unit, or failure to conduct sanitation propagation work.
 3. Failure to equip a quarantine ward or facility to meet the epidemic prevention requirements.
 4. Failure to organize or follow the regulations on disinfection work in relevant places.
 5. Failure to disinfect goods and medical devices or dispose of medical waste, excrement, and corpses as prescribed in a quarantine zone.
 6. Failure to report immediately the status of the emergency epidemic prevention work in the relevant area or one's own unit.
 7. Failure to organize technical training on epidemic virus detection method, treatment method, etc. and tabletop training and practical training to promptly respond to persons infected with an epidemic or infectious substance.
 8. Failure to establish protective measures for medical workers mobilized for emergency epidemic prevention work.
 9. Organizing a party, gathering for drinking or eating, or activities for entertainment or amusement in violation of emergency epidemic prevention measures.
 10. Irresponsible inspection and quarantine of imported or exported goods at the border or irresponsible command and control over access to the sea.
- If the act prescribed in the preceding paragraph is serious, it shall be punished by demotion, dismissal, or dismissal with education through labor.
- Article 64 (Detention of Persons Violating the Emergency Epidemic Prevention Order)
- The prosecution and the relevant agency shall detain a person who has committed an act prescribed in Articles 62 and 63 of this law if it is deemed that the person can

be reformed without education through labor, unpaid labor, demotion, dismissal, or dismissal with education through labor.

The detention period shall be from two to five days or, if the case is grave, from 6 to 10 days.

- Article 65 (Crime of Neglect of Execution of Commands, Ordinances, Decisions, and Instructions Related to Emergency Epidemic Prevention Work)

If a worker in charge of an institution, enterprise, or organization established at the county level or above interferes with the emergency epidemic prevention work due to failure to accurately execute commands, ordinances, decisions, and instructions related to the emergency epidemic prevention work in a timely manner, the person shall be punished by reform through labor for a maximum of five years.

If a worker ignores a command, ordinance, decision, or instruction, or fails to command or give guidance for the execution thereof, thereby posing a risk of spreading an epidemic, the person shall be punished by reform through labor for no less than 5 years and no more than 10 years.

If the act in paragraphs 1 or 2 causes great confusion in the national emergency epidemic prevention work, the person shall be punished by reform through labor for 10 years or more.

If the failure to execute a command, ordinance, decision, or instruction is extremely serious, the person shall be punished by reform through labor for a life term or death.

- Article 66 (Crime of Neglect of the Duty of Emergency Epidemic Prevention)

If a person mobilized for emergency epidemic prevention work neglects to take control of and conduct medical surveillance of persons infected or suspected of being infected with an epidemic in the area or unit under his or her control, or irresponsibly carries out emergency epidemic prevention and medical treatment, thereby posing a risk of transmitting an epidemic, the person shall be punished by training through labor.

If the person who has committed the act prescribed in the preceding paragraph fails to take measures against multiple persons suspected of being infected with an epidemic or falsely reports the status of the emergency epidemic prevention work, the person shall be punished by reform through labor for a maximum of five years.

If the act prescribed in paragraphs 1 and 2 causes great confusion in the national emergency epidemic prevention work, the person shall be punished by reform through labor for no less than 5 years and no more than 10 years.

If the act of neglect of the duty of emergency epidemic prevention is extremely serious, the person shall be punished by reform through labor for 10 years or more.

- **Article 67 (Crime of Neglect to Ensure the Conditions of Emergency Epidemic Prevention)**

A person who interferes with the epidemic prevention work by irresponsibly neglecting the work to ensure the conditions of epidemic prevention, such as failure to operate quarantine facilities and wards, failure to secure materials, funds, facilities, and resources for ensuring conditions for medical treatment and living, or failure to organize a transportation system for patient evacuation, shall be punished by training through labor.

If the act prescribed in the preceding paragraph makes it difficult to quarantine infected persons or persons suspected of being infected with an epidemic or causes several people to breach a quarantine zone, the person shall be punished by reform through labor for a maximum of five years.

If the act prescribed in paragraphs 1 and 2 causes great confusion in the national emergency epidemic prevention work, the person shall be punished by reform through labor for no less than 5 years and no more than 10 years.

If the act of neglect to ensure the conditions of emergency epidemic prevention is extremely serious, the person shall be punished by reform through labor for 10 years or more.

- **Article 68 (Crime of Neglect to Block the Border, Land, Sea, and Air)**

If a person whose duty is to block the border, land, sea, or air irresponsibly performs security service duties and allows illegal flow of people or goods through the border or into a contained area, or illegal access to the sea, the person shall be punished by reform through labor for a maximum of five years.

A person who commits the act prescribed in the preceding paragraph in exchange for money or goods or organizes illegal access to the border, a contained area, or the sea shall be punished by reform through labor for no less than 5 years and no more than 10 years.

If the act prescribed in paragraphs 1 and 2 causes great confusion in the national emergency epidemic prevention work, the person shall be punished by reform through labor for 10 years or more.

If the act of neglect to block the land, sea, or air is extremely serious, the person shall be punished by reform through labor for a life term or death.

- **Article 69 (Crime of Interfering with Emergency Epidemic Prevention Work)**

A person who interferes with emergency epidemic prevention work by disobeying legitimate demands related to the emergency epidemic prevention work and hitting or beating workers, interfering with inspection and supervision work, calling a quarantined person out of a national quarantine zone, bringing people in a quarantine zone while quarantined, or importing goods without approval from the emergency epidemic prevention headquarters shall be punished by training through labor.

A person who commits the act prescribed in the preceding paragraph several times or who organizes acts interfering with emergency epidemic prevention work shall be punished by reform through labor for up to five years.

If the act of interfering with the emergency epidemic prevention work is extremely serious, the person shall be punished by reform through labor for no less than 5 years and no more than 10 years.

- Article 70 (Legal Sanctions Against Foreigners)

If a foreigner residing or staying in our country during the period of emergency epidemic prevention interferes with the emergency epidemic prevention work by refusing to comply with national measures related to emergency epidemic prevention, the person shall be punished by a fine of 10,000-1,000,000 won. If the act prescribed in the preceding paragraph is serious, the person shall be expelled from the territory of our republic.

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1. Turkmenistan (with a population of around six million) and two small Oceanian states-Nauru and Tuvalu-(with populations of slightly over ten thousand) have also reported no confirmed cases. Like North Korea, Turkmenistan, an isolated dictatorship, is suspected of concealing confirmed cases, given the high numbers of confirmed cases in neighboring countries, such as Iran (6,250,490), Kazakhstan (1,243,220), Uzbekistan (215,063), and Afghanistan (159,682), as of January 25, 2022. See World Health Organization, WHO Coronavirus Disease (COVID-19) Dashboard, <https://covid19.who.int/table>.
2. North Korea's population is estimated to be around 25 million, although the country's official statistics are often unreliable.
3. All North Korean media is state owned and thoroughly censored. See *North Korea's Tightly Controlled Media*, BBC, Dec. 19, 2011, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-16255126>; US Department of State, Report on Human Rights Abuses or Censorship in North Korea, July 6, 2016, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/drl/rls/259366.htm>.
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5. RODONG SINMUN [노동신문], <http://www.rodong.rep.kp/en>.

6. *The Real Coronavirus Situation in North Korea (Part 1): Kim Jong-Un Admits to Outbreak*, RIMJIN-GANG, Oct. 25, 2020, <https://www.asiapress.org/rimjin-gang/2020/10/recommendations/real-covid-nk1>.
7. Although North Korea has been a member of the World Health Organization (WHO) since 1973 and is thus required to notify WHO of global health emergencies, the country does not appear to be fully complying with WHO regulations.
8. Dae Un Hong, *Economic Crimes in North Korean Criminal Law: Changes and Continuities* 3-4 (2019) (J.S.D. dissertation, Cornell Law School) (on file with the Cornell University Library).
9. *Id.* at 4-5.
10. Among such regulations, decrees, and ordinances, notable examples are the Decision of the Interim People's Committee on the Prevention of Cholera (July 29, 1946); Decision on the Prevention of Infectious Diseases (Nov. 10, 1946); Decree on the Offense of Violating People's Health in North Korea (Jan. 24, 1947); Decision to Strengthen Epidemic Prevention Work During the Summer (May 29, 1947); Regulations on Maritime Quarantine (June 22, 1947); Regulations on the Infectious Disease Prevention Committee (Sept. 14, 1949); Regulations on the Quarantine Station (Nov. 5, 1949); On the Reorganization of the National Emergency Infectious Disease Prevention Committee (Dec. 21, 1956); Regulations on the Prevention of Infectious Diseases (Jan. 16, 1958); and Regulations on Border Quarantine Work in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (June 23, 1961).
11. For the structural transition of the special part of the North Korean penal code through history, *see* Hong, *supra* note 8, at 325-32.
12. RAK-KYU HAN, A COMMENTARY ON NORTH KOREAN PENAL CODE: THE SPECIAL PART [조선 형법해설: 각칙] 19 (1955).
13. In the compilation of laws and regulations published in 1961, for example, Chapter 21 contains public health regulations. Chapter 17 also contains public health pertaining to domestic legal matters in the 2012 compilation, which remains the most recent comprehensive law compilation published in North Korea.
14. Article 26 of the Law on People's Health provides that the state shall take thoroughgoing preventive measures against epidemics in support of health, and other concerned agencies shall strengthen quarantine to prevent the infiltration of infectious diseases from foreign countries. This provision was maintained at least until April 2012, when the last known amendments were made.
15. This outcome was the case with many other provisions of the People's Public Health Law. *See* Robert Ward & Dae Un Hong, *Environmental Impact Assessment in North Korean Environmental Law: Origins, Evolution, and a Comparative Analysis*, 48 *ECOLOGY L. CURRENTS* 41 (2021).
16. John Grundy et al., *Public Health and International Partnerships in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea*, 12 *PLoS MEDICINE* 1-2 (2015), <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal>.

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17. The People's Public Health Law (Art. 8), the Law on the Prevention of Infectious Diseases (Art. 8), the Law on Pharmaceuticals Management (Art. 8), the Law on Medical Treatment (Art. 10), the Law on Veterinary Epidemic Prevention (Art. 7), and the Law on Veterinary Pharmaceuticals Management (Art. 6) all contain this expression.
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 24. *Id.* at 993-7.
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 26. *Id.* at 634-38.
 27. *Id.* at 620-33.
 28. *Id.* at 639-45.
 29. LAW OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA ON TOBACCO CONTROL 13-21 (Legislation Press, 2016).
 30. See 11th Plenary Meeting of 14th Presidium of DPRK SPA Held, RODONG SINMUN, Nov. 5, 2020, http://rodong.rep.kp/en/index.php?strPageID=SF01_02_01&newsID=2020-11-05-0001.
 31. Min Chao Choy, *North Korean Fleets Spur into Action after a Winter of Covid-19 Trade Lockdowns*, NK PRO, Mar. 4, 2021, <https://www.nknews.org/pro/north-korean-fleets-spur-into-action-after-a-winter-of-covid-19-trade-lockdowns>.
 32. The Korean word jeon-yeom-byeong [전염병] can be translated as either “infectious disease” or “epidemic,” depending on the context and gravity. Jeon-yeom-byeong was used in the original titles of the LPID and the ELPE, but this article translates it as “infectious disease” in the former and “epidemic” in the latter because the ELPE only governs “malignant infectious diseases” (Art. 3) and is effective only “when the crisis caused by the diseases poses or may pose a great danger to the safety of the State and the lives, safety, and socioeconomic activities of the people.” (Art. 2)
 33. The first chapter of 52.5% of the North Korean laws (125 of 238 known laws) legislated

before the Covid-19 pandemic, which is usually titled “The Fundamentals,” contains a provision that “the State shall develop exchanges and cooperation with other countries and international organizations in the field of ...” This tendency is obvious in the fields—e.g., science and technology, intellectual property, agriculture and fisheries, finance, transportation, public health, and environment—where North Korea actively seeks assistance from other countries or international organizations.

34. Before the 2014 amendment, Article 16 (Quarantine of Infected Patients) provided that: “the infectious disease prevention institution and other relevant institutions shall immediately quarantine a detected infected patient in a hospital specialized in infectious diseases or a quarantine ward. However, depending on the nature of the infectious disease, infected patients may be quarantined in houses. People with different infectious diseases shall not be quarantined in the same room.”
35. The PRC Law on Infectious Disease Prevention and Control [中华人民共和国传染病防治法], art. 3, (promulgated by the Standing Comm. Nat’l People’s Cong., Feb. 21, 1989, effective Sept. 1, 1989; revised June 29, 2013), http://www.npc.gov.cn/wxzl/gongbao/2013-10/22/content_1811005.htm. For details, see Laney Zhang, *FALQs: Measures to Control Infectious Diseases under Chinese Law*, IN CUSTODIA LEGIS, Jan. 29, 2020, <https://blogs.loc.gov/law/2020/01/falqs-measures-to-control-infectious-diseases-under-chinese-law>.
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37. The specification of three levels and the fact that North Korea completed the amendments to the LPID within just a few months after the outbreak of Covid-19 suggest that North Korea referred to the relevant laws of other countries to make these amendments to the LPID. Although China has far more legal experts and legislation experience than North Korea, the first amendments to the law on the prevention and treatment of infectious diseases in response to the ongoing pandemic have been prepared but not yet completed. For the draft of the amendments, see PRC National Health Commission, Circular on the Law of the People’s Republic of China on the Prevention and Treatment of Infectious Diseases (Public Invitation for Comments on the Draft Amendments [中华人民共和国传染病防治法 (修订草案征求意见稿) 公开征求意见的通知], Oct. 2, 2020, <http://www.nhc.gov.cn/fzs/s3577/202010/330ecbd72c3940408c3e5a49e8651343.shtml>).
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- Assembly and the Cabinet of North Korea, was founded in 1945 modeled after the Soviet Union's *Izvestiya*, a less ideological news outlet than *Pravda*. Tertitskiy, *supra* note 4.
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 46. The RSFSR penal code, not the Soviet penal code, is compared here for the following reason: During the Soviet era, each republic of the Soviet Union legislated its own penal code, although the code was based on the Fundamental Principles of the Criminal Legislation of the Soviet Union. In other words, there was no uniform penal code in the Soviet Union, although the penal codes of its constituent republics were very similar. Only the RSFSR's penal code is mentioned here because the RSFSR was by far the largest and the most important republic of the Soviet Union. See Harold J. Berman, *Principles of Soviet Criminal Law*, 53 YALE L. J. 807-8 (1947).
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52. *Id.*
53. For details, see Hong, *supra* note 8, at 39-4. In contrast to the heightened alertness to Ebola and MERS, North Korea was not severely affected by Ebola and MERS. Thus, its alertness to those epidemics was not reflected in the 2015 amendments to the penal code.
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57. The July 2015 Penal Code, art. 203. This provision applies to workers in the public sector. Citizens can be punished for not complying with epidemic-related laws and regulations by a maximum of six months of education through labor, according to Article 202 of the 2016 APL.
58. ELPE arts. 65 & 68. According to Article 69 of the ELPE, these provisions apply to workers in the public sector. Citizens can be punished for interfering with epidemic prevention work by a maximum of 10 years of reform through labor.
59. 2017 PRC Penal Code [刑法], arts. 330 & 331. These provisions apply to citizens. Article 409 prescribes a maximum of three years of imprisonment for government workers.
60. 2020 PRC Penal Code, art. 330 & 331.
61. 2017 Vietnamese Penal Code, art. 240.
62. *Id.*
63. 2017 Laotian Penal Code, art. 199.
64. *Id.*
65. 2019 Cuban Penal Code, art. 187.1.
66. *Id.*
67. In the 2015 Penal Code, eight (8) out of 241 provisions (3.3%) in the Special Part prescribe death as the maximum penalty: Art. 60 (Conspiracy to Subvert the State), Art. 61 (Terrorism), Art. 63 (Treason against the Fatherland), Art. 65 (Wrecking, Sabotage), Art. 68 (Treason against the Nation), Art. 206 (Illegal Cultivation of Opium Poppies and Manufacturing of Drugs), Art. 208 (Smuggling and Illegal Trafficking of Drugs), and Art. 266 (Aggravated Murder). For a complete translation of the 2015 penal code, see Hong, *supra* note 8, at 274-324.

68. The APL, a semi-criminal code modeled after its Russian counterpart, was enacted in 2004 and is known to have been amended 12 times until 2016. This law prescribes administrative (sometimes bordering on criminal) penalties for conduct that are largely the same as what is stipulated in the penal code but does not rise to the level of a crime. See Dae Un Hong, *North Korean Laws since 2016: What They Imply for the Country's Future*, 38 NORTH, Feb. 25, 2021, <https://www.38north.org/2021/02/north-korean-laws-since-2016-what-they-imply-for-the-countrys-future>.
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