



North Korean Human Rights Advocacy: Making the Most of Scarce Data

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TRANSCRIPT

Dr. Jae H. Ku: Hello, I am Jae Ku, director of the U.S.-Korea Institute here at SAIS, and I welcome you to the panel discussion on “North Korean Human Rights Advocacy: Making the Most of Scarce Data.” I want to thank our co-sponsor, North Korea Human Rights Database Center from South Korea, Freedom House, where one point I hung my hat, really enjoyed being a human rights advocate learned a lot about human rights, and human rights advocacy. We are also honored with a very distinguished guest sitting here amongst you, Ambassador Robert King, our special envoy for human rights in North Korea. North Korea has been in the news a lot lately, given that the nuclear stand-off, what it appears to be a third generation hereditary transition, and

(1:02) sealed state, and we know something about the human rights (1:09), all the tragedy that exists in North Korea. We so often throw the numbers around 200,000 or more in various World War II-like concentration camps, the (1:25) of North Korean defectors in North East China, most of whom are women, most of whom are (1:32) when they make it out to South Korea.

We know all these things, and yet as individuals, as a collective state, it's so difficult to get the issue on people's agenda, country's agenda, always push back by some countries, sometimes even our own government. And we want to use this opportunity to really talk about one, what kind of information exists out there? How do we go about finding out the human rights abuses? And then really, have a panel discussion to really talk about what do we do with this information, and I know many of you young people here come to me and say, "I would like to do something on this after I graduate." Perhaps, we can talk about what those opportunities are.

Let me introduce our co-sponsor from the North Korea Human Rights Database Center, chairman Sang-hun Kim. He is very illustrious in Korea, humanitarian, human rights community. He is the founder of North Korea Human Rights Database Center in 2003, and currently serves as the Chairman of the board of directors. His long career started in 1957 as a cultural communist at the British Embassy in Seoul. After ten years of service there, he spent the next ten years as an area officer for Care Korea, beginning long distinguishing career with the United Nations' World Food Program. At WFP, Mr. Kim served in offices in South Korea, Thailand, Sudan, Lesotho, Ghana before retiring in 1994. Korea's boost globalization in 2010, but Mr. Kim is a reflection of globalization in Korea way back before it became very popular. He's worked on issues related to migration workers in Korea since 1966 when he found Citizens' Alliance to help political

prisoners in North Korea. He's dedicated his efforts to helping North Korean refugees, and for all of his good work, he was recognized in 2003 as one of TIME magazine's Asian heroes.

Please welcome chairman Kim Sang-hun.

Kim Sang-hun: I feel (4:38) by one of introduction, myself, and ladies and gentlemen, it is my great pleasure to be here this afternoon to say thank you to all. For innocent victims of human rights violations in North Korea in particular. And welcome you to this seminar which addresses year 2010, address the findings of the year 2010 White Paper on North Korean human rights published by Database Center for North Korean Human Rights, or NKDB. And Freedom House, freedom in the world index, it is my view that the information we are going to review this afternoon, and other information produced by NKDB provide sufficient evidence required to bring the situation, or to bring the issue to the international criminal court. I believe that the most (6:30) and how do you find crimes against humanity, it's taking place in North Korea for decades massively and systematically for many decades already, and what bothers us the most. Its tragic situation is ongoing right at this moment. Here I shouldn't have some problems as I describe the situation to be worse than gulag and Stalin or Nazi's concentration camps. Many people challenged me, "how could that be possible?" I was exaggerating. Now I would like to show you through some drawings, how bad situations and realities are there. Worse than Nazi's concentration camps and Soviet's gulags which many people challenge.

Now I would like to show you the real situation. This is the appearance of the prisoners in concentration camps. The first four pictures are both actually drawn by a former North Korean (8:23) guard of this concentration camps. And look at the leg. Because Soviet's gulags and

concentration camps, prisoners were surprised with the uniforms at least. But North Korea, no, that's not the case. And people are without shoes and have to work in snow in wintertime without shoes. So whatever pieces they can pick up, they wrap up their leg, and whatever (8:55) they find, normally straw, right straw rope and (9:02) use it. Now the other one is the report from a former prisoner there, and the last one many prisoners under tree who are worse from another (9:24) one of the concentration camps in North Korea. The poor diet and nourishment and hard work makes people shrink. So as you see in the picture, surprisingly, all prisoners are so short and so small. They are not children. I heard from somebody else who went to one of the political prisons, he took a small pickup trucks, arrived at the location thinking that he or she many political prisoners to his surprise when he left his pickup car, he didn't find anybody. When the pickup car disappeared, then he found large number of political prisoners there, because they were all so short that he could not see them from this side. This is what happened when they arrived at the prison. Mostly, (10:45) and unconditional beatings, and this is one of their punishments style; hanging people halfway, they cannot get up straight up, or they cannot sit down, and they keep it for days and sometimes and for hours. Now this is different type of very common punishment.

Okay, the one in the extreme right, they called motorbike punishment, somebody have to take the position as he was riding a motor bicycle as he does it, he also makes sound like automobile engine – and if he stops it, terrible beating there. And the one in the middle is what they call 'flight punishment.' It's like plane. And the last one is 'crane punishment.' And if this is in the matter of ten or five minutes, it's already very (11:52), but they were forced to do it for hours. And this normal situation for prisoners inside prison, and also the same situation in those

concentration camps. You can see how crowded in a small base of cell. Okay. I hope you can see clearly, this picture drawn by former prisoner himself, how prisoners are all undernourished.

Now this side, a prisoner when arrived at the prison or concentration camp, after 30 days or 40 days, they reach this stage of undernourishment. And the one, the other one, are in the final stage of the undernourishment, and normally it takes one year to reach that stage. When any prisoner reaches that stage, they are released because they want them to die outside of prison. And therefore the discussion of for example, the extreme undernourishment, his name is Shin Jae-hyup, and he was a former (13:25), he died in May 2005.

And this was from a former prisoner there who actually saw them there, and so he was able to draw piece of work. He told me when he first arrived in prison and saw group of prisoners, he saw that pretty strange, most of (14:00) three hats. So it appears when people are reaching extreme last stage of undernourishment, you see the bones on both sides of shoulders, sticking out, and (14:20) is sinking down. Now this again, this by another former prisoner, and this is actual his drawing and from a different prison, but situations seemed to be the same. The one standing is the first stage of undernourishment, then second stage, and the last one is normally one prisoner reaches that stage, they don't have many days for survival.

Okay, this is both concentration camps and the last one I don't have to explain. But for this one, they are stoning prisoners to death. But if you are closely watching the drawing, in fact, his legs were maimed and there were some irons passing through his mouth. So that he cannot move his head and other prisoners were forced to kill him by throwing stones at him. Okay, this is typical situation of prisoners in post concentration camp; you see all kinds of punishment there. Now the

one on the, the other one they are pulling off teeth. And they often pull off the teeth, all the teeth from the mouth. And the other side, is punishment they are applying (16:15) sit-up on the pubic hair of a lady. And they pull up the hair one by one. While do they apply serially this starch, I think that for some reasons, make it more painful for the prisoners.

Now some in the deep mountains in North Korea, local believes that there is certain animal which belongs to family of squirrel, but this one is larger than squirrel. The squirrel has very soft hair but this particular animal has very hard hair, rough. I couldn't find right name of this one. And the local belief has it that if that animal is kept inside woman's body, vagina for three days, and if you cook it, then eat it, it vitalizes you. It gives you enough strength, and that's how they tried with a young girl, and they cooked it and drink it. Now this is woman prisoner asked to clean the (17:50-52) with a pubic hair. When her pubic hairs were all gone, they found another woman to do it, and sometimes they are giving one pieces of potato which is strong enough for incentive for any woman to volunteer, because they are so hungry. Now eat it so hungry, and in order to avoid reach final stage of undernourishment, and stealing pig slop is very often. And these three pictures are former prisoners and the fourth one is by guard who used to be a guard in that concentration camp and this is what happened.

And the other one, Okay, as prisoners were stealing food from pigs, and they were spotted by watchtower, and killed, shot at. And this is by another source, also eating pig slop for survival. So, many different prisoners and witnesses and told us the same story of catching pigs how they caught it and eat it. This is from other sources. The one in the cage, that's a punishment cell, once a prisoner is put inside, he cannot straighten his back, too short to do that. And in this case,

he stretched out his hand with little foot on it, and stands still hours and hours until (20:00) arrives and catches it and eat it for survival. Now when they are working up in the mountain, whenever they catch a rat or somewhere inside the camp, they try to find a way to cook it somehow, but in the field, there's no way of doing so. You can see they are eating snakes and rats alive. Lee Soon-ok, who was in the Gaecheon Women's Prison many years ago, told me about this one, using prisoners as human motor, when there is no power, they use people to move the motor. Then the other one is from another source, a few days before my departure for this plan, and I was so surprised and I was getting the same information from the second source. And first I thought that could be rather isolated case but it doesn't seem to be, no longer isolated case and could be quite common situations in North Korea. Again, this is same story from two different sources. It's this woman, prisoners were returning from a mountain, and this work they were returning passing through very steep hill, and the road for the women to walk was so narrow and dangerous. That the end, these women prisoners were so close together, if one woman falls, many other woman also fall at the same time. And that seems to happen very often. Once that happens, the guards there consider them to be an attempt for escape. And once they have fallen, we should help them and bring them up, but in North Korea they shooting them down. The picture in the middle, the girls are saying that "Don't shoot, don't shoot! We're coming up!" And the most likely, they are killed. And there are also cases of exjudicial killings. And the man standing upright was when he arrived, after six months, he became crippled and couldn't stand up and all his fungus as a result of force beaten were all (23:10) beaten, he can't straight his legs, and he became miserable. And the one at the bottom, some women were pregnant and delivering baby and this kind of infanticide it. And this is the woman who told us what she saw there. And this is roughly the situation I want to tell you about. I think this is.

So, it's very bad situation, I think it's much worse than many people think. And in fact, I have much more terrible situation, but I was not able to prepare for this occasion. And we worked very hard to do something in front of North Korean and to improve the situation and to release all political prisoners, and it didn't work. I think that we have been producing a lot of information in the form of document mainly. And document, I can't appeal to journalists, professors, and researchers. But it has little bit of impact in my view or general public populations. So, for year we tried to produce our information in the form of documentary. Now I know we have come to kind of standstill, and we need new strategy and my suggestion here this afternoon is that perhaps, once we produce the information, let's make it something visual, something that can appeal to the optics of people, and "seeing is believing" that very popular saying. And then the help of news media, particularly international television network, if we could bring these horrible situations to the attention in the form of visual video presentation, then perhaps we can reach out and give people in the world much greater impact.

For example, United Nations General Assembly passed the resolution, North Korean human rights resolution, a number of years successfully. The state supporting the resolution was 110, 116 something like that. Some 60 nations obtained from supporting the resolution. Suppose we make our advocacy much greater by way of visual presentation, perhaps hopefully we could bring some 30 or 40 states that used to obtain from this voting could move onto supportive resolution. Then the state supporting North Korean resolution would reach 150 or 160. In this case, this is a clear-cut majority and obtaining that level of support, I believe will make it much more difficult even Russia and China to block it passage in the United Nations Security Council.

In that case, perhaps we could think UN sanctions human rights investigation team to North Korea in which case unlike the case in Iraq, where this mass weapon team didn't find any evidence, we have a large number of witnesses from North Korean community and South Korea who can exactly pinpoint locations of secret concentration camps and mass burial. Thank you very much.

Ku: Well thank you Chairman Kim. It's a very sobering presentation on the abuses that go on in North Korea and I know from my personal conversations with colleagues in Korea who privately tell me that exactly what Chairman Kim said. They too believe that if North Korea collapses or unification happens, once they pull that (29:55) off, that they too will see a condition that is much, much worse than we had ever imagined. And evil (30:05) and human (30:08) know no bounds, that's North Korea Kim Jong-il doesn't hold monopoly on that, but it is as Freedom House says, one of the worst of the worst. I'm very pleased to go ahead and begin the panel discussion, but before we do that, I wanna first make (30:28) for publications that are out there. Freedom House has concentrations on humanity, and this is the Korean version. I know this is one of my last projects that I had done when I was at Freedom House. There are a lot of publications by North Korean Database Center for Human Rights, including North Korea block hole for religion, and there are other information out there, as well as the Freedom House's the worst of the worst 2010 the annual evaluation of the world's most repressive societies.

At this point, I wanna introduce our colleagues on the panel here. On my left, on my right, is Mr. In Sung Kim, who is a researcher with Human Rights Database Center in Seoul. He is a recent graduate of Kyung Hee University with Masters in international relations. And on my left is Ms.

Ja Eun Lee, also a researcher with Human Rights Database Center, and a graduate of Ajou University in 2007 having studied political science. And on my far right is Paula Schriefer, who has close to two decades of human rights and democracy promotion in advocacy experience, currently overseas Freedom House's advocacy outreaching communication activities. She's also been the director of the programs from 2001 to 2006, having overseen Freedom House nearly two dozen program initiatives and thirteen overseas offices. She is an advocate having first worked on these issues with National Forum Foundation, and then later with Freedom House when it emerged in 1997. She is a summa cum laude graduate in Russian area studies from University of Denver and Masters in George Washington University in Russian and Eastern European studies. She speaks fluent Russian and she speaks great language of advocacy what I've learned under her two years I was there. I think we'll first begin with the presentation by Mr. In Sung Kim, and then Ms. Lee, and then we'll go with Paula, and then open up for discussions. Well, we get this technical glitches of the way, if you open up your packet, you'll see a recent, I think today's upbeat in the *International Tribune* by Paul Schriefer, 'Wrong Way to Combat Islamophobia' and the presentations from the other two speakers as well.

In Sung Kim: Okay, thanks for coming here. I'm In Sung Kim from NKDB, I'm very honored to make a presentation for distinguished guest. Today I'd like to talk about human rights situation in North Korea based on the White Paper published by NKDB. The presentation is divided into two parts; in the first part, I'm going to briefly talk about the reason why we established NKDB, how we managed database system. In the second part, I focus much on North Korea human rights situation. Then let's get started. North Korea is the most isolated country in the world today. And therefore information on human rights situation in North Korea is greatly

limited. Nevertheless, the truth about North Korea human rights began to slide since mid-1990s when the great famine hit the North Korea causing mass defection with people to China. Now over 20,000 North Korean defectors are currently living in South Korea. As a result, more information has become available, however such information has been widely scattered, so as (36:15) attention making almost impossible to gain comprehensive knowledge about the human rights crimes taking place in North Korea today. NKDB was created in May 2003 for the purpose of collection of such information and storing the information in the archive database system, so that comprehensive information could be produced when necessary.

From now on, I'm going to explain how we analyze data, we manage the database system. Basically, we are gathering information from books, internet sources, and interviews. Books include publications written by North Korean defectors themselves and some magazines and other special reports. We also looking for information from the internet, we subscribe such as *NK Chosun*, *Daily NK*, and newsletters published by good neighbors. Information from the interviews is the main source of our database. We have conducted questionnaires and interviews with North Korean defectors in Hanawon, where they firstly stay and (38:02 get?) education when they come to South Korea. We also conducted interviews with North Korean defectors who are already living in South Korea society, who are living in abroad mainly in China. So far, we have finished analyzing 154 books, South Korean newspapers from 2006 to 2008, (38:32) internet release from 2005 to 2008, and Korean magazines from 2006 to 2008. We also have finished conducting interviews and questionnaires with 3,874 interviews with individuals, we finished analyzing. But the interviews and questionnaires with 3,752 individuals, 57 books, and hand-written accounts yet to be analyzed.

Let me explain how we analyze information. We have analyzing sheets for individuals and incidents, which format of sheet has 200 survey questions and responses. And each format of sheet, separated items of information for individual sheet is, for example, name, sex, age, place of birth, family background, and education background. Separated items for incident sheet is for example, place of incident, time and date of incident, situation of incident. So far 85.7% of information is from the interview, followed by published account which is 10.9%. We expect the portion of interview we grow more as we continuously conduct interviews with North Korean defectors. So when entering those analyzed data, we classified data according to sixteen categories types of human rights, 84 subcategories of violations, 104 components, and 191 indicators of violations they are based on the civil political rights, and the international covenant on economics, social and cultural rights. Aside of the central database, we have six-sector database such as South Korean (41:35), political prison camp, South Korean (41:38) reeducation prisons, special interest, and South Koreans who defected to North Korea. For example, we are running a team that conducted interview with South Korean (41:53), who defected from North to South, and while their memories vivid, we record their stories, and information related to human rights is also incorporated into the central database. So the White Paper is the table version of the database and is divided into two parts, individuals and incidents as we gather and analyze data into two format of sheet.

So let's look at individuals first. The total number of individuals is (42:57) and the 86.7 percent is from victims. And while the portion of the victims is so high, because there are two reasons. The North Korean defectors we conducted interviews are mostly victims, and the second reason

is when a person is victim and perpetrator at the same time, we put priority on labeling the person is victim rather than perpetrator. Okay, information provider. Victims I witness co-worker, family related to victim, combined (43:52) 70.9% of information provider. Perpetuator account for only (44:02), that's because perpetrator are working in (44:06) facilities, or working in the government office where human rights violation is occasionally taking place, and they rarely defect to China. Here is basic information regarding individuals. We highly restrict information, especially source from interviewees, because we need to protect their privacy, their family in North Korea will be in great danger if information about them is leaked. And unrestricted information is from books, newspapers that is already available to public.

Type of victim report families and individuals majority portion, and other information regarding individuals, accuracy of name of individuals are assumed remain someone's father, someone's mother, someone's daughter, and son. Gender of information provider male outnumbered female. Okay, now look at incident part. We have sixteen type of human rights from 'right to live' to other type of human rights. 'Personal integrity' to 'right to liberty' is the most common incident in the White Paper which is 13,587 cases, followed by right to movement and (46:20). Another important thing is that those type of human rights violation, they can be correlated. Let me give you one example. If one female North Korea, she can, she may experience human (47:00) when defected to China, and then the victim of illegal detention and victim torture after she repatriated. And her brother may be denied entering military service because of her defection to China. So through her story, we can see the various types of human rights violation (47:35), and sadly, her story is the most common case of interviewees that I've heard many times in Hanawon.

All human rights violations related to life include (48:01) execution, legal execution, and other direct actions. Among the (48:10) execution is the most common incident. There are two component of legal execution, secret execution and public execution. And here is the indicators of legal execution from shooting, hanging, beating, starvation, other methods of killing. And shooting is the most common way of killing people. And this is the testimony that showed what legal execution looks like. And in this testimony, she said she saw public execution taking place in some district, and she testified that a man was shot to death and his corpse was taken away in (49:24) bag. You can find out many testimonies and cases in the white paper. Okay, the next one is personal integrity and right to liberty. Illegal detention and imprisonment take majority portion of personal integrity and right to liberty. You can see the list of detention (50:07), facilities. First five detention facilities above the graph related to (50:17) since we are gathering information mostly from North Korean defectors, the number for facilities are higher than other types of detention facilities.

Jae H. Ku: Mr. Kim, if you can wrap it up in two minutes.

In Sung Kim: Okay, so it will be little bit hard but I'll try. Let me briefly explain legal process of a defector after (50:57). Defectors are sent to SSA or State Security Agency, then they are sent to (51:10) holding camp, and then sent to police. But some defectors are sent to police directly, SSA is near the place of residence. And sometimes, these crimes they committed are serious such as contacting with South Koreans, or going to church in China, they are sent to political prison camp, or they are secretly executed.

The next one is right to survival. We found that even after 2005, people are still dying from starvation that shows or delivers the collapse of national distribution system. Many defectors say that they or their family were denied of appropriate medical treatment because simply they had no money. And nowadays, people just go to hospital to get prescriptions, and then they go to market to buy drugs.

Right to education. Each type of human rights violations are occurred and related to someone's family background. If there is, background is poor, they denied of assist to higher education. (53:17 – 53:19) high hill and internal exile happens when a person commits political crimes then their family sent to political prison camp, so that they sacrificed as internal exile. Let me jump up to the other type of human rights. So we have right to believe and express, there could be more cases than this. But if witnesses just testify that there is, testifies that release persecution we classify that as a relief to belief than expression. But their exaction, detention to political camp happens followed with classify them to other type of human rights, so actually there could be more cases than this. The last type of human rights is other which including political (54:59) violation to privacy and other cases. And political apology happens in mostly in 1960s and 70s and 1990s when political power struggles. So that completes my presentation and my colleague Ja Eun Lee will talk about key findings and implications of the White Paper. Thank you.

Ja Eun Lee: Thank you for being here with us today. I'm Ja Eun Lee, researcher of NKDB. It is an honor to make a presentation in front of you. Before, my colleague Mr. Kim talked about how NKDB collects data from all available resources and how we analyze. From now on, I will introduce the contents of the White Paper and to demonstrate how the data can be analyzed to

assist various research purposes. This will be done by examining main findings of human rights violations recorded in the White Paper and database. I'll present data classified by year, region, location of incidents, crime type involved in the incident, victims' post incident status. Based on graphs of each category, I'll provide implications and inferences. Let me start with the analysis by year. This is a graph that shows human rights violations by year. The graph shows that significantly more incidents of human rights violations have occurred since 1990s. This may be a statistical illusion created by the increase in the number of North Korean defectors' testimony that was available since 1990s. But 1990s' severe food crisis had led to a significant increase human rights violations, because it is one of the strongest catalysts of a variety of human rights situations such as forced repatriation and human trafficking. So therefore the graph roughly reflects actual situation in North Korea. Now let's take a look at the number of violations of specific category of human rights organized by year.

The first category to be examined is the right to life. Violations of the right to life consists of these acts. The red line indicates legal execution, which is the principal violation of the right to life. Out of all the legal executions, public execution accounts for 91 percent. Most of the public executions occurred in the 1990s. This figure is congruent with the testimonies of North Korean defectors, that public executions radically increased during the period of 'Arduous March' when the food shortages were historically at their worst. The second category of human rights is the right to survival. It is the '90s when the right to survival was violated the most. Among the violations of right to survival, 97 percent was death by starvation, 77 percent of which occurred in the 1990s. These figures indicate the severity of the food crisis during the period. The food crisis led to mass escape, which in turn triggered a large scale forced repatriation from China.

Forced repatriation is a responsible factor in the rapid increase of violations of personal integrity and liberty because it involves detention in various confinement facilities where unchecked physical violations and tortures are carried out.

So far I explained the spread of human rights violations by year, we can see that the overall trend of human right violations, and what kind of factors had influenced this spread. From now on, I will look into human rights violations by region. You can see the majority of human rights violations have occurred in north Hamgyong province. The figure is indeed biased because the significant number of North Korean defectors is from this area. However, it is safe to assume that a bulk of human rights violations actually took place in this area based on three facts. First, in the northern region, detention facilities to which the forcibly repatriated North Koreans are sent are concentrated. Second, in the northern region, overwhelming majority of human trafficking took place in this area. Third, northern region is the area where famine was most chronic and intense during the 1990s.

Let's take a look at the human rights situation in Pyongyang and in north Hamgyong province. First is Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea. We can see these two rights are violated the most. More detailed breakdown of right to movement and residence looks like this. Out of 285 violations of right to movement and residence, internal exile accounts for 98 percent. Those cases have occurred constantly throughout the 1950s and the 2000s. This is consistent with the testimony of Hwang Jang Yup, the former secretary of the Korean Workers' Party that the North Korea government relocated the Pyongyang citizens to other regions every three to four years in order to prepare for war and manage the population. Among the human rights violations that

occurred in Pyongyang, violations of personal integrity and liberty are the second most frequent type of abuse, which mainly consists of illegal arrest, illegal detention, and disappearance.

In other regions, disappearance in Pyongyang accounts for the majority, for higher rate compared to other regions, and in other regions, disappearance accounts for less than ten percent except Southern Hwanghae province, which is fifteen percent. In Pyongyang, it accounts for nineteen percent. Based on the fact that the political offenses occurred a lot in Pyongyang, it can be inferred that victims of these disappearance are political criminals who were taken away without any announcement. This will be explained later. Second, I will examine human rights situation in north Hamgyong province.

In north Hamgyong province, human rights violations against personal integrity and the right to liberty are the most frequently reported. If you look into detailed types of acts of violations of the right to liberty in north Hamgyong province, you can see illegal detention and torture and physical violations account for the majority. In the cases of illegal detention, the majority took place in the State Security Agency or the police's interrogation and detention facilities, labor training camps, and police holding camps. Before, you heard about the procedure after forced repatriation. This procedural norm and the fact that reported cases of confinement in detention facilities are concentrated in the 1990s and the 2000s lead to a conclusion that forced repatriation is a driving force in the overall trend of violations against the liberty in north Hamgyong province.

Up to now, I explained about situation of human rights by region. Especially Pyongyang and north Hamgyong province. Human rights situation is also analyzed by specific location of incidents, as shown in the graph. Among these locations, I will focus my analysis on the political prison camps. The existence of political prison camps is one of main concerns of those with interests in North Korean human rights. Among the human rights violations within political prison camps, 88 percent involved violations on personal integrity or liberty. I expect that I could find more detailed cases of human rights abuses inside the political prison camps. But a predominant number of the violations of personal integrity and liberty were illegal detention itself while other types of violations such as rape and beating composed a trivial proportion. More detailed reports from inside political prison camps were rarely collected because an overwhelming number of reports are second-hand and eyewitnesses rather than direct experience of imprisonment inside the political prison camps. But, the reported numbers of human rights violations in political prison camps are evenly spread throughout 1970s to 2000s. Also the graph shows that significant number of people are still being taken to these facilities.

So, that covers third part of my presentation. I talked about human rights violations by location, especially political prison camp. Next, I will talk about human rights violations by crime type. This is for examining overall social condition in North Korea. First, I will talk about the border-crossing offense. As you may guess, border-crossing offense has skyrocketed since 1990s. Second, about political offense. This graph shows that these offenses have been occurring steadily since 1950s. This reflects the history of Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il's effort to strengthen their power through oppression. Especially, the number of incidents resulted by political offenses drastically increased since 1990s. It is relevant with the North Korean

government's discrimination against people who attempted defection to South Korea or had an access to religion as political criminals. Third, I will talk about economic crime and misdemeanor offense. The rates of them grew with similar patterns. These offenses increased gradually since the 1950s and peaked during the 1990s and 2000s. This may be attributed to the increase of crime for living due to the deteriorated food supply since 1990s. Fourth, it's the guilt-by-association system. Compared to other charges, violations on the basis of guilt-by-association have been occurring at a relatively even rate throughout each time period. Because it is the most fundamental tool of mass-control in North Korea. Now, we are talking about the victim's post-incident status by crime type. Note that misdemeanor offense leads to high death rate of victims. To make it clear, misdemeanor offense includes traveling without permission certificate, unemployment, capitalistic attitude and etc. This is a diagram which shows overall spread of crime types among regions. Please look at the border-crossing offense is concentrated in north Hamgyong province, north Pyongan province, and China. From other regions, we are looking at the spread of crime type in Pyongyang and north Hamgyong province. In Pyongyang, the volume of human rights violations that involve political offense together with guilt-by-association system is 60 percent, a much higher than that of other regions. Average with Pyongyang is 31 percent. Average without Pyongyang is 27 percent. In north Hamgyong province, most of the crime types were border-crossing offense.

So far I explained the crime types by year, victims' post-incident status and region. And we could see how chaotic the North Korean society has been since the 1990s. Finally, I will talk about the victims' post-incident status. Violations of personal integrity and the right to liberty most often led to detention of the victim, at 70 percent. Violations of the right to life, right to

survival, the right to health, these three, with very few exceptions, resulted in the victim's death. That covers the main part of my presentation. I will wrap up with a few concluding thoughts.

With this presentation, I tried to show how data from the White Paper could be utilized and to examine the overall trend of the human rights situation in North Korea by analyzing the data by year, region, location of incidents, crime type and victims' post-incident status. Diverse facets of the human rights landscape disclosed by the White Paper point to one common implication, that the severity of human rights situation in North Korea demands immediate and serious attention. To solve the human rights problem in North Korea, it is important to gather information that the North Korean government cannot deny and constantly monitor the actual situation. This will contribute to policymaking and guide the movement to improve the situation by providing the best possible data on the situation in North Korea. Last but not least, we have various reports available to the public and researchers may apply to NKDB to use its data. Therefore, please e-mail us and submit your application for the data. Finally, hoping this White Paper, and our activities and its database will make a vital contribution to improve human rights situation in North Korea, I emphasize that NKDB will keenly cooperate to set up the policy and strategy using its data. Thank you for your attention.

Ku: Thank you very much, we are going to shift gears and have Paula talk about Freedom House's activities as well as the advocacy components.

Paula Schriefer: I want to thank the speakers from NKDB. The kind of monitoring documentation that they provided is incredibly useful to Freedom House and other human rights

organizations who take this information we use on our reports and we try to the best extents as possible for advocacy purposes. I am gonna talk a little bit about our advocacy efforts on North Korea starting with our own reports, “Freedom in the World” namely, which was started 38 years ago, really to be an advocacy tool and to provide a comparative analysis of how countries do on human rights. Interestingly, of the 194 countries that we currently evaluate in our global survey, “Freedom in the World,” which looks at political rights and civil liberties. There are three countries that actually have the word “democratic” in the names of their countries. There is the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Lao People’s Democratic Republic, and of course the DPRK, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, which we typically refer to as North Korea. As you all probably know now, not one of these countries is even remotely democratic and in fact, all three rate not fully at the bottom of our scale. But North Korea is quite unique. Not only among not free countries that pretend to be free, but among all countries in the world. In the list of criteria that Freedom House examines to look at political rights and civil liberties, North Korea actually represents almost the perfect lack of freedom and human rights. On our 100-point scale, the methodology behind which are better known, 1 to 7 scale is based, North Korea typically scores only two or three points out of 100.

When we have ratings review meetings, and we sit down and we look at countries, and in particular when we look at those countries that rate near the bottom, these countries that Jae mentioned on our worst of the worst our world’s most oppressive societies. If we are arguing sometimes over a small point on a repressive country, we will often stand back and ask ourselves, “okay, maybe it did get a little bit worse, but do we want to downgrade it? Is it yet at the level of North Korea?” That is the base line for the lack of freedom to put it in a perspective. North

Korea is the only country in the world since 1972 that has received the lowest possible score in every single year in those 38 years. So then what is it that we actually find, what is it that we look at.

As I mentioned, we look at political rights and civil liberties. About the half of the areas that they look at because they are also looking at economic, social, and cultural rates, but of course, we look at things like electoral process, North Korea of course does not have free and fair elections, at any level of government from its rubberstamp parliament to office of Kim Jong-il is a Chairman of the National Defense Commission – interesting title for the head of that country. He of course, was handed his position by his father when he died in 1994, and it has appeared that his son Kim Jong-un will take over when he is no longer able to rule. There is no absolutely political opposition or pluralism allowed in the country. It remains a single-party dictatorship in the true Stalinist fashion, which is quite rare in the world these days, I am happy to say. There is absolutely no mechanism whatsoever to check the power of the regime, either in the form of other government, institutions or in the form of independent media, or civil society which don't exist. Freedom of expression is virtually non-existent, media outlets are entirely run by the government. Both TVs and radios are permanently fixed to the government channels. You can only imagine the entertainment factor of that. Internet access is strictly limited to a few thousand people out of country of 24 million. And although cell phones have recently become legal, their use is limited to the capital, and they are not allowed to be used in everywhere near the border areas.

The regime, of course, maintains extensive surveillance infrastructure including a very large old-fashioned system of informers who monitor their neighbors and monitor as much as they can

even private forms of communication. Even reading books from South Korea is considered a form of espionage and a crime, and special squads are employed actually raid individual homes to seek out the presence of illicit materials from foreign countries. In his final report, the former rapporteur on the DPRK, Mr. Vitit Muntarbhorn, who really did an excellent job in the position, wrote that the non-democratic, indeed totalitarian nature of power base has created a pervasive state of fear or a state as one big prison for the mass base, which is not part of the elite. With inordinate constraints imposed on rights and freedoms of people, the power base does not tolerate this and indeed, it suppresses it with all the might of the state. As a result of a complete lack of safeguards and checks on power, corruption is believed to be not only endemic in every part of life, the system actually functions on corruption with bribes being used for everything from access to better food, health care to even reducing prison sentences or the punishment or torture.

The situation of course we have heard, regards to the rule of law is particularly chilling. There is no independent judiciary, and as we have heard several times today, the use of torture, public executions, extrajudicial and arbitrary detention, forced labor are pervasive in part of the justice system. It is estimated anywhere from 150 to over 200,000, political prisoners are held in the detention camps in ____ (01:19:17) system, in what is believed to be the world's remaining gulag systems although as we have informed, it in fact far exceeds the gulag that existed even in the Soviet period or Nazi's camps. Moreover, this principle of guilt-by-association is quite unique, it's used to imprison family members including children up to three generations away from the supposed criminal. In addition, the idea of the innocent proven guilty (01:19:47) does not exist. In fact, a senior law official who recently met with a delegation from Great Britain stated out

right that most defendants are those whose crimes have already been revealed before indictment through the investigation by the police. So when a person comes to the court, we don't think of them as innocent, it's actually already assumed that they are guilty of the crime.

Finally, as we have heard even the personal autonomy of individual rights is strictly limited, this is the last area we are going to look at in "Freedom in the World," there is no freedom of the movement, there is no freedom to emigrate, and individuals are classified into a bizarre list of 53 different subgroups that come under the security ratings of core, wavering and hostile to the regime based on their perceived loyalty, and these ratings then determined every facet of their life from their potential education, employment, health access, etc. I think what's interesting with North Korea perhaps compared to some other countries that are on our worst of the worst list is that if we also evaluated economic, social, and cultural rights, it would clearly be at the very bottom of that list that does not hold for some of other countries on our "Freedom in the World" surveys. So, what do you do with a country like this? How do you engage in advocacy?

It's a lot easier of course to advocacy towards countries who care about their international image. North Korea to some degrees cares, but it cares so it is seen as a powerful and strong country, not that it is seen as a particularly decent or human rights-abiding country. Moreover, individuals who would have any ability to enact change within the regime are so deeply dependent on the continued existence of that regime and structure that leaves very little opportunities to try to directly engage in domestic advocacy as well. So, it largely leaves us doing advocacy at the international level, trying to target countries in international organizations that have some ability to impact or influence North Korea's behavior. One venue of course is the United Nations, we

had a little of discussion about that earlier. North Korea is in fact, of course, a member state of the UN, it is also a state party to force separate human rights treaties including ironically ICCPR, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, of which it respects none; the Covenant Economic, Social, Cultural Rights as well as the CEDAW, the Covenant on the elimination of Discrimination Against the Women; and the Rights of the Child. Again, irony is incredible because those of course are the groups of people who suffer most inordinately under the regime.

The UN of course is the political body, in which many countries themselves have very poor human rights records and therefore are most of the time, not willing to engage in criticism of other countries because they don't like the principle of being criticized on human rights because of course they themselves would be up for such kinds of criticisms.

Nonetheless, North Korea, such an isolated country, and because of the extent of the human rights violations there is one of the few countries that is successfully targeted for human rights resolutions, at both Human Rights Council in Geneva as well as at the General Assembly in New York. Moreover, it's one of the few countries that we have managed to maintain a special rapporteur who is focused on monitoring investigating and reporting on human rights violations that occur in that country. I think we have been very lucky in having some very strong individuals fill that position. This of course provides avenues for advocacy that might not exist with some of the other countries. It's one of the reasons why Freedom House produces the worst of the worst report to call attention to the fact that it is an unusual, out of the ordinary, situation of human rights violations. It's also a reason why, and I think it's very important to bring, North Korean human rights victims, defectors, refugees, witnesses directly to these venues to meet with

other state parties, to meet with other special rapporteurs into try to get at the heart of the matter in a way that touches people beyond the way in which some of these statistics can become very boring. It's Stalin, very stutly (01:24:37) noted, once you kill a million of people in statistics, and one person affects you on a different level. It's very true and it's really important to bring these stories directly to these institutions so that they are not just looking at sort of dry reports.

One interesting avenue, well I should say, despite all these resolutions of course, North Korea has not been particularly moved to enacting any changes, it has consistently denied access to the special rapporteur, access into the country, he was never actually able to visit the country. Of course he gained most of his information from human rights organizations from interviews from victims from organizations such as NKDB, etc., which fortunately or unfortunately of course has increased dramatically over the years as people have found their way out and into the South. But one avenue that I think is quite interesting that we should pursue that Mr. Kim brought up earlier is this idea of the ICC and bringing North Korea forward on crimes against the humanity. And we had done, under Jae's leadership, at Freedom House a special report called "Concentrations of Inhumanity" that was written by David Hawk, who writes a lot on these issues. He really lays out all of the different aspects of statute of the ICC and what constitutes as crimes against humanity, and based on the kind of documentation that you have heard today, lays out a case for why North Korea could be brought up. Now North Korea was not a party to the Rome Statute, nonetheless the National UN Security Council can recommend cases to the ICC under various conditions including genocide but also crimes against humanities.

So, this type of report and advocacy around this, making use of individuals like special envoys and ambassadors, many countries have them to focus on North Korea, it is certainly something that I think we all should be continuing to do and keeping our eyes on. In addition, of course, outside of the multilateral institution, there is of course bilateral channels. It's always of course quite tricky in this aspect because almost all countries, even those that actually care about human rights issues tend to be overwhelmed by security concerns when it comes to North Korea. And not just military concerns, nuclear concerns, but also economic security concerns, the fear that a destabilization, a collapse of the regime would result in this massive influx of 24 million malnourished North Koreans who have been indoctrinated for so many decades by this regime. It is also complicated by the fact that Asia in particular does not have any strong champions of human rights countries who are willing to speak out outside their borders and at international forums (01:27:39).

South Korea obviously has had its different policies in regards to the North, it's still very much more consumed with security issues than human rights side of it. Japan, which started a few years back having a North Korea Human Rights Week, I think it's overly focused on the abductees and as well as overly focused on the fear that the regime would actually be collapsed, and what it would have to do to support these people. China, of course which is the main enabler of North Korea providing an anywhere estimated 80 percent of food aid to North Korea which is about a half of all the food that North Koreans consume, and an estimated 90 percent of its energy supplies and of course sees North Korea as very handy buffer from a democratic Japan and South Korea does not have a vast of interest in changing the status quo in any way. Nonetheless, it behooves all of us certainly in the human rights community and just the

community of any concerned human being would look at the state of North Korea and be horrified have more work to do to try to push these countries to make human rights as a bigger part of their policy's outreach with the North as our security concerns. So, we have talked for a long time today, I will stop talking now and try to leave some time to engage with the audience.

Dr. Ku: Thank you Paula. We have covered a lot of grounds, the sheer availability of information on North Korea through the works of the North Korea Human Rights Database Center and Freedom House. Interestingly, when Paula mentioned the Freedom House Index Report, North Korea being, on the scale of 100, coming out of two, three points, I was actually the North Korea expert reviewer who gave the one point increase. You should have seen the face of the people around that table of the experts, who looked at me as if I were crazy. And I said, "I am giving a score of one from a zero to one, not because the state had intended or had intentions to improve the human rights, but the lack of the capacity to coerce, meaning the degradation of state in a way created the atmosphere or the space through allowing black markets to emerge, and thereby giving spaces to the individuals. And that's how I gave an increase in human rights score of one point, and still, again, that is two or three points out of a scale of 100 points. Before we open up to the audience for questions, the question I really want to raise is that, Paula and I kind of outlined geopolitical strategic considerations, countries' vested interest that the UN (01:31:17). But why is it, given the special kind of, the unique place North Korea has, because of such tragic and massive violations of human rights, that the international community can't come forward to do more. And that's really, having been in that community, it's a real puzzle to me. And hopefully people around this table and the audience will have a better idea how we can go forward marring (01:31:55) the kind of information we do now have, and the kind of advocacy

that's required to one educate, influence, pressure, and without our (01:32:06), even our own government. Why don't we open the floor for discussion. I will be happy to have questions. If you can raise your hand and have your question mark at the end of what you said, if you can identify yourself, that would be great.

Guest 1: Hi, Good afternoon, thank you all for awesome presentations. My name is Jason Keller. I am from the Committee for Human Rights North Korea. And a two-part question for either Mr. Kim or Ms. Lee. The first is, could you clarify how you differentiated between summary and legal executions? As we all know, there is a huge lack of judicial process of the country, and I was just wondering a clarification on that. Second was, how do you explain the decrease around the early 2000s in violations? Is it also related to the amount of defectors coming in? And that's it. Thank you very much.

I. Kim: Let me give you the first answer to the first question. You asked about what is different between the summary execution and legal executions, is that correct? Legal execution means that there is a need to do legal process, I mean trial, in the place of where the legal execution happens. And there is chief of secretive, secret state agents, and tells the public that what his sin was, and even though it was not done inside of the court, but legal is the part of different type of, you know at least there is a trial. But the summary execution means without that process and probably in the detention facilities, people could be died unexpectedly, died in the course of defect (01:34:38), outside of the detention facilities, shot to kill, and we classify those kind of incidents as the summary execution.

J. Lee: I will answer the second the question. But before I answer the question, would you please repeat your question again?

Keller: And I wonder if for similar reasons, you can explain the decrease in violations beginning in the early 2000s.

J. Lee: You can see that the time period is a little bit different because 1990s and then 2000s to 2005 and 2006 to 2009. So it is not actually a decrease of number of incidents but it is an increase of incidents since the 2000s. And we are still collecting the North Korean defectors, and they keep arriving in South Korea, and so I think we are looking forward to more increase of violations since the 2000s. Is that an answer to your question?

Ku: I saw another hand go up. Over here in the front.

Guest 2 (Sarah Yun, SAIS): Hi, my name is Sarah Yun and I am a student here at SAIS. I have two questions. The first one is, is there a way to successfully (01:36:44) or combine security concerns and human rights concerns. Or is it something that goes on different discussion tables? So, that's my first question. The second question is, has there ever been (01:36:57) North Korean human rights policy that has been successful and improving certain aspects of human rights in North Korea?

Schriefer: On the second one, which is probably the easier one. No, I don't think we have seen successful policy yet. We haven't seen any change other than an increase in violation which

might be because we have an increase of evidence, but the base of the violation has stayed the same. We have not seen in North Korea except any recommendations from time to time it has taken humanitarian assistance more than others, but nothing that is systematically actually changing the infrastructure and institutions that it deals with human rights, so you have certain period where there was less food shortages, less starvation of famine based on the willingness to accept greater food assistance, but that's really the only kind of actual changes we have seen in the behavior of the regime itself. On the security and human rights issues, it's one of the things that if you look at big picture, we try to make the case that human rights are tied to security because human rights ultimately determine the way the regime deals with its neighbors. So, a regime that fundamentally is corrupt that has disdained for human rights and human life including the lives of its own citizens is certainly not going to deal with neighbors and other countries in a straightforward way as well. That is very clearly how the North Korean regime has dealt. It has abducted individuals from other countries that has even quite recently sunk a ship, taking many lives, it fires upon it. Can you solve the security issues separately from the human rights issues, I think it is hard to extract them, but I can understand the temptation because North Korea of course only wants to deal on the security issue because it knows that that is a source of relative power. Without the security threat, it is an incompletely irrelevant country in almost every way other than some of the mineral resources that it offers, which is of course one of the reasons why China remains interested in it. So, they are tied but on the other hand, you can have talks with Korea on nuclear issue and not bring up human rights. We think in long-term, it is detrimental to do so.

Ku: I think there is a report that the U.S.-Korea Institute commissioned to David Hawk. He kind of looks back on how we deal with North Korea the last 20 years, on how we really kind of exclusively dealt with North Korea in the '90s just on the security issues alone. And then the first half of the W. Bush administration, how it was more rhetorical on the human rights, and toward the latter half, it was back to security. And his call in his paper was to now relieve (01:40:25) substantively deal with these two issues simultaneously. Now, critics said you have to talk to them in order to bring up this agenda. And if they are not talking to you, then you are not talking about security or the human rights issues. What I am afraid is that they will begin to dictate the agenda once again when we start talking, and there are a lot of different reasons.

One, North Korea is very good and clever. They are very disciplined in their approach to negotiations. We in a free world have lots of different things on our plates. People in their positions for eight, ten, twelve months, possibly a little bit longer but on their way to another bigger, better position. What we have I think are people who are looking at the trees, not necessarily the forest. North Korea is not the former Soviet Union; when we deal with former Soviet Union, that was an adversary of grandeur. So you had political leaders who were able to see the forests, who were able to see, take a step back, look at the big picture, look at the grand picture, and see, from that kind of relationship came out lots of different policies. Whether it was CSC, the Helsinki Process CSC that institutionalized the OSC, what we have with North Korea is we are in a little boat, we are rowing, and that's called a great framework, three-party talks, or six-party talks. And we are rowing and rowing, and we feel like if we get off, we sink and die. And it is this kind of criticism that I think many people are now coming to some kind of consensus, and say, this notion of one-track diplomacy with North Korea is gonna get us to buy

the same horse again. And I don't have all the answers. But I think we have the skill sets and intelligent people and the right combination of political and policy tools to come up with better, we just haven't seen it yet.

Largely I think it's because of this town the talking heads or the talking are on the same little boat. Now, I may have sounded like the Washington, D.C. kind of gibberish talk, policy talk, but what we are doing is really narrowly focused on North Korea and it's this version of we talk to them for the sake of talking to somehow eventually get to the end of the road with the denuclearization. And this kind of turn of vision with North Korea precludes the discussion and working on many different issues. And there is a hope because I have students coming to me all the time asking about after their graduation, how they can work on these things, and certainly I think in the last ten to fifteen years, if we didn't make any progress at least on the policy side, we may progress on the educational side where we would have a lot of young people who are working on these issues. And this is the part where I want to ask Paula in her various trips to New York and Geneva is that who comes to these meetings asking for pressuring, wanting some kind of North Korean human rights improvements. Are there people? Because it's been my personal experience, where at least on the Korean side, until recently it was the opposite, it was the progressive, who came and make the argument that security is important. We don't know enough about North Korean human rights record, so it was these progressives who went and lobbied various countries to abstain from voting for North Korean human rights resolution. Is that still what you see?

Schriefer: You are right. Remember that of course South Korea itself used to abstain on the resolution and it was really after the work of some of the our delegations and work of some of the other groups that they finally actually got into vote. Yes even the non-binding human rights resolution at the council. Well, okay, it's non-binding. It's still meaning something. That was a shift in policy mentality on behalf of probably the single most potentially influential government on the North, so there has been changes in governments and a little more emphasis on human rights there. That's a positive shift and we just have to keep continuing that. No one is really asking to hear about his at least from the state side at these venues. That's why we have to go there and simply tell them and pester them for meetings and sit-down. Now the special procedures that independent experts are really the strongest advocates within the system and we have fought to maintain the existence of any countries specific with special procedures, which is an ongoing fight at the council, but we have succeeded in doing so, and again North Korea is one of the few countries, and I think it is just an amazing source of information and reporting something that other countries have to take seriously.

Ambassador King: I think it's very helpful to have this kind of discussions and to provide the focus, the attention, the effort, resources into providing the information about what happens, what's going on in North Korea. At the same time, I think it's equally important that we continue this effort of advocacy we find in the Freedom House and other organizations. It plays a very useful role. One of the things about diplomacy. I think one can sum it up very quickly, diplomacy is being able to walk and chew gum at the same time. It's the process of being able to say, yes we have a very major concern with the nuclear issue in North Korea. But at the same time, we need to be concerned about the wellbeing and the welfare of the North Korean people.

And I don't think that they are that separated. I think on the one hand, we need to press ahead on the nuclearization issue. But at the same time, we need to continue to press on the human rights because we are not going to make progress on the nuclearization issue, unless we make progress on human rights. And I think it's the important consideration, unless the North Korea government feels the pressure because of what it's doing on its human rights record, unless the government feels the pressure from its population who are hopefully finding more information about what's going on in elsewhere in the world, knowing what's going on in the world, the government is not going to feel the urgency, the need to responsibility to react and to deal with the nuclear issue as well as with the human rights issue.

I think in terms of the progress that we found in places like the United Nations, it's been extremely helpful and extremely important for the United States and for other countries, South Korea, and Japan, and countries of Western Europe to continue to press North Korea in terms of facing the human rights violations that it faces. One of the concerns with North Korea is the question of its legitimacy. This is the country that can't provide its country food. This is the country where people raise questions about whether in fact it is the legitimate state. For North Korea, participating in the United Nations is an important element. You go through a process like North Korea went through on the universal periodic review where it faces criticisms from a large number of countries. It's a helpful process to do that. It's extremely important for the kinds of things that we have been talking about today, extremely important for documentation and information available to support and back up what's going on in North Korea. And help the kind of information that has the credibility that people can accept and look at. And at the same time, it's important for people to continue to press. Governments need to feel some pressure. This is

the concern that the American people, for example, have about what's going on in North Korea. I appreciate the kinds of things you are doing, and I hope you will keep it up, it's important.

Thanks.

Dr. Ku: Thank you very much. Chairman Kim.

Chairman Kim: I would like to make two points clear here. Until now, I (1:49:46 – 1:49:48) North Korea and their way of handling human rights. It has been largely kind of allegation, (1:49:55 – 1:50:00) but actually they needed little substance to support what they were losing. Now we, NKDB, have been trying to collect the information that treat them unethically through make what would (01:50:23) allegation now to the reality. So, until the last year, there was a lot of speaking (01:50:34) but very little substance. Now, for the particularly last one year, we, the NKDB, we were very proud that we have achieved a lot of things. From now on, we have substance, based on our analysis and the database information, to produce international criminal court. That's one thing. Second thing, I have been monitoring changes inside North Korea for over ten years at the root level.

Now, I was quite convinced that when we are making accusations to North Korea on the basis of human rights violations, their immediate reaction is that that's nonsense, it's a false work by political parties hostile to North Korea. That's what they say immediately. But I have noticed that in fact it was our real blow to them inside. Now they are trying to conceal it. Now, North Korean defectors who are sent back to or returned from China to North Korea today are much better off, compared, which is in North Korea, who were sent back to North Korea five years ago.

One of the drawings I showed you a while ago, there was a punishment where prisoner was tied half way, he couldn't stand up, he can't sit down. This was from former prisoners who were released more than five years ago. Now last and few weeks, I met some prisoners, who were released, rather we can take (01:52:40) three years, they said that they didn't sit.

I have a report of North Korean defectors who were being interrogated in North Korea. These interrogators were whispering something, mentioning that the human rights inspection team is going to come someday and something. So, there are some changes taking place inside North Korea. And, this is not confirmed, but I think it's quite certain that to a correct information, that three years ago, North Korean government has replaced Supreme intendant (01:53: 32) of all prisoners, except for one prisoner in Chungguhri in North Hamgyong. And because of high his rate of the prisoners there, so let's keep up what we are doing. Maybe you think that nothing is happening, but there is a lot of important changes taking place. There are some progress being made even we don't realize immediately. But some changes are taking place, and when we do something like this, we are achieving great impact than we think we do. Thank you.

Dr. Ku: We started a little late, so I am going to take one more question. Again, if there is a question.

Guest 3: Thank you for raising a discussion and presentation. My name is ____ (01:54:36), and I am from Johns Hopkins School of Health. I have two questions actually. So, one is, who is regarded as political criminals and then sent to that kind of prison, and how many are they, if it's possible to know? And the second question is, suppose that it is difficult to take action in South

Korea, even it's more difficult that doing something in the U.S. because of, as you said, political security reason whatever, and what should be the role of South Koreans, and what the South Korean government should do in this situation?

J. Lee: Okay, I will answer the first question. Political criminals are before the 1990s are defined as persons who spoke against Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il, or some small mistake, like someone said a small critique against Kim Il-sung, and they are taken away to political prisoner camps as political criminals. Since the 1990s, they are still political criminals, but this kind of disappearance or this kind of taking away is much conducted than before the 1990s. But after 1990s, people who had access to religion, or people who attempted to defection to South Korea are considered as political criminals. During the interrogation, the main question is, you try to defect into South Korea, or when victims are repatriated into North Korea. That is the main question, or do you have access to religious person or religion. That is the main question, because they consider that is very, this kind of access against the regime.

Dr. Ku: What should and can the South Korean government do?

J. Lee: That is a very tricky one. I think, before the Lee Myung-bak government, the Roh Moo-hyun government did not, it's my thinking, the South Korean government did not talk about human rights issues since Lee Myung-bak government. At first time, they talked about the forced repatriation or something, like during the talk with the Chinese government and President Lee Myung-bak talked about the forced repatriation and other human rights issues. It seems like the new government tried to focus on human rights issues and a lot of South Korean organizations

expect some support from the South Korean government, but actually it turned out that it did not provide proper attention to human rights issue in North Korea. I think the South Korean government more attention to human rights issues connecting with other nuclear issues and other political issues. I am not so sure South Korean government to act like that way. I doubt it.

Ku: Paula, you want to...

Schriefer: Certainly we would like to see the South Korean government raising human rights issues much more publicly and loudly. I would even take that even further and say that, you know, if you remember during the period that they are called Captive Nations in Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union, the extensive efforts that were made to get information into that part of world for people who are hungry for, obviously it's more difficult in the North Korean context given the limited access that people have even to basic devices like radios and etc. But nonetheless, people have them and we know that there is a fairly active black market there. We would love South Korean government playing a much more aggressive role, trying to actually get support and effort to get information into the North either through much stronger, higher frequency in broader range, radio, broadcast, as well as direct outreach, creation of materials that could be smuggled into the North or brought into the North ____ (02:00:19). So, we would like to see it even take a more aggressive approach to really try to reach out directly to, beyond just the government level, but to try to reach the North Korean people in much more extensive way they do.

Ku: Thank you very much. I am sure we can go on and on, but this is a good place to conclude this panel discussion. I want to thank you for on this very patriotic day. It's a holiday for many of you, but I am glad that you came out and had a very fruitful discussion with us. Thank you very much.