



Getting Beyond Politics: Creating Lasting Impact in North Korea

February 4, 2015

12:30 pm – 2:00 pm

Rome Auditorium

1619 Massachusetts Ave. NW

Opening Speaker

Amb. Robert R. King | U.S. Special Envoy for North Korean Human Rights Issues

Moderator

Alexandre Mansourov | Adjunct Professor, John Hopkins SAIS,
Adjunct Professor, Security Studies, Georgetown University

Roundtable Speakers

James Chin-Kyung Kim | Founding President, Pyongyang Univ. of Science and Technology

Corey Gordon | Chief Marketing Officer, Feed the Children

Norman Neureiter | Acting Director, American Assoc. for the Advancement of Science

Randall Spadoni | Senior Regional Advisor for East Asia, World Vision

Jenny Town: On behalf of the US-Korea Institute at SAIS the National Committee on North Korea Feed the Children and the Pyongyang University of Science and Technology, I would like to welcome you to the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. I am Jenny Town, I am the Assistant Director of the US-Korea Institute at SAIS and I am especially pleased to be hosting today's panel discussion.

When I first started working here at USKI, I was actually I was able to meet with a variety of NGOs that are working in North Korea. I was actually quite surprised both at the breadth of the work that is being done and the legacy that many of them have, many have been working there since the famine years in the mid-1990s. In previous years, programs operating in North Korea kept silent about their work so as not to risk upsetting their North Korean partners. While these NGOs were a wealth of information about various aspects of North Korean culture and life, their voices have been missing from public debate which fixates on nuclear weapons and human rights.

I am pleased to see more and more of these NGOs willing and able to talk publicly about what they are doing to help us all better understand the changing landscape in North Korea on the ground.

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There were targets of various segments of North Korean society with ongoing humanitarian, educational, development and scientific exchange programs as we have represented here today despite North Korea's external relations.

I look forward to today's discussions about their programs, both the impact they have had and the challenges they face. Today's panel will be chaired by Dr. Alexandre Mansourov who is an adjunct professor here in Korea Studies at SAIS as well as at Georgetown University and will feature: James Kim the Founder and President of PUST; Corey Gordon from Feed the Children; Norman Neureiter from the American Association for the Advancement of Science; and Randall Spadoni from World Vision. Before we get started, I would like to ask you to please check your cellphones and make sure they are on silent or vibrate. I would also like to thank Trevor Moe from Feed the Children and Keith Luse and Dan Wertz from National Committee on North Korea for their help in organizing this event and of course to Ambassador Robert King for being with us today.

Ambassador King has been the U.S. Special Envoy for North Korea Human Rights since 2009 and has been exceptionally open and supportive of NGO work in North Korea over the years while still keeping a principled stance on the human rights agenda. We really appreciate all of your hard work and I would like to invite you to come and say a few words to open our discussion.

Ambassador King: Thank you very much it is a pleasure to be with you today and particularly to be with this distinguished panel of experts that you are going to be hearing from soon. One of the things that is nice is that the caliber of people who deal with North Korea is very high and it is only the people who are hearty and willing to stick with it that maintain that interest and we appreciate the efforts that they put into this.

The U.S. is very concerned about North Korea on a humanitarian level. We have been concerned about these humanitarian issues in North Korea and the human rights violations that have been taking place in North Korea. We continually demonstrated our concern and care for others, we have major aid programs in many places around the world and North Korea is not an exception. Between 1995 and 2009, the United States provided North Korea with over \$1.3 billion in aid in the form of food and heavy fuel oil. We have been one of the leading contributors in terms of humanitarian assistance of one kind or another to North Korea during this period of time. Since March of 2009, the U.S. has not been heavily involved; we resumed a food aid program in the fall of 2008, the North Koreans terminated that program in early 2009 and then shortly after that tested their second nuclear weapon. We have made efforts since that time to resume dealing with the North Koreans and humanitarian issues, but we have not been successful in terms of doing that.

Because of the difficulty of satisfying the requirements that the U.S. government has for providing assistance in terms of being able to monitor the assistance to North Korea to be sure that it reaches those that it is intended for, and also because of a growing demand for U.S. assistance in other parts of the world places like Syria, Sudan, Ebola affected areas of Africa, we have great difficulty in terms of being able to continue assistance to the North Koreans in the last few years.

North Korea is an authoritarian government, it is ruled by an isolated elite; has a state controlled media with no freedom of speech or press freedom. There is no freedom of religion, there is not transparency in governance; there is no rule of law or mechanism for airing grievances and the country remains one of the most restrictive governments on earth. This makes it very difficult for us to engage with North Korea even when we are dealing with the issue of humanitarian aid. The

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Landmark Report of the United Nations Commission of Inquiry on North Korea Human Rights noted the deplorable use of food by North Korean government as a means of controlling the population. According to the Commission, North Korea's leaders are guilty of knowingly causing prolonged starvation and are responsible for the death of hundreds of thousands of its own people. Whenever we undertake an assistance program on behalf of the United States regardless of the country, we do have to monitor the distribution, we have to be able to assure that the aid is reaching the most vulnerable populations and this is the key aspect that has made it difficult for us to continue assistance to North Korea.

North Koreans have not requested assistance from the United States since 2011 and we have not provided assistance since that time as I mentioned. The one thing that I do want to emphasize is that the need for food, for medical assistance, for technical and educational assistance is still very urgent in North Korea. This is why the individuals from non-government organizations—NGOs—like the ones that are represented here today are so important. They are able to engage with North Korea under different circumstances. North Korea has set up roadblocks on government-to-government cooperation in terms of engagement on humanitarian issues but it is indicated a greater willingness to deal with private organizations and it is not easy to work with the North Korean government. We recognize the value of what these organizations do in terms of providing assistance to North Korea. We also appreciate and recognize the patience and perseverance and long suffering that these people endure to be able to work with the North Koreans to provide the kind of aid that they are able to do.

The United States has made it clear to North Korea that we are open to improved relations if they are willing to take steps to live up to their international obligations and commitments. And we are hopeful that we will be able to work with the North Koreans in terms of making progress in those areas so that we might expand areas of cooperation between our two countries.

We believe that a great deal of benefit results from people-to-people contact which occurs through the provisioning of humanitarian aid such as that that is provided by the private organizations here. We support their efforts to provide the humanitarian aid to the people of North Korea. We recognize the value of the relationships that they are able to establish and maintain with the North Koreans. We urge the North Koreans to honor their international obligations to allow international humanitarian assistance to be provided in a way that allows these organizations to meet their requirements.

I want to thank all of these organizations for their efforts in working with North Korea and indicate that we are willing to do what we can to support those efforts and ultimately we will do whatever we can to encourage and help them in that direction.

Thank you very much for the effort you make; thank you for the progress that you have been able to achieve in very difficult circumstances. Look forward to hearing the discussion with you today and I thank you very much for your attendance and interest here.

Dr. Alexandre Mansourov: Thank you, your Excellency, very much for your opening remarks. The reason why I love Johns Hopkins University is because it offers this academic environment where you can hear both the government perspective on something and you can be exposed to some alternative views. We just heard a view from the top and now it is my pleasure to introduce to you a panel of speakers who will brief you on what is going on, give you their assessment of what is

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going on in North Korea from the bottom up. We are delighted to have today a distinguished panel of speakers. My role is as moderator, again, I am not going to speak much, I will try to do my best to make sure the audience will have as many opportunities to ask questions as possible. Each speaker I would want you to speak only for seven or eight minutes at most because we want to give the audience a chance to probe you with their questions.

We will start with James Kim. This is the gentleman in my opinion, he is the man of legends, he is a legendary person. How many of us have ever built anything in our lives from scratch? This gentleman built a university and this is a huge accomplishment at least in my book because to build a university, a public university, in the desert essentially, not really a desert but, from scratch deserves a lot of credit. This man is the architect, he is the visionary, he is an entrepreneur, exploring the wild, wild west frontier if you wish. It is tremendous what he has been able to accomplish despite all the winds, which were blowing against his efforts. Without further ado I will give the floor to Dr. Kim [applause].

James Kim: Thank you. I cannot speech and sit down. It is a great, great honor to me and I can speak to you especially you are very, very interested about North Korea. Do you know where North Korea is? [laughter]. [In Korean: I just came from Pyongyang last week.] I just come from Pyongyang where so many things you know, everything if you go into the internet and you can understand our university. When you get out, pick up our brochure, the brochure is PUST, Pyongyang University of Science and Technology, if you turn it is Yanbian University of Science and Technology, it is a twin, so one brochure. Inside I have the papers, one paper is from the Annual National Prayer Breakfast Meeting of my speech in 2012 and also another speech from last year, five hundred people, reformation anniversary at the Stuttgart in Deutschland my preaching. You can understand what I am talking.

Anyway, just my dear friend, Robert King said, “in North Korea there is no freedom, no freedom, no freedom, no freedom.” I say I have absolute complete freedom, freedom of love, can you understand? I am always saying I am not a capitalist, I am a communist, I am love-ist, l-o-v-e. When I met the first time Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il, I declared my identities. What is the meaning of loveism? So you can study.

I found when we demonstrate full love, there is no bother. I am actually speaking honestly; I am very much enjoying my freedom in North Korea and China. Two places I built, I am founder of the university in China, opened it now twenty-three years. One of the top universities in China, two thousand seven hundred universities in China they are each five years, they pick up a hundred universities. Our YUST universities included in the hundred universities in China. All our faculties, also Yanbian, Pyongyang University also, you know Pyongyang. Everyone accusing, hating and cursing and so on and so on. But when I demonstrate loveism, Kim Jong Il gave me complete freedom operating the university. Our greatest students until they started we have the first graduated students last year. During our school years in the four years, we are sending our students to Europe—some to Cambridge Universities, Westminster University in London, Uppsala University in Sweden. And so, first time in North Korea they allowed young people to go to further study in the free country. Two years most, and most of them they finished one year. If we have something—integrity—something we can trust each other and these kinds of things we cannot solve by politics, by any kind of _____ [00:17:08] if we really love for people, they can understand love, they trust it. Trust all our faculties, more than over half of them are American, United States of American citizen.

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Most of them one or two exceptions, everyone is Christians, they accept and they gave me freedom. Yanbian University of Science and Technology in China, first chapel government gave us permission of all in China—in the university school have only the chapel in our university. Some day we are freely, anyone want to preach our chapel, come I invite you. Also in North Korea, when Sunday comes, we are singing, we are worshipping, we are reading Bibles, we are praying loudly, we are given freedom. Because they feel we are not their enemies, they are helpers, they are lovers. My time is over now.

Dr. Alexandre Mansourov: Yes. I love the speaker I do not have to exercise any authority to you.

James Kim: I brought about ten minutes about our two universities and our children's work. At this time I would like to thank our Feed the Children, this gentleman (referring to Corey Gordon). He came to North Korea, through our organization I mean it, only one allowed to send food to each door by door to the orphanage. When Corey came, even in just a few days he visited ten orphanages, he came to see, we delivered it door to door. Now we need help, we need a partner. Always say if you see the brochure, *New York Times* reporters ask me, all kinds of big universities, one million square meterse of land, just kind of big universities where does the money come [from]? I will say I have unlimited credit at the Bank of Heaven [laughter]. Bank of Heaven is us through you. I need you, shall we work together? Thank you. [applause]

Dr. Alexandre Mansourov: Thank you very much. We are looking beyond politics, obviously, you may have a lot of questions and I will open the floor for discussion a little bit later. Please keep an open mind because again we are trying to create and find ways how we can create lasting impact in North Korea. When we go to church that is what people tell us, the power of love. Maybe it is that power that can overcome hatred and political differences and create lasting impact. Again I am not an advocate, I am just trying to sensitize you to the need to keep your minds open because there are different ways how we can tackle this.

Now we will hear another perspective from a gentleman who has a lot of experience of humanitarian work on the ground feeding the children and working with the orphanages. A man with a big heart, really big heart Corey Gordon who will talk about his experience. And Corey, I would like you to think about the trajectory, where we are headed, what opportunities may have emerged recently there which did not exist before. What new obstacles, internally and externally, you have to deal with that would be particularly helpful for us. Thank you.

Corey Gordon: Thank you, good afternoon. Feed the Children is a newcomer when it comes to the North Korea scene. Feed the Children is one of the nation's largest non-profit organizations, we are in all fifty U.S. states and twenty countries around the world. It was really through the introduction by a Dr. Ted Yamamori who is on the Board of the Foundation that supports YUST and PUST and a personal invitation from Dr. Kim that we were able to have an opportunity to have our first visit, entree, into North Korea. Frankly North Korea was not a subject that we as an executive team at Feed the Children sat around the boardroom and decided—yep we are going to go into North Korea today. That was not a topic of conversation. However, Dr. Ted being involved with Feed the Children who is now a Board Member said—Feed the Children with the size and scope of your humanitarian relief capabilities especially your logistics abilities and the private sector support that you have would be a great partner for a program in North Korea. Then he said when dealing with the DPRK officials, the North Korean officials one of the biggest concerns is—

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what are your true intentions for coming to that country? Do you have ulterior motives? Why are you really there? Dr. Kim did not have the opportunity to talk about his personal story and I would encourage you to look into it because he has an absolutely amazing powerful personal story where his personal story really provides not only the motivation but the fuel and much of the sincerity of why of the work of PUST.

Dr. Ted said, Corey your personal story is similar not nearly as powerful as this gentleman's, but I was an American G.I. baby abandoned at birth in South Korea so I grew up on the streets of South Korea and then was adopted to the U.S. I had never had an intention to go back to help, but last summer for the first time since I was adopted as a child, we do not really know how old I am, I flew back to South Korea, then from there I flew to Beijing to go into North Korea. In terms of being a surreal experience, it was just amazing, something we had not discussed but it really was an exploratory trip to see how real is the opportunity for us to be able to do work in North Korea. I spent much time talking to other NGOs and other individuals and other organizations who have operated in North Korea to understand the challenges, the issues, the concerns, the struggles, all of that because again, we were new on the scene.

The experience there however was much more positive than I could have ever imagined and in fact the experience was much more positive than even Dr. Kim was surprised by it because the officials allowed to, for some exceptions that are virtually unheard of and most people who operate in North Korea talk about the channels with which you have to operate. They made the exception for me to cross channels—unheard of. In subsequent visits I have been told I have been allowed freedom of travel and access in North Korea unlike anyone else previously has had that opportunity.

As Dr. Kim mentioned, we have started work there and we have shipped now four containers so far, again it is a new program. However we have provided a little over five hundred and seventy-five thousand meals to the children in the orphanages there. In visiting the orphanages, being able to see first hand, there were really a few different reasons. One is to make sure that the food is getting to the place where it is intended. The logistics and political challenges are obviously significant there but we were very clear with the officials that we need to ensure that any food and any product that we take over and we deliver actually gets to the intended destination. One of the stipulations that we set aside and said from the very beginning is that this concept of monitoring and evaluation would have to be there from the beginning. That we not only were going to provide the products as a test, so five hundred and seventy-five thousand meals as a test we wanted to make sure that was actually getting to the children. That is also part of the visit had been to monitor and evaluate the food is actually getting there.

It was also to do a needs assessment. What is really needed? When you are in a country where one out of every three children between the ages of two and five suffer from chronic malnutrition; one out of every four children under the age of five has suffered stunting because of chronic malnutrition the need is real for protein, vitamins, minerals. It was really a matter of trying to assess what is truly needed.

That is what Feed the Children has been doing thus far. I have had just this past year have had a few trips into North Korea again. December I was supposed to have gone because of the Ebola quarantine I did not want to spend twenty-one days in quarantine, so we chose not go do that. We will continue expanding the program working first with the orphanages and then expanding to the schools in the outer lying provinces as well. We started with food product that is fortified in protein,

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vitamins and minerals, each meal providing a day's recommended allowance of those because again it is the nutrients that the children need providing a deworming medicine so as to eliminate the parasites that keep the nutrients from going to the child. Vitamin A, a lot of basic fundamentals, but then expanding beyond that, when you are looking at the trajectory, as Alexandre mentioned, the other aspects of a medicine, medical assistance as needed, the hygiene, personal care type of assistance that is need. But beyond that too we have opportunities by working with PUST and working with the agency that is our official monitor if you will Haedong [ph] is who we work through now and working in conjunction with KEF, Korea Education Fund. We have opportunity to expand into agriculture, animal husbandry and other aspects of what we as an organization do around the world.

Now that is the trajectory in where we are ultimately wanting to go, however we also understand it is very much a step at a time, one step at a time. Haedong [ph] officials have told this to me repeatedly where we will take one-step at a time. They have given us a dispensation thus far to have far more latitude and access in the country than we had anticipated. Again a lot of that has to do with the work that Dr. Kim and PUST have already done. A lot of it has to do with the fact that they believe our intentions at Feed the Children are sincere and the capabilities that we have with the private sector support is also we have the ability to assist there. It has been a frank dialogue, they have asked a lot of hard questions but in turn I have said one of our biggest concerns is that we need to be able to evaluate ourselves, the success of this program. One of the stipulations is that we wish to open an office in North Korea that will be staffed by Feed the Children employees. It is a big commitment for them because that means we would be the only American NGO with actual employees in the country that are not just employees assigned to us if you will and we are not just visiting. Because we want to ensure that when we deliver the food and the resources and we are working with the partners on the ground that we can actually do the monitoring and evaluation, establish the credibility and ensure that the product is delivered where it is intended.

There are definitely some challenges, some significant opportunities that we cannot ignore. While we are cautiously optimistic we have also have had enough counsel from others who have operated there that there are obviously significant risks associated. We take one step at a time knowing that it could be one step forward three steps back, one step forward, two steps back. It can work that way so it is, so again, we are new on the scene we do not consider ourselves to be experts by any stretch of the imagination but given that at Feed the Children our vision is that no child should go to bed hungry and our belief is that that means every child irrespective of where they happen to be born, we have a moral obligation and a missional obligation to continue this work as the door has been opened to us and to see what we can do in this country that has otherwise been so closed as we all know. But there seems to be a glimmer of change and opportunity that we are very much interested in continuing to pursue.

Dr. Alexandre Mansourov: Thank you very much [applause]. What is amazing about this presentation is that there is this notion out there, that the NGOs look at it blind, they are naïve people that are duped by the regime, the regime is so smart that it is skimming around. It is channeling the energy towards the regimes goals and these people we just do not know what they are doing, they are being used by this evil out there. What I learned from Corey's presentation is that these guys know exactly the environment in which they operate. I mean they may be the new kid on the block, but they go inside, they do the needs assessment, they make sure all the monitoring procedures are in place, they evaluate the progress, they make sure there are no diversions. I am sure the degree of success varies from project to project, but they did do their

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homework and they are trying very hard to make sure that their sponsors are happy with their procedures which they are executing on the ground and the clients, the North Koreans are on the same page. Yes he said tough questions are being asked. Nobody wants to deal with anybody with ulterior motives, what is in your head when you go in and they know it and the North Koreans know it. Again, thank you Corey for clearing some of the misconceptions about your work out there.

Now the next speaker will be Randall Spadoni, who is the Senior Regional Advisor for the World Vision U.S. and North Korea Program Director. This is the gentleman, he is the go-to guy, when there is a disaster in North Korea and you do not know what happened, how to provide relief he is the man who will show you the way if you wish. So Randall please, tell us about your on the ground experience in North Korea. Again thinking about the trajectory where it has been, where it is going. What are these new opportunities that you see merging in the past few years which you did not see before. What are those new obstacles both internally and externally that you may have to deal with. I mean the previous presentation clearly told us there is a different degree of access inside the country now as compared to what existed three or five years ago. I mean different degree of freedom for the operators, people who operate inside North Korea and we will probe them on this. What exactly do they mean how different it is and what may be driving it. Randall, please your experience.

Randall Spadoni: Thank you, I do not mean to contradict you but I do not think I am the go to person who will show you the way in the case of an emergency.

Alexandre Mansourov: He is being modest.

Randall Spadoni: And DPRK but there a number of agencies that have responded to humanitarian emergencies in the country for many years and have built up that experience and World Vision is one of those. I work with World Vision, which is an international faith based relief and development organization that works in many countries, has worked in North Korea from the beginning since 1952. We actually started in the Korean Peninsula, Bob Pierce our founder was a humanitarian worker and then a journalist during the Korean War. He started to work with Korean War Orphans in the 1950s and from that expanded the organization to an organization that works with nearly a hundred countries around the world. Obviously with the special place for the Korean Peninsula we have a very strong office in South Korea that started out working with children in South Korea and community development and has transformed over the last sixty years into an organization that is one of our largest supporters for international programming around the world. A very competent organization and continuing to work in North Korea as well.

World Vision really reentered the country in 1994, started engagement, that was at the time when the famine period, the arduous march was just starting to emerge, the news that it was just starting to emerge and we ended up providing humanitarian assistance through the 1990s into the early 2000s. Like a lot of organizations who actually have stuck it out in the country we have adjusted our programming from emergency assistance, which we will still provide occasionally to much more of a development oriented approach. That means working with agriculture in the country, greenhouses, seed, potatoes, training, working with the agricultural scientists in North Korea and scientists in South Korea and China together to produce better quality crops also clean water, working in a number of rural communities digging wells or tapping springs in hills to provide water to rural farming communities. Clean water as you are probably aware is as essential to children's health as calories, as food, as nutrition. We work with producing higher quality, more nutritious crops as well

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as clean water. We also provide humanitarian assistance, we did not provide any last year there was no major typhoon or flooding but we have almost every year before that as the Korean Peninsula has experienced drought or very cold winters, typhoons or floods.

How we work with North Korea? We work through a number of different partners and through those partners work directly with communities, mostly rural communities, universities and the government just like we do in all of the other countries we work with. We work above the board, try to be completely transparent in our motivations and how we work and what our expectations are and are looking for those areas where we can overlap with the communities and government in terms of what we would like to do. For World Vision as with Corey's organization, we are a child focused organization so we are really looking to benefit the children in North Korea and their families. So as much opportunity as we have to do quality work that benefits the children, we try to take advantage of that. It is a very different scale and obviously different operation that we have in other countries. In Asia, for example, we also work in Myanmar, Laos, Vietnam, China, Mongolia, countries with very different kinds of governments, often very different kinds of governments from the U.S. style of government and yet we continue to work with them, continue to work with communities. Myanmar, for example, we have eight hundred and fifty staff and an annual budget of twenty million dollars and have been working there for decades, through all different phases of the government of Myanmar. As Myanmar has been changing these last several years, that has really given us a strong foothold for expanding our work into the frontier areas of the country. We hope to do the same thing with DPRK we have an annual budget there of just around one million dollars a year, almost entirely from private donations, just a handful of different sectors that we work with.

We are a non-resident agency right now, which means that we have to travel into the country regularly. There are a number of resident agencies that work out of the Diplomatic Compound in Pyongyang and they are important partners for us. One benefit of being a non-resident agency is that we have been able to retain staff who have built up experience for many, many years sometimes decades. Whereas a lot of the resident agencies will have someone in there for two years and then they rotate out so that has allowed us to accumulate experience over those years and kind of an institutional experience that not all of the agencies that are resident in the country would have.

I just wanted to mention a couple notes on the landscape, the context in North Korea. Most of you will be familiar with this, but there are a number of different kinds of international organizations that will work in North Korea the United Nations has several. There are six resident non-governmental organizations working in the country and then there are international non-resident organizations like World Vision who will be working there. From what I have seen over the last several years the resident and U.N. agencies are doing relatively well. Their funding is stable, their work is done with high quality but for the non-resident agencies I have not seen as much work. Obviously Feed the Children is an exception, but from the U.S. side, from the European side it is really difficult for agencies to sustain their work inside the country over so many years to sustain their funding, their energy. There are so many other countries around the world where we have more opportunities to work deeply in communities and so for myself and others within World Vision and for other agencies it is a constant process of explaining and re-explaining why we are in the country, how we can work effectively and trying to sustain that motivation. I would hope that we can continue that. I believe that even though we are not humanitarian agencies are not the golden key that is going to unlock North Korea and we have never maintained that but we have an important role. By operating there we build up our own experience, working with DPRK we build up relationships. We also build up a cadre of individuals and institutions within North Korea who

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are experienced in working with international organizations, who understand our standards and expectations, who have traveled out of the country. We have had trips to see our work in Laos and Vietnam and Thailand and I think that will be very critical not only for effective work now, but also for the future. Also I believe that we can contribute to changing the narrative within the DPRK as well as we work in these real communities as we work with mid-level government actors and academics in the country. They start to build relationships and see something that may be different from what they expected. Just as Feed the Children goes into North Korea and World Vision we also encounter things that we did not expect and we learn from that. I believe that is really critical for doing good quality work now but also for the future.

Last thing is, I just mentioned something that you probably are all aware of but it is not always the case, always widely known. North Korea is not in the middle of a famine right now. There is no widespread humanitarian emergency inside the country, there has not been for years. The food situation there is not great, but it is in general stabilized. There are a few exceptions, 2011 and 2007 some larger emergencies there, but for the most part there are very low levels of acute malnutrition in the country. Obviously still, a major issue with chronic malnutrition with children and I believe Feed the Children is absolutely right to be working with the most vulnerable children in the country and providing not just calories, but protein and vitamins. Because those are the most important things in terms of food these days. In general there is enough grain in the country to feed most of the population, not evenly, but protein and nutrition really is deficient in children and that is a major problem.

I just want to note that the new update from the FAO was just released, it looks like the food production from 2014 was not an improvement over the previous two years which was a change in the trend, it was about the same as 2013 or 2012. Despite the drought last year the overall food situation in terms of grain in particular appears to be alright this year and that is a good thing for the people of North Korea. Thank you.

Alexandre Mansourov: Thank you very much [applause]. It is interesting the question for today's panel really is creating lasting impact. How do you create lasting impact in North Korea when you go beyond politics. As I hear this presentation what comes to mind is it is hard to change the mind of I do not know, a sixty-year-old gentleman or lady or seventy-year-old person but it is probably fairly easy to do it if you deal with a child. If you feed the child, if you save that child's life, if you focus your efforts on a child's well-being if you focus your efforts on education whether high school or university education we are changing the narrative, as you said. Now it is the Americans who are out there helping feed those starving children who used to starve but are no longer starving. Changing expectations about the United States so that is probably one way how we can make this lasting impact in North Korea.

The final speaker today will be the Acting Director of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Norman Neureiter.

Norman Neureiter: Thank you so much. What a pleasure to be here. What we have all been talking about is some sort of peaceful constructive engagement with North Korea. I represent the School of Science Diplomacy in other words where we use science cooperation, active cooperation doing some scientific projects together with people as a way of engaging them in a peaceful and constructive way.

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Actually my first visit to North Korea was to visit the dedication of Dr. Kim's university and I am telling you I was blown away, seventeen-building university out there on some land that was given to them by Kim Jong Il. And buildings waiting to be filled by students and a plan for two hundred that first year which has now grown I think to six hundred, it is really an amazing experience and something you all ought to find a chance to visit.

When I went to their first international conference, they have had two so far, I missed the second one. But at the first one to see David Hilmers an American astronaut who has been four times into space on the space shuttle talk to two hundred North Korean elite kids about his vision in space in the English language, which they teach in the school that is unbelievable. So I had a great impression and that stirred me about doing some more things in North Korea in science cooperation. That is how we came in touch with an organization called Pentec they have some long name involving collecting information on science and economy. But they called themselves an NGO. And through that NGO and some cooperation with an organization in China they wanted to do a seminar, an international seminar, it was to be an American-North Korean seminar but they called it an international seminar on Restoration of Forest and Landscape. Forestation is a huge problem in the country and landscape and the way they are treated soil and so on. I said okay I think we can do that. Now the downside of working with North Korea is you have to find the money because they do not pay for anything you have to pay for it. But we did get a grant from someone and then they were going to have eighty scientists, we were allowed to have fifteen, they do not like Americans very much, so we were only allowed to have five Americans and then one was a Chinese and the other nine were Europeans. We had a fantastic week, three days of sessions, simultaneously translated, printed, the slides and so on printed, and the tags printed in two languages and distributed later as a book which is about that big. It was a huge success and a field trip out to a collective farm up to Myohyang, the mountain resort and the gifts from around the world to the leaders. But again, real interaction between the scientific communities of two countries. Now not many Americans or Europeans speak Korean and that is a problem. Anyway, we got through it with interpretation. That went very well.

Now some of you may remember that between 2000 and 2006, that volcanic mountain on the border with China was having a series of earthquakes around it. In other words there was a little trembling. Now, a thousand years ago, that had been one of the largest releases of material in the history of volcanoes in that part of the world.

Alexandre Mansourov: We are talking about Paektu-san, Mount Paektu the cradle of the North Korean revolution just think about if it had erupted when all these revolutionary sites would have been wiped out. I mean, that is where the Kim Dynasty is coming from so it would have been a disaster.

Norman Neureiter: You set the perfect stage for it and that is why they came to one of our media people who was interacting with them and saying do you know any seismologist and volcanologist who would like to work on this project. Well again a very long story putting it together but we did take on the project. We found we could not use American scientists, they did not want American scientists wandering around the border of China on the North Korean side. We found a volcanologist and a seismologist in the UK one from Cambridge and one from Imperial College. It has been painful and hard but we have actually laid six seismometers around the mountain and we have been taking data now for a year and a half. It is complicated, they were going to transmit the data every quarter and send it to us and that did not work so people have to go back to get the disc

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and sometimes the machines do not work and sometimes they adjust them wrong. We actually have data and if it had not been for Ebola there would be four North Korean scientists in London, right now, processing the data from those experiments and analyzing the forty odd pounds of rocks that we have taken away as samples to be analyzed. The analysis is important because they dug down twenty feet and they actually took some of the pumice layer, some of the emission which came out when that volcano erupted a thousand years ago between 940 A.D. and 930 A.D. supposedly. We still hope that will happen in March and we are crossing our fingers every day but one day the man has stomach cancer and cannot come, the next day the other person has a broken leg and cannot make it and so on. Then suddenly they can and we are waiting right now for that plane to take off and bring those scientists.

We also had to get export licenses from both the UK and from the United States to take that equipment into China and Bob this is where your group there and the State Department was very helpful to us but we also have a limit on that and we have to have it out of there. We have a year's extension so it will have been two years, but we have to get it out of there by September thirty so that means we have to get back in and then take this equipment out. In fact there actually was an American Graduate student at Imperial College who participated in working on those and collecting those rocks and so on.

Anyway it is kind of an amazing thing, they are looking forward for publications and that actually fits in very well with another thing which just happened. We went to the book fair, one of our representatives went to the book fair which they have every two years so that they can collect a lot of books, in this case science books, free because you take a bunch of books and you leave them there. You display them and then you leave them there. At that meeting our representative was Richard Stone, some of you may know him. Richard Stone went and he met a very high official who was supposedly over science and education in the government in the ruling structure. He said you have to teach us how our students, our brightest students, how to write articles for western scientific journals and Rich said sure. The next day he produced four university deans and presidents and Rich gave them a lecture and he said now you must come and teach our brightest students and that in fact is scheduled for March. We will go back with an expert on writing and publications from science magazine and we will hopefully go there and have 'the brightest students from Kim Chaek, Kim Il Sung and two other universities and talk to them about how you publish in western journals.

It has been a very interesting experience, there are always problems, but in fact we have been able by talking to them, by working with them and showing that we are really interested in joint results. This is real cooperation, we think we made progress and we hope to continue it. I know in fact if there were more opportunities for financing these things, if there were a chance of getting more grants there are many more things that we could do. That in a way is a challenge for those of you who are interested in funding things like this. That will do it for now, thank you [applause].

Alexandre Mansourov: Thank you very much [applause]. Amazing isn't it? With that, let us have a little discussion here but before we do I want to clear the air and ask our participants one question, exercising my privilege as the moderator. That is, there is a lot of misperception that the U.S. Government is out there really trying to hunt you down, trying to block everything you do, talk about sanctions and all these proportionate responses. Nobody talks about engagement, everybody is waiting for the collapse, I mean set the record straight—what is really—is the U.S. government helpful or hurtful to your efforts? You just made an important point that without the cooperation

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with Bob and with the State Department nothing would have been possible with what you are doing. Again, I do not want to put words in your mouth, but please just share with us a few stories with your kind of assessment, throw of the U.S. government in your efforts. I understand you are all independent, you are all responsible to your own shareholders and funders, but is the government hurting your efforts or helping you?

Norman Neureiter: I think Ambassador King will not be offended if I say sometimes you are a help and sometimes you are a hindrance so it is not a hundred percent [laughter]. What I found is that, and you said this publicly in your speech at the Wilson Center, you do believe in engagement, you want to see peaceful constructive engagement. And science—provided it does not violate this law, does not give this secret, does not interfere with these sanctions and so on you like to see that happen. You are constrained in your ability to do that for some of these various reasons and laws and sanctions and so on which get passed.

There are very reasonable people and if you are honest with them and tell them the truth and so on and the interesting thing is we actually had to make an agreement with the North Korean government but they would not sign it with the United States. So we had to get the Royal Society to team up with these universities and make the agreement and then we have an agreement between the Royal Society and AAAS my association where I work. These things are very complicated and we are placing some severe limitations on these things because of our regulations and laws and so forth.

Alexandre Mansourov: Corey.

Corey Gordon: Unlike Norman, we do not have some of the limitations in terms of science because our focus is purely humanitarian. In that case, the sanctions currently in place really do not preclude a ton of our work. Ambassador King has been very supportive of us of our engagement actually from the very beginning, before I even accepted Dr. Kim's invitation to come to North Korea I wanted to make sure Bob would get me out if I got detained. I visited him first, but he said....

Unidentified Male: A whole two years.

Corey Gordon: He said absolutely no problem Corey I will get you out. The reality is that we met with Ambassador King and his team and I have had quite a number of dialogues and opened up the doors for us to meet with Secretary Kerry. In fact a year ago at the National Prayer Breakfast last year we met with the Secretary as well and so from the U.S. government side we obviously have had to do our due diligence and just go through the steps to make sure that it was very clear what our intentions were within our home country. We have actually received considerable support but what actually surprised me was not just the support but also the encouragement. In fact, first meeting said if you have this door open to you I would encourage you to take it because it is a unique opportunity for American NGO of your size and scope to be able to do this and if this opportunity to be successful there but the need is truly there to be able to assist. We have obviously gotten a great deal of support.

Alexandre Mansourov: Randall.

Randall Spadoni: I agree with my colleagues here I just say that internationally whenever action is taken on North Korea there usually is the provision that humanitarian work is an exception and will try to be protected. Obviously sanctions and other actions by the United Nations and other governments do affect humanitarian work but there are usually people we can work with to try to maintain our access. I will leave it with that.

Alexandre Mansourov: Mr. Kim, there is this impression that you are running out there like a loose cannon, shooting all the flying geese with your own volition. What is your assessment of the U.S. government? Is it helping? Hurting? Or is it really indifferent to what you are doing?

James Kim: Would you bring that 2014 report for children's work. Bring one, bring one. Anyway, we have a detailed report for the children's work which orphanage, how many children and what kind of food we brought and so on. I think we need that kind of report I think we only have that report in North Korean history supporting the orphanage. Really when I go to see the orphanage I am crying and crying and crying. In Africa, they have a freedom to starvation, they have freedom to move but this country they have no freedom in some sense. Anyway, I think seeing is believing, today I brought some USB but no time, about ten minutes, USB, so if you really have an interest about helping North Korea let me know. Before you go you can get some more material, I will give you my business card and so on. Today, I really see some kind of hope, really our United States of America is a great, great country, how can our enemy be supporting, during the Korean War also. You are the really _____ [00:59:42] our country in some sense. A lot of things I would like to tell you, I like to invite all of you, some sense if you want to come to take just spare one week, you must come to our university in China about three days and see what it is in China. Our university is on the border of Russia and North Korea and see then you can move one and a half hour from Beijing to Pyongyang, you see Pyongyang, so what you want to see I think it can be opened for you. I really thank you very much, merci beaucoup, danke schoen, everything.

Alexandre Mansourov: The bottom line is if you do your due diligence, if you do not have ulterior motives, then the U.S. government will be on your side. They will watch your back, they will make sure if you get in trouble, they will take care of you, but do not get in trouble. Now I will open the floor to discussion and the first question goes to the Board Member of one of the sponsors of this panel, it is National Committee of North Korea, Scott, please Scott Snyder, he is a good friend of all the NGOs. One of the path-breaking books on the NGO work in North Korea was written by Scott, it is called *NGOs' Engagement with North Korea*. He published it when nobody else really knew that NGOs were doing anything in North Korea. Scott, please.

Scott Snyder: Thank you Sasha, I think this is very instructive and in some ways a very inspirational panel. It definitely shows, I think it shows entrepreneurship and persistence in action. The question I have for the panel is basically—do you have some stories about individual cases where you think that North Korean individuals have changed their minds or learned something new about the world through the work that you have done in North Korea?

Alexandre Mansourov: Thank you, who would like to, anybody?

Norman Neureiter: Specific examples no, but let me tell you and I have not been on one the trips, Rich Stone has gone on two of those trips up into the snow. When you are sitting there with someone and you are trying to extract something from this and you are going to take it up and so on, when you are making sure that those seismometers work people recognize something different. You

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are having an impact on those people there is just no doubt about it. When you look at those students at PUST you have had an impact on them in some way. They do not rush and tell you, but you just know that you are having an impact.

Let me just mention one other person in the audience here, Linda Staheli, she has been a pioneer for a decade in doing science cooperation through an organization called CRDF [Global] and a conglomeration of five institutions: Syracuse University, ourselves and so on. Linda you might say, have you changed anybody because you have been to the academy of sciences at least twice now, you are doing some work with them on English language. Do you want to say something?

Linda Staheli: We are working with you and others to try to bring the North Koreans into the ____ [01:03:35].

Norman Neureiter: Honestly it does have an affect n the individual there is no doubt about it.

Alexandre Mansourov: Okay, Corey.

Corey Gordon: Again, we are the newcomers, we are the new kids on the block, so we do not have the length of time. I will actually talk in terms of specific stories, most of my dialogue has been with officials up to this point the DPRK officials. The personal stories really I think are more from students at PUST. I have had the opportunity to be at PUST on a number of occasions now, and sitting down and having lunch with the students, you are talking about twenty-one, twenty-two year old elite students, highly intelligent kids. Listening to them talk and ask the questions that they ask is very intriguing simply because by the nature of the questions they are asking you can tell their mind is being forced to think differently because they are sitting at PUST in an English immersion curriculum and being taught by professors who are not being paid to be there. In the university setting that is what I think the most intriguing conversations on an individual basis have taken place simply because the thought processes. And the way the students are working through their questions and answers is obvious that in some ways what they are encountering and the discussions they are having is actually quite different from what they may have otherwise previously believed.

Alexandre Mansourov: Interesting. I see the hand out there. Once when I visited North Korea I asked the question to my interlocutor. She kept talking about this volcano, Mount Paektu, and I fully expected though this revolutionary kind of explanation but I was surprised when she asked me in return whether I knew when the Kingdom of Silla collapsed. I mean does anybody here know the history of Korea? When did the Kingdom of Silla collapse?

Unidentified Male: 930s [AD].

Alexandre Mansourov: Nine thirty-five, 940 AD. When did the volcano erupt?

Norman Neureiter: 940 [AD].

Alexandre Mansourov: 940 [AD]. So you would never expect that the North Koreans would make that kind of connection between the next eruption of a volcano once in a thousand years and the collapse of a dynasty, which lasted for three hundred years that they are related. Of course we do not have the power to stop the eruption of Mount Paektu if it happens, it happens, but it is

interesting how the mind works, fascinating. Catherine please, could you wait for the microphone please.

Katharine Moon: Thank you Sasha, Kathy Moon from Brookings. A question regarding the impact of work. I have two questions—one is—what are the possibilities of trying to get women, North Korean women into the PUST classes. Because we are talking about these students learning but I came in a little bit late, I do not know if it was made clear it is men and it is the North Korean government that has not permitted women to be included. I am curious if there is any conversation, pressure, diplomatic pressure to that extent. Second is related to the role of the U.S. government to what extent does your work with lower to middle level officials on a regular basis translate into possibly understanding that the U.S. is not as aggressive or in opposition to North Korea as the North Korean state rhetoric often presents the relationship to be. Because on the strategic level we know it is not good and yet you are giving us a picture of good cooperation and collaboration. What are the chances of North Koreans trying to translate that into higher politics?

Alexandre Mansourov: Thank you.

James Kim: Well, Pyongyang University we do not have any female students, only male students, but this year we are going to accept female students. I can tell you something North Korean philosophy about the woman, you are very lucky you were born in the United States [laughter]. Anyway this year we are opening medical school and dental schools and pharmaceutical schools and public health schools and nursing schools, five kinds of medical science schools are opening. This time the government allowed, give permission to recruit female students. Now, if you want to come to our university, we cannot accept any foreign students still.

Alexandre Mansourov: So women will be allowed?

James Kim: Now we can go to select woman students, and the other question, I am not quite with you but...

Alexandre Mansourov: Actually that was quite an aberration because North Korea is not so...

James Kim: There's a professor of our university.

Alexandre Mansourov: Please.

Norma Nichols: I am going to stand around so that I can turn around so I can see your faces as I speak. I work with the students and I know the students and I want to go back and answer that question before about the impact that Americans are having on the work that goes on there. I am also the one who handles a lot of the human resources, meaning that applications from teachers come through me. We have been told that we will not be allowed to have all of the American teachers that we would like to have and I think about this and I think I know the reason. The American teachers are the ones that are the most popular with the students that is a part of it, but another part of it, they are the ones who are the most effective. Many of the professors who come from other places are, rather, to use a good American term, standoffish. The Americans are very open and accepting and hit has made an impact. Now this is the way the students receive people but then you see the administration people are the ones who are making the decisions so we are being limited on that.

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Now going back to the business about the women students, one of the reasons why we do not have women now is because when we were building the plant, building the original plant we had so much space that was allowed for dormitories. North Korea would not allow women and men to live in the same dormitory, we did not have enough dormitory space. We had to build another dormitory before we could take on these women. It is a new story now however with the health sciences. When the health sciences department opens we are going to be having many other kinds of education, it will not be a traditional come in and get your degree kind of thing because with the medical sciences we have discovered that many of the people have the basic education, they do not have the clinical training. What we are doing in the very beginning, as we try to get this set up, we are going to be providing clinical training. So in a sense it is almost like community education and these people will be coming in from outside, they will not be as the regular students. Maybe that helps answer a little bit more both of those questions.

Alexandre Mansourov: Yes, thank you very much. Of course when I used to study at Kim Il Sung University, our dormitory, all males they lived on the second floor, females on the third floor. The lack of buildings was not a problem and we could freely cross from the second floor to the third floor and back and forth. The role of women in the North Korean society today clearly is expanding. The North Korean Army is being feminized if you wish. If you look at the markets who is the dominant force there? It is the women. And even the leadership is forced now to pay increasing attention to the needs of women. Just count how many times Kim Jong Un visited the kindergartens and nurseries and orphanages and all these factories producing daily necessities for women not for men. I do not know if it is the impact of his spouse; whether it is the exposure to the world; whatever the dynamic there clearly the role of women in the North Korean society is expanding and PUST is catching up with this. And I am sure a year or two from now you will have a very solid female student body at that university. There was another question, but before we go there, there was a second question, mid-level officials, government officials in the North whether you saw any change there in terms of their attitudes to the U.S. government if that is correct.

Norman Neureiter: I personally have not seen any.

Alexandre Mansourov: Okay let us go to further questions.

Randall Spadoni: I can respond to that very quickly.

Alexandre Mansourov: Oh you can.

Randall Spadoni: I do not know if it will be a very satisfying answer. We have partnered with the U.S. government in the past and implemented USAID programming. In general we do not represent ourselves as representing the American people or any of the other countries that provide donations for us, we represent ourselves as governments, institutions and individuals from around the world expressing care for the people of North Korea. We try to act with integrity and quality at work and care that represents our organization and our donors well. I do not think in particular our North Korean counterparts have seen us representing Americans, but I will say that World Vision provides the opportunity for many Americans including myself to visit the country and to live in the country. We have had four Americans living there, several Americans living there in 2008 and 2009, full time interacting with people, interacting with community long term, revisiting communities, developing relationships. I believe that there are some things that have been

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established there and some kind of link with Americans even if we are not an American organization.

Alexandre Mansourov: Now we have one hardball question and Marcus it is coming from you. I mean I see you wanting to ask the question, what is it? It must have been answered. The gentleman in the back, yes please.

Unidentified Male: Thank you I will try a hardball question.

Alexandre Mansourov: Go ahead.

Unidentified Male: But it is very short and it is for Dr. Kim. I know that in order to accomplish what you have it has taken a lot of finesse in working with the government and education could be seen as smoothing that is fairly innocuous. In the event, even if it is difficult to fathom, of a change in leadership, would you worry that your proximity to the regime may actually leave you out in the cold given the Kim Jong Il statute in the center of the campus for example and other things. Would you worry that if there was ever a true opening or a change in North Korea that the work that PUST has done or the relationships that PUST has cultivated could leave it with some kind of baggage?

James Kim: Well, very simple question, simple answer. I do not worry at all, I just trust in God.

Alexandre Mansourov: Excellent. Yes certainly [laughter]. Look I mean we have lived in this country through so many changes in government but institutions like American University they still stand whether it is Harvard or Johns Hopkins it does not matter who is in the White House this institution will be around. In North Korea they may change the name, if there is this dramatic regime change, but the institution will still be there, the academic institution. Yes, sir, please.

Unidentified Male: The title of this panel is, "Getting Beyond Politics." I am a political scientist, I am going to bring the politics back in.

Alexandre Mansourov: Please do not because we are not going beyond the politics, we do not want it to be politics. [laughter]

Unidentified Male: It touches on Kathy Moon's question also a political scientist. Do you see your work in North Korea as changing the political climate inside the country whether intentionally or not. More broadly do you see your work perhaps changing the political climate between the United States and North Korea?

James Kim: I do not think that is a very simple answer. I do not think they can change their policy or politics anything, because North Korea is ruling by Head of State is dead ghost, Kim Il Sung. Party Chairman is Kim Jong Il forever. Military command is Kim Jong Il forever. All government decision maker is dead ghost, and dead ghost cannot change.

Alexandre Mansourov: What was important that was said here is that remember Dr. Kim talked about freedom that he can do pretty much anything he wants, he can say pretty much anything he wants. He just made a blasphemy in terms of North Korean ideology and still he can get away with this, he still can go back to North Korea and teach his students the curriculum despite saying what he just said. That is I guess what he meant when he said that he has this unprecedented

freedom of instruction in the North. He is pushing the envelope, I must tell you [laughter]. Now who is next? Any other? Yes please.

Unidentified Female: I actually have a question for Ambassador King. What are the next steps after a Security Council failure to refer the Korean situation to the International Criminal Court?

Alexandre Mansourov: May I take this question? Because we are looking beyond politics, we really do not want to politicize this and we do not want to put anybody on the spot. So we will understand if Ambassador King decides not to take this question and I will apologize on his behalf. It will be up to you sir.

Amb. Robert King: You are focused on beyond politics and this is politics. We will see what happens. The fact that the Security Council has on its agenda as a standing item the issue of North Korean Human Rights means that this is an issue that will continue to come up. There was no referral because it would not make it out of the Security Council but that does not mean that the threat of a referral is something that is useful and helpful in this situation. This is politics and we want to get beyond that.

Alexandre Mansourov: Yes, thank you, thank you sir. Yes please.

Unidentified Male: I am interested in other nations that have also philanthropic activities—Germany, China, France, and so on. Can you address those, what magnitude are they? What kind of needs are they meeting? Then a subtle question—to what extent does this open the minds of the leadership to more engagement with the world community?

Randall Spadoni: I will take that. I think there is engagement from many different countries especially European countries not on the level that you would see in other nations like Cambodia might have just about everyone working there. In North Korea it is a smaller set and a lot of the work of European agencies comes through, the six resident non-governmental organizations that are in North Korea and those represent a variety of countries—Ireland, Germany, France, Italy. Then some semi-governmental organizations like the Swiss Development Corporation. Those are the main actors on the ground, mostly receiving support from the European governments and private donors. From what I have seen their work is excellent, they are working in longer term development—clean water; nutrition; food security and generally under the radar so I would encourage you, you can take all look at the UNDP website it lists profiles of all the different resident and non-resident organizations that are working there. From World Vision's perspective we received actually the majority of our funding from countries in East Asia—Taiwan, South Korea, Japan even, Singapore, Hong Kong, Australia and then also Canada and the U.S. We tend to have much more of a presence from East Asia, the Taiwanese government has helped us deliver humanitarian aid in the past.

Alexandre Mansourov: Okay. Which actually raises an interesting question whether there are any opportunities for the U.S. NGOs to collaborate with the South Korean NGOs when you try to engage the North or is it a separate track all together and the North is just so adamant that they are opposed to it and it is like North/South relationship is completely follows its own track.

Randall Spadoni: Can I just mention that.

Alexandre Mansourov: Yes.

Randall Spadoni: I left out the South Korean organizations and maybe you can just consider those domestic organizations in the Korean Peninsula. But obviously there is a lot of work going on there. But North Korea does provide a pretty strict separation between the work of South Korean organizations, international organizations for World Vision, we are one and it is very difficult for us to operate through the same partners are our South Korean office does.

James Kim: I will tell you that very clearly if our international organization going to cooperate with the South Korean organization very, very difficult more difficult than you get into North Korea. North Korea they hate South Korea more than any other country [laughter].

Alexandre Mansourov: Unfortunately and that is the unfortunate reality and that is why we need you to preach love, not hate, in the North. The final question and I will take the privilege to ask it is—you talked about some gains on the ground, which you were able to see and that is a greater degree of access, the ability to monitor the distribution of whatever aid you provide. This cross bureaucratic boundaries channeling. My question is—is there any way to institutionalize those gains? Or are they still ad hoc only for your particular organization and everybody else who comes in they have to start from scratch kind of rediscovering North Korea, reinventing the bicycle. Or is there any way to institutionalize, make sure that the next guy who comes in he will not have to climb over that wall again but this will be a new practice established and the North Koreans will agree to it if anybody wants to take this.

Corey Gordon: The conversations with the top officials of Haedong [ph] probably would shed some insights and the answer is really a little bit of both. Clearly Feed the Children has been able to piggyback and leverage the work that PUST has done. Not just beyond the invitation to come there in the beginning but some of the dialogue and the doors that have opened because of the work that Dr. Kim and his team in PUST have been able to accomplish over the past number of years. However, they have also been very clear that this is not set a precedent for okay now this is the new level of engagement that organizations are now going to be able to achieve going forward. The fact that we are working with Haedong and able to cut across all channels that is not clearly not institutionalized ahead of Haedong. I met with him and his top person, very clear that will not happen. We are doing this, now it is your turn to see what step you will take and then we will take a step and then it will be your turn to take a step. Clearly they are not ready to institutionalize even though there was an opportunity to piggyback. So if you will, the door was opened and some favor was granted because of the work that Dr. Kim has been able to establish but it was very, very clear that the first conversation we open the door now where you go from here will be up to you. Even to the point where they said we will allow you to come back, but we want you to know and to his point of how very clear, a South Korean citizen, a Japanese citizen, a White American male citizen very difficult.

Alexandre Mansourov: What I hear is they are not crazy, they are not irrational, they are not stupid, I mean they are rational, very pragmatic. They know their interests and they are very tough and they push very hard and so you have to do your homework and be prepared to fight it out. It is Korea after all, whether it is the North or the South it is Korea. On this note, let me thank our sponsors, it is the Pyongyang University of Science and Technology; it is the U.S.-Korea Institute here at SAIS; it is the National Committee on North Korea as well as Feed the Children and World

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Vision for their efforts to put this panel together. Let me thank his Excellency Ambassador King for his marvelous presentation, Jenny Town from SAIS and Jae Ku, Director of U.S.-Korean Students for helping us organize this event. Of course you the audience, without your inquisitive questions this panel would not have been as interesting and as exciting as it was. Thank you very much everybody [applause].