

2018 HUFs
International Summer Session

**NORTH KOREAN
HUMAN RIGHTS:
DIPLOMACY,
DOCUMENTATION,
AND ADVOCACY**

Tuesday, July 31, 2018
17:30–19:30



107Imun-Ro, Dongdaemun-Gu, Seoul, Republic of Korea
HANKUK UNIVERSITY OF FOREIGN STUDIES

PROGRAM

Date: Tuesday, July 31, 2018

Venue: Main Conference Hall, Cyber Building, HUFs

1. Opening of Ceremony ----- Greg Scarlatoiu
Moderator
Executive Director, HRNK

2. Keynote Speech ----- H.E. Jung-Hoon Lee
Professor and Director, Yonsei University Center for Human Liberty
Former Ambassador for North Korean Human Rights,
“Human Rights and North Korea Diplomacy”

3. Speakers -----Signe Poulsen
Representative, UN Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights (Seoul)
“UN Efforts on Documentation and Accountability”

Kwang-jin Kim
Senior Researcher, ROK Institute for National Security Strategy
“The Current State of North Korea”

Gwang-il Jung
Political Prison Camp Survivor
Director and Founder, NoChain for North Korea
“Sending Information into North Korea: Problems and Prospects”

Sang-hak Park
Chairman, Fighters for a Free North Korea
“The Current State of North Korean Human Rights Advocacy”

Amanda Mortwedt Oh
Human Rights Attorney, HRNK
“Using Satellite Imagery to Investigate Crimes against Humanity”

Raymond Ha
HRNK Editorial Consultant/Stanford University
“The HRNK Experience”
Korean-English Interpretation

4. Q & A Session -----Moderator

5. Closing of Ceremony -----Moderator

6. Commemorative Photography

The North Korean Human Rights Situation

In 2018, the world witnessed an unprecedented and unexpected flurry of inter-Korean, US-North Korean, and Sino-North Korean summit diplomacy. Is the Korean peninsula on the brink of dramatic transformation? Is there new hope for inter-Korean reconciliation, peace, unification, and a better life for the Korean people living in the north? Or is it déjà vu, and will the Korean peninsula just return to the status quo ante? As difficult as resolving the tough political, security, and military issues may be, the North Korean human rights conundrum is no less of a challenge. What is the current state of human rights in North Korea? What initiatives are needed to bring freedom, human rights, and prosperity to the people of North Korea? The presidents of South Korea and the United States have changed the status quo. After many years, we finally see movement on Korean peninsula issues. The challenge will be to channel that movement. For three decades, North Korean human rights have been sacrificed on the altar of critical military and security issues. Would factoring in human rights at last be the key to solving the North Korean conundrum? The conference speakers will endeavor to address this question.

For almost 70 years, North Korea's human rights record has been abysmal. Almost thirty years after the collapse of communism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, North Korea's Kim regime has maintained its absolute grip on power, while accomplishing two hereditary transmissions of power: from Kim Il-sung to Kim Jong-il in July 1994, and from Kim Jong-il to Kim Jong-un in December 2011. The primary strategic objective of the Kim regime continues to be its own self-preservation, regardless of the toll on the North Korean people's fundamental human rights.

Although North Korea is bound, as a UN member state, by the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, and although it is a party to the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, the *International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights*, the *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, the *Genocide Convention*, and the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*, each and every conceivable human right continues to be violated in that country. In the year 2017, North Korea remains the only country on the face of the planet that is running a political prison camp system. Up to 120,000 men, women, and children continue to be brutally persecuted behind the barbed wire fences of North Korea's political prison camps, subjected to unrelenting induced malnutrition, forced labor, torture, sexual violence as well as public and secret executions. Those suspected of being disloyal to the regime, of being, from the regime's viewpoint, *wrong-thinkers*, *wrong-doers*, of possessing *wrong knowledge*, of having engaged in *wrong associations*, or of coming from the *wrong family background*, are subjected to extrajudicial arrest and detention, often together with members of three generations of their families. They are held in North Korea's *hidden gulag* indefinitely, in most cases without charge or hope for recourse.

In the year 2018, pursuant to *songbun*—a system of social discrimination established in the 1950s—the people of North Korea continue to be divided into three social categories and 51 subcategories, based on their degree of loyalty to the regime, and on the perceived allegiance of their parents and grandparents. Their access to food, jobs, and any type of opportunity continues to depend on their social classification. In the mid- to late-1990s, as up to three million North Koreans starved to death, the Kim regime continued to invest in the development of its ballistic missile and nuclear weapon programs, and purchased dozens of jet fighters.

Human Rights Trends under the Kim Jong-un Regime

The human rights situation has deteriorated under the Kim Jong-un regime. Three trends stand out in particular: 1) an aggressive crackdown on attempted defections—the number of North Korean escapees arriving in South Korea declined by over 50% from 2011 to 2018; 2) an aggressive purge—culminating in the execution of Jang Sung-taek, the leader’s uncle, and his associates in December 2013 as well as the assassination of Kim Jong-un’s half-brother Kim Jong-nam with VX nerve gas at Kuala Lumpur International Airport in February 2017, and more than 340 senior officials reportedly executed since 2012; and 3) the “restructuring” of North Korea’s political prison camp system—facilities near the border with China have been closed, while other camps have been expanded.

The UN Commission of Inquiry (COI)

On March 21, 2013, the United Nations Human Rights Council—composed of 47 UN member states—adopted *by consensus* a resolution to establish a “Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights in the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (COI).” While NGOs such as HRNK, tasked to monitor, research, and report on the North Korean human rights situation, had been aware of the extent of the North Korean human rights violations for many years, this was the first time that an investigative body was established by the United Nations to determine the extent and gravity of North Korea’s human rights abuses.

After investigating “the systematic, widespread and grave violations of human rights” in North Korea, the COI released its report on February 17, 2014, one month ahead of the formal submission to the UN Human Rights Council on March 17. The report finds that “in many instances, the violations found entailed crimes against humanity based on State policies.”¹

In 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, and 2018, the UN Human Rights Council passed resolutions containing strong language on crimes against humanity committed pursuant to policies established at the highest level of the state in North Korea, and the recommendation that the UN Security Council submit the North Korean case to the International Criminal Court. In 2014, 2015, 2016, and 2017, the UN General Assembly passed similar resolutions. In December 2014, 2015, 2016, and 2017, the UN Security Council voted to include North Korean human rights in its agenda, next to North Korea’s nuclear and missile programs. Following up on the recommendations of the UN COI, in June 2015, a UN field office was established in Seoul to continue the commission’s investigative work.

¹ Human Rights Council, A.HRC.25.63, *Report of the commission of inquiry on human rights in the Democratic Republic of Korea*, February 17, 2014, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/CoIDPRK/Pages/ReportoftheCommissionofInquiryDPRK.aspx>.

The COI's Findings

The COI has determined that systematic, widespread and gross human rights violations have been, and are being, committed by North Korea. These include:

- arbitrary detention, torture, executions and enforced disappearance to political prison camps;
- violations of the freedoms of thought, expression and religion;
- discrimination on the basis of State-assigned social class, gender, and disability
- violations of the freedom of movement and residence, including the right to leave one's own country;
- violations of the right to food and related aspects of the right to life; and
- enforced disappearance of persons from other countries, including through international abductions.

In light of the gravity, scale, and level of organization of these violations, the COI has concluded that crimes against humanity have been committed by officials of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, pursuant to policies established at the highest level of the State. These crimes against humanity involve extermination, murder, enslavement, torture, imprisonment, rape, forced abortions and other sexual violence, persecution on political, religious, racial and gender grounds, the forcible transfer of populations, the enforced disappearance of persons and the inhumane act of knowingly causing prolonged starvation. The COI has also established that crimes against humanity continue to be committed in North Korea because the policies, institutions and patterns of impunity that lie at their heart remain in place.

One of the most important determinations made by the COI is that North Korea can be characterized as a totalitarian state that does not content itself with ensuring the authoritarian rule of a small group of people, but seeks to dominate every aspect of its citizens' lives and terrorizes them from within. In other words, the COI has found that crimes against humanity and other abysmal human rights violations are at the very core of the North Korean regime's *modus operandi*. The COI has characterized North Korea as "a state that does not have any parallel in the contemporary world," due to the "gravity, scale, and nature of the violations committed" by the North Korean regime.

The Victims of North Korea's Crimes against Humanity

The COI determined that crimes against humanity target anyone viewed as a threat to the political system and leadership of North Korea, in particular:

- the estimated 80,000-120,000 inmates of the DPRK's political prison camps;
- inmates of other detention facilities, including political prisoners;

- persons who try to escape North Korea, in particular those forcibly repatriated by China to conditions of danger;
- religious believers, Christians in particular;
- people considered to introduce “subversive” influences into North Korea, such as those who smuggle South Korean video material into North Korea, or those who are suspected of having had contacts with South Koreans;
- the COI determined that crimes against humanity have been committed by deliberately starving selected segments of the North Korean population, in particular during the great famine of the 1990s. The purpose of *de facto* condemning targeted groups to death by starvation was the preservation of North Korea’s leadership and political system;
- the COI found that crimes against humanity have been, and are being committed against the citizens of the Republic of Korea, Japan, and other countries abducted by agents of the North Korean regime.

The Way Forward

Although North Korea’s nuclear weapons and missile programs continue to take center stage, it is essential to continue to investigate and interview witnesses, and to continue to bring attention to the systematic, widespread crimes against humanity and egregious human rights violations perpetrated by the North Korean regime, to protect the victims, to bring justice to their tormentors, and, without further delay, to seek ways to improve the human rights situation in that country. The recent rounds of summit diplomacy have not focused on human rights. But the ultimate measure of lasting peace on the Korean peninsula will be the impact it has on the people of South and North Korea. The North Korean conundrum can be tackled only by including human rights in the equation of engagement.

KEYNOTE SPEAKER

HIS EXCELLENCY JUNG-HOON LEE



Former Ambassador for North Korean Human Rights, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Korea

Director
Yonsei Center for Human Liberty

Jung-Hoon Lee was the ROK government's inaugural Ambassador for North Korean Human Rights. Before his appointment in September, he served for three years as Ambassador for Human Rights. He is also a professor of international relations at Yonsei University, where he is currently Director of the Yonsei Center for Human Liberty, which he founded in January 2014. The Center has played an active role in raising awareness and providing a venue for collaboration in research, media outlet, and NGO/think tank network. His former positions include research and teaching at U.C. Berkeley, University of Tokyo, CSIS in Washington, D.C., and Keio University. He is currently a senior member of South Korea's National Unification Advisory Council and policy advisor at the Ministry of Unification. In the latter case, he chaired the Advisory Committee for Humanitarian Affairs. Other main commitments include his role as Co-Chair of Save NK, an NGO dealing mainly with North Korean human rights, Chairman of the Future Korea Weekly, a bi-weekly current affairs magazine based on Christian and conservative values, and Vice-Chair of the Supporter's Group for 'House of Sharing' where several remaining "comfort women" are housed. He is also Chair/CEO of the Board of Tongwon Foundation that houses Tongwon University, Hanyoung Foreign Language High School, Hanyoung High School, Hanyoung Junior High School, Hanyoung Kindergarten, and Kukje Haksulwon, a research think-tank. Ambassador Lee also hosted a weekly TV program on current affairs for five years, and his writing and commentary frequently appear in local and foreign media. His contributions to over a hundred op-ed articles have been compiled into a book that was recently published entitled *Tongbukah Kyökrang ui Hanbokpanesö* [In the Midst of a Northeast Asian Current]. His most recent journal article, "Drawing the Line: Combating Atrocities in North Korea," was published in The Washington Quarterly's summer 2016 issue. He received his BA from Tufts University, MALD from the Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy, and DPhil from the University of Oxford (St. Antony's College).

MODERATOR

GREG SCARLATOIU



*Executive Director
Committee for Human Rights in North Korea (HRNK)*

*Faculty Member
HUFS ISS*

Greg Scarlatoiu is the Executive Director of the Committee for Human Rights in North Korea (HRNK) in Washington, D.C. He has coordinated more than 20 HRNK publications addressing North Korea's human rights situation and the operation of its regime. He is instructor and coordinator of the Korean Peninsula and Japan class at the U.S. State Department's Foreign Service Institute (FSI). Scarlatoiu is vice president of the executive board of the International Council on Korean Studies (ICKS). Prior to HRNK, Scarlatoiu was with the Korea Economic Institute (KEI) in Washington, D.C. He has over six years of experience in international development, on projects funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development, the World Bank, and the Asian Development Bank. For fifteen years, Scarlatoiu has authored and broadcast the weekly Korean language 'Scarlatoiu Column' to North Korea for Radio Free Asia. A seasoned lecturer on Korean issues, Scarlatoiu is a frequent commentator for CNN, BBC, Al Jazeera, Voice of America, Radio Free Asia and other media organizations. He has published op-eds and letters to the editor in newspapers including The Washington Post and The New York Times. He has published academic papers in volumes produced by organizations including Global Asia, The Hanns Seidel Foundation, The Asan Institute for Policy Studies, and the International Journal of Korean Studies. He has appeared as an expert witness at several Congressional hearings on North Korean human rights. Scarlatoiu holds a Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy from the Fletcher School, Tufts University, and a Master of Arts and Bachelor of Arts from Seoul National University's Department of International Relations. He graduated from the MIT XXI Seminar for U.S. national security leaders in 2016-2017. Scarlatoiu was awarded the title 'Citizen of Honor, City of Seoul,' in January 1999. He is fluent in Korean, French, and Romanian. A native of Romania born and raised under that country's communist regime, Scarlatoiu is a naturalized U.S. citizen.

SPEAKERS

SIGNE POULSEN



Representative

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (Seoul)

Signe Poulsen has served as the Representative of OHCHR(Seoul) since August 2015. Prior to this, she served in various capacities for the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights including postings in Liberia, Timor-Leste, Kyrgyzstan, and Papua New Guinea. Before joining the United Nations Ms. Poulsen worked in international human rights organizations including Amnesty International. She is a Danish national and holds a MSc from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

KWANG-JIN KIM



Senior Researcher

ROK Institute for National Security Strategy (INSS)

Non-resident Fellow

HRNK

As non-resident fellow at the Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, **Kwang-jin Kim** is an invaluable, experienced resource shedding light into the darkest corners of the North Korean regime's secret and illegal international financial operations. His revelations have saved re-insurance companies tens of millions of dollars and brought an end to an important method the corrupt regime purloined from foreign sources the funds it needed to maintain its internal oppression.

In September 2003, Kwang-jin Kim and his family rushed to an airport in Southeast Asia to fly to freedom in Seoul, South Korea. Months earlier, Mr. Kim lived a privileged life working for the government's overseas banking operations in Singapore. Then, Mr. Kim fell out of favor after he was suspected of leaking information about the regime to foreign nationals. Before being summoned back to North Korea to face severe punishment, Kim made the decision to defect with his family. During his banking career, Mr. Kim helped earn millions of dollars for what he calls North Korea's "Royal Court Economy," i.e., the enterprises and often illegal schemes that financially supported the country's totalitarian regime.

Since arriving in South Korea, Mr. Kim has served as an analyst at the ROK Institute for National Security Strategy. A household name on TV and radio programs addressing North Korea, he has worked as a consultant for the ROK Unification Ministry as well as media organizations including KBS, MBC, and RFA. He is a standing member of the ROK National Unification Advisory Council (NUAC). His educational background includes completion of Ph.D. course work and an MBA in Finance and Insurance from Kookmin University (Seoul, 2014, 2012), a Master's in Economics/IT of North Korea at the University of North Korean Studies (Seoul, 2008), and a BA in British Literature from Kim Il Sung University (Pyongyang, 1989). Working for the North Korean regime, Mr. Kim served as Singapore Representative of North East Asia Bank (2002-2003); an agent of the Korean

Foreign Insurance Company and North East Asia Bank, Pyongyang, (1998-2002), and Professor of the Pyongyang Computer College (1991-1997). He has published numerous papers and articles on the North Korean economy and the current power transition in North Korea, including: “Gulag, Inc.—The Use of Forced Labor in North Korea’s Export Industries” (HRNK, 2016); “After Kim Jong-il: Can We Hope for Better Human Rights Protection?” (HRNK, 2009, 2011); "Financial Institutions in North Korea and Their Role"(2016); "North Korea's Provocations after Presidential Elections in South Korea"(2012); "On KWP's Role and Its Prospect in Power Transition to Kim Jong-eun" (2011); "The Defector's Tale, Inside North Korea's Secret Economy", World Affairs Journal (2011); “Kim Jong Il’s Royal Court Economy and Destruction of the People’s Economy” (2008); “The Change of North Korea’s Foreign Exchange Control System and its Increasing Dependence on Foreign Currency” (2008); “The Dollarization of North Korea Economy and Kim Jong Il’s Royal Court Economy” (2007); “The Korea Foreign Trade Bank and North Korea’s Foreign Exchange Control System” (2007); and “The US Financial Sanctions Regime on North Korea and Its Prospect” (2006)

GWANG-IL JUNG



Political Prison Camp Survivor

Founder and Director, NoChain for North Korea

Gwang-il Jung was a prisoner at No.15 Yodok Political Penal-labor Colony for three years, from 1999 to 2002. He is currently one of the best-known former North Koreans involved in outreach activities aiming to expose North Korea’s human rights violations and to inform the international public opinion on the human rights situation in that country. Mr. Jung’s UN testimony was critical in passing a resolution on North Korean human rights by the UN General Assembly in the fall of 2014. He has provided testimony to UN representatives in New York City and Geneva and human rights organizations around the world. He has also been compiling lists of prisoner names in North Korea, a rare asset in the hands of the North Korean human rights investigator. Such information will prove critical to the accountability and transitional justice process in North Korea.

SANG-HAK PARK



Chairman

Fighters for a Free North Korea

Sang-hak Park is a North Korean human rights and democracy activist. Sang-hak Park worked at a propaganda unit of the Kim Il-sung Socialist Youth League until 1999, when his father, a spy for the government, urged the family to defect to South Korea. After years of activism, Mr. Park survived an assassination attempt by a North Korean agent in South Korea in September 2011. Mr. Park is now the chairman of Fighters for a Free North Korea, whose activities include the launching of nearly 2 million balloons containing human rights and pro-democracy literature into North Korea. He is also a member of the Democracy Network Against the North Korean Gulag and the Exile Committee for North Korean Democracy.

AMANDA MORTWEDT OH



Human Rights Attorney

HRNK

Amanda Mortwedt Oh is a Human Rights Lawyer at HRNK in charge of a series of more than 30 studies monitoring and investigating North Korea's political prison camps through satellite imagery and escapee testimony. Her research focuses on human rights, international criminal law, and North Korea's prison camps. Amanda authored a report that was submitted to the UN Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights in North Korea (COI) on behalf of HRNK and co-authored a Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice and Human Rights study calling for a "Rights Up Front" policy toward North Korea. She holds a Master of Laws in International Law (LLM) degree from The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, where she studied "North Korean State and Society" and wrote her thesis on North Korea and transitional justice. Amanda also serves as an attorney in the U.S. Army Reserve Judge Advocate General's Corps.

RAYMOND HA



Editorial Consultant

HRNK

Stanford University

Raymond Ha is an editorial consultant for HRNK, and was the Office Manager & Outreach Coordinator from 2014 to 2016. He has participated in editorial work on publications including *North Korean House of Cards: Leadership Dynamics Under Kim Jong-un*; *Arsenal of Terror: North Korea, State Sponsor of Terrorism*; *Pyongyang Republic: North Korea's Capital of Human Rights Denial*; and *Gulag, Inc.: The Use of Forced Labor in North Korea's Export Industries*. He has a BA in Politics from Princeton University and is currently a PhD student in Political Science at Stanford University.



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