

cess is making the vision of James Hubbell, founder of the Park Foundation, come true. He built a Pacific Rim Park in Vladivostok, Russia, following the collapse of the communist regime in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics(USSR). Each park, built through international exchanges, has its own cultural identity and vision.

The conference held for four days in San Diego last May showed the effect of the experience of visiting the parks, and how the power of art moves local communities and expands peace to every corner of the world. There are plans to construct more parks that need the cooperation of member countries of the Pacific Rim Park and cities. The participants in the project are from different regions and countries, and have different opinions, but are trying to expand peace.

At the meeting last month, they decided to have the third meeting of the Pacific Rim Park community at the Jeju Forum next year. Jeju City is emerging as a leader in the Pacific Rim community and is expected to play a main role in expanding peace in the future.

#### Keywords

Peace expansion, Coalition among cities, World Peace City Forum, Peace Mayors conference, Establishment of Pacific Rim Peace Park

### Policy Implications

#### Continuous efforts should be made to contribute to the expansion of world peace to:

- Build a coalition among cities beyond states.
- Hold the World Peace City Forum on a regular basis: The Peace Cities proposed to hold the "World Peace City Forum" jointly with the Jeju Forum to explore cooperative measures.

#### Ties among cities made through the Peace Mayors conference

- To share a wish for peace with the next generation and spread it to the world, the Peace Mayors conference will be pushed forward.
- Diplomacy by Peace Cities led by local governments with a painful history will deliver peace messages to cities all over the world.

#### A project to establish Pacific Rim Peace Parks

- The value of the Pacific Rim will be respected, and problems solved through mutual trust.
- Overcoming the barriers of language and culture, it will study and honor the value of universal humanity.
- Jeju Province is expected to emerge as a leader of the Pacific Rim and play a role in cultural exchanges for the dissemination of peace.

## Why They Suffer: A Reality Report on North Korea's Human Rights



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Discussant	<b>LEE Junghoon</b> Ambassador-at-large for North Korean Human Rights <b>Anna FIFIELD</b> Tokyo Bureau Chief, The Washington Post <b>PARK Sokeel</b> Director of Research and Strategy, Liberty in North Korea <b>LEE Hyeonsoo</b> North Korean Human Rights Activist
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— **OH Joon** In February 2014, the UN's Commission of Inquiry into human rights in North Korea published a report detailing human rights abuses committed by the country's leadership against its own people. This is an important and historic report, through which many people became aware of the seriousness of the North Korean's human rights issue.

— **Michael KIRBY** North Korea is worthy of the attention of all of us because it is a country that has undoubtedly reached a very dangerous moment. From the point of view of peace and security and the future of humanity and its own people it is therefore appropriate that we should examine the preconditions for international peace and security. These include the observance of universal human rights and accountability for crimes against humanity. I am not, and never have been, an expert in military matters. I am not an expert in geopolitical analysis. My expertise relevant to North Korea is the expertise that led to my appointment by the President of the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) to be the Chair of the Commission of Inquiry (COI) on Human Rights in the Democratic People's Republic

of Korea (DPRK). It is an expertise in international human rights law and an experience in United Nations human rights activities and policy.

The COI was given the task to examine a mandate which had nine headings relating to particular issues which were thought to require examination from the human rights point of view. We were not at large. We were not authorized to examine the geopolitical or security concerns of North Korea for the world. Our focus was narrow and particular. It was the human rights focus. We met as a COI for the first time in July 2013. We had to get our report written by January 2014. The report was completed in just over six months. It was delivered within budget and on time. It was unanimous. It is readable and that was its strength. It recounted the COI's findings on the human rights situation in the DPRK. It identified the human rights violations which amounted to crimes against humanity. These included: the violations of freedom of thought, opinion and religion; the violation of the right to food and widespread starvation despite the development of new weapons; the imposition of a classification of social class that impeded

and restricts human equality; the restrictions on freedom of movement; the arbitrary detention, torture and executions of alleged enemies of the people and their families, the enforced disappearance and abduction of Koreans and foreign nationals – including of many Japanese nationals admitted by DPRK in 2002.

The report created something of a sensation in the UNHRC. It then attracted very strong supportive votes in the UN institutions. Generally, the Human Rights Council is deeply divided about human rights issues and there is often a geopolitical alignment of countries concerning how they should respond. But the votes on the report of the COI on DPRK were extremely strong. They supported the report. They sent it off to the General Assembly(GA) with a proposal that the GA should pick up the COI's suggestion and send the matter to the Security Council. This is a very rare thing to do in the case of human rights concerns because they are inevitably political and divisive. However, the GA voted very strongly to support the recommendations of the COI. There were relatively few twenty negative votes when it came to the proposal for follow up action on the report. It was at that stage that the DPRK at last began to be very concerned about the report. We had recommended, in the report, that the case of North Korea should be referred to a prosecutor at the International Criminal Court(ICC). So far, there has been no resolution placed before the Security Council to secure that end. That is because it has been made reasonably clear that China, and possibly the Russian Federation, would not agree. Therefore, that form of accountability has been effectively vetoed, at least until now.

The failure to secure accountability in this way led to a new recommendation of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights(OHCHR) to the UNHRC for a new committee of experts to look again at how this could be done. The report by the new committee of experts was delivered to the UNHRC in February 2017. The committee recommended that there should be fur-

ther exploration of the possibility of a special tribunal and of educative means, including amongst the North Korean community in South Korea, to review what has been happening in the DPRK. This was accepted by the UNHRC which has also recommended that the UNHRC field office in South Korea should continue the collection of testimony from people who have suffered in North Korea and should do that in a form that could ultimately become the basis of a brief for a prosecutor, in whatever tribunal the matter may ultimately end up, whether the ICC or some different body. On the presentation the report to the UNHRC in March 2014, the COI's mandate formally finished. However, there have been many occasions to continue my involvement, because the DPRK is a great puzzle that is of deep concern to people in many countries of the world. A puzzle of what can be done in the face of such intransigence on the part of the country concerned. The risks of even greater security dangers and the possible use of weapons will be extremely dangerous for the DPRK itself, and for the Republic of Korea, China and the surrounding countries.

In March 2017 I was invited to attend a meeting in the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea. What was specially interesting at the session of the National Assembly was the response of those people who were present who had links with then Opposition parties in the ROK concerning the question of what should now be done. This could be very important because, as expected, the Opposition parties won the ROK presidential election on May. 9, 2017 to replace former President Park Guen-hye. She had been removed from office following constitutional impeachment. President Moon Jae-in has now assumed office. He has promised a fresh and different approach and greater engagement with the DPRK. The view that was expressed in March 2017 by one of the Opposition supporters at the National Assembly was that the role of South Korea was not to harass North Korea over its human rights record. It was to improve the outlook of human rights in North Korea and to assist North Korea to come to a

realization about human rights for itself. It would be quite wrong for South Korea to do more than that. The problem is that North Korea is a country without access for its nationals to the internet and without access to civil society organizations not controlled by the government. It is therefore very difficult to conceive of how the people of the DPRK could reach their own views except the views that are given to them by the authorities in power. Other things were said at the National Assembly about how the Opposition might approach the issue if elected to government. Still, it is a familiar phenomenon, once people are elected to government they then have the responsibilities of government. The people of DPRK can be expected to react accordingly. When governmental responsibilities descend upon new people, they will trouble to read the report of the UN COI and find out what has happened in North Korea of the UN COI on DPRK. If they do that, they will surely come to the conclusion that leaving things alone is not really a sensible policy. Even from the point of view of security, it is potentially a dangerous policy. Something has to be done to respond to the human rights situation in North Korea.

A difficulty that the COI experienced in dialogue within South Korea, there has been such a strong antipathy between Government and Opposition. This made it difficult, in the past, to persuade members of the Opposition to come along and engage on these issues. However, that is the value of the report. The report collects material. It respects the people who have suffered. It brings their words, recounting their suffering, to the attention of their own government and to the attention of the international community. How we respond to those concerns is going to be a test for our fidelity to the immediate Post-World War II decision that crimes against humanity should always be dealt with and that it is the obligation of the United Nations to do so where the country concerned refuses, or fails, to do so. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Prince Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein, in his speech at the opening of the most recent session of the UNHRC in February 2017,

pointed out that, in the Charter of the UN, the Preamble contains the three great principles for the formation and work of the United Nations. The first of them is observance of universal human rights, which was important to realize that respect for universal human rights is interconnected with peace and security. That is undoubtedly so. Without protection and accountability for human rights, the dream of peace and security for the Korean Peninsula will remain illusory. The present situation in North Korea is dangerous to the human rights of the people of that country. But it is also dangerous for the peace and security of the region and the world because of the nuclear weapons, missiles and army facilities DPRK can now deploy. That is why the world, in its understandable desire to secure a peaceful resolution of the dangers of North Korea, must not forget the report of the UN inquiry into human rights in that country.

— **LEE Junghoon** The report published by the UN's commission of Inquiry into human rights in North Korea has made tremendous contributions to promoting people's awareness about abuses of human rights in North Korea. They are threatening nuclear attacks. It sounds surreal, but it is escalating. Secondary boycott and sanctions are some of the possible actions that can be taken regarding North Korea. North Korea is no doubt, proceeding with the development of the ICBM. We do not know if it can carry a nuclear warhead, but it is certainly trying. This will be one century of the Kim regime. North Korea is a unique, totalitarian state. Under such circumstances, abuses of human rights in North Korea are still ongoing. These are crimes against humanity. North Korea is violating every single article in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Then why do they suffer now? We all know the answer to the question. We need to think about what we can do, rather than what the problem is. Are we doing what needs to be done? Are economic sanctions enough to address the human rights problems? I believe the current level of sanctions imposed on the North Korean regime is not enough. There are many loopholes that can be

found in the current sanctions imposed on the North.

— **LEE Hyeonseo** Stay and endure a life of privation and oppression or escape and risk being sold into sexual slavery: this is the stark choice facing many women in North Korea. Greater protection is required for North Koreans who manage to flee especially women, many are captured in China and sold into prostitution or end up in forced marriages. All but the lucky few will live the rest of their lives in utter misery. They will be repeatedly raped day in and day out by an endless supply of customers who enrich their captors at their expense. There is no asylum once they reach the other side, they are regarded as illegal migrants and face deportation if caught and then severe punishment in North Korea. The women are in an incredibly vulnerable position. They have little choice but to trust the brokers smuggling them out. But there is no one to turn to if things go wrong. North Korean women and girls run a gauntlet of forced marriage, and sexual abuse, in China as a de facto requirement to escape to a third country.

— **Anna FIFIELD** I have been there a dozen times and follow news from North Korea very closely. I have special responsibility for informing the outside world of the North Korean human rights situation. Now, nearly everyone is well aware of the seriousness of the North Korean human rights situations. However, we now have difficulty in obtaining more information from North Korean defectors, because they ask us to give money in return for the information they provide. Therefore, it is getting more difficult to get enough information from the North Korean defectors, now. This serves as a huge obstacle to writing enough articles that can be distributed to the outside world.

— **PARK Sokeel** We need to discuss the current state of North Korean human rights, changes, and solutions. With regards to the problem itself, North Korea is one of the world's most isolated states. No information can be flowed into North Korea. Political education and totalitarian message are infused into the minds of the North Korean people. It is nearly unimaginable. However, we are also witnessing some

symptoms of change inside the North Korean society, the North Korean economy, and media. I would like to discuss some important changes underlying the North Korean economy. What we are witnessing is the decentralization of North Korean economic activities. A large number of people are observed to start their own business. Some North Korean conglomerates can also be found in the North Korean economy. This is a remarkable phenomenon proving that the North Korean economy is undergoing the process of transitioning into a capitalist economy. It also means the loss of control imposed on the national economy by the North Korean regime. Interestingly, the market is beginning to emerge. We have discovered that many South Korean and Hollywood films are flowed into the North Korean economy. Many information technology tools such as laptop computers, mobile phones, tablet PCs are being used as important devices to break into the government's block. Corruption has immensely increased in North Korea. People seem to realize that they can survive only when they break the rules. Money and connection can make them do everything in their society. What needs to be done is to raise the amount of information that can be flowed into the North Korean society. I believe that these efforts can bring tangible change to the North Korean society.

#### Keywords

North Korea, Human Rights, Refugee, Peace, Commission on Inquiry

#### Policy Implications

- Ensuring human rights protection is the surest path to common peace, security, and prosperity.
- Raising human rights problems in North Korea should not be underestimated due to other concerns related to North Korea such as military security, and technology.
- It is necessary to formulate measures to provide many North Korean defectors in South Korea with programs suited to individual needs.

## The Future of Geopolitics in Northeast Asia: Issues and Discourses



**Moderator** **Moon Chung-in** Distinguished Professor, Yonsei University / Editor-in-Chief, Global Asia  
**Presenter** **Masao OKONOGI** Professor Emeritus, Keio University, Japan  
**John DELURY** Associate Professor, GSIS, Yonsei University  
**ZHU Feng** Director, China Center for Collaborative Studies of the South China Sea at Nanjing University  
**PARK Cheol-hee** Dean, GSIS, Seoul National University  
**Rapporteur** **KIM Hyunjin** Global Asia Fellow, East Asia Foundation

— **MOON Chung-in** Nowadays, the issues involving geopolitical agendas and discourses pose big challenges in Northeast Asia. Does what is called geopolitics actually exist?

— **Masao OKONOGI** It is hard to say that geopolitics is a complete theory of political science. Even though politics and geography are closely related, it is difficult to prove their relationship positively. Why is the North Korean nuclear issue so serious and difficult to deal with? That is because North Korea is not a continental force with nuclear weapons. Japan is not afraid of Chinese and Russian nuclear arms as it knows that mutual deterrence is implicitly effective on them. However, they are afraid of North Korean nuclear weapons as their possible use is not only closely related to the competition between the two Koreas but also to the survival of the North Korean regime. Peace and denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula are closely connected. A war could break out when they unilaterally seek North Korean denuclearization in the absence of peace on the Korean Peninsula. Only when a peace treaty is signed by the two Koreas, it would be possible for North Korea to

give up its nuclear weapon.

— **ZHU Feng** Geoeconomics has become increasingly more important in today's world. Even though the political relations are worsening between Korea and China, and Japan and China, their economic relations still remain important. In China, the Korean wave reached an unstoppable level. Sino-U.S. relations are politically worsening but a huge number of Chinese students study in the U.S. each year. This is something that policymakers cannot ignore. And it shows that geoeconomic factors prevail over geopolitical ones in this region. However, geographically Northeast Asia remains an unpredictable area. First, there can be a power transition in the region. Second, a territorial dispute can arise. Third, a historical or political problem due to the patriotism exists in each nation. The issues between China and Japan are a good example. The diverse factors will continue to entangle this region.

— **PARK Cheol-hee** Korea has never been left out of the geopolitical framework. Four great powers have always been around Korea. However, power transitions are taking place in the region nowadays.