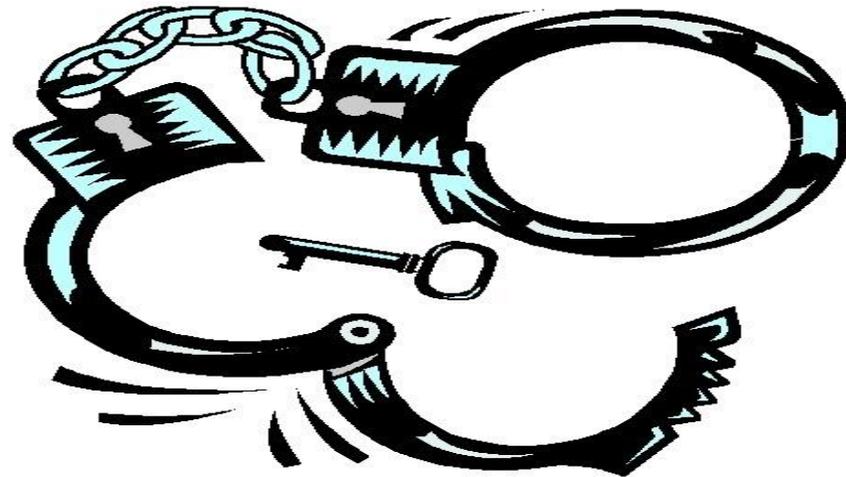


“Prospects for Change in North Korea”
Wednesday 18th June 2014

Committee Room 4A, Houses of Parliament

Professor Lord Alton of Liverpool
www.davidalton.net

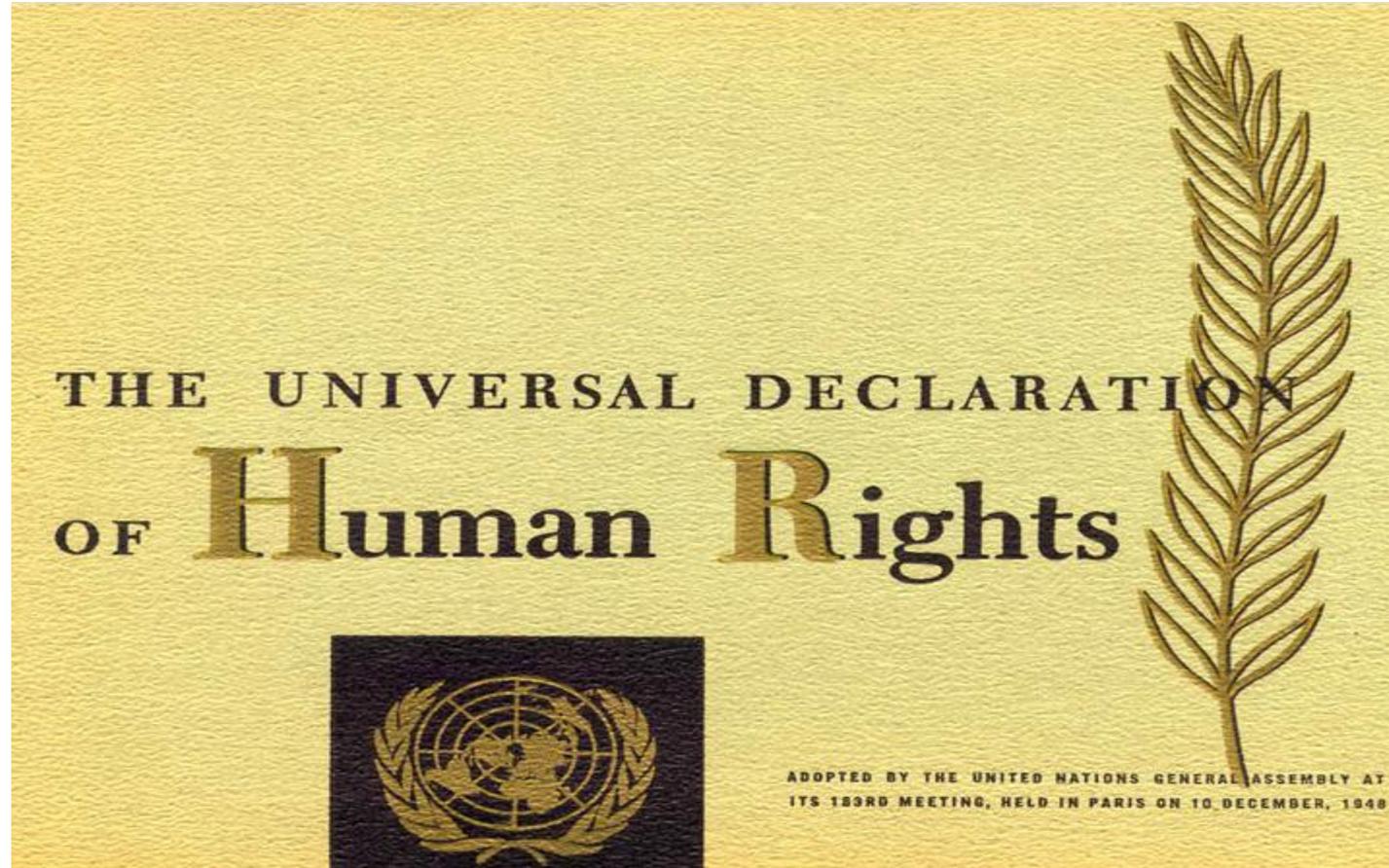


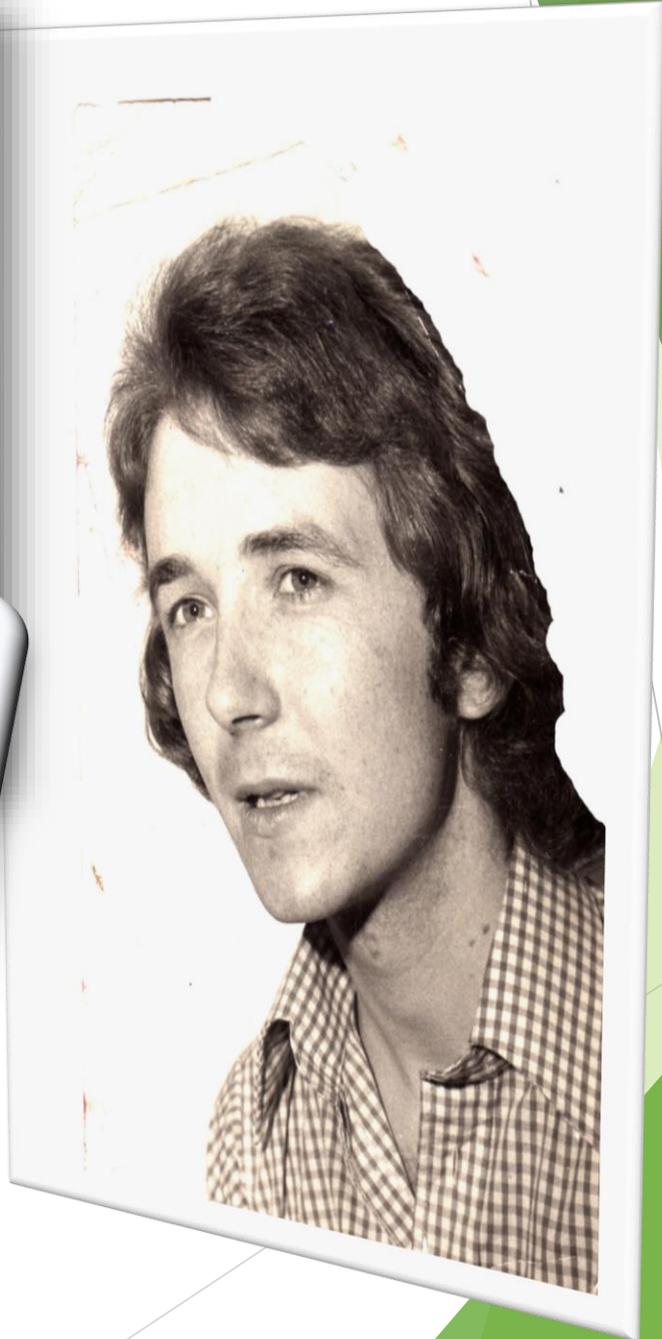
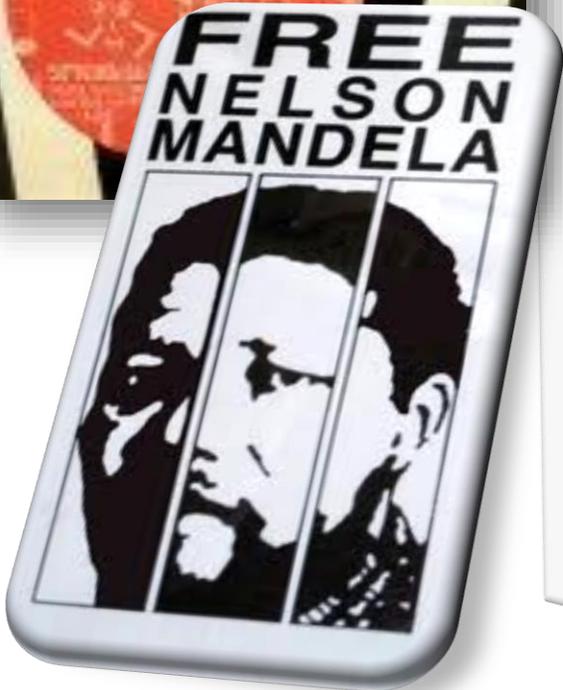
- ▶ 1. How I Became Involved
- ▶ 2. Learning from the Cold War and Helsinki Process
- ▶ 3. The Unresolved War with North Korea and its Consequences
- ▶ 4. How to Bring About Change?

The 1948 Declaration was born in the in the criminality of twentieth century totalitarianism and the gas chambers of Bergen-Belsen and Auschwitz.



“Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.” - Article 18





“Change does not roll in on the wheels of inevitability, but comes through continuous struggle. And so we must straighten our backs and work for our freedom. A man can't ride you unless your back is bent.”

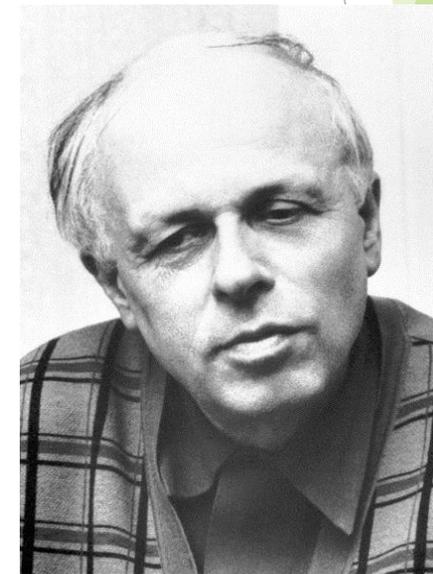




“Let no one be discouraged by the belief there is nothing one person can do against the enormous array of the world's ills, misery, ignorance, and violence. Few will have the greatness to bend history, but each of us can work to change a small portion of events. And in the total of all those acts will be written the history of a generation.”

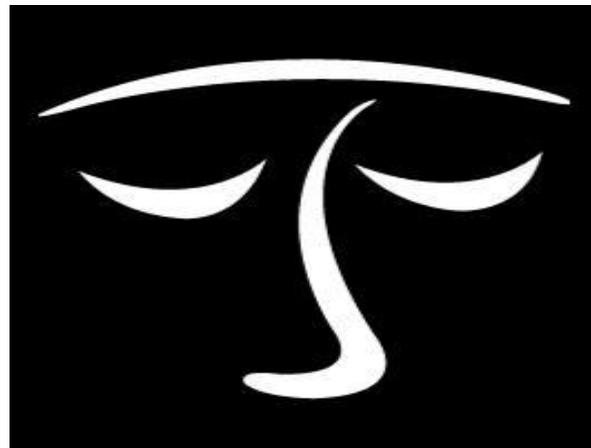


The Siberian
Seven
Remained In
The US
Embassy In
Moscow
From 1978-83.



**Jubilee
Campaign**

www.jubileecampaign.org



They Were Inspired By
Academician Andrei Sakharov

2. Learning From The Past: the Helsinki Process and the Cold War

Throughout the Cold War divergent ideologies were pitted against one another but in defeating communist ideology we combined wisdom with strength, self restraint with a dogged patience and worldwide alliances were formed between dissidents, religious leaders, democrats and human rights activists.



The Helsinki Final Act was signed by 35 States in 1975

Moscow Helsinki Group of Human Rights Activists

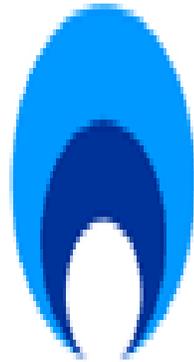


The Lessons of The Helsinki Process



“(The Helsinki Accords) gradually became a manifesto of the dissident and liberal movement...people...could claim official permission to say what they thought” - Anatoly Dobrynin

Strong security policies matched by an equally astute approach to human rights brought an end to the Cold War



HELSINKI

process

GLOBALISATION AND DEMOCRACY



The free spread of information and news and the encouragement of travel and exchanges alters attitudes and opens minds.



The Russian Service began broadcasting to the Soviet Union in 1946 and quickly established a reputation with Soviet listeners, millions of whom listened despite jamming: Gorbachev later said he had been a long term listener.

Jewish Refuseniks



**Vladimir and Marsha Slepak
at their Moscow flat**



**Ina Begun holding a photograph
of her imprisoned husband,
Jewish dissident, Joseph Begun**

Christian Prisoners of Conscience



Tanya Barinov at her Leningrad flat, is encouraged by the huge number of letters supporting Her and her Baptist husband, Valeri, sentenced to 3 years imprisonment For “slander of the State”

Suffering In The Ukraine



Maria and Ivan Hel and Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk, in the Ukraine. Hel spent 17 years, Vasylyk 18 years in prison at Prem - the Soviet “camp of death.” The Greek Catholic Church was banned and went underground for 43 years..

Alexander Ogorodnikov was first imprisoned in 1979 and in 1980 was given a six year prison sentence to be followed by five years internal exile.



Importing Russia's first legal private printing press and with Alexander Ogorodnikov at a public meeting in Moscow

Koenraad De Wolf

Dissident
for Life
Alexander Ogorodnikov
and the Struggle for
Religious Freedom in Russia

“if not me who?” - “if not now, when?”



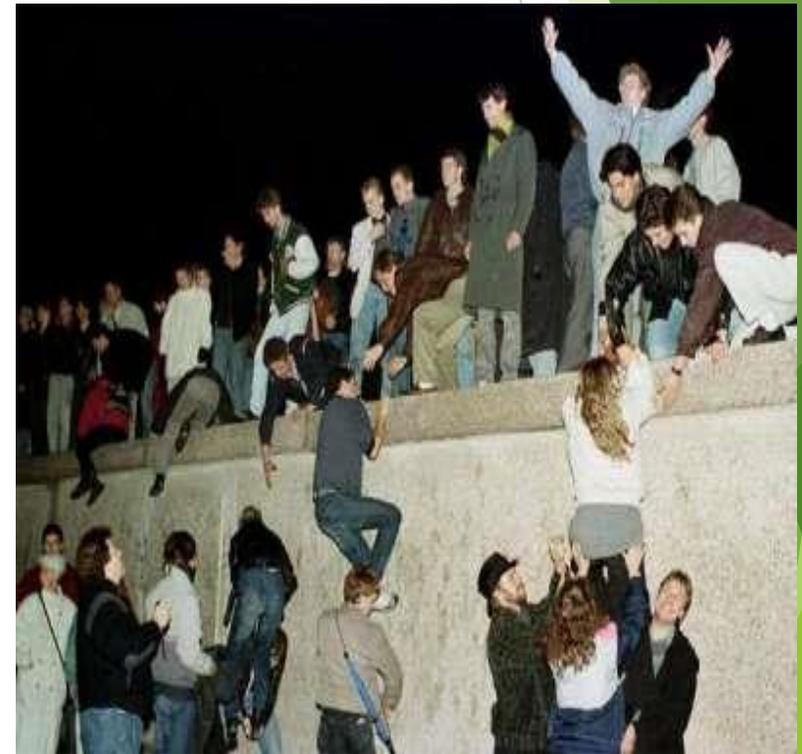
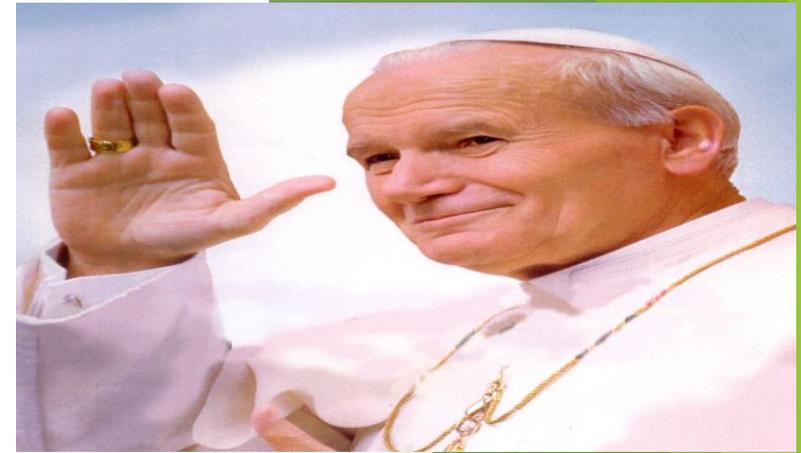
John Paul

“Warsaw, Moscow, Budapest, Berlin, Prague, Sofia and Bucharest have become stages in a long pilgrimage toward liberty.

It is admirable that in these events, entire peoples spoke out – women, young people, men, overcoming fears, their irrepressible thirst for liberty speeded up developments, made walls tumble down and opened gates. “

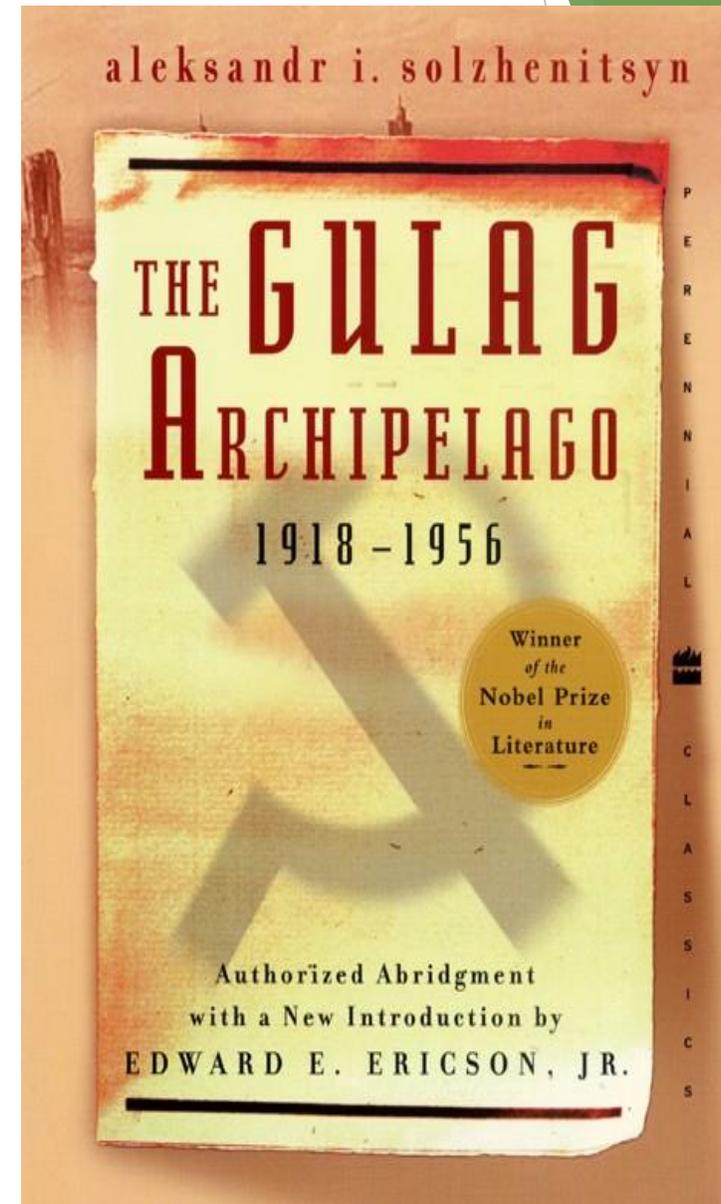
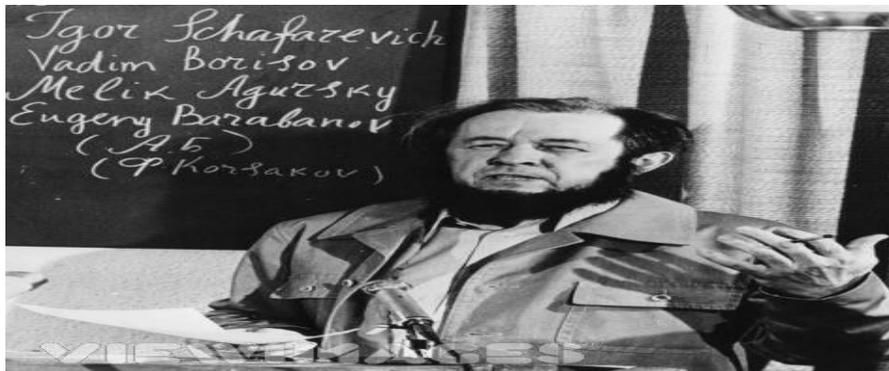
And he said of the fall of Communism...

“... It fell as a consequence of its own mistakes and abuses. It proved to be a medicine more dangerous than the disease itself. It did not bring about true social reform, yet it did become a powerful threat and challenge to the entire world. But it fell by itself, because of its own inherent weakness.”



Alexander Solzhenitsyn

- ▶ *“There is - only a wall. And its bricks are laid on a mortar of lies...There is no law. The same treacherous secrecy, the same fog of injustice, still hangs in our air, worse than the smoke of city chimneys. For half a century and more the enormous state has towered over us, girded with hoops of steel. The hoops are still there. There is no law.” -*
- ▶ Alexander Solzhenitsyn



Gorbachev Consigned the Gulags To History



Lessons from other situations: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi - and giving evidence at the American Congress about the plight of Burma's Karen people.



3. The Unresolved War with North Korea and its Consequences



From 1910 until 1945 Korea was forcibly annexed into the Japanese empire. The *Korean War* (25 June 1950 - 27 July 1953) saw the deaths of as many as 3 million people

THE TIMES

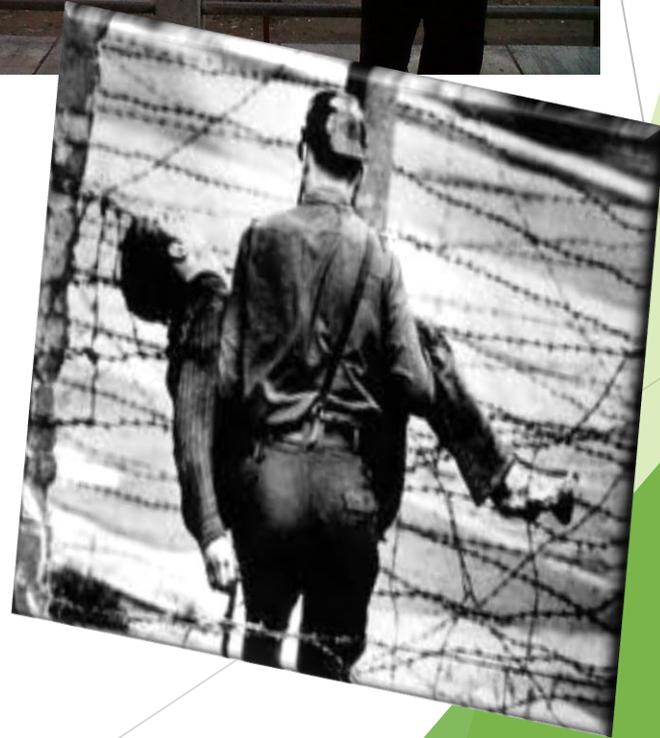
“The condition of the people of North Korea ranks among the great tragedies of the past century. The despotism that consigns them to that state is one of its greatest crimes”

- Editorial, September 2010

60 more wasted years and the danger of a Sarajevo moment?



Meanwhile, North Korea has just experienced its worst spring drought in 30 years and food shortages are expected due to poor grain harvests. State administered rations have also dipped to even lower levels than usual. Kim Jong Eun has blamed the country's weather forecasters.



Life and Death on The Border



The Perils Of Escaping Across The River Tumen

Former U.N. Special Rapporteur Speaks Out

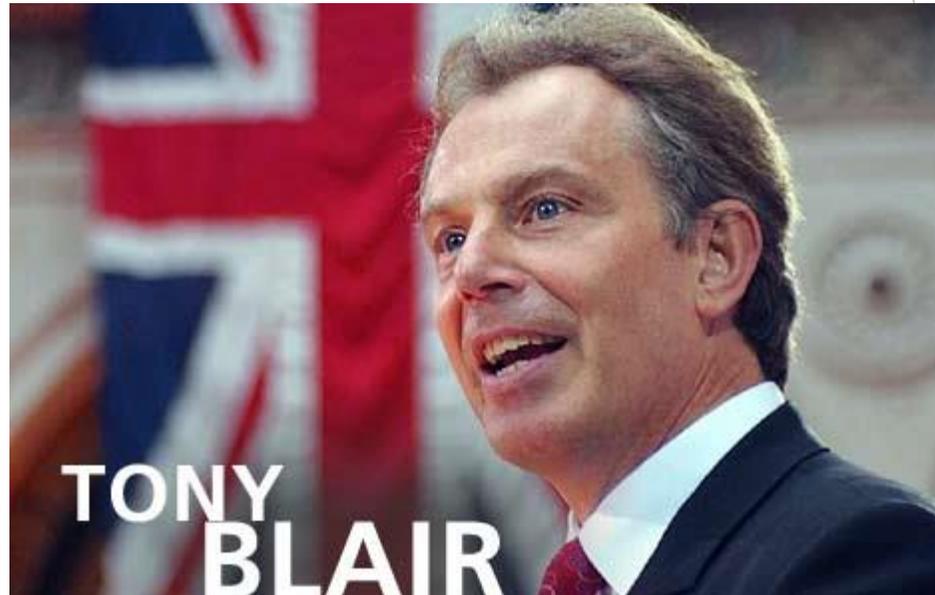


Professor Vitit Muntarbhorn estimates that 400,000 have been killed in the past three decades, about 200,000 are detained in the camps, and a likelihood of a new famine, following 2 million deaths in the 1990s.

All eight of Muntarbhorn's reports to the UN detailed an extraordinarily grave situation, in which he says the abuses are *“both systematic and pervasive”* and *“egregious and endemic”*, and he has concluded that *“it is incumbent upon the national authorities and the international community to address the impunity factor which has enabled such violations to exist and/or persist for a long time.”*



“The biggest scandal in progressive politics is that you do not have people with placards out in the street on North Korea ... The people are kept in a form of slavery, 23 million of them, and no one protests!”.





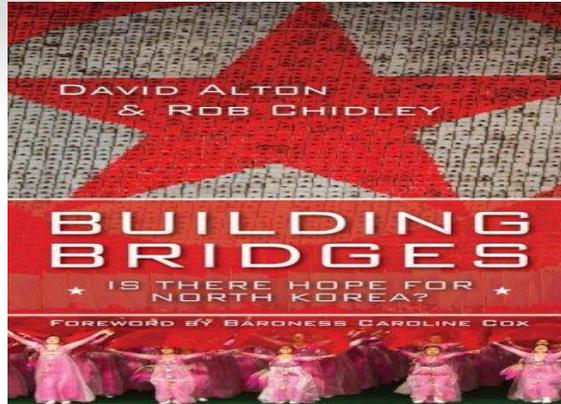
Yoo Sang-joon: a Korean Raoul Wallenberg

The Plight of Men, Women and Children - 200,000 in the gulags of North Korea



Jang Jin Sung at Westminster and with the BBC World Service: author of “*Dear Leader*”



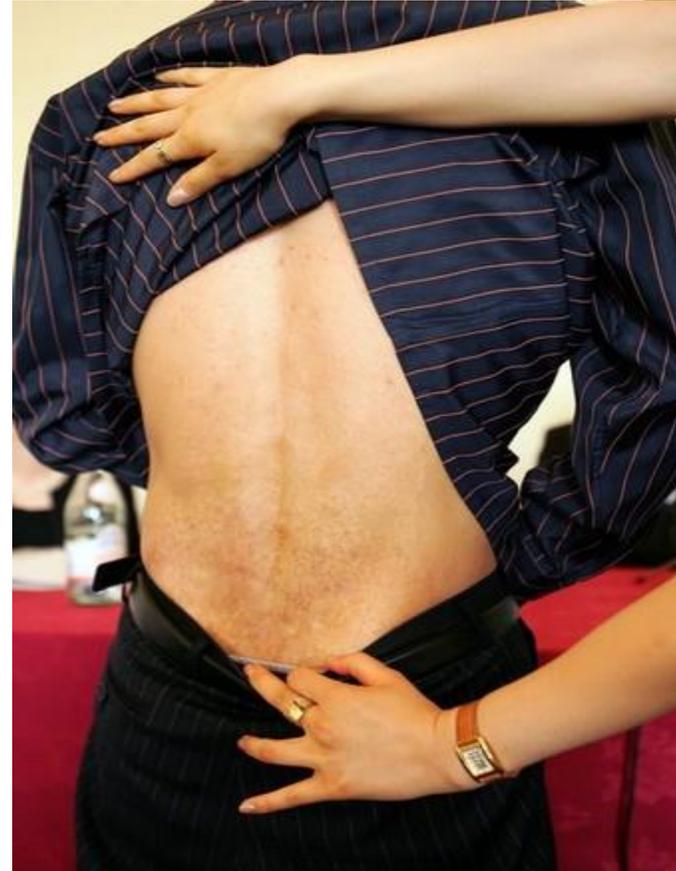


ESCAPE FROM CAMP 14

One man's remarkable odyssey
from North Korea to freedom in the West

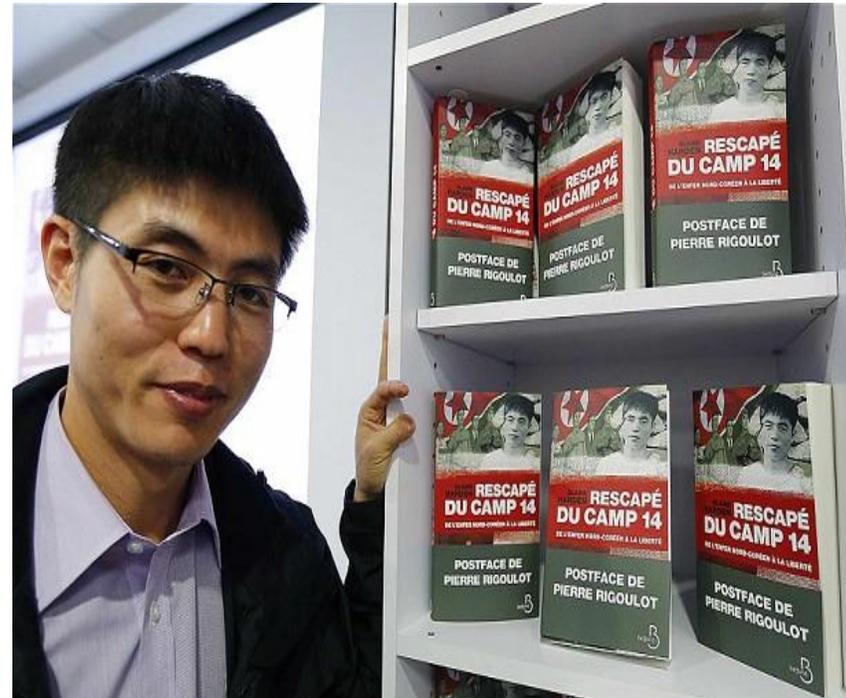
BLAINE HARDEN

Shin Dong-Hyok's Evidence



Shin Dong-Hyok --: on April 6th 1996, he was forced to watch as his mother and brother were publicly executed

“I felt a stabbing the sole of my foot when I passed through the wire. I almost fainted but, by instinct, I pushed myself forward through the fence. I looked around to find the barbed wire behind me but Park was motionless hanging over the wire fence!”



<http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=endscreen&NR=1&v=4LYjo81MIQM>



Kim Hye Sook with two of her pictures which she brought to the British Parliament

http://news.bbc.co.uk/today/hi/today/newsid_9526000/9526601.stm

Lee Young-Kuk's Evidence

"From the very first day, the guards with their rifles beat me. I was trampled on mercilessly until my legs became swollen, my eardrums were shattered, and my teeth were all broken. They wouldn't allow us to sleep from 4 am till 10 pm and once while I was sleeping, they poured water over my head. Since the conditions within the prison were poor, my head became frostbitten from the bitter cold.

As I was trying to recuperate from the previous mistreatment, they ordered me to stick out my shackled feet through a hole on my cell door, and then tortured them in almost every possible way. Not a single day passed without receiving some form of torture and agonizing experience" - Testimony of Lee Young-Kuk.



Jeon Young-Ok's Evidence

Jeon Young-Ok: "They tortured the Christians the most. They were denied food and sleep. They were forced to stick out their tongues and iron was pushed into it."



01

NORTH KOREA

**IF YOU ARE A
SECRET CHRISTIAN
IN NORTH KOREA**

**THEY ARE
LOOKING FOR YOU**



Open Doors
Leading persecuted Christians worldwide

#ItsTime2014

In March 2014 Hea Woo gave a graphic and powerful account of her time inside a the camp - where torture and beatings are routine, and where prisoners were so hungry they were reduced to eating rats, snakes, or even searching for grains in cow dung. In such places the dignity of human life counted for nothing.



"Sometimes we had soup with nothing in it, just full of dirt. In some places whole families were put into camps. They separated the men from the women and even if they saw each other they couldn't talk to each other. The guards told us that we are not human beings, we are just prisoners, so we don't have any right to love. We were just animals. Even if people died there, they didn't let the family members outside know. "



If you were to bench-mark the findings of the recent United Nations Commission of Inquiry into the abuse of human rights in North Korea, against the thirty articles set out in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it would be difficult to find a single article which Kim Jong-un's regime does not breach.



“the gravity, scale and nature of these violations reveal a State that does not have any parallel in the contemporary world”. These “unspeakable atrocities” , include “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” and warrant a referral to the International Criminal Court (ICC).



In paragraphs 26-31 the COI state: *“there is almost a complete denial of the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion”*; that religious faith has been supplanted by a cult of *“absolute obedience to the Supreme Leader”* and *“the State considers the spread of Christianity a particularly serious threat.”*



Justice Kirby points to the use of capital punishment and “guilt by association” Execution is regularly used by the State: Kim Jong Un’s uncle, Chang Song Taek, has been executed. Others include the *Minister of Railways Kim Yong-sam and Vice Minister So Nam-sin.*



We Three Kims...

The authoritarian dynastic regime in North Korea ruthlessly crushes dissent and through “guilt by association” and collective punishment has ensured that there is no Liu Xiabo, Kim Dae Jung or Aung San Suu Kyi to become a focal point for opposition.

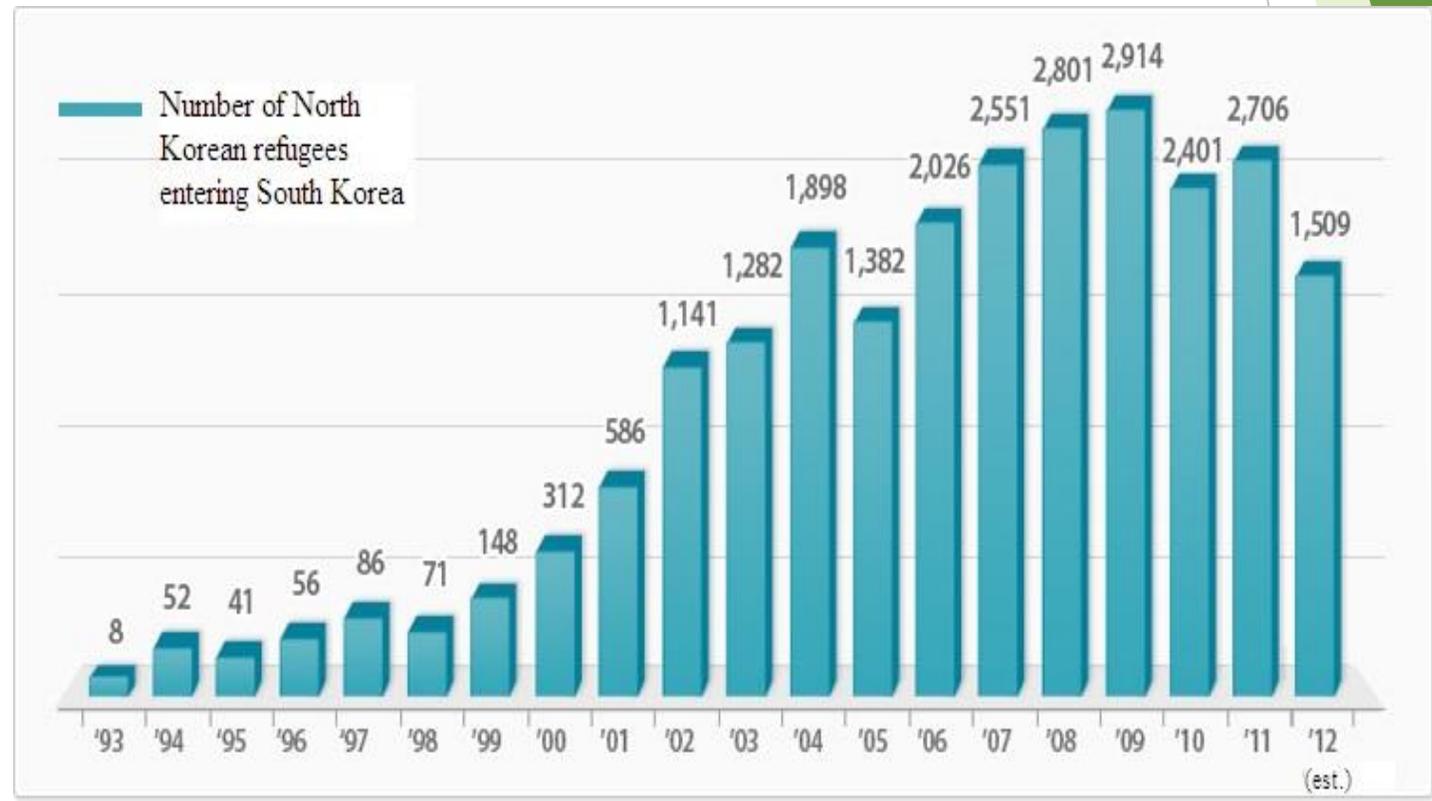
North Korea is the first country in history to be ruled by ghosts: Kim Il Sung is Eternal President. Kim Jong Il is Eternal General Secretary of the Workers Party. It's people often resemble the living dead. *What has to happen to bring about change?*



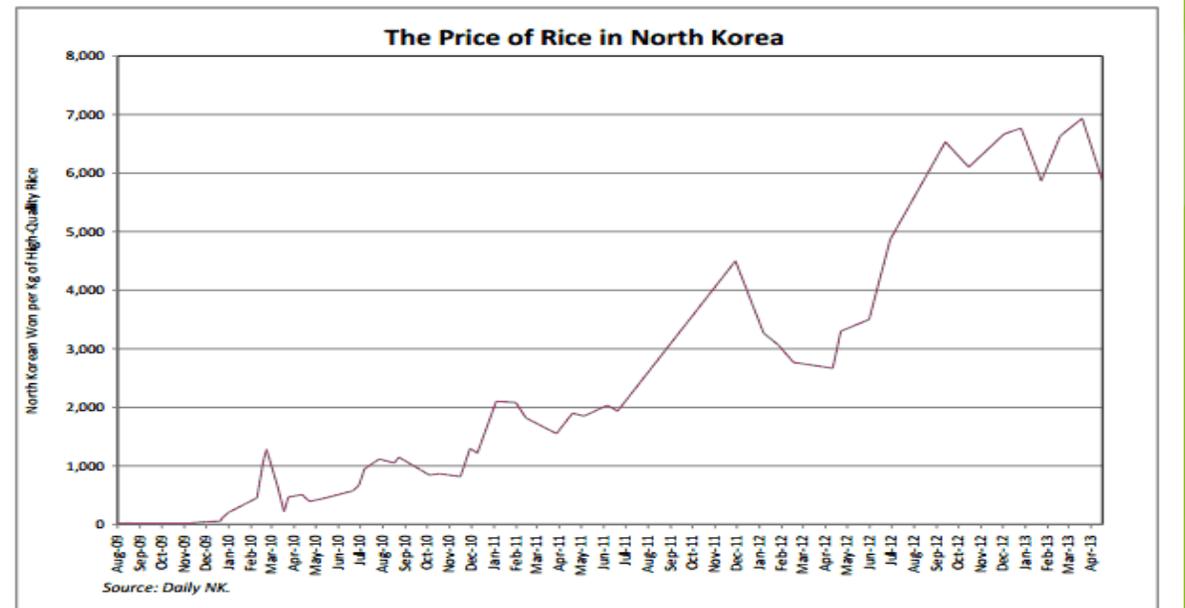
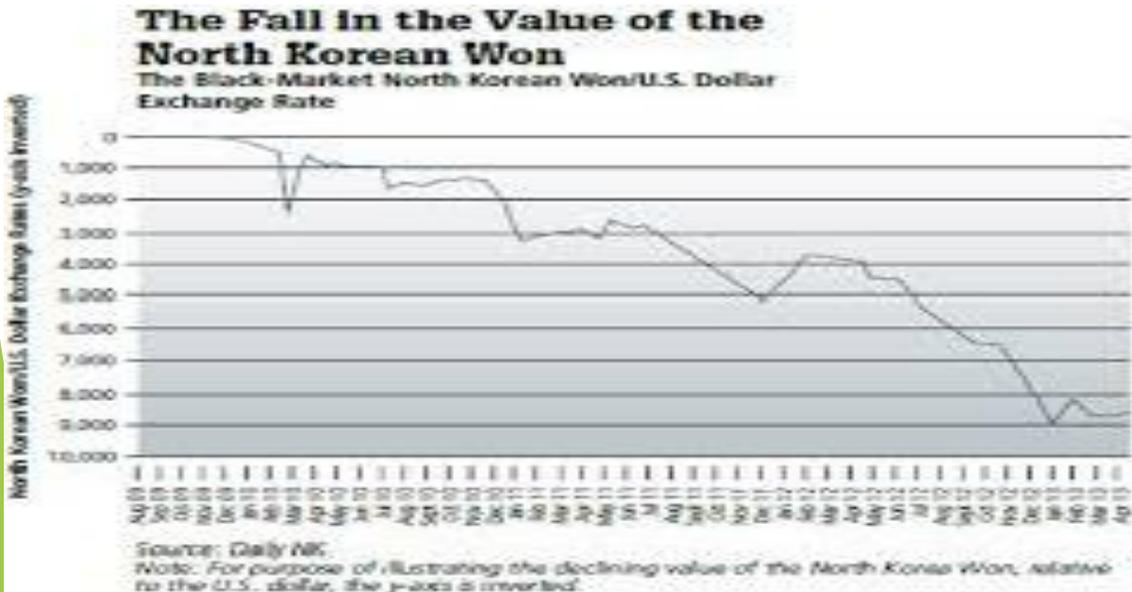
4. How to Bring About Change

- ▶ The conditions for change have been emerging.
- ▶ The U.S. and ROK should end the War and formalise diplomatic relations
- ▶ Learn the lessons of Helsinki and the Cold War
- ▶ Inform yourself and inform others
- ▶ Engage - Don't isolate but don't appease
- ▶ Protest and promote human rights
- ▶ Understand how change came in the Republic of Korea
- ▶ Fully Engage China - encourage a Beijing peace Conference
- ▶ Break the Information Blockade
- ▶ Build Bridges Where You Can

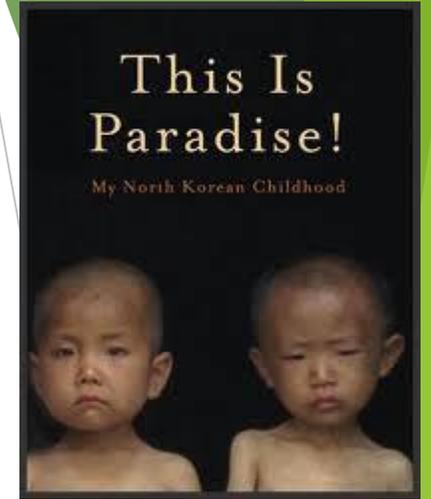
The conditions for change: 25,000 refugees in the south - and a diaspora in countries like the UK - are the game changers - and they have reported signs of change



The conditions for change: The emergence of the Jangmadang, - the Market Generation - began in desperation as the Soviet Union collapsed in the 1990s and famine ensued. The need for personal resilience and the emergence of black market replaced the State - a difficult process to reverse. Between 2009 and 2013 the economic situation has continued to worsen and will drive change and reform.



The conditions for change: The economies of North and South Korea contrast more sharply than any other two neighbouring countries while North Koreans travelling to China visit a country which, only three decades ago, was poorer than theirs. This gives the lie to the propaganda that North Korea is “*paradise*” and that they have “*nothing to envy*”.

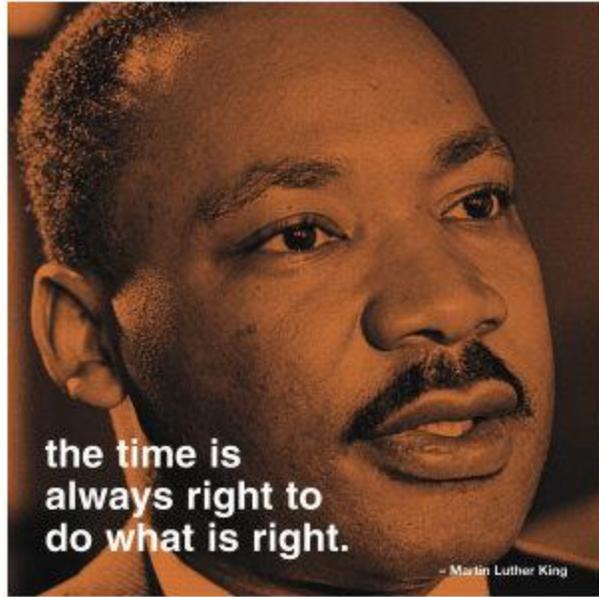


The conditions for change: Escapees say that significant numbers risk imprisonment and even execution to watch South Korea television programmes smuggled in with cell phones and radios from China. Try as they may the information genie cannot be put back in the bottle. Up to 50% of escapees contact with their families.

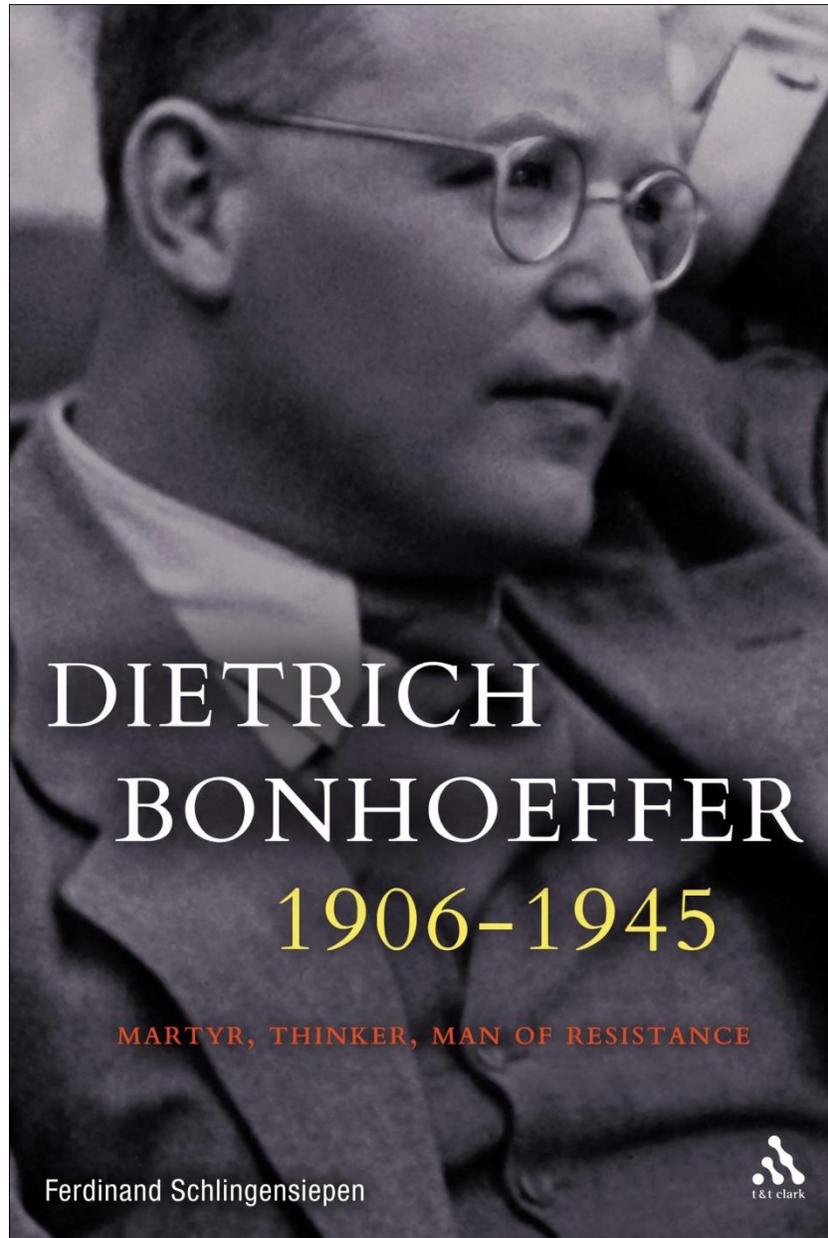


So How Can we Foster Change?

- *Learn the lessons of Helsinki and the Cold War
- *End the War and formalise diplomatic relations
- *Inform yourself and inform others
- *Engage - Don't isolate but don't appease
- *Protest and promote human rights
- *Understand how change came in the Republic of Korea
- *Fully Engage China - and encourage a Beijing Peace Conference
- *Break the Information Blockade
- *Build Bridges Where You can



“Our lives begin to end the day we become silent about things that matter”



*“Silence in the face
of evil is itself
evil”- Bonhoeffer”*

Learn the
lessons of
Helsinki and
the Cold War



PROTEST AND CHAMPION HUMAN RIGHTS IN NORTH KOREA

In March 2003 in a debate in the House of Lords I argued that:

“By championing the cause of those who are suffering in North Korea, the international community will create the conditions for the establishment of democracyLearning the lessons of [the] Helsinki [process], we must do nothing to licence the regime in Pyongyang to commit further atrocities against its own people. We should enter negotiations which guarantee human rights, such as free exchange of people and religious liberties ... By linking the present crisis with the human rights violations, a crisis can be turned into an opportunity. To do nothing about North Korea would be the most dangerous option of all.”

Learn the lessons of Helsinki and the Cold War



INFORM YOURSELF AND INFORM OTHERS

In 2004, in Parliament, I told the House of Lords:

“I believe that hard-headed, Helsinki-style engagement is worthwhile. The Helsinki Final Act 1975 linked foreign policy to basic human rights principles. That measure recognised that increasing the pressure for human rights, in combination with a firm policy of military containment, could act as the catalyst for change. The history of the DPRK suggests that mere threats will be counter-productive, inducing paranoia, isolationism and the destabilisation of the region. ... However, the regime knows that the status quo is not an option. The DPRK now needs a face-saving exit strategy.”

Our 3 Reports, Finding a Way Forward, 2003; Carpe Diem-Seizing the Moment for Change, 2009; and Building Bridges Not Walls, 2010 argued for Helsinki style human rights engagements - Helsinki with a Korean Face.

The U.S. and ROK should end the War and formalise diplomatic relations



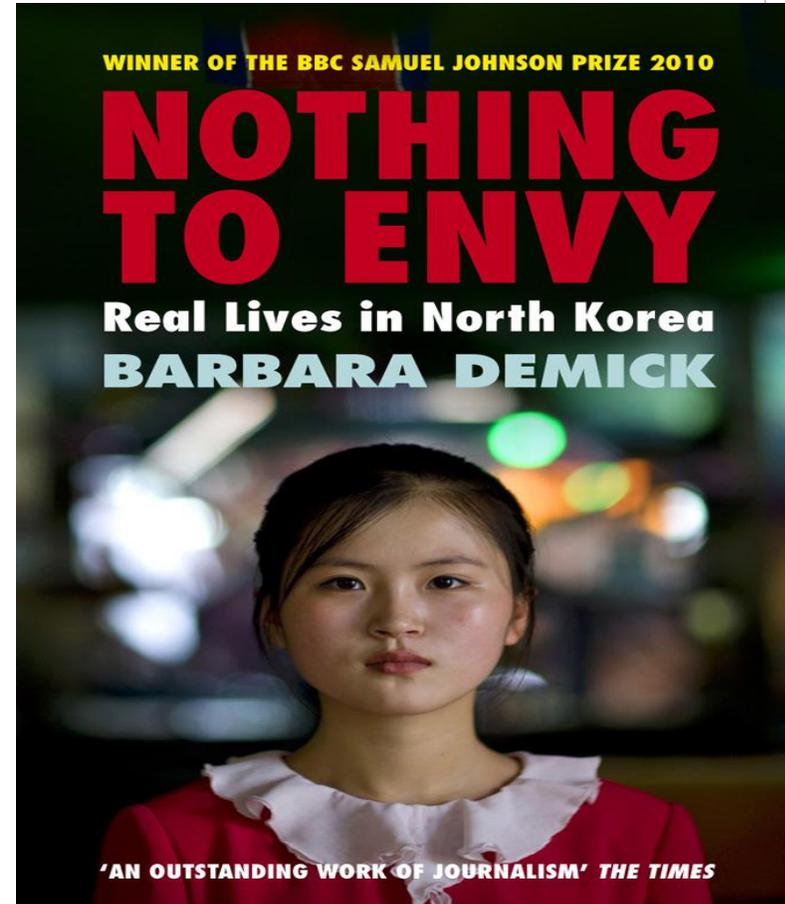
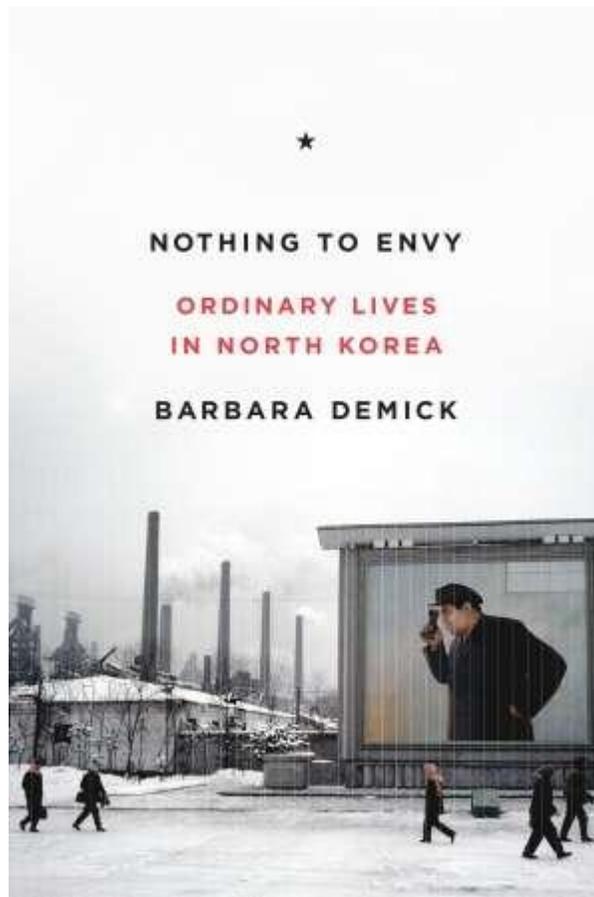
By David Rennie in Beijing
12:00AM BST 20 Oct 2000

BRITAIN will establish diplomatic relations with North Korea as part of an international effort to bring the Stalinist state in from the cold, the Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, announced yesterday.

Robin Cook: said the move was 'not in any way an approval of the conduct of the regime'

INFORM YOURSELF and INFORM OTHERS

“*Nothing To Envy*” by Barbara Demick: 2010



Engage - Don't
isolate but
don't appease

On my third visit to North Korea I was allowed to speak to the congregation at the Changchung Catholic church and met with members of the congregations at the other “show” churches.

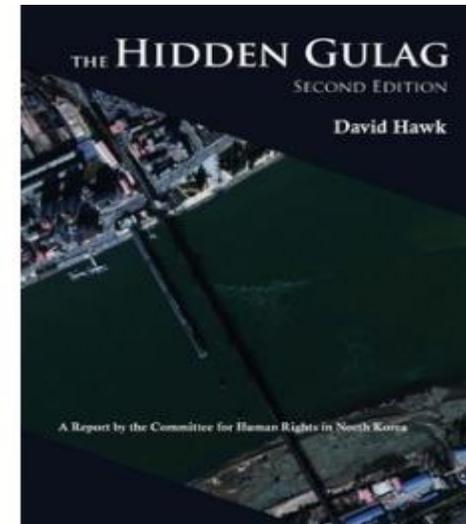


Engage -
Don't
isolate but
don't
appease

David Hawk, in his 2010 report, *Pursuing Peace While Advancing Rights: The Untried Approach to North Korea*, says:

"It is the approach that has yet to be tried in North Korea".

It is also the story which South Korea's experience of totalitarianism teaches us...



Protest and promote human rights

Organise hearings and Campaigns - make it the anti-apartheid campaign of our times



British Parliament 2008: Human Rights Activists - Run of Your Life reaches London

Understand
how change
came in the
Republic of
Korea

What we can learn from Kim Dae Jung's "Prison Writings" and his widow, Lee Hee Ho's, "My Love, My Country."



Lee Hee-ho

Lee Hee-ho described the years of imprisonment, house arrest, and persecution as

“truly an Orwellian world of illegal brutality – acting as if they would never have to answer to history of God for their barbarity.”



Lee Hee-ho

She described how supporters of democracy were

"Deprived of any clothing they were mercilessly pummelled with wooden bats, deprived of sleep , and had water poured into their nostrils while hanging upside down like so much beef hanging from hooks in the slaughter house.

Listening to these stories of horror, my body shuddered with indescribable indignation and sorrow."

Understand how change
came in the Republic of
Korea

“The intention was to make me go insane. I could hear someone moaning in a room next to me. I was stripped naked and forced to wear worn-out military fatigues. I was threatened with torture.”



Understand
how change
came in the
Republic of
Korea

***Catholic Opposition Leader Kim Dae Jung - jailed for six years -
becomes South Korea's President and a Nobel Peace Prize
laureate***



Understand
how change
came in the
Republic of
Korea

“If the police break into the cathedral, I will be in the very front. Behind me, there will be reverends and nuns. After we are wrestled down, there will be students.”

“the long dark tunnel of dictatorship” - Cardinal Kim, pictured here with General Park (see:

<http://davidalton.net/2012/07/14/two-korean-kims-two-remarkable-and-brave-men/>



Cardinal Stephen Kim Sou-hwan, a source of consolation for the people during the previous authoritarian regimes, passed away on Feb. 16 at the age of 86. He was a fearless advocate of democracy. “You can step on me, then the priests and nuns behind me, before you can take away the students,” he told a police chief in 1987 when the military regime was attempting to arrest student activists holed up in the



Understand how change
came in the Republic of
Korea



Former President Kim Dae-jung, the consolidator of democracy in the country and winner of the 2000 Nobel Peace Prize for his engagement policy with North Korea, passed away at the age of 85. Kim was a lifetime fighter against the military dictatorship and an advocate for democracy. True to his nickname "indongcho" (a plant that endures the harsh winter), Kim was a leader who never relinquished his conviction for freedom and reconciliation despite numerous ordeals. / Korea Times

Yet Kim Dae Jung insisted that *“even those who used to oppress and those who used to take things by force must be freed from their sins and allowed to participate. Then politics will become art.”*

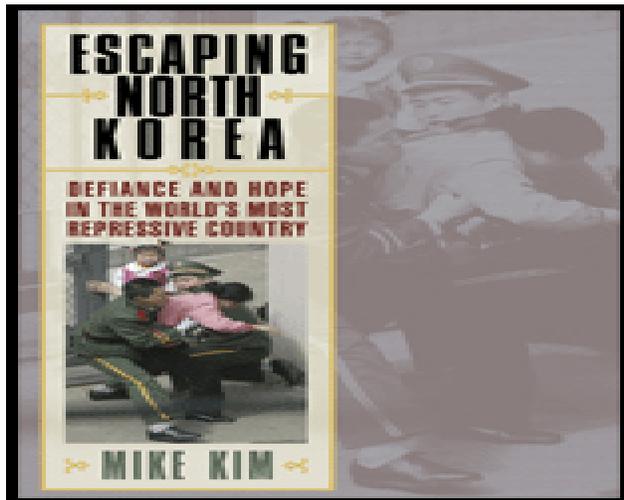
He observed that *“the real purpose of politics is to guarantee the rights and life of the oppressed”* and reiterated his belief in *“democracy, social justice, economic development, national security and the unification of our fatherland.”*



Fully Engage China

*promoting reform *curbing aggression *protecting refugees

Article XVI of the 1995 China-UNHCR Treaty on the treatment of refugees



Order your copy now



Break the Information Blockade...



ARTICLE 19

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."
- Article 19; Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Break the Information
Blockade...

BBC for Korea · BBC를 한국으로: support
the Facebook campaign



<http://www.nknews.org/2013/03/why-korea-needs-the-bbc-world-service/>



**Build Bridges Where You Can -
With Dr. James Kim, the founder
and President of PUST and
Ambassador Karen Wolstenholme
in Pyongyang.**

See

<http://davidalton.net/2011/10/14/report-on-the-first-international-conference-to-be-held-at-pyongyang-university-of-science-and-technology-and-how-the-university-came-into-being/>





For 60 years, the Korean peninsula has longed for a lasting settlement based on justice, peace, reconciliation, coexistence and mutual respect. Instead its people have experienced suffering, division and threats.

Whatever outside observers may think of the ideology or the system in North Korea, they should not confuse this with an unthinking hatred of North Korean people. They are a fine people who deserve much better. They deserve a liberalised economy, the implementation of the UN Conventions to which the DPRK has already committed itself, the development of an independent judiciary, a just penal system, an open society and freedom from fear. Above all, they deserve peace - and this I believe will only happen when we tenaciously pursue a robust and different strategy from that pursued hitherto.



- ▶ 1. How I Became Involved
- ▶ 2. Learning from the Cold War and Helsinki Process
- ▶ 3. The Unresolved War with North Korea and its Consequences
- ▶ 4. How to Bring About Change?

“Prospects for Change in North Korea”
Wednesday 18th June 2014

Committee Room 4A, Houses of Parliament

Professor Lord Alton of Liverpool
www.davidalton.net

