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HIDDEN PEOPLE OF NORTH KOREA:
NEW ECONOMY, OLD POLITICS

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P R O C E E D I N G S

MS. MOON: So happy to see you all here. My name is Katherine Moon. I'm the SK-Korean Foundation Chair in Korea Studies in the Center for East Asia Policy Studies at Brookings. We're very happy to be able to host this event in honor of Dr. KD Oh's new and improved book. And her other half, Dr. Hassig is not here with us, but she will I'm sure represent both of them and with full energy.

This is the new book, the new edition, "The Hidden People of North Korea: Everyday Life in the Hermit Kingdom." And this is a study that Dr. Oh has worked on for a while together with her husband. I think it is in a way a personal journey as well as an intellectual journey. And in a sort of social service I think by providing this kind of rich understanding of everyday people's lives to those interested in North Korea.

So what we'll do today is have her speak for about 30-40 minutes and I will follow with very brief discussion questions, and then we will open up to the floor and you can engage with her.

Dr. Oh is very well known in this neighborhood. She doesn't need a long introduction, but the long introduction is on the paper that you all have. And suffice it to say that first and foremost she is a Senior Non Resident Fellow of Brookings and has been for a long time. And she's also the Asian Specialist at the Institute for Defense Analysis.

So, Dr. Oh. (Applause)

DR. OH: I am actually -- the Korean name is Kongdan, but it's very hard to pronounce by most monolingual Americans and because I was called once King Kong or Hong Kong (laughter), and so I decided to use the Catholic Baptized name which was Katharine Diciena, so we are kind of kindred. She's my junior in age, but equal or maybe superior in terms of intellectual achievement and I'm very happy to be with Kathy today. And first of all, thank you to everybody at the Brookings to prepare this space and time at this very busy beginning of the autumn season. Particularly we are in competition to the next Honduras president and the room is quite full, so I'm very happy.

Yes, this was basically the personal journey, not only the intellectual journey because my parents were born in North Korea. I was born in the South, but when your parents were North Koreans

you are basically considered to be a North Korean in a sense. And I only visited North Korea once and I did the first book, "North Korea Through the Looking Glass", at Brookings, by Brookings, 2000, and that book has everything from history to the policy suggestion. At the end of that book a lot of people said I appreciated and enjoyed reading it very much, but there was continuing stupid questions coming media. I'm sorry, no offense to the media here and politicians, so I say what do you want to know. And they say why North Koreans are not standing with the (inaudible) knives to kill Kim Jong-un and then have Arab Spring style of revolution. What do they do, what do they think, why they are living like that? Why South Korea becoming a global soap opera and all this music leader in terms of economic achievement? I said that's a very actually interesting question, so I decided this time totally away from the nukes and everything, engage in the people's story.

I titled, Hidden People of North Korea because they are basically hidden behind the large Kim Jong-un and also they are really hidden from the real people other than the few numbers of defectors left the country. So this is the book that they have displayed there. By the way, buy the book please because all the royalties are going to the defector fund, so I am shamelessly selling my book. And I just said one word, a person who visited North Korea 58 times told me personally this is the book, I don't correct one word. So it's quite a good book.

Now contents. Okay. Just in case there are some poor students here, struggling intern, or whatever. You have your other fund to spend for the (inaudible) books, so this is basically nine chapters and you can see clearly Land of Illusion basically, and then Country of Three Kings. And this is a very important title, Country of Three Kings. It's not a socialist, it's not a communist, it's not a Marxist, it's a Country of Three Kings. And there are different kinds of economies. There are four kinds of economies in North Korea, national economy, bankrupt, totally bankrupt, palace economy, which is the contraction and the (inaudible) economy, basically (inaudible) Kim Jong-un sits and then collect all the money and create these slush fund, and there is a military economy, which is functioning only 30 percent but it's still important, and people's economy. Today I will present the people's economy as a highlight.

And there are propaganda and there are real news and facts. So sometimes you have to

be very distinguishing what are the propaganda and what are the facts. And then also on top of that, beautiful South Korean (inaudible) and (inaudible) penetrating into North Korea creating the whole new different kind of mentality among younger generation. And there is the public declaration, and then private thoughts. If North Korea declare we are the paradise on earth, is any of North Koreans believing? Give me a break. They are not that dumb. So we will go through some of these things. And of course human rights deficit. It's one of the worse human rights deficit countries. We have an expert here, Roberta Cohen, who has been dealing with the North Korean human rights. I will not dwell upon very much, but nonetheless it's an important issue. And there are silent defectors. There are young defectors these days appearing in TED talk, appearing in the TV interviews and everything, but most of them remain to be silent because they left their beloved brothers, sisters, in laws, friends, everybody, and then they don't want to put them in jeopardy. Plus by being as a silent defector inside South Korea they can be the source of information penetrating into North Korea. And I must say I've been a sort of a pessimist all the time. Maybe I still retain a little bit of cautious pessimism, but it seems to be there is a faint light at the end of the tunnel, faint, not very strong, but light is light. So we will see, okay.

So since I have 69 very solid pages I will go very fast. I title the subtitle of this presentation, old politics and new economy. Old politics, basically its country is the same. Politics takes precedence over economy, including United States. Look at today's American Congress. So North Korea is not an exception, it's not an outstanding case. But nonetheless, politics is the most important thing. And politics is also personal, centered on leaders. But (inaudible) is a little bit dubious part, really one family, one guy, Kim. No policy changes in three generations, let me tell you, no changes. And the keeping the Kim family in the perpetual power is the main goal. That is supported by the 10 principles. North Korea has a republican constitution, court rules, laws, guidelines. They are all joke; 10 principles like 10 commandments dominates North Korean society. But people have their own politics, people mind their own business while they're paying lip service during the day. It will be interesting to see some changes.

So 10 point principles, some of you who studied North Korea, I don't have to go through

again, but it's exactly like the 10 commandments of Christianity. Main point is that the Kim family is the holy family blessed by the Paektu spirit. Paektu is the holy mountain in the gap between the Yalu and North Korean border. And basically that's the only organically sacredly blessed leader of the North Korean society. Everything is centered on that 10 principles. So even a child knows they cannot slight or criticize. If you remember during the cultural revolution, at the end of the post cultural revolution, Mao is a rotten egg was a very famous spoke because a child in the kindergarten said that because their peers were speaking that language, their parents gone. Basically North Korea is exactly same case.

These are not my expressions. I usually don't downgrade or degrade any leader, even though they are a skunk or snake or scorpions, but I will let them be their leader of their own society, but these are not coined by South Korean intelligence, or not coined by American military, this is expression coined by the Chinese elite in Chinese society. This was personally told me. There are three facts and then these are basically one, two, three. Kim first and Kim Second, and Kim Second and Kim Third, in between there is a very famous General Ched Yung Hare, and then the Kim Jong-il's funeral procession. I want you to pay attention to this picture, all four generals, four stars and marshals on the one side, and led by Kim Jong-un. Who is behind him? Uncle Jang, who was executed.

About six months before Jang was executed I was asked by one of my other colleagues who is not a North Korean specialist, he's a European expert, he said what's going on? I said if I were Jang I will bundle up the money, defect to Geneva, China, Bali, Thailand, Bangkok, Phuket, I will do it. And then on the day when he was reported to be executed I was middle of the journalist and scholars in South Korea. And my friend just forwarded me that email, KD, you were predicting the future. I said no, I didn't predict the future. If you have a brain between two ears, one, two, three, four organ, Kim Jong-il will not (inaudible 10:53) himself and Jang is next one. Those two guys in the back, they are the doofus paper tigers, don't give a damn. So basically that's it. And Kim Jong-un's back up, that always the guy is walking, just like always pretending and then they are listening to him and he is a genius on everything, so he is indicating and everybody is writing something, which is very stupid. (Laughter) And then here is Kim's mentor and guardian, Jang Song-thaek, in uniform, beautiful uniform. He was even sent to see the

Chinese new leadership, and he was the second man and mentor and the protector and guardian appointed and anointed by Kim's father. And what happened? This is the very unusual humiliation right? North Korea is an interesting society. They purge, but they don't take this kind of a public stadium, and this time they did it because this is important message for the entire North Korean elite older than Kim Jong-un. Jang's trial. This is actually mistake, there is not Jang's trial number two, just one. And then this is the -- you've seen all these things.

Now please read these Jang's crime a little bit because this is not my words, this is from Korean Central National -- that Korean Central National Agency basically is explaining about his scumbag, the lowest human scum, arrogant and insolently, and undesirable and alien elements, including those who had been dismissed, meaning basically the guys who are against and disloyal to Kim Jong-un, he collected, and he put the entire team work to be under his control. More crimes. These are the exactly the trial statement coming out. And imprudent to prevent the (inaudible 12:46) the tile factory from erecting another monument because he stopped doing it. He was disloyal. Undermine the work system, and instructed his students to sell all the energy resources. Jang had a lot of money by the way, and that was not a very good idea because Kim Jong needed a slush fund. And I told you palace economy does not produce anything. Kim Jong-il produce fear and reward and give me the money. And that's money that is called palace economy. Jang has more money and he needed his money. Even more crimes. And if you remember there was a 2009 currency refund, remember? This is a very bad idea. This was a very bad idea. Let's say, every Korean elite certain level in Kangwon area, basically they have between 100K and maybe 300K in the dead body of their mother in law or in the kimchi jar or under the carpet. Let me tell you, nobody puts it in the bank. And suddenly less than a week you have to report to the central bank and the money we'll exchange it. This shook the entire elite system. My god, my last resolution of money. So that's a reason why Paknambi (phonetic 14:11) was beheaded and Jang is behind it. There was excuse to kill him. And also very bad decadent capitalistic lifestyle, which in a sense it's true. Jang likes to drink, he likes women, he likes party. And since he has a (inaudible 14:31) amount of slush fund he used the money very "un-stingily", and that was very bad idea. And one example, 4.6 million euro,

almost near 5.2 million at that time currency rate, secret coffers and squandered all the money. Now this is the ultimate crime. Crime, more crime, another crime. This is ultimate crime. This is a very important statement together with the 10 principles. Under the sky, above the ground, there is only one holy family, that is represented by Kim, that had received the Paektu spirit, and there is no second man. And Jang behaved as a second man with a lot of money to spend, lot of influence to yield. He has to go. That's the reason why he was brutally picked out, scapegoated in a most public fashion, humiliating fashion.

So after Jang is gone military pledged loyalty to Kim and Kumsusan Palace December 16, 2013. Look at these little guys impeccably lined up to swear their loyalty to Kim Jong-un. Military is today the most uncertain and the incompetent inside North Korea, which raises a very important question because military musical chairs going on. Less than a year four defense ministers changed. Some were killed, some were put into the house arrest. If you are four star general, three star general, you may wonder, am I the next one, so tiptoe. Very interesting. The tune is always Kim Jong-un's; he's the decision maker.

Now after Kim Jong-il died, there were more statues. Actually the Kim Jong-il is a lot shorter, but they made him very lovely here and spending a lot money. And then here is Kim's new haircut. (Laughter) Luckily he knew that his haircut was so bad that he declared that don't imitate my outfit and haircut because wants to be uniquely hair-cutted man on earth. God, I mean I wish that I could be his hair cutter, but this is really bad. (Laughter) And Kim's new weight. And, you know, it's a guessing game but there are -- I mean the medical doctors in Korea, some of them watching every day about Kim's move, just like are watching the Chinese hairdresser body gesture, does he have diabetes, does he have heart attack. This was during the Cold War, it was a real story. So Kim was now about 130 kilogram. If you multiply 2.2, it's 286. And if you use the body mass index his body mass index is 44. What is 44? If you're over 30 you are entering the obesity. And 44 is the worst stage of obesity, which is a very interesting question too. I don't know what he's thinking, but nonetheless look at everybody. Everybody is a banana shape or a little willow shape (laughter), but he's the only one who is large. So that's a reason I say my brother and me and my sister, all together we can stand behind him and nobody can find

us. (Laughter) And Kim imitating his grandfather. This Panama hat was very favorite by Kim Il-sung, not his direct father, but his grandfather because he has to be emulated, his grandfather, the great authoritative, great charismatic leader. I am his blessed Paektu grandson and he appears, but for god's sake, he is fat.

And Kim marries woman. And this is one maybe younger generation. I like this part because he really put up his legal wife and work together, although there are some problems there too because Kim was not a son of a legal wife, he was son of one of the mistresses and his mother was hidden from the public scene. He grudges against that to his father and he decided I will debut my wife. I like that. He has one redeeming merit. And so Kim caters basically to the elite, new amusement parks and everything. The new story behind the amusement park is that nighttime no electricity, so it's becoming a gangster, old mafia, and the criminals. And then woman is avoiding that spot because they can be raped in the darkness behind that huge stadium. That is a really interesting story. And Kim visits new water park. Lot of things going on. And the new ski resort. And there are actually people who are buying the really great ski outfit from Switzerland and use it. That means that all the economy is gone and new economy, people's mind, what do they think. And then Kim parties with Dennis Rodman. So very interesting man.

Now let's put aside the politics. This is a little bit of a hopeful chapter because maybe I denounce Kim and his politics too much, but new economy is bubbly in North Korea. What is new economy? Basically Kim is some shape the economy imitating the Soviet Union. Have you see any heavy industry, centrally planned, communist economy ever succeed in the human history? That's a reason why my great friend, Frank Fukuyama made the mistake, end of history. But nonetheless Kim Jong-il tried to inherit it, he tried to do a little bit of reform, two steps forward, five steps back -- nothing happened. And then finally 2005 restrictions on people's market because people's market is becoming or taking over the national economy. Currency refund to punish everybody which actually set the beginning question in the minds of moneyed North Koreans, can we trust this government? At the whims of a moment they can make a decision let's change currency and all my money comes to my (inaudible

20:45). It's an interesting question. He failed.

Kim Jong-un's economic policy is a little bit lenient. He's moving toward the Chinese economic model. He lets people do whatever they want to do as long as they remain loyal. And also he tolerates corruption, because among the elites if he stopped corruption nothing moves. Corruption is the new form of tax in North Korea. He has Kunyung (phonetic 21:13), made a model city. A lot of people go to Kunyung. They drink cold beer, they can eat -- not exactly McDonald, but North Korean style hamburger, they can have pizza, they can have pasta, and you can have shopping, you can drink, and Kunyung people are rich. They can spend \$1,000 for one daughter's 16th birthday. So as a result the privileged class accumulates more money, the moneyed get richer and the poorer gets poorer.

The market economy. Formal and informal markets all sprung inside North Korea. Originally it was badgered by the security guard, the police, county cadre (phonetic 21:56), stab it, and then people try to run away with the packing up. That reminds me of my visit in '90 when I first stepped into the newly emancipated East Germany and the Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. All these grannies and grab a little bit of handmade goods, and when the police come they all ran away and suddenly come tourist. It's like ebbs and tides and they survived that way. But with the culture of corruption is rampant. Corruption is the number one, most important issue in North Korea today. You can survive. Why? Let's say, Kathy, nice looking Kathy is now security guard. She comes to me because I'm selling hot coffee in the winter and iced coffee in the summer. He watches it, my monies, you know, a little bit adding and then he comes and then, don't -- (inaudible 22:47) coffee, do you need the iced coffee, cold coffee, pouring it. (Inaudible 22:52). So money goes under his pocket. But this happens not just once a month, twice a day, and the oldest women get together, this is our life, this. And they stood up. And the olden days, they used the guns and arrest them, send them Gulag, they cannot do. Why? Because they are salary, their money is only \$2 in the market price. And they survive with the corruption money. Co-existence. So without the bribes officials would not survive. That's very important today in North Korea; that's a new economy.

New economic enterprises -- I'll give you examples. Quasi private trading and

manufacturing. What does this mean? Let me give you an example. There is like let's say youth colleague league of North Korea. We'll have tae kwon do with another community youth like Cuba, China, and then uniform has to be made. And there is a guideline about what kind of uniform, what color and everything with what flags. Women who has about \$300,000 quickly grabs the information. Factories do not have any textile. She calls her liaison in Tando (phonetic 24:10), get the textile, textile arrives. She hires daily worker, best seamstress that can create the uniform as fast as possible. Usually they get about \$.50 in the market price, but she give them \$5. Everybody works for her. Beautifully procured, delivered to the party center, party cadre. And then of course he get some commission, but then he got a lot of lavish praise from the center. These county produce the uniform so fast, she made a lot of money. So then she completely closes off and then moves on other business. This is I call quasi manufacturing and trading. Quasi private construction and housing, supposedly you are not supposed to own any house, any villa, any cottage, any car garage, but now you can build your own house with your own materials smuggled in from Siberia, from China, from Mongolia. (Inaudible 25:10) starts so many of them; you cannot stop them. Security guards cannot stop them. Kim Jong-un is not only present. Bus and taxi services, because those transportation is necessary to do business. Day labor, what is day labor, including sex labor too. Some rich cadre, his wife is sick, someone will do the prostitution, someone will clean the house, someone will tutor very stupid boy of a cadre who is very bad with English, someone will teach piano. This is all day labor existing all over. Lenders and investment bankers. Because there is money owned master, they call in Korean (speaking in Korean 25:53), owner of the money, and they call it service. These are the whole new capital economy is bubbly.

So now this is the Kunyung skyline, great skyline. I like it so much. Beautiful, model city. Looks good, but inside no clean water, toilet is clogged, and the elevator malfunctioning. So they curse each other, except for a limited number of a very high brow cadres. This is beautiful. Look good from outside, but same story goes on. Water is limited and then the water pressure is so weak sometimes water does not go up. You have to flush your toilet with a bucket full of water. And then inside is a very different story. But nonetheless, they try to make Kunyung as a model city. And the Sub-Saharan Africa

and poor country people visit Kunyung for the first time they're drooling. Oh my god, this is much better than Seoul because not even congested. (Laughter) So Kunyung fashion, look at the Kunyung fashion. Oh my god, this is not bad. I feel like this is like a Tokyo Ginza Street, nice looking leg and, you know, all these backs and leotard kind of an outfit and beautiful, multifold fashion. But this is a new wealth in the mixed background. Look at the open sewage and the poor people, but the two pretty girls in the beautiful fashion, and there is a Mercedes. Although it may be an old one, but nonetheless Mercedes is there. (inaudible 27:26) market is one of the most original and former, and inside the photo strictly limited. I even have a Japanese economy to send there with the bribery of my own bribery, but he could actually take a photo, but then they will inspect it and they will say if you ever give to anybody in American, which it's me, you will not allowed to come. I don't want to kill him, so I said okay, it's fine. He said inside is quite nice, not exactly like a (inaudible 27:57) or our farmer's market, whatever, but it's very bubbly, beautifully maintained. And Kunyung Streets starts again. All over there are a lot of (speaking in Korean 28:06). That's a Korean word. (Speaking in Korean 28:08) means a little cotton candy. And that was very popular in Korea '50s and '60s, and now it's very popular in 2015 in North Korea. And look at the children of the wealthy, look at the knee pad and all those skaters and everything. They have everything. And they listen to South Korean music and they want to be pop star like South Korean girls, which is an interesting question. And they look at this Kunyung young woman, beautiful, roller skating, she has a cell phone.

So the poor are surviving. I told you about the bubbly economy. Poor are surviving. Basically no ration, don't trust, don't trust the state whatsoever. They completely ignore the state jobs. In olden days, click, click, back in Charlie Chaplin fast lane. If you don't appear, where is Kim, three times miss, he is a politically dubious kind of guy, let's inspect him. These days nobody cares because bribery again works. And also the husband goes to work and wife does business because North Korean woman is tougher than North Korean man.

And the trend to do it yourself is a new mantra. Don't trust the state. Don't trust even your husband. Husband is called fluorescent light in North Korea, it's a nickname. When you ask

something, he doesn't click. What do you want? So fluorescent light. And it's a very dim light, so you cannot read the book. He doesn't bring any money. So basically North Korean wives saying that, okay, I'll be the bread maker. That's the reason why there were four, five times mass rally against the government -- they were all women -- Hungnam, Wonsan (phonetic 29:55), Nampo, Shiniju (phonetic 29:57). They stood up when they tried to crack down the market stars. They really chanting the (inaudible 30:03) and everything shouted. It was reported and briefly appeared on the YouTube and disappeared. And many people are hungry and sick, but they no longer die of starvation because they become very tough. They even pooled whatever things are available and they try to survive, and this is people's economy.

Trouble in the countryside. This is a lovely scene. Now the bicycles are a little bit allowed, but a lot of people walk. We have a very famous expression, you're two legs called (speaking in Korean 30:32), two wheeled vehicle. Two wheeled vehicle carry you about 20 miles a day to swap deal of your potato with an apple, to swap your homemade wine with one pound of meat. North Korean decorate walkers. And then this is a very old country road. Look at the -- this is like a scene of 1950s after the Korean War in South Korea. And the reason that this photo was possible was because there is a --former Soviet Union and Eastern European tourists are watching, so when the Europeans and tourists are there security guard cannot stop them. So this was taken one of the visitors of European Union. And this is the real people's market in the city, in the countryside. Very poor. Just baked potato, baked chestnut, whatever available, and then they try to sell. And cigarette lighters and trinkets they try to sell. I have a pack of very nice North Korean cigarette as well as the fake cigarette that they made in the north to sell to the Chinese. And woman peddling food. This is granny selling a little bit to make ends meet. And then poor family, no foreigners around. This was taken by one of my visitor friends. So this was push and pull, just try to survive each other. And then the vestiges of old economy, still the old car carrying. Doesn't it remind you of the 1940s and '60s Korea? And this is a very famous charcoal powered transportation. The front part charcoal is burning. And there was a lot of instance that old granny died of carbon monoxide because she was sitting behind for the long ride and then perished. This

is a private garden. If you look at the private garden, coop doesn't work, but private garden they make everything out of it, try to survive. And then the roadside grasshopper market. They call grasshopper, just like a grasshopper is seasonal. Seasonal corn, seasonal food. They just jumping around to make money. And then the quasi offshore country market. Everything is trading in North Korea. You have a little bit of a half bottle of aspirin, my wife is dying. Okay, I'll give you the -- butcher the chicken. This is the swap deal. This is going on, not the real selling and buying with the credit card.

So information. Time is going quickly and I have a little bit of time. Basically the information was the self-preservation of the Kim regime, the restrictions today. But information going into North Korea is no longer tightly sealed water tight, closed society whatsoever. That was the old story. In the absence of civil society don't expect the policy actions like Arab Spring, don't expect that at all. And but social and economic changes erode the position of the leader nonetheless very much and prepare the people for the time when Kim is gone and unification becomes a real power. When I say Kim is gone, it's not basically we are talking about conflict, war, or somebody assassinate, but human being can go anytime, as we saw the beautiful story of a 16 year old girl in Fairfax County died over some strange illness, two weeks in *Washington Post*, you cannot predict. So if Kim is gone North Korea is in deep trouble.

All the information is basically try to create the information of preserving the North Korean regime. And the two principles governing the information control is that glorification of the Kim family and then outside everything is denigrating just like outside is scumbag, everything. America, U.S., Korea, Japan, everybody is bad, except for China. They don't say officially, but privately they say same thing. That is that North Korea is a paradise on earth and that the loving care of the great leader who is the only fat one. And these are the street posters I show you, these are the national propaganda and basically all sort of things. This is the march toward the victory under the leadership of the great party. And then led just to crush Americans under the unity of North Korea, and then target Washington. This has been shown as a card section when Madeline Albright was in the main Moranbong Stadium. And they smash imperialist information. These are not just one poster in one county. It's everywhere you go; you see this

poster everywhere. It's just omnipresent and multiply presenting in every government building, the schools, everything. And North Korean reunification policy, it's kind of pretty with all the flowers, and then the title inside is let's give a unified Korea to the next generation, which I do really hope. And information from outside is the most important. China provides corrosive border. A lot of people trade back and forth. They provide foreign radio stations. About 30 percent listen to radio stations. A lot of defectors came to listening the radio free Asia, South Korea, and Japanese, Voice of America. And some people also watch South Korean television. Flash drives, CDs, DVDs, everything going on. In olden days if you purchase one of these things it's directly -- boom -- to the Gulag. These days, no. Why? Actually the government party guys love to watch more than anybody else. (Laughter) So the North Koreans are getting smarter when they are caught driving a lot of or bringing a lot of these things in the border. Sir, this is for you, on top of money. Corruption, desire to watch, it works. Nobody now can send them to the Gulag because everybody is watching. And spread of cellular phones, 2.6 million inching toward 3 million. I couldn't get exact number, but I think it's between 2.6 and 3 million. It's going up that rate. And it's an important -- it's not a GPS roaming phone, but you can talk, you can get the information. A lot of defectors using it. In South Korea human right groups also launch balloons -- balloons -- you may have a lot of questions -- I will show you some balloons. These are the balloons, helium, very powerful. And then they are sending massively to North Korea. Inside you can see sometimes a dollar bill, a little bit of woman's bra, stockings, CD/DVD, to show the menu of the Kim Jong era when he said I ate two bowls of potatoes, but he had caviar, everything; the menu. And this is going up. Balloons. News also about Jang, they say why Jang was killed. They send it through the DVD. Defectors use the North Korean dialect. Very powerful.

Leaving North Korea defectors come to South Korea up to 26,000 and more. But this year is very hard because it dramatically reduced. They put all the mines -- not the mines but the very sharp nail kind of things spread and they made entire Yalu-Tumen, that border area, deep ditch, everything. They are beefing up. And they raised the money of the reward to the security. Chinese are also helping because they don't want the North Koreans coming anymore. They don't like North Korean

defectors as well as security who came after the defectors. So basically the defectors are dramatically reduced. And in olden days, if you have a certain amount of money you can rescue, but no more.

These are the border guards watching for defectors. He is sleeping actually. This was my photo. And then the higher fences are built up recently. This is barbed wire. Like the Berlin Wall is going, but the new Berlin Wall between China and North Korea. And this is the last picture. On the Yalu River I hire the Chinese boat, actually with the two PLA bodyguards escorting for me. We were very close to North Korean border and we took the photos of everything and this is it.

So that's the end of my speech. (Applause)

MS. MOON: Thanks to Dr. Oh. As usual it's very difficult -- it's impossible to listen to Dr. Oh and not laugh, even when the topic is as serious as the daily life of North Koreans. So thank you very much for the very informative and very engaging, truly engaging discussion to humanize the North Koreans that we cannot meet basically.

I have a few questions based on the reading of her book. She and I have recently discovered that we both love to kayak, so this weekend --

DR. OH: And cats, cats.

MS. MOON: Oh, and cats, of course. We're both fanatical about cats. So this weekend I was torn between kayaking and thinking and thinking and reading and reading and thinking about her book, and the book won out. I did kayak, but not as long as I would have liked. And so my thoughts are based on a close reading of her book, and I thought it would also be helpful, I had seen the slides that she had prepared for the audience so I thought it would be good for me to supplement the slides by at least letting you know of some of the other contents and topics that she does address in depth in the book, so I'll focus mostly on that.

Dr. Oh, you talk about the caste system in depth, and to describe the very rigid caste system existing in North Korea, made up of the core class, the wavering class, the hostile class, as the three main classes, and then there are subdivisions. And of course these are hereditary designations. So children and grandchildren and great-great grandchildren take on these kinds of designations that

either privilege you or don't privilege you in North Korean society. But we do know that the great famine of the 1990s, as well as the nascent entrepreneurship of many North Koreans of various castes of backgrounds have disrupted this institutionalized caste system. And you don't go into this disruption and how the caste system has been changing very, very fast. And there is upward mobility in North Korean society. Wealth making has been disbursed much more widely in contrast to the past. So considering the debate that we have been having in the West, especially in the U.S., about a correlation between wider income distribution and potential political liberalization, especially in authoritarian societies, and of course, North Korean in totalitarian society. But given the changes in the new economy that you describe, what are your thoughts on the changes in the caste system and how these changes may affect the political order in the near mid to long-term?

My second question is somewhat related. Dr. Oh describes the disparity between the top down political dogma, and the increasing bottom up agnosticism, if not outright atheism, toward the political theology of the Kim regime. It is presumably the upper caste with more access to information from inside as well as outside the state is seriously affected by this new information, and also agnosticism, if not atheism. So again I'd like you to consider what are the implications for regime support and the coherence of the regime as the elites in particular become more diversified in terms of their information source and their growing agnosticism?

And my third question is on human rights. You dedicate chapter 7, a whole chapter, to human rights, and you describe both in terms of a certain chronology of developments as well as the institutional aspects of the human rights regime in North Korea. And I read it with great interest, but at the end my heart -- in Korean the term is (speaking in Korean 44:14) -- my heart went (speaking in Korean 44:16) -- it went (gasp) -- now what? Because you ended the chapter with this quote, "No significant improvement in human rights can be expected under a dictatorial regime such as North Korea's." And you go on to say that China, the EU, the U.S., the United Nations, cannot take decisive action regarding human rights for a variety of reasons. And then you have a quote here, "It is therefore up to the North Korean people to help themselves." So my question is, Dr. Oh, what on earth do you mean by this last

question?

And in closing, I just want to add my own observations when I was in North Korea visiting as -- I considered it my field research. I went as a tourist, as a private citizen, because we can't go do research there. And I decided that being there in about 10-11 days I learned more than 10-11 years' worth of reading because what you see, smell, touch, hear, what you don't see, what you don't touch, what you don't hear, these are all sources of information and research. And I was so struck by a very palpable human rights violation which is not necessarily perpetrated on bodies or on minds individually, but on an entire society, which is what I would call the utter -- what's the right word -- the utter contortion and distortion of history. I was so saddened and traumatized really by how history has been so abused by the regime for decades and I really worried and I continue to worry, come unification, when that might be, South Koreans talk almost too glibly about unification, and all of the potential good that might occur as well as of course the difficulties. But nobody talks about how we're going to deal with a population of 22-25 million whose understanding of history has been so abused for decades, how do we do justice to history, the way we talk about justice in terms of human rights. They actually go together. And so I leave you with that thought because your book was not -- you didn't mean to write a history book, but there's a lot of history in there. But I thought it would be an interesting way to sort of end on a note on history, what to do with it, how do we right the wrongs of history, not only in practice, but actually in the telling of history, because so much of our identities, national and otherwise, are formed by this notion of history.

So I'll stop with my comments and I'll give you some time to respond, and then we'll open up.

DR. OH: Actually these are very complimentary and very good because she actually captured a lot of important points that I could not actually present you because I wanted to do very comprehensive. And about the class structure which is true. I mean it tells of basically 57 categories of every human being, and one of the most incredible society that kept everything and then it was fascinating, but that system is really -- it is not shaken a little bit, particularly the wavering class. Means basically -- looks like during the day you are loyal to the regime, but night time you may be cursing Kim

Jong-un, so kind of like sort of between half and half. Hostile class. Anybody who lives in South Korea, anybody defected, anybody did bad thing about Kim family, those are the hostile family. Those are the now upper mobility because they don't give a damn about the class system. They want to be rich, they want to be just go ahead. But the core class systems existing in terms of sustaining the reliable, loyal, legitimate Kim machine. So today, let's say 40 year old, young, the officer, maybe captain, and he looks like suddenly out of the blue appeared, but if you go back there is always lineage that he is the grandson of the (inaudible 49:03) that worked together remotely with Kim Il-sung. So internal core group is still you check that this core class system very severely because one rotten apple, that one little bullet, Kim Jong-un cannot survive. So everything has to be doubly 100 percent protected. People who started the system together with the grandfather and the granddaughter. So today when I meet the North Korean cadre in European setting, New York, or Tokyo, whatever, Geneva, I usually have a skill to ask because I'm also from North Korea, so I say my parents' county was so and so, what about yours. And then they say oh, your county was so and so. We are so and so family. And then I immediately, this must be the daughter of so and so. And I later after a little bit schmoozing, I said your father, your grandfather, I said, yes. And now she's the rising star at about 36 years old for the ministry, second secretary for secretary. Nobody usually goes through that. So core system is existing simply because sustain Kim Jong-un regime, but these day new class and new loyal classes, the people who have more than 100K under their belt. And they are now the powerful new group.

So anybody who has relatives in the U.S., in Japan, in Europe, and in South Korea, they are now treated there as a special category because they are endless money supply for the bureaucrats and cadres who need the money and corruption.

And regime support, this is really interesting. So my husband is a first author. First book I was a first lead author and second book he did the first author and I did the second author. And he is a social psychologist and a political psychologist, and he's very much asking these kinds of questions. What do they think, do they really believe? Like (inaudible 51:06) who has all these stars and everything, when he salute to this young, fat, rotten boy, does he really salute him or he cursing him, but because he

has to stay within the system. These are very hard to answer because there is no survey, nothing. But basically we try to read the stories about Soviet Union, stories about Nazi period, stories about French resistance movement. Anything about Albania, Romania, what the Eastern European goes through, we read tons of books. Fascinating. I give you one example. In the Soviet Union era, when (inaudible 51:42) was just brutally going into everybody and murdering with Stalin's blessing, that the World War I hero, national hero, he's a national hero. Beautiful uniform, polish the shoes, polish the pistol, polish the - - and he hung behind his door. So I said at least the guy has guts. So when the (inaudible 52:05) and his security police, he will shoot them and he will commit suicide. No, he want to put the gun, wearing uniform, he want to be beautifully appearing in the public court. You think how is this guy not even thinking twice, because he knew all of his colleagues dead like that, and yet he's waiting for his day in pristine uniform. That I don't fathom about human psychology. We're still going on reading a lot of stuff. So North Koreans, they know, they don't like it, they pretending they write it and following it, yes, sir, yes, sir. Do they really believe it? No. But why they don't do it? That is the question that we've got on another dissertation, but basically they're not acting at all because they are deeply into the system, they are the privileged class, and there is marginal hope -- not me. You know, when everybody die of cancer, SARS, and everything, you say those guys, stupid guys dead, not me. You never know when your health fallen. This is the psychology answer which is not very satisfactory, but that's the one we can get.

Another thing is that *Washington Post* reported on the independence day inside the yellow line, whatever, Korean line, 24 year old man was stabbed by a 19 year old boy, and there was 16 people in the same car and nobody moved. He didn't have a gun, he had only knife. And the guy who was grabbed by him is only 24 year old. The man who grabbed him is only 19 years old, half drunken. Sixteen passengers all stood to one side. He was stabbed 46 times and died instantly. This was reported. So I raise on that night, drinking a whole bottle of wine, rough. If you were there, if I were there, should only just throw even your shoes or your iPhones, your spray, or -- I just don't know, but Ralph, my husband, is a very subdued gentleman, he said, KD, he may be mad man is yielding, you don't want to be the first one to be killed. That is the point, you don't want to be the first to be killed.

Human rights issue, I know there was a very down -- my heart is aching every night, but basically what I'm seeing here is that South Korea was not as bad as North Korea, but South Korea after the Korean War, for god's sake we eat the bark. Not me, we were relatively affluent, but I couldn't bring my lunch box because all my classmates were starving to death. And then poor. And the core of the government, and then everybody do exactly like North Korean style corruption. I mean Americans were there, but Americans just -- as long as this is North Korea anti-communism this is okay, you just behave yourself. We just protect you militarily. They don't talk about human rights. So why no South Koreans talk about human rights? Only when we become smarter, we just threw all the stones and the whatever, and there is a student's revolution and there was democratization. So what I'm saying here is that North Koreans know enough. Unless they help yourself you cannot create another Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria and ISIL Daesh in North Korea. It means basically they have to take care of their own fate. Of course we have to help them by delivering the information.

Lastly, about history abuse, this is what I'm saying. The longer that we are divided, the more they are incorporating or assimilation or the brain damage, the longer we divided. History is abused by every country. I just attended the Sasakawa Foundation meeting about the history issue. Japan and Korea and Japan and China, those countries are still fighting with the saliva coming out from their mouths, so what do you expect. North Koreans told Americans raped and killed South Koreans, invaded South Korea, and they are slave for the American imperialist. Not many people truly believe it, but if you hear about a thousand times from the mother's womb to the death graveyard, you kind of like accepted it, like you are kind of half brain damaged. So we are accepting 22 psychologically -- nutritionally damaged human beings, so the faster the unification. But South Koreans and everybody should know that we are accepting open, huge Gulag of 22 million population in the bottom of the South Korean society, but we cannot postpone. I think we have to be proactive.

MS. MOON: Thank you very much. Okay, we'll open up and I'll take three questions at a time. And I'll go around the room to be fair, and then we'll give Dr. Oh a chance to respond, and go back and forth.

Yes, the gentleman here in the front. We have mics; we have peripatetic mics; they walk with human beings.

MR. HUMPHREY: Most people in the world believe in some sort of afterlife, and to a large degree this forms one's behavior during life. What would be your best guess about North Korean perceptions of afterlife and does the presence of absence of that form whatever little conscience is left in North Koreans? Is there such a thing as a conscience in North Korea?

MS. MOON: Excuse me, sir, would you please tell us who you are, where you're from?

MR. HUMPHREY: Peter Humphrey. I'm an intelligence analyst and a former diplomat.

DR. OH: So you are very philosophical, and maybe I am a little tired, so what is the point?

MS. MOON: Do they have an afterlife?

MR. HUMPHREY: When you don't have any believe in an afterlife.

DR. OH: Oh, afterlife, like reincarnation?

MR. HUMPHREY: Any sort of afterlife. Then it cannot form your conscience during life. And so does the society operate without conscience?

DR. OH: Okay, thank you.

MS. MOON: Moral conscience.

DR. OH: Okay, moral conscience, right, that's right.

MS. MOON: Okay, we'll take another question. Please tell us your name and your affiliation.

MS. BACHRACH: Eleanor Bachrach, former USAID. You seem to imply -- maybe I misunderstood, but Kim Jong-un was sort of the end of the line and what after that. I assume that he has or will have children, so I wonder why -- whether in fact you do think this is the end of the line and little more of the implications.

MS. MOON: Okay, let's take one from in the back of the room. Yes? Okay, right in front of you there was somebody with a hand up. Yeah.

MR. WHITE: Hi, Leon White. And I wanted to know do you see any large regional differences in North Korea, and has communication between different regions and cities in North Korea gotten better in your opinion.

MS. MOON: Okay.

DR. OH: All right. First of all, North Korean society, North Korean people are the maybe most detached from the global development. (Inaudible 59:30) dynasty, the last centralized dynasty, which is rotten dynasty ruled by the King and the nobility ended in 1910 by their stupidity and then gobbled up by Japanese. Thirty-five years of a brutal colonial rule. And after that they didn't have a single day of freedom basically. Kim Il-sung moved in, Marxist, communist, socialist and Kim Il-sung kingdom was created. So in a sense two centuries they were detached from any religion, any ethical debates, any intellectual debates, to build your philosophy, moral conscience, or whatever. The only strongest afterlife thought is that I had to be very (inaudible 1:00:14) son, good wife, good mother, good husband, good granny. And the family obligation is the strongest abandon of North Korea. Today some of the strange North Korean defectors ended up to be in South Korea would like to go back to North Korea because they regretted how painfully they are hurt every night thinking of leftover children and the husband and dying mother. So family obligation is most important. Good example of (inaudible 1:00:46) famine of 1995-1998. One Hamgyong Province, entire village wiped out. And the all the young children survived it because granny died first. You eat my porridge. Grandpa next one, mother and father. And all those become the (speaking in Korean 1:01:04), like, you know, floating little -- so that's the North Korea.

About the end of line, if there is another Kim is coming, I would like to commit suicide right now. Basically 60 years is not a very short period and Kin Jong-un is doing actually very stupid things a lot, killing left and right, and really I think for the first time, one good news is that although I don't 100 percent trust Chinese Xi Jinping or his politburo members, there is a strong debate going on today in China, strategic option for China in dealing with the two Koreas. This is not gossip, I got it from the internal source. It's going on. It's an ongoing debate basically. Kim Jong-un is a 32 year old. They cheat

the birthday, birth hour, everything they cheat, fabricate. And his body mass index, 44. He likes to drink and he's a killer. So killer does not have a good sweet dream. Every night he is up haunted by the stress and everything. And sooner or later North Koreans begin to have a little bit of a secondary though. I'm not talking about again -- don't misunderstand me -- about revolution or somebody standing up and having a demonstration against it, but already people's mind completely left. So there will be some stealth political changes made going on from bottom us. So let's hope that Kim Jong-un is the last one. So that's what I said.

And the last answer about regional differences, yes, there are regional differences, very much so. And then there is a personality difference of Hamgyong Province, Pyongan Province, Kangwan Province, and they're all very different. But in olden days there was no connectivity whatsoever. Horizontal connectivity is the worst crime in North Korea because you can communicate, you can be in the network, but today to put 2 million, 2.6 million, what does that mean? Your sister lives on the west, your brother lives in the central, another brother lives in the west coast, east coast, north and south, they communicate within North Korea, how much is the pack of apple, 2001, Kangwan is 8001. Come down with a lot of them. And they hire the transportation. Basically these cellular phones is breaking down the regional differences; regional communication is happening today.

MS. MOON: And in terms of whether Kim Jong-un has an heir or not, we do know that he has at least one child, a very young child.

DR. OH: Daughter.

MS. MOON: Yeah. We'll take a few more questions. Florence?

QUESTIONER: I have a somewhat skeptical question about human rights. All the human rights events that I've been too we're talking about human rights of those young, North Korean girls marrying older Chinese men in the farm area. It's their choice regardless, and we all say it's because of the poverty in a moneyed region, but regardless it's their choice to marry someone. Do we still consider that as a human rights? And it's not unique to North Korean girls. South Koreans import brides from Southeast Asia. We don't talk about that as a human rights issue. But I understand there is a level

of poverty and the situation is different, but still when you make a choice to do so, I'm not sure if it's considered as a human rights issue.

MS. MOON: We'll take two more. Yes, the gentleman with the cap. Please tell us who you are.

MR. HOROWTIZ: Yes, thank you for a very excellent presentation. I'm Elliot Horowitz; I'm a former State Department official and former World Bank contractor and intelligence community contractor. I would like to ask you, North Korea is a traditional, old, Stalinist, authoritarian country. And you talked a lot about the new capitalist dimensions of the country, the markets and the local farms and everything. What is the policy of the North Korean government toward all these new capitalist activities? What do they do or say to the people about all that?

MS. MOON: One more question. Let's take it from the back. There's a hand back there.

MS. HARVEY: Barbara Harvey, retired Foreign Service Officer who served in Seoul in the '60s. I wondered what the impact of the killing of Jang had on other members of the military and if the military has been Kim Jong-un's main support. How has that affected his support?

MS. MOON: Okay.

DR. OH: Okay, first of all human rights question. If you say the young girl marry an old man or whatever, entire Hollywood are the subject of human rights, right? (Laughter) So in that sense I think you have a point. I think the process and environment how they marry to a Chinese are becoming a target of human rights, why they are defecting and crossing the -- those -- and the tunnel, whatever train pulling through the -- all sorts of really tough situations. Chinese are the very deficient of the marriage age of a woman because they prefer boys and so particularly in the countryside in the border areas they need woman, and the North Korean woman, of course they are very attractive and they're young and they're willing because they don't want to die, particularly when young mother has a young daughter, the Chinese men try to grab a young daughter and then mother says, please, I will leave with you, let my daughter, she doesn't have menstruation. I mean this is real story. So that kind of thing in that case out of the circumstance that is certainly a target of human rights. But human rights issues can be very dicey

sometimes because there is also under the name of NGOs we had a lot of reports that South Koreans abuse the North Korean woman also. So we've got to be very careful. But I think that because of their environment we say they are the victims because they tried to survive, otherwise they would be sent back to North Korea. And then they will be certainly punished very badly. So this is the case.

And about the North Korean authority. And I maybe alluded a little bit, Kim Jong-un let North Korean elite and military and everybody, traitors, have a leeway of their cash and wealth. That's their oxygen. Because politically and in terms of (inaudible 1:08:06) politics, nobody likes him. I think he's aware of it, but the economy, wealth, and money, you can have escape, you can go to skiing, you can eat the good meal. So this kind of freedom is given, but there is a certain limit, you've got to be very careful between the minimum and maximum. Let's say, Jang Song-thaek has too much money, 4.6 million euros he spend for the parties and the shopping. That is a little bit over too much, but if you say 100K, my daughter occasionally crossed the border and goes to Beijing to attend a music concert, the pianist, Lang Lang, and it will not be punished because that kind of thing should be allowed. So in a sense Kim Jong-un plays the game, elite plays the game, and that's the game continue every day. At a certain point I think maybe among some elites there will be some mutual communication. What do you think? But I think don't expect that kind of rosy picture too soon.

Last, killing Jang. Killing Jang has a lot of implications. That's more than anybody else because even though he's not a backdoor lineage, because he was related as marriage, married to his aunt, of which the relationship separated very badly, she was "manizing" (phonetic 1:09:35) and alcoholic, he was womanizing and alcoholic. They lived in separate bed for about 12 years. They didn't love each other. But it was blessed by his grandfather, Kim Il-sung. And then Kim Jong-il blessed him to be guardian. Killing him, basically, Kim Jong-un is almost shoot on his own foot. That's what I think. Most importantly, Chinese cross the X mark on that killing. Why? Chinese sacred hands all shook the hands with Jang. They butchered him like a dog. So implication is relatively severe, but we don't know because nobody publicly express.

MS. MOON: Thank you. More questions? Yes. Right there, to your left. Yes.

MS. GIBSON: Hi, I'm Jenna Gibson with the Korea Economic Institute. And my question is something that you mentioned very briefly about the outside world and especially the U.S. kind of having this fantastical view of North Korea and seeing news stories that may or may not even be true. And I'm wondering how to move forward with that, how to combat these crazy stories and people looking at North Korea like it's a funny, interesting place. What can be done about that?

MS. MOON: Great question. Another question? Yes, the gentleman right in front.

MR. BANU: Hi, I'm Bogdan Banu with Meridian International Center. I actually have two very brief questions. I had a chance to go to the Hanawon Resettlement Center a few months ago and the majority of the little kids in the infirmary there were all half Chinese, half Korean. And we were asking and the vast majority of the women that were coming in came in from marriages with a Chinese -- sort of referring to the earlier question. I'm just wondering how do you think this is going to play in the long-term future when you have a whole generation of mixed kids that are coming into South Korea.

And my second question is there is a lot of tourism right now that goes into North Korea that reopened recently. How do you think that that actually offers a sort of opening to North Korea for the North Koreans? Just wanted to hear her thoughts on that.

Thank you.

MS. MOON: I'll take one more question for this round. There's someone in the back.

MS. BANNAN: Thank you. You spoke a bit about the fact that there is no civil society in North Korea, and you also mentioned that there would be no political action without a civil society. So could you expand on that as to what takes the place of civil society right now in North Korea? And if there is a chance of it forming in a few years or in a bit of time, what do you think it would take to form a civil society.

Thank you.

MS. MOON: And your name please?

MS. BANNAN: I am Sarah Bannan (phonetic 1:12:41).

DR. OH: You know, Americans. I'll be a little bit -- going a little bit (inaudible 1:12:51)

because of I don't want to really denounce, but 2008 I was working on the International Counter Terrorism issue. I'm not a terrorism expert, but I am a good strategic listener. So go to the sources. About four more -- I would say I have four more (inaudible 1:13:06) who are converted to the new transformation reform process by those governments and exports. I sit down with them, I say first of all, you are professor of university of Philippine and become a terrorist and killed so many people, and now why did you come back? And I listen to them. And so through these things and then basically I told the U.S. government, you know, that we really have to understand the regional context about their psychology, their culture, their legacy, their history, and everything. But of course we don't have any long-term patience and no money whatsoever. We are about to maybe close the government even. So basically though in 2008 I said that Afghanistan, Iraq it's winding down, there's not need to do anymore research on terrorism I said. According to my regional sources, this jihadist will go to find a new fertilizer, they will even try to create the caliphate. Luckily my description was remaining in the archive. (Inaudible 1:14:07) Daesh, they are finding. So basically what I am saying here is that we try to see through the prism of American eyes and then not really genuinely either reading -- I mean first of all, buy my books please. (Laughter) So you've got to be really open minded and sensitive and try to find out what's going on, but always you be the judge yourself, always with the benefit of doubt. Don't accept as YouTube and CNN everything at a face value, always doubt -- really, is that so? Let me see, triple check. That's only my answer.

Hanawon, mixed blood is very tough question because Korea is as nasty as -- the North Koreans as nasty as Japanese. Pure blood and homogeneous, god's sake. So this will be really the interesting social question, but I think this is very good because mixed blood come and more globalization. And let me tell you, because South Koreans didn't take a long-term view, this kind of thing happening. So in a sense this is maybe good barometer to check how open and how plural and how democratic and how mature South Korean society is. And I will be certainly a very outspoken person to protect these mixed blood pretty much.

Lastly, about civil society, this is a tough question. This is a really tough question. But I

say our thing is that basically -- the tourism -- tourism is good as long as you have money to spend, please go, why not, and give them a little bit of (inaudible 1:15:36) and let them enjoy a little bit. Oh, this American is not bad, he gave me general's (inaudible 1:15:40) and then he was very handsome, I was tempted to have a romance with him. (Laughter) Everything is good. But don't expect too much because it is strictly guided and strictly chosen in the mantra going on. And if you are a little bit dubious, even that the UK -- that the Ambassador was always had to be very careful, otherwise you will be in deep trouble. So pretty much though you are in the game of the North Korean game and if you have such a luxury as money and you have time, please go. I recommend it. I went too as a tourist one time.

Civil Society one is the one that that's what we have to educate the defector in South Korea. North Koreans oversees who tasted that civil society, tasted that different life. Their love is in North Korea. Let me tell you, a lot of South Koreans say god, unification, these 22 million, you know, body and everything aching and the stupid psychologically damaged people trying to settle in South Korea. I said please don't say that. All my defectors whom I interviewed, several hundred of them, said I am the first one to cross the border, KD, my land. Koreans are very home bound people. So these are already in the global world, today U.S., UK, Canada, South Korea, Japan, and they are interested in working to get back there as a pioneer to deliver the open society's news. There may be the beginning of a pioneer of civil society. If I were young I will volunteer to be part of them, but I'm too old to be killed by North Korean cadres or I am keeping (inaudible 1:17:13). (Laughter)

MS. MOON: If I could take the moderator's prerogative to add a couple of things. A question about how Americans might be able to literally see and understand North Korea a little bit better, more realistically. There are many analysts now, scholars who look at North Korea as a developing country. And so that's just one way to look at it. So I think it's important to use multiple lenses, so in some way when you look at the economy, when you look at political development, developing country, a kleptocracy, we have studied in political science many, many kleptocracies all over the world and what happens to the institutions to the lack of civil society, and then how civil society gets formed, et cetera, under those circumstances. We can also look at North Korea as a straight forward totalitarian society, as

a theological monarchy in a way. There are many ways to look at comparatively other societies. Just as Dr. Oh talked about all the different countries she and her husband had studied to understand North Korea better, rather than just, you know, listening to the TV or what have you. And North Korea is not just one thing, it's many, many things. And I think the more you look at North Korea through different lenses, it's like looking at a -- I love kaleidoscopes and you shake it one way and you turn the wheel and it looks like one thing, you shake it another way, you turn the wheel, and you see another design. And I think it takes our creativity to do that.

We'll do another quick round of questions and then we'll close our session and give you as individuals some time with Dr. Oh if you have some private questions.

Any last questions please?

DR. OH: Knocked them out.

MS. MOON: Yes, go ahead.

MS. BACHRACH: Eleanor Bachrach again. I read some of the memoirs of defectors and some other background stuff. Do you have any feel for what's happening with these terrible Gulags, prison camps, which I guess include a large proportion of the population and multigenerational? Is there any improvement there?

DR. OH: Actually, the North Korean -- the U.S. Committee of North Korea, that if you go to website there is a -- new report came out on Gulag, particularly focusing on women. And North Koreans are certainly -- they are not completely deaf from the (inaudible 1:20:12) criticism because of UN human rights report and everything, and they are now revolutionizing different units and changing and then reshuffling around, and whether that these inmates were all killed or just transferred and everything. Total story will never be very clear, but we have a GPS and we have the satellite photos and with the Gulags in and the new sites and the new reports coming out, I think they will be really enlightening you. And it is still existing unfortunately. And then exact number of inmates and everything is a little bit hard to tell as of now, but I think until North Korea is completely wiped out from the global map we will not know the total truth about how Gulag was managed and how they survived. But it is existing unfortunately.

MS. MOON: Thank you very much. I admire your jam packed, informative efficiency in your answers. It's a nice model.

At any rate we're very fortunate to have you here and also I love the fact that it's two women. Many of you may not know that there are young women in Washington who go around to different events and they tweet and they write "man-el", it's another "man panel". (Laughter) And I'm very proud to say that Brookings increasingly is becoming less of a "man-el" and more diverse. This is the first "woman-el" (laughter), okay, a woman panel that you have been to. So you can spread the news that --

SPEAKER: A "chick-el".

MS. MOON: A "chick-el"? (Laughter)

DR. OH: Oh, please no. Oh, no.

MS. MOON: I think we're a bit too old.

DR. OH: Yeah, no.

MS. MOON: At any rate, so we're very, very glad that we've had this opportunity and I'm sure the conversation will continue. Again Dr. Oh's book is out there and the proceeds will be going to assist defectors from the North. And, Bogdan, just in closing, I have a paper coming out any day on demographic change in South Korea that focuses on multi ethnic children and families and the implications for South Korean democracy. So we'll make sure you get a copy.

Thank you so much and we'll see you -- we'll have another book event on November 7, David Straub of Stanford University, former Foreign Service officer who served at the U.S. Embassy at Korea. He'll be coming to talk about his book on anti-Americanism. And Brookings is the distributor for that book. So I'll be hosting that event as well. So please come.

DR. OH: Thank you, thank you.

MS. MOON: Thank you. (Applause)

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CERTIFICATE OF NOTARY PUBLIC

I, Carleton J. Anderson, III do hereby certify that the forgoing electronic file when originally transmitted was reduced to text at my direction; that said transcript is a true record of the proceedings therein referenced; that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which these proceedings were taken; and, furthermore, that I am neither a relative or employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the parties hereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of this action.

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