Q&A: THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT (RtoP) AND THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF KOREA (NORTH KOREA)

Note: For more details on the crisis, as well as sources and links for all the information provided below, please visit our website: www.responsibilitytoprotect.org.

Q: What is happening in the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK)?
A: Both the Korean War and the Cold War, and the resulting division of the Korean peninsula, has created a unique political system in North Korea, one dominated by an “isolationist” attitude and a deep aversion to outside powers. This extreme isolationist attitude, present since Kim Il-Sung founded the DPRK in 1948, has continued to flourish under the current “Supreme” Leader Kim Jong-un, whose political party dominates the country and cultivates a culture of obedience through indoctrination and propaganda. Access to outside information is severely restricted, surveillance is widespread and pervasive, and religious individuals are persecuted. After years of rumors of the systemic human rights abuses from North Korean defectors and escapees, the UN Human Rights Council (HRC) created an unprecedented Commission of Inquiry on human rights in the DPRK (Resolution A/HRC/RES/22/13) in March 2013.

Q: What did the Commission of Inquiry report find?
A: Owing to North Korea’s isolationist stance and refusal to accommodate requests for information and access, the Commission drew its findings from over 80 public hearings, 80 written submissions, and more than 240 confidential interviews. Formally presented to the HRC in March 2014, the report stated unequivocally that “systematic, widespread, and gross human rights violations have been and are being committed in the DPRK,” and in many instances amount to “crimes against humanity based on State policies.”

The report finds that the State’s monopoly over the lives of its citizens constitutes “an almost complete denial” of the rights to freedom of thought, conscience, religion, opinion, expression, information and association. Those who attempt to flee, both internally and internationally, are subject to torture, persecution, prolonged arbitrary detention, sexual violence, forced abortions, and summary execution. Moreover, according to the report, the State fails to uphold its citizens’ right to food, using it as a tool of control, and causing the death of hundreds of thousands of people by starvation. Hundreds of thousands of political prisoners are also estimated to have died in camps over the past five decades in a process of gradual elimination. Many North Koreans are ‘disappeared’ or executed – either publicly or secretly – without due judicial process. The report further finds that the Government has violated the rights of foreign nationals, through its systematic abduction of persons from other countries, ostensibly to gain skills and labor.

Q: Why does the international community have a Responsibility to Protect North Koreans?
A: In 2005 (see box at right) all heads of state and government agreed that they had a Responsibility to Protect populations from genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing. The HRC Commission found evidence that ten out of the eleven acts defined as crimes against humanity by the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) have been committed in North Korea: extermination, murder, enslavement, torture, imprisonment, rape, forced abortions and other sexual violence, persecution on political, religious, racial and gender grounds, the forcible transfer or populations, the enforced disappearance of persons and the inhumane act of knowingly causing prolonged starvation. The Commission itself states that the “international community must accept its responsibility to protect the people of the DPRK, because the Government...has manifestly failed to do so.”

Q: How has the international community upheld its RtoP?
A: Up until the report’s release, the international community’s action in the DPRK focused almost exclusively on nuclear disarmament issues. The report has brought a renewed focus on human rights for actors desiring change in North Korea.

In addition to creating the Commission itself, the Human Rights Council has been the first to respond to the report’s findings. In resolution A/HRC/25/L.17, the HRC recommended that the General Assembly submit the Commission’s report to the Security
Council; and asked the Security Council to refer the situation in the DPRK to the appropriate international justice mechanism, which the Commission believes to be the ICC (since the DPRK is not a signatory to the Rome Statute, the ICC must gain jurisdiction over the matter from the Security Council). Finally, the HRC asked the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) to provide increased support, including through the establishment of a field-based structure. The OHCHR announced on 29 May 2014 that it would be opening such a field office in Seoul, South Korea, with the hope that the office would improve the efficiency of the investigation of human rights abuses in North Korea and perhaps “reduce their frequency and intensity.”

The UN Special Adviser on the Responsibility to Protect, Dr. Jennifer Welsh, in a statement on 14 March 2014, noted that the “persistence of such crimes, and the prolonged period of suffering endured by the population of the DPRK...are an affront to our humanity and demand serious consideration by the Human Rights Council and other UN bodies. While the world’s attention is fixed upon crises in Syria and the Central African Republic, the sobering testimony of witnesses before the Commission makes clear that the population of the DPRK also deserve timely and decisive action.”

The European Parliament, meanwhile, in a resolution passed on 17 April 2014, demanded “that those responsible for the crimes against humanity committed in the DPRK be held accountable, brought before the International Criminal Court and subjected to targeted sanctions.”

Civil society organizations, including those set up by North Korean refugees, were vocal supporters of establishing a Commission of Inquiry. NGOs, including the National Human Rights Commission of Korea and the Korea Institute for National Unification, also met with Commission members while it compiled its findings. ICRtoP Member Human Rights Watch released a video of interviews with North Korean escapees from political prison camps.

**Q: Why isn’t the international community doing more to protect North Koreans?**

**A:** Action by the international community on this particular case will likely be difficult to achieve, owing to both the politics within the Security Council and the DPRK’s extremely reclusive nature. The DPRK “totally rejected and disregarded” the Commission and refused to respond to any of the commission’s requests for information or access. China, which holds veto power on the Council, is the DPRK’s greatest benefactor and strongly desires stability on the Korean peninsula. Chinese representatives have already stated that the report’s conclusions are unfounded. Many therefore believe that China will use its veto to block any significant action by the Security Council, with some stating that other UN Member States are resistant to pressuring China on this issue in fear that China will retract its support for non-proliferation measures in North Korea.

**Q: What kind of additional action can the international community take to uphold its RtoP in North Korea?**

**A:** The Commission provided a number of recommendations to international actors. In addition to referring the situation to the ICC, the Security Council also has the option of imposing targeted sanctions against the individuals most responsible for the crimes. Member states, foundations, and the private sector could also provide more support to civil society organizations working to improve the human rights situation in the DPRK, “including efforts to document violations and to broadcast accessible information into the country.” Member States should also extend asylum to North Korean refugees. Importantly, international actors could provide support and apply pressure on the DPRK to undertake desperately-needed reforms, including steps to establish accountability through prosecution, allow humanitarian access, and permit the freedom of speech.

Though chances of concerted international action may appear slim, international actors must not be complacent in the face of such obvious and documented atrocities. The Chair of the Commission, Michael Kirby, himself stated on 16 April 2014 that “If this report does not trigger action by the international community, it is hard to say what will...What choice will we make? Do nothing today to say never again tomorrow? Or take action to say not one day further?”

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**INTERNATIONAL COALITION FOR THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT**

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The International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect convenes and collaborates with civil society, Member States, and regional and sub-regional organizations to continue close scrutiny of the consistent implementation of the third pillar and develop effective methods to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity.