

International Network for the Human Rights of North Korean Overseas Labor

The Conditions of the North Korean Overseas Labor

2012. 12.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction	pg.	5
1. The Issue	pg.	5
2. Research Method	pg.	7
A) Research Objective	pg.	7
B) Research Approach	pg.	7
C) Research Target	pg.	8
Chapter 2. Background	pg.	9
1. Literature Review	pg.	9
2. Labor Market and Labor Rights	pg.	10
3. Background of the North Korean Economy and Overseas Labor	pg.	11
Chapter 3. Actual Conditions of North Korean Overseas Labor	pg.	14
1. North Korea's Hard Currency Structure	pg.	17
2. Actual State of Overseas Labor by Country	pg.	19
3. Actual State of Overseas Labor by Occupation	pg.	22
Chapter 4. Research Results and Investigation Outcomes	pg.	24
1. Overview of Research Structure	pg.	24
A) Characteristic of Research Objective	pg.	24
B) Status of Overseas Workers in North Korea.	pg.	25
C) Process and Job Classification	pg.	28
2. Current State of Wages	pg.	34
A) Wage and Exploitation	pg.	34

B) Overseas Labor Wage Flow	pg.	43
C) Intermediary Phases of Exploitation	pg.	46
3. Current State of Labor Rights	pg.	47
4. Current State of Fundamental Human Rights	pg.	49
A) Housing, Food, and Clothing	pg.	50
B) Freedom of Communication and Outside Access	pg.	51
C) Surveillance and Ideology Indoctrination	pg.	52
D) Per Diem Work	pg.	54
E) Contract Work	pg.	55
 Chapter 5. Conclusion	pg.	58
Reference	pg.	60

TABLES

<Table 1> Information of Interviewees	pg.	24
---------------------------------------	-----	----

CHARTS

<Chart 1> North Korea's Hard Currency Income Structure	pg.	17
<Graph 2> The flow of hard currency funds in the 80s	pg.	44
<Graph 3> The flow of overseas workers 1990	pg.	45
<Graph 4> Flow of overseas labor under Kim Jong Un	pg.	46

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1. The Issue

As the command economy of North Korea increasingly deteriorates, the Kim regime has been inevitably faced with large debt and deficits. Consequently, the government has had to take drastic measures to obtain hard currency. Businesses strictly operated by the North Korean government have involved casino operations, North Korean restaurants, and drug trade; all which have allowed the North Korean government to get access to foreign currency. Most importantly, the North Korean government has engaged in dispatching cheap labor workers abroad where they are forced to work under very constricted conditions and harsh environments. The objective of this report is then to describe the current system and conditions of the North Korean overseas workers and expose the abuses of Human Rights that occur in them.

North Korea began obtaining foreign currency through the development of drugs and military weapons especially when it stopped receiving support and aid from China. In the past, Kim Jong Il had secured the foreign funds through the establishments of businesses that worked through the support of *Office 38* and *Office 39*. (Safebox departments used to secure government funds) that were mostly used for the development of nuclear weapons supported and managed by the so-called ‘big politics’. However since the early 90s, North Korea has been faced to cumulative economic and social welfare deterioration threatening the stability of the government. In order to have some sort of economic recovery, the North Korean government decided to export cheap labor into foreign countries from the 1980s¹, however once the economy worsened it started the regime began relying more on this type of easy and corrupted exploitation.

The death of Jong Il in December 2011, ascended Kim Jong Un into power to rule over a country with no economic stability. Thus, the foreign currency business has

¹ In the 1960s and 70s, South Korea sent big groups of nurses and miners to work in Germany where proper wages and freedoms were given. On the other hand, North Korea sent workers abroad barely provided housing and food, and where most of the salary would go back to the government. For example, the Gaeson Industrial Complex hires North Korean workers to work in South Korean companies. While the wages are meant to be \$70-\$80 dollars, the workers get barely paid \$13.21 dollars.

become of paramount importance for the continuation of the government. The regime is now looking for means to expand its business for the sole purpose of obtaining more foreign currency and continue to send workers abroad. The government's foreign business accounts to about \$6 to \$8 billion dollars. Business transactions occur with countries such as Yemen, Iran, Syria and Myanmar bringing annual revenues of \$ 5 to \$10 billion dollars. After the United Nations Security Council Resolution of 1718 on North Korea, the scale of the business revenue went down to \$1 billion dollars. Consequently, in July 2008, because of the shooting of a South Korean tourist in North Korea, the country was faced with high tourism losses and bans as well as a decrease in business. Therefore North Korea had more reasons to expand its illicit business such as drug exportation and dispatch of cheap overseas workers. ²

This report then tries to organize the realities and experiences of the North Korean overseas workers. The conditions of these workers have become an issue of great concern and its realities need to be revealed. The processes in which these workers are sent abroad is highly corrupted and profits obtained continue to maintain and support the authoritarian regime barely reaching the North Korean families in need. This report aims to expose the overseas business structure of the North Korean government and reveal the conditions that the North Korean workers face in an objective manner. Their narratives and insights will shine light on the needs of human and labor rights of these workers.

The content of this report is as follows:

The first chapter raises the main issues regarding North Korean overseas labor and suggests a specific research method. The second chapter presents a literature review related to North Korean overseas workers and draws to the necessity of this report. In addition, the labor market, Labor Rights, and the economic conditions and background of North Korean workers are reviewed. The third chapter analyzes overall status of North Korean overseas labor categorized by country and type of work. The fourth chapter shows the results of the surveys conducted for this report. Finally, the fifth

² Voice of America , June 26 2012

chapter leads to the conclusion and limitations of this report suggesting further research and improvements.

2. Research Method

A) Research Purpose

The research purpose of this report is to provide an overall view of the unknown North Korean foreign currency business. The value that migrant workers have taken in the foreign currency business for North Korea is paramount. It is important to understand, that this report is not intend not to draw conclusions in itself but to reveal the realities of the migrant North Korean workers by laying out the facts and exposing the harsh conditions in which they live in. This research thus investigates not only a background and process of North Korean overseas labor but looks at each case by categorizing by country and occupation.

B) Research Approach

This research has taken qualitative approach rather than a quantitative one. It uses two research methods: a literary review and in-depth interviews. The literary review is based on existing domestic and foreign books, journals, and others. The information obtained was all based on objective facts. Based on this information, the research team went out to meet North Korean overseas workers and was able to verify and analyze the previously obtained information.

There were certain limitations to the research methods. First, there was only a limited amount of research done on the North Korean overseas workers. There is a need for further research to understand this complex issue in depth. In addition, due to the nature of the questions the responses might have also been subjective and difficult to judge. Lastly, and most importantly, it is very difficult to make contact with these workers and mostly importantly arrange meetings with North Korean foreign workers due their strong surveillance. Therefore, considering all of the limitations above, a qualitative approach was taken for this research as a quantitative one would require a

higher number of interviewees.

C) Research Target

The interviewees of this research were the North Korean migrant workers or people who had experience working as migrant workers. Gender and age were alluded to but were not considered important to the objectives of this research. The in-depth interviews were carried out in China, Middle East, and China where North Korean workers had been sent to work. The research staff used their underground contacts to get in touch with the interviewees where secret meetings were arranged. While the answers of the interviewees revealed a general sense of the conditions in which these workers live in, it was difficult to get specific and detailed information. The interviews were carried out on a one-to-one basis. In addition, defectors that had previous experience working overseas were also interviewed.

Chapter 2 - Background

1. Literature Review

There have been several news articles regarding the North Korean overseas labor. Unfortunately, there is a lack of academic research on this topic. In a thesis related to North Korean foreign currency business, Kim Gwang-Jin analyzed the system change of North Korea's foreign currency control³. This thesis unveiled the overall and systematic facts of the unknown system of North Korea's foreign currency business. Nevertheless, it did not cover the research on North Korean overseas labor.

Gong Young Cheol did a study of the form of labor markets that portrayed the system of foreign currency business and the funds flow.⁴ However, the paper did not talk about the conditions of the migrant labor. On the other hand, Lee Young Hyun did directly touch on the topic of North Korean labor.⁵ His research investigated the situations of how North Korean workers went into Russia and how it could have had a positive role on them. This research is only limited to Russia, but is relatively detailed and systematic to provide in-depth perspective of the overseas labor. Notwithstanding, it does not allude to the abuses of Human Rights and the illegalities of this type of labor. Song Bong-sun looked at the economic situation of North Korea and its worsening condition after the Kim Jung Un regime and the solution proposed by sending North Korean labor workers abroad.⁶

In addition, the research done by Park Seok Sam(2002), Yang Moon Soo(2010), Yu Seoung Ho(2004), Lee Seok(2009), Lim Soo Ho(2008), Choi Soo Young(2004)⁷ also

³ Kim Kwang Jin, NK foreign structure system's change, University of North Korean Studies in Master's degree. 2007.

⁴ Gong Yong Cheol,; 'Report on labor market's form of N.K'. University of North Korean Studies in Master's degree. 2010.

⁵ Lee Young Hyung, N.K labor's expansion toward the Far East of Russia and the role , Analysis of the role, 2007.

⁶ Song Bong-Sun, The continuance of the Kim Jeong Un regime through foreign exchange,' Monthly North Korea, August 2012

⁷ Park Seok Sam, 'Research on NK's private economy field'(Seoul: Korea bank). 2002.; Yang Moon Soo, 'market of N.K economy: Aspect, characteristic , mechanism, implication '(Paju: Hanul Academy). 2010.; Yoo Seung-Ho, "features and limits of changes of N.K foreign funds administering system," SooUn NK's Economy, 2004 summer/first issue. Seoul: Export-Import Bank of Korea). 2004.; Lee

touched upon the topics of labor market and its economic systems. Nevertheless, these papers do not relate directly with the North Korean overseas labor.

2. Labor Market and Labor Rights⁸

North Korea is a country that forbids any political opposition, representation of civil society, workers of Human Rights, or even labor unions. Freedom of religion, livelihood, or private businesses is obsolete. Therefore, the citizens of the DPRK lack any political, economic, social or cultural rights. This issue has been widely advocated and expressed by many international organizations and think-tanks regarding the poor human rights records held in North Korea.

Similar is the case of North Korean labor laws, as they are based on the *Juche* (self-reliance) ideology that has supported the continuation communist and authoritarian system of the North Korean government. Labor laws in North Korea are connected to the constitution and Criminal Law. Labor laws are then strongly controlled and easily sentenced by the North Korean government.

In July 1, 2002, economic adjustment policies were discussed with the idea of opening a market economic zone to allow a limited liberalization of economic activities. Nevertheless, due to the centrally planned economic system and limited market allocation, there has been no space for liberation or any market economic activity in North Korea. As the government controls all types of economic activity, the North Koreans themselves are not even able to choose their profession or employment. Similarly, assignment to work is not decided upon talent but by the centrally planned economic management.⁹

Seok ,N.K's market : assumption of scale and structural analysis,(Seoul: the Korea Development Institute). 2009.; Lim Soo Ho, Plan and coexistence of market: N.K's economic reform and prospect of system change,(Seoul: Samsung Economic Research Institute). 2008.; Choi Soo Young, 'Prospects of Changes after NK's economy after July Economic Measures and Prospect in North Korea,(Seoul: Korea Institute for National Unification). 2004.

⁸ North Korea Strategy Center, seminar source book, on 28 April, 2011

⁹ Korean Institute for national Unification, North Korea Human Rights paper ,2011

In North Korea, the State controls all forms and institutions labor markets, state food, healthcare, education, and housing. Thus they take responsibility of all workers to which they pay back through small amounts of cash and stamps for them to buy clothing, food, and furniture. Given the failure of its economic systems together with the consequences of natural disasters, the government has not been able to provide basic needs to its workers. Despite all the food aid the North Korean government has received, the rations provided to the workers does not even compare to the scale of food aid the authorities hold. In addition, in the working contracts established by the government there is now acknowledgement, recognition, or protection for any worker's human rights.

Securing labor rights for North Korean workers is a very difficult task to achieve as the country does not form part of the International Labor Organization (ILO). The ILO agreements require the commitment international standards and regulations. North Korea notwithstanding, does have the responsibility to protect the labor rights of its members by the following covenants of human rights: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social, Cultural Rights (ICESR), the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).

3. Background of the North Korean Economy and Overseas Labor

The North Korea's national economic system has shown many deficits and failures due to energy shortages, natural disasters, and lack of foreign currency. By the 90s, North Korea showed its negative growth rate for its 9th consecutive year. In the 90s, the average production rate was of 40%, but by 1996, it decreased by 25% and has not been able to raise its rates since.¹⁰ By Reaching a 20% production rate would reflect the

¹⁰ Park, Hyung Chung, ' North Korea's Economic System: Power Mechanisms, Revolution and Change' (Seoul: Hanam 2002) pg. 29

evident failures of the country's economy.

In the late 1950s, many socialist states showed rapid progress and development compared to other countries at that time. North Korea was no exception. The country's economy grew rapidly with high GNP and labor productivity. Nevertheless, the controlled economic systems were bound to collapse ending in a long-term recession and stagnation. The 1960s showed stagnant labor productivity and capital productivity also declined. Consequently the economic depression began in the early 60s and not the 70s. The North Korean economic crisis was not produced by short term effects but was evidently due to the consequences of a poor economic system. After the changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, North Korea faced many hardships. They were not receiving sufficient aid from China and Russia as before and were showing negative growth from the early 1990s. Droughts also reached North Korea in 1995 and 1996 worsening the economy and its productivity lines even more.¹¹ While North Korea blamed their economic weaknesses and failures to natural disasters occurring at the moment, it was evident that the centrally planned economic system was the main cause.

Material and energy shortage sharply reduced the operational rate of industry and disrupted the social distribution system. In addition, as food rations had been cut, a strong famine hit its people. This led to people resorting to the black market. Given these worsening economic conditions of starvation and negative productivity, the North Korean government was left with a high demand for foreign currency. It estimated that there are between 60,000 to 65,000 workers in over 40 countries worldwide. The annual profits can sum up to a total of 1.5 ~2.3 billion dollars. After sanctions imposed on May 24th, the North Korean government increased largely public export of minerals such as iron ore, coal, but is turned toward expansion of overseas labor export after Kim Jong-il's death.

The mid 1990s showed a collapse of the North Korean regime due to its economic

¹¹ In the 1990s, the North Korea economy reached a sudden collapse due to its accumulated economic failures and natural disasters. Pyoungyang had also engaged in the 1988 Olympics competition which began to drain money off the government. The North Korea's annual trade was of 4.6 billion dollars. Park Hyung Joon, (2000) ' Summit of the North Korean regime before and after changes', The Unification Research Volume 23, pg. 196

crisis. The North Korean regime had shown to be financially independent and had attributed its economic and diplomatic success to its national economy. ¹²While in July 2002, an economic adjustment policy market was to be expanded it did not show any positive results. The North Korean government has failed to build strong economic relationships with other countries and is dependent on its own planned economy. If one sector of their economic system fails, it is bound to produce a domino effect. The country was dependent on its working population who every time became more reluctant to work and preferred to secure their own food. Due to the lack of access to food, people in North Korea had no choice but to rely on the black market. The expansion of the market thus weakened labor planning.

¹² Cheong, Yong Cheol' 『North Korea's Openness and Reform : Dual Strategy and Views of Change (Seoul: Son -In, 2004) 』, pp.46-48.

Chapter 3 - Actual Conditions of North Korean Overseas Labor

Earning foreign currency in a socialist regime is part of the planned economy. Kornai (1992) argues that in a conventional socialist regime, the states ends up monopolizing all foreign trade. However, as foreign trade is bound to mutual interest, it cannot implement a command economy system. Nonetheless, socialist countries plan to import when a type of necessary commodity is not domestically produced, and plan to export in order to earn money for import. Such decision making is done by bureaucrats, rather than individuals or companies. This is because state trading companies (or closer to bureaucracy) monopolize foreign trade. Therefore, trading firms are not in any sense private business enterprises but state-own trading firms that end up monopolizing foreign trade.¹³

Similarly, in 1970 North Korea also monopolized its foreign trade. However, in 1983, the military was allowed to open a foreign currency base, and soon the state monopoly of trade began breaking down. In July 1989, North Korea held the World Festival of Youth and Students in Pyongyang and the preparation incurred huge demand for foreign currency. Therefore, from 1986, different large organizations such as the Guard Command, Social Security Bureau (police), the Ministry of People's Armed Forces, provinces and cities had been allowed to engage in trade. From then on, different trade agencies¹⁴ under different departments began to emerge.¹⁵

As trade agencies began expanding foreign currency savings also began to rise. From the mid-late 1980s, the North Korea foreign currency savings began to increase competitively as demands for foreign currency was on the rise. However this was not the only reason. Not only did the government increase its foreign savings for it for its

¹³ J.Kornai, *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism*

¹⁴ Trade offices and Foreign Currency Departments are different from each other. While foreign currency manufacturers deal with marine and agricultural products, mining and other similar productions, they are not allowed to import/ export themselves. That is why they must give their products to the trade offices and get a commission for their production. Trade organizations have their own foreign currency exchange base. Foreign Currency Savings Department's offices are dispersed geographically.

¹⁵ In April 2009, North Korea went through the revision of the 9th Amendment of the constitution stating, "In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, foreign trade shall be conducted by government institutions, enterprises of social and cooperative organizations" extending its foreign trade capabilities.

economic activities. Departments and companies that have their own foreign currency earning institutions can possess capability to buy materials and their officers can enjoy a very comfortable life.

Foreign currency earning companies and trading firms belong to powerful government agencies, however the actual owners are something like “presidents” (business people or *donju*) and each company has about fifteen base-chiefs. Chiefs of foreign currency earning bases are the ones who earn money in the market. Presidents and chiefs prefer foreign currency and trading, because there is not limitation as to how much they can expand their wealth in the North Korean market.

When doing foreign currency involved business, the participants prefer to be under power organs like the Ministry of People’s Armed Forces, Joint Chiefs of Staff or Guard Command, in order to avoid government interference. At the same time, the states need business people to run the base or trading company as obtaining foreign currency requires capital and know-hows, which is something the powerful organs of the state lack.

Such business model, in which the business people are allowed to participated, expanded during the March of Tribulation. Companies and factories, had stopped operating due to the lack of materials and support, and sought to obtain loans from money lenders. A business model that allowed the official cover to private business people became popular and this type of independent management system was expanded. Planned labor and the labor market also began using this system where business practices were partly independent but under the government’s umbrella.

North Korea’s foreign currency earning officials are classified into three categories. First, there are the public officials who receive trading education and foreign language education and sent abroad under official cover; second, employees of factories that are involved in export or joint-venture companies; and those who own export sources and send them to trading companies.

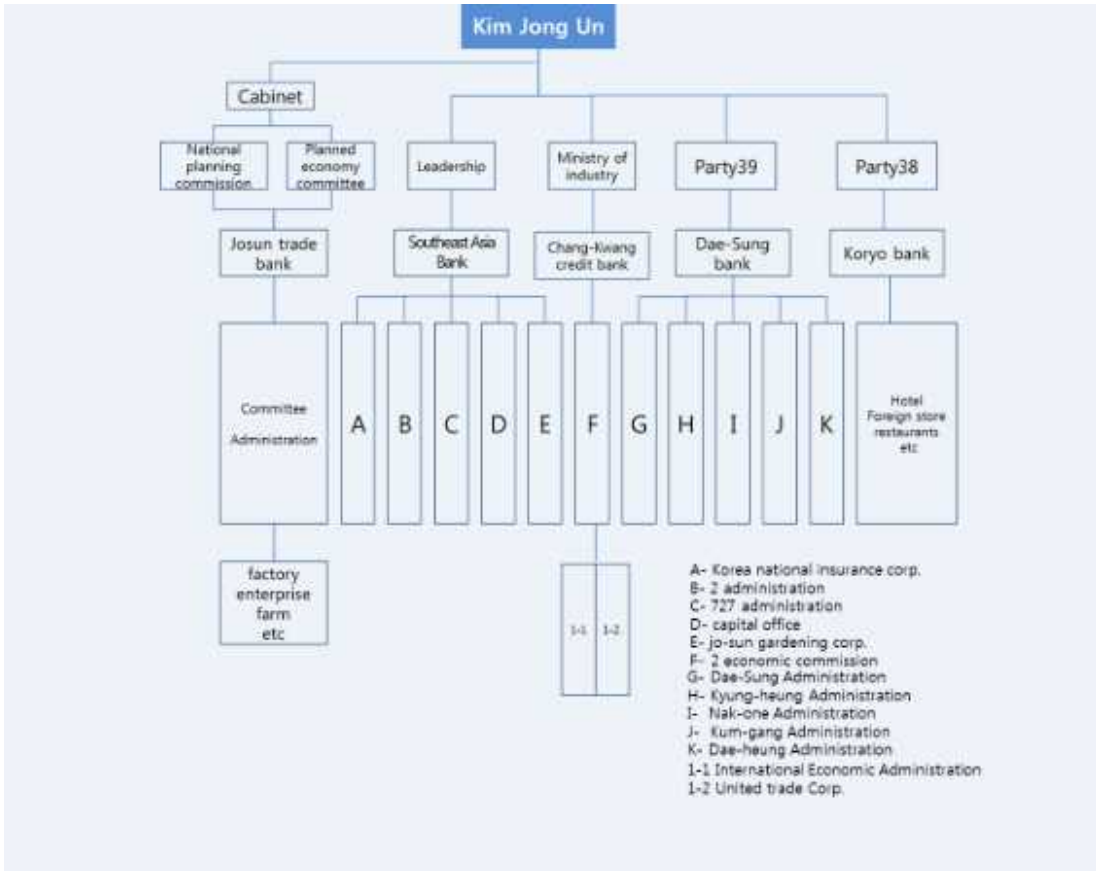
Since 2000, North Korea has focused on exporting labor. There are North Korean export laborers in forty five countries, in eastern Siberia, China, Southeast Asia, and the

Middle East and Africa. A total of thirty thousand North Koreans are estimated to be working overseas. Those overseas laborers are tightly controlled, regardless of region, and are forced to pay a certain amount of their income to the state. The overseas laborers are managed by a labor fund method, which was used by foreign currency earnings trading companies.

Such labor export is assumed to supplement a hard currency earning for North Korea, as its other sources of dollars have been depleted. In fact, in Dubai, the Chosun Economic Cooperation Company under the Overseas Construction Management Bureau of the Ministry of Trade, a number of Trading Companies of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of People's Armed Forces, the Botonggang Trading Company, under Eunha Guidance Bureau of the Ministry of Light Industry are all dispatching labor forces. North Korean restaurants in China have different owners. Morganwan of Shenyang is under the Foreign Service General Directorate of Pyongyang City Government, and the Ministry of Culture and Sports run its own restaurants.

1. North Korea's Hard Currency Structure

Chart 1 : North Korea's hard currency income structure



As shown above, North Korea is running key organs of the Party, Government and Military through foreign earning activities as its economy collapsed. Among other sources of foreign currency earning, such as labor export has become an easy way of obtaining dollars as it does not require much capital or skills.

It is estimated that around sixty to sixty five thousand North Korean laborers are sent to forty different countries. Annual remittance from them is estimated to be 150 to 230 million USD. After the May 24 sanction, North Korea responded with exporting more coal and iron ore. However, after Kim Jong Il's death, it has turned to expanding labor export.

According to recent testimonies North Korean defectors and other organizations

such the ‘North Korean Human Rights Advancement Groups’ (which supports North Korean escaping overseas), it has been found that North Korea plans to send staff for construction work and administration for the Office.³⁹ The destinations are places such as the Middle East, Kuwait, and other Arab countries. This is due to the boom in construction in this area and their high demand. The organizations in charge of sending these workers abroad are the following: the Foreign Construction Office for Trade, the Capital Construction General Directorate, the Eight Bureau of the Central Party, 1st Brigage, 7th Brigae, and the 8th General Directorate of the Ministry People’s Security.

The Office 39 of the KWP is known as the source of slush fund for Kim Jong Un. It has seventeen foreign branches and one hundred trading companies overseeing each foreign currency earning activity. Currently, North Koreans earn 150 to 230 million USD from export labor, one hundred million USD by exporting arms, and 27 million USD from selling gold (5 to 6 ton per year), 20 million USD from counterfeit US dollars and 100 to 200 million USD from drug trafficking.¹⁶

In case of Kaesong Industrial Complex, there were only thirty companies in 2006, but now 123 companies and fifty thousand laborers are working there, earning 30 to 40 million USD per year as salary. The Office 39’s profit, including of restaurants and casinos, is lower than the level of 2007 of one billion USD. This is due to the May 24 sanction after the ROKS Cheonan sinking, and which has cost about five to six hundred million USD bringing many difficulties to the Kim Jong Un regime.. As forty thousand more laborers will be sent to China in the future, Kim Jong Un’s financial situation will improve. North Korea plans to send total of one hundred thousand to one hundred twenty thousand laborers in two to three years, and if this plan materializes, it is expected to bring profits of three hundred to four hundred million USD per year.¹⁷

Social status of the overseas laborers is of middle class in North Korean standards. They are allowed to buy basic necessities but do not receive a lot of income. They are also allowed to change their commodities in the market. Some of them may earn several

¹⁶ Chosun Ilbo, April 27, 2012

¹⁷ Song, Bong Seon’ The prolongation of Kim Jong Un through Hard Currency’, Monthly North Korea, August 2012

thousand USD by having an external party time job and use it to start a business. Due to this reason, the North Korean people bribe or use their connections to be selected as ‘export labor’. This is why people such as researches are teachers are sent to do construction work.¹⁸

2. Actual State of Overseas Labor by Country¹⁹

There are about 20,000 to 25,000 workers sent to Russia. Air Koryo (the North Korean airline) has various air routes to the Middle East and Kuwait (3,500 to 4,000), where about 15,000 North Korean workers are placed in construction and medical fields. There are about 15,000 workers in South East Asia, 7,000-8,000 in Africa, 5,000 in Eastern Europe, and 5,000 in Mongolia.

In China, there are 7,000 to 8,000 people working at local restaurants and construction sites. Recently, China has also been accepting another new group of 20,000 North Korean workers around Jilin, Tumen, and Hunchun cities that connect China to the Tumen Riverside. The number of North Korean workers will be expected to account for nearly fifty thousand under an agreement China has decided to accept to take in another extra twenty thousand workers a year as industrial trainees in Dandong and Liaoning.

In Russia, North Korean overseas workers mainly engage in lumber work, construction building, oil refinery, roads, and waterways. In the Middle East and Africa, North Koreans have also worked in constructing presidential palaces, a memorial halls, military facilities and medical fields. Many North Korean women as well work in toll booths in Eastern Europe, in the construction industry in South East Asia, and in toll processing and mining in China and Mongolia.

¹⁸ North Korea Strategy Center, ‘Academic Seminar Materials, April 28, 2011

¹⁹ Chosun Ilbo, April 27th, 2012

As the Northeast of China has been faced with labor shortages, under diplomatic arrangements, North Korean workers have been taken in to resolve this deficit. The North Korean media claims to post these working advertisements to all its people however it does not seem to be the case. The wages of North Korean workers in China is of 150 dollars a month. The wages of the people working at the Gaeson Industrial Complex is higher than \$110 dollars. These wages are considered high in comparison to the wages obtained inside the DRPK.

Another reason why China has begun issuing working visas has been due to the massive crackdown of North Korea defectors in the Dongbei region and so has created a need to alleviate the economic distress in that area.. At the same time, North Korea is strongly pursuing a secure path and business structure to obtain hard foreign currency for the Kim Jung-Un regime. It has been said that Kim Jung-Un demanded an increase in overseas labor even if it highly risked workers escaping

*"From China we get all types of food, clothing, shoes, hygiene products that you cannot obtain in North Korea. Anything can be useful in North Korea. Some people can be sent to Dandong or Daeryeon to work abroad and can work in the clothing industry and can work in massive scale if the Chinese government permits and facilitates. In Ryonyongsong they have quotas for foreign workers but they do not give a lot of benefits to North Korea workers"*²⁰

-B (40, Male, China)

"There have been negotiations with the Chinese authorities, but since they don't have a lot of job openings, there are many North Korean workers waiting. In Moranbong in Pyongyang there are about 1,500 workers that have not been able to work. They might

²⁰ According to testimony B, the South Korean businesses and the central government have been actively negotiating employment opportunities. Nevertheless, because of the need of employment of Chinese workers, obtaining a job has become more difficult as well as the working conditions.

be able to work in Europe of the Americas, or work in China but the opportunities honestly are not many. There are many workers waiting in to work in the clothing industry but until issues with the Chinese authorities are not solved then we don't know when we might start working.”²¹

-C (Male, China)

According to the testimonies, there are recycling companies in China that are hiring North Korean workers. These workers are currently taking safety workshops. North Korea had agreed on opening economic zones where South Korean factories would only have to offer a dormitories for the North Korean workers. The wages of these workers will vary from 800 to 1000 yuan. Not even the Chinese workers of these factories know the wages of the North Korean workers. The provinces of Domun and Hunchun in China have been industrially weak.

Compared to other areas in China it pays very low wages, therefore making it more difficult for them to employ cheap labor. Therefore, the idea of hiring North Korean overseas labor seems more plausible. Nevertheless, the contracting of these workers does not have the potential to be done at a very large scale. The industrial conditions are very backward as there is a lack of investment in the area. About 200 North Korean workers have been employed in Domun. However, the authorities and the factory owners have not been able to easily compromise. On one side, The Chinese want to hire very cheap labor however the North Koreans are also very wary of the type of negative influences the workers might receive by being exposed to the outside world. This is why the rates of employment of North Korean overseas labor is not very high.

²¹ While China seeks for cheap labor and the North Korean government wishes to dispatch workers abroad for foreign currency, the actual policies of China do not allow this trade of workers for foreign currency very easily.

3. Actual State of Overseas Labor by Occupation²²

When North Korea began dispatching overseas workers, the most common activity was construction work. The countries that offered most jobs were Libya, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). Now, the construction businesses have diversified to professional sculpting and highway construction. North Korea has also started sending workers to parts of Southeast Asia. According to the media, the most secretive works include the construction of a secret tunnel, nuclear facilities with the Myanmar government.

Lumber work is also a very important source of hard currency. Thousands of workers are sent to Siberia to work deep in the forests. Regardless of particular profession, they are sent to farms and factories to work in agriculture too. Sometimes this type of work is also done in Africa. The Agriculture department, the Trade Department, and the Pyongyang Neung-La agency are engaged in processing and regulating these activities.

Recently, there has been a noticeable increase of North Korean restaurants in foreign countries. The first country to open a restaurant was China, following Russia, Cambodia, Indonesia, Thailand, and Laos. It is famous for its live performances done by the waitresses and sells all types of North Korean food. The main costumers are Korean tourist and overseas Koreans. The businesses are very active and profitable. Moreover, North Korea is seeking for new opportunities to expand its services to increase its foreign currency.

In medical field, a few doctors are sent to Russia, Middle East, Africa and other nations. The number of the workers is not big but the income of high-quality human resources is large. The Ministry of Health, send the medical staff abroad. Sometimes, the intelligence agency also sends people to act as spies in foreign countries.

Taekwondo masters are also sent abroad in return of foreign labor. Most people work in

²² North Korea Strategy Center, 'Academic Seminar Materials, April 28, 2011

Africa. The Chosun Taekwondo union is the main institution that and sends people abroad regularly. Troops and expeditionary army officials are rarely sent abroad. The profits made from these activities are not as easy and quick as other types of labor; however, it does contribute to the hard currency needs. For example, there have been cases where they have sent troops to the Vietnam War and the Middle East war. In 1980's troops were sent to Africa such as Uganda for various purposes. The Ministry of the People's Armed Forces was in charge of this business.

In addition, there are also reports that athletes have been exported. Sports organizations in North Korea such as the Olympic committee, the Association of the National Sports, and the Pyongyang Sports Organization, is thought to have contributed to 4.25 sports organization,

Chapter 4 – Research Results and Investigation Outcomes

1. Overview of Research Structure

A) Characteristic of Research Object

Table 1: General Characteristics of Interviewees

Interviewee	Gender	Working Country	Type of Occupation	Miscellaneous
A	M	Arab Emirates, Abu Dhabi	Cement Plasterer	Lived in Pyongyang, worked as plasterer
B	M	China	Trade Manager	
C	M	Dandong	Mining and Trade	Interviewed with another staff
D	M	Russia	Construction	Pastoral Testimony
E	M	Russia	Construction	E and F interviewed together
F	M	Russia	Construction	E and F interviewed together
G	M	Russia	Car Repairing and others	Engaged in construction in North Korea
H	M	Russia	Construction	
I	M	Russia	Construction	Did Sports and then learned Construction
J	M	Russia	Construction and logging	Graduated from Art school and engaged in computering
K	M	Russia	Construction	
L	M	Russia	Logging , massage	From logging worked on massaged and has now left

				North Korea.
M	M	Russia	Logging	Defected- lives in South Korea
N	M	Russia, Y	Steel	Defected-lives in South Korea
O	M	Kuwait	Construction	Defected-lives in South Korea
P	M	Russia, Czeck	Shoe factory manager	Defected-lives in South Korea
Q	M	Russia	Logging	Defected-lives in South Korea
R	Fe	China	Restaurant Business	Defected-lives in South Korea

B) Status of Overseas Workers in North Korea.

According to the in-depth interviews, most of the labor workers come from a middle class background. This means that even if the economy is bad in North Korea, they are people that are able to afford a one-meal-a-day. At the same time, people that are elected to go work abroad are the ones that show faithfulness to the ideological foundations of North Korea or are able to use bribery in order to be sent abroad.

“I lived in Pyoungyang and worked with cement plastering. If you wanted to be dispatched abroad you had to believe in the ideological foundations of the regime (to make sure you wouldn’t run away) and you had to have over 2 children in your family. After this you had to have some sort of skill. The North Korean people prefer to go work abroad. There are also people that are sent abroad who might not have any skills but are also very loyal to the government. Many people also recur to using bribery...”

A (Male, Arab Emirates)

“In the North I live in Pyongyang. Right now I have two children and a wife. We all came out to China together. My children go to a local Chinese school. It has been already 4-5 years since we came here. In the past I used to live in Russia and I was in

charge of the raw material industry for 10 years. I made a lot for money. Back at home Kim Jong Il made a good job with the Anti-Japanese resistance so I believe that his ideological foundations were good.”

C (Male, China)

“I lived in the center of Pyongyang. Since it is cold in winter it is difficult to work. In Russia, if it is snowing, then you don’t have to work”

.E (Male, Russia)

(While talking about media information in North Korea) “... In North Korea an electric technical school opened three years ago. We North Koreans like South Korean dramas and are also very fond of Teuroteu”. (A type of old Korean pop songs)

F (Male, Russia)

“(Now I’m working in construction) Before I came here I used to do sports but then did the military service. After being discharged I learned a bit of construction and came here.”

I (Male, Russia)

“Before I came out I used to work with computers. I worked with Windows 7. I graduated from an Arts school. However here there is nothing more to do than construction or logging work.”

J (Male, Russia)

“I used to live in the area of Chongshin and I worked in the Investigation Reporting Department. I had never worked on logging before. My life there wasn't the best either. That is why I went to Russia in the end. Before 85, you would be sent to work abroad in labor if you had committed a crime or for unfavorable conditions. It was little money. However in 86, they began placing Party members in charge of overseas labor. After that, the people that would come back from Russia began wanting things such as refrigerators and TVs as people that would go abroad would start bringing them inside the country. Similarly, I started wanting those things too. The downside part was that you had to work under difficult conditions...While you work you could have an accident or you could even die. Even if it was dangerous, you could work and earn money so it was good. It wasn't like you were going to starve either. At the time there wasn't a lot to eat. I would sell wool pulp and exchange it for some food. That is the way we survived.”

M (Male, Russia)

“I left in March 1991. I had good connections then so I was able to leave comfortably. Even if you want to, but you don't have the connections, you can't leave. I first went to a steel area (Baygalru Petroski) and worked there. I originally wanted to work with coal but I was changed to another area. At first we were about 180 to 200 people. I worked for two years, went back to North Korea and was sent out again. The second time I left as a construction worker. At first I didn't have any affiliations. You only know broad things about where you are going like the name of the city or what type of work you will be doing. If you worked for two years you could buy a T.V however because the government laws are so strict you had to ask a soviet person to register the T. V for you. I also went to Yemen through contacts in Pyongyang. There I worked in military construction work. Little by little I began working in other things. There are also many people that leave the complex secretly. I went there in 2007...back then people would still leave to see what was out there but did not see ways of escaping. We were about 160 people. While South Korea expands its investments abroad, North Korea sends labor workers. My hometown is the coast of the Yellow Sea and I lived there until I graduated. Then I worked in the Sunchon Benal plant. I would send about 1,000 dollars

to my family but they would receive about 850 dollars. I am not sure if it was the brokers that took that money. I went back after two years and they told me my wife had died and my children were barely even surviving. You had to stay outside for at least three years as the flight tickets can be expensive and you need to make that money too”

N (Male, Russia, Y)

“I worked with in Light Industry of Foreign Commerce. These type of workers were sent abroad to have dialogue and lead certain interviews. You can compare it as being a civil servant of second or third category”.

P (Male, Czeck)

C) Process and Job Classification

The results of the interview show that in order for people to be sent abroad, they must be selected by the government or must recur to bribing officials. Their jobs can be the same as in North Korea or they can be assigned to something different such as construction, manufacturing, or any manual work.

“There are different types of government companies that are sent into Saudi Arabia such as Company 1, 2, and 3. I was assigned to company 2. After being selected to work abroad we must all go through China and pass by the North Korean embassy first. It is the same when we are coming back. We must stay in there for about three days. We have to pay for all operating expenses, so you must have money if you want to leave North Korea. Every day you must pay about 50 USDs. Then you must leave from Beijing with AirChina and move to the Arab Emirates. If you want to leave you must give all your money. Then when you come back it is essential that you go in through China and pass by the embassy again. If you wanted to be selected you had to give all the money you

had or though the embassy. We left in a group of about 200 people”

A (Male, Arab Emirates)

“The current log workers receive flour, edibles, and other things like periodically once every two weeks. A truck would arrive with all the good. On hot summer days we were also allowed to buy electric fans. Sometimes when the profits were high we were even allowed to buy South Korean products. However about the change of government to Lee Myeong Bak’s administration we were not able to buy the products anymore. Now we can order from Europe. It is very difficult to obtain things from South Koreaeven if south Korean clothes is the best”

B (Male, China)²³

“There are many people that want to go abroad to work. It is difficult to leave however. That is why you must resort to bribery and then work in the construction business. If you want to leave quickly, its best to know someone working in the Party”

“After working with the logs I would do massages. My father used to be an Oriental Medicine doctor and was very famous that is why I was influenced by him. In Oriental Medicine massages are very important. If you do a brain massage you can heal many diseases. I still haven’t received my nationality. I can go back if I wanted do but I won’t. In Pyoungyang there are some people that know that I’m here and others that don’t. I Siberia they would tell me not to refuse Kim Il Song and to get back to work. Working with lumber started in 89, so..”

L (Male, Russia)

²³ Even the North Koreans prefer South Korean clothes, they will buy cheaper clothes made in China.

“When I came out they give you something like insurance. A contract? What do you mean by contract? Everything is done with the company. There is no such thing as a contract with the individual. It’s just work that people want to take.”

G (Male, Russia)

“I went to Russia from May 1988 to June 1992, so was there for 4 years basically. Normally people leave for 3 years but if a person wants to they can stay longer. From July positions to work abroad are advertised and by August the companies referred to people they can send abroad by the Party. Therefore, the Party recommends to the executive management of a company and through a procedure they will decide who will pass or not. It is not the case that if a person that wants to go can freely go. It normally works through bribery and then you can get selected. I had someone that I knew from the company management. However not because you are close with someone means that you will get to go. There are times when many people use bribery and they are not able to leave in the end. I used bribery and wasn’t sure if I was going to be able to go. Generally you must be a supporter of the Party, have no criminal records, and you must have to relation with Vietnam, and have no economic activity. If you are not married, it is strictly prohibited and you must have at least two children. If you are selected then you have to go through a health screening process. From September they begin doing general revisions. You have to go to the hospital three times and then you can go through your document screening processes. All your documents must stay with the company management. When you are interviewed on why you want to leave you must emphasize your loyalty and fidelity to the Party. If you pass then they mark you with a red circle and if not, with a black circle. After I passed I had to go every day to the Party’s office to have a one-on-one conversation. From October, instead of working immediately if you have to attend ideology workshops. This goes on until April. In May you are set off to go and you are given different things to eat, clothes, cigarettes, etc. So on the 7th of May 1988, I was in the Duman River until the 15th of May doing all types of security checks and then I arrived in Russia. Once I arrived I received some

food and was shocked to see so many things in abundance. We then all left in a group of 300 people but were all dispersed in different places.

M (Male, Russia)

“Before going to Yemen, we had collective funds. These were given to the person that was in charge of all the paperwork and visas of about 30 workers. So therefore, these 30 workers gather the money to give to the person in charge so he can handle of the matters until we leave to our working destination. You give money to him or you give him cigarettes. Then this person will give this money to the executive management of the company and then they decide who is going or not. I myself gave 200 US dollars. But there are people that gave more money than I did. If you don't have the money it means you can't go. Yes, I was able to go because of that money. All my family helped me gather the money to go. There is no formal agreement on this. It was just the 200 dollars or bribery that these people make all the arrangements for you to leave. It is plainly by word or through bribery that you are sure you can go. The system is established that way.”

N (Male, Russia)

“If you want to work abroad you must be married. You must also have something to bribe officials with. So if you are poor basically you can't go. There some people that promise bribes once they come back from working abroad. There are some people that also borrow from others. After you are selected you have to go through various educational processes where you learn about North Korea's diplomacy, the Labor Party, and national integrity. You learn about the greatness of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il and you even have to watch documentaries. They teach you how to is forbidden to leave the working complex on to not even ask where the South Korean embassy is. The National Security Agency was in charge of this. They also teach you about different departments of the government such as the Culture Department, this-and-that department. However these are all names of things that might not even exist. When we

were going to Kuwait we were working beside the Labor Department. Even if we worked in Kuwait and South East Asia, we would sometimes go to different places and do different construction work building museums, towers, etc. We consisted of about 3,000 people. About 1,500 people are working outside and the others are working in resident areas. They send everyone in small groups. If they say that they are going to send 600 people, then they will send about 100 every month. Some people would work with machinery and others would work with their own hands. While some people worked directly on the complex others would also work with the blueprints of the work.”

O (Male, Kuwait)

“I went to Lybia for the sole purpose of obtaining foreign currency. I then went in 1997 to the Czech Republic. There were about 180. When I was there we were 200. In order to go abroad you have to be thoroughly ratified. . You have to receive the adequate training and your background must also be clean. If your background is not clean then bad things can be said about you. You have to be always prepared and know how to bribe your way. Sometimes they will pick people that have already been working in factories. In Czech Republic they will work with the Chosun Czech Shoe Making Cooperation, it was the only joint venture they made.”

P (Male, Czech Republic)

“I went to Russia in 1986. In the beginning the location was not very good but after the location got better and I could work for longer. The person that worked in the forestry management helped me. This person was the representative of the forestry workers. I was very doubtful since my mother had passed away. This type of business had started in Czech Republic but then later expanded into Russia. There were about 30,000 people already working in Russia. The local workers from that country did not even know we were North Korean and just thought we were from the South. When I went to Russia the conditions had changed from the way they were before. From the 50s, Kim Il Sung had been sending minor criminals to work abroad. Working abroad like that was not well seen. Then From 1985 Kim Il Sung ordered to send more people to work overseas, not just criminals, but also normal citizens. That is why by the time I went to work abroad,

99% of the people were true supporters of the People Party”.

Q (Male, Russia)

“I was in China from 2003 to 2007. The government decided to start running restaurants abroad from 2,000, the idea was to recruit people that were already living in China. However, because they began needing more foreign currency they decided to send people from North Korea. In order to keep a strict management they also sent different officials that represented the government or people very loyal to the party. We had different types of customers sometimes even Japanese businessmen. Normally people were appointment for three years but from 2004 to 2005 some people began to defect so they changed the law. So then they would just send you for a year or a year and a half. My superiors worked for about 1 year and half. They said the first year was very strict, then the second becomes more fun, and the third one people are more relaxed. To work at a Chinese restaurant they release the recruitment positions in school. I studied management. In reality, after you graduate you should be able to work as a receptionist but they also pick a person from any specialty. You have to do an audition and the managers of the restaurant choose. In reality it should be the external national department but it's the restaurant managers that pick themselves. The age in which people are elected vary from 20 to 23 years old. If you are older, you are should get married so they don't pick you. They pick people that studied in Pyongyang or people that have studied music or people that are in their second year of university. Every person must know to sing, dance, or play an instrument. There are 3-4 people selected to play an instrument and if you are pretty they will teach you how to play something. If you have a pretty face, are taller than 1.62 meters you have high chances but if you are not, you can still pay the management department and can be selected discretely. The reason why I wanted to go was because I wanted to experience something new. In my house they were against it. In 2003 there weren't many people that would go abroad. But I applied behind my parent's back. You could also make money so that was good. There were also rumors that once you worked for two years your marriage arrangements could also be made. Normally everyone wants to go but its people that

have good contacts that mostly get the opportunity.”

R (Female, China)

2. Current State of Wages

A) Wage and Exploitation

Almost all of the wages of the workers sent abroad is remitted to back to the Kim Jong Un's regime through the Labor Party's Office 39. In very extreme cases, the workers are allowed to have 10% of their wages. There are 3,500 people in Kuwait, a manager of the place can get 5,000 dollars. However, 48% of that is taken for the North Korean government. From what is left 10% is taken by a Bangladeshi agency and then 25% is taken by the North Korean embassy and then another 40% is taken for the costs of preparing your immigration and work to another country. In total, a normal North Korean overseas workers will earn about 70 to 80 dollars. People in North Korea are motivated to go abroad to receive more benefits or for the objective of obtaining foreign currency for its government. Even if 90% of their total wage is taken, the workers will still earn a lot more than what they would earn back in North Korea which is why these people prefer to work abroad.

“Our monthly wage is of 360 dirhams. Actually, it should be 1,200 dirham but the government takes 700 dirhams and 100 dirham is for administrative expenses. (1 dirham is about 25 cents). We receive our wages and change it to dollar and then can send about 1 dollar to our family through someone. There is no such thing as having a personal account. I think that other foreign workers receive about 5,000 durhams. However our government authorities they all of our wages...we are left with 100 durhams and leave.”

A (Male, Arab Emirates)

“In reality, the North Korean managers the Chinese decide on the wages before the recruitment process. It turns out to be about 250 -300 dollars... but everything is given in Chinese currency”

B (Male, China)

“A good friend of mine who is younger than me worked at a factory when they had sent about 150 people. However, they did not have the right documents so they had to go back. It seems that they are paying us workers about 1,000 yuan, but what is given back to us is about 200-300 yuan.”

C (Male, China)

“Recently there have been people that have defected when they are working in construction. The sons of all communist authorities invest in sending labor abroad. More that 70-80% leave through means of bribery and while they work for 3 years, they can earn a little over 1,000 dollars. The representative sending these people means that he earns thousand hundred dollars. If you are a representative handling over 200 workers, imagine all the money you would be earning. Also, under the executive management of the government is closely involved with our work. There they take about 10% of all earnings. If you have 100,000 rubles, then you give 10,000 rubles. If the earnings are bigger then you give more. Sometimes you can also end up giving 15%. But anyways, having just a place to work is something with a lot of benefits. However, there are all types of people that work in between us and our work such as the government management or the Russian mafia.”

D (Male, Russia)

The following interview was done to a church minister that worked in Russia with many North Korean overseas workers.

“The people that come here if working very hard can as much \$3,000 dollars a month as they work all day and night. They have no limit with how much they can work however. They even sleep at their working place. When I came here about 7 years ago I used to live in the 11th floor and met one of the workers. They were very shocked because throughout the whole time they had been here nobody had invited them for dinner or talked to them much. In the end in reality what gets into their pockets is less than \$300 dollars as they have other expenses. What they can earn normally a year is about \$1,500 dollars. Nevertheless, we can never really know how much they actually earn as they could easily be lying. The North Koreans living here also do other external work. They charge 70% less than the Russian workers and work two times faster. They want to finish their work quickly and work very fast so then they could earn more money. However it doesn't always mean they work better. My friend that came here had some North Koreans work on the roof of the church but as soon as the first wind came in the roof flew off. But we can't blame them, because they are so desperate in earning more money that they will work as many places as they can and as quickly as they can.

When the overseas labor works in companies it is a different story as they only get 10% of what they should be getting. However these days workers are getting smarter and they will write down the amount of hours they have worked and charge the companies directly. The companies might not give them all the money but they will take what they can. Also, the mediators that make all the contacts with the job and bring the workers over here also get a huge share of all their work. There is too much money that it taken away from the salary these people earn including extra expenses and means for bribery.”

Korean Church Minister, Russia

“We do the work that the government gives us but we also work privately...the salaries from the government are already arranged. That is why it is better to do extra work to obtain more money. If you want to send money to North Korea you cannot send more than \$10,000 dollars, however there is not much hassle as the foreign currency is welcome in North Korea. ”

E (Male, Russia)

“When we send money to our family, the person sending this money also takes some percentage of it, about 10%. Finding a job also means taking 10% of our wage. Because we can’t deposit our money in banks we then get our money taken away by the Russians when we migrate. Many times you can send money through people that are going back to North Korea. Mostly, the money is taken away by the mediators. Actually there is not strict control of how workers are chosen or sent abroad. That is why mediators can charge a lot of money for making arrangements to work in another country. That is why bribery works very well. Sometimes people wonder how much mediators earn but nobody dares to ask. A mediator can work in this business for 3 years and afterwards has to change. That is why a smart mediator can make a lot of money but somebody that doesn’t know the business well could not make as much”

F (Male, Russia)

“In a good day you can earn up to 300 dollars. Some construction workers can earn that. But then mostly you can earn 100 dollars. If you do this work independently you could keep it. We don’t want to waste our time and we just want to earn money so taking a vacation is out of the question. ”

G (Male, Russia)

“If you come out without your family it is o.k. You can earn some money and leave around November December. Then you can stay at home until April. I rest a lot and then come out again to work. If a labor worker does well this person can earn \$20,000 to \$ 30,000 dollars in one year. They tell you what type of work you have to do and how much they will pay you. They Russian people see for how much we work and how long we work and they are impressed. We are just like that. When the working hours are over the Russian workers will just leave but we can stay working three times as much and they definitely acknowledge that.”

H (Male, Russia)

“I wasn’t able to make a lot of money. One person said they earned \$10,000 dollars, I guess this person was lucky. Every person earns differently. If one day is good you might earn \$300 dollars, but on a normal day you can earn \$2 dollars. Sometimes it will be \$2, sometimes it will be \$50 or \$60 dollars. You have to grab the right work and you need to be lucky. To work in construction is about \$ 20 dollars. You also have to pay the person who arranges getting your work. It is not easy to earn a lot of money, people do not always make a lot. In the beginning you get sent by the government so it is almost impossible to make a lot of money, after gaining some experience you can look for other work and start saving.”

I (Male, Russia)

“In one month you can earn \$1,000 dollars but what each agency takes away can vary.”

J (Male, Russia)

“There is no contract, they say they will give us health insurance and heating access but we never receive anything. Once you get recruited by the government the person in charge of you can take about 300 rubles, then 150-200 rubles you have to use in other things. After the first months your salary can raise a little. You receive your salary in cash. I sent about 35 rubles to my family and knew they had received it through a letter they sent me. You don’t get to spend much while you are away, mostly you spend money on cigarettes and things like that. I heard that we get paid a lot less than Russian workers. In reality we earn about 300 rubles but they end up taking it all away.”

M (Male, Russia)

“We don’t know how much money we are given. Your wage is only about 100 rubles, but asking how much your wage is out of the question. You don’t receive everything in cash and they only tell you how much money you are getting. However, we don’t even have an account or a book to keep track of this. Our accounts are supposed to be held by the

government and we only know some numbers. If I want to use so money I have to tell them immediately. The ideological education before leaving the place is also very serious and strong. In the end, I wasn't even able to buy a T.V. The government says they will give you about \$500 dollars but in reality you get about \$100 dollars. Maybe you can get \$10 extra dollars if you. I used about \$20 dollars a month. But then you have to use money for rooms and other things and then you are left with about \$86 dollars that you can save.” ”

N (Male, Russia, Yemen)

“There was no salary. I went in November 1996 and didn't receive any salary yet. However, (the reason I came out) was because they could give you goods and things that you can use like a T.V, a washing machine, a refrigerator. If you were to go abroad, you can even have all of your meals. In Kuwait, the money received through our salaries in the end went mostly to our government. The rest were used for the daily expenses, electricity, and food. The people that are our in Russia, before the death of Kim Il Sung, were able to have vacations. But after his death, vacations were forbidden. There is no such thing as a personal account. Kim Il Son died in July 1994, and since then they said they would pay a salary for two years but they never did. They always pushed the date forwards. Now we received less than the other foreign workers. They would receive about \$500 dollars and we would receive such \$120 dollars. It is good that we at least eat three times a day and then we can take some goods to Pyongyang. In the 70s- 80s people that went to work abroad for three years would get something like a T.V, a refrigerator, or a radio. So they came with some value. Many people started working in different extra activities. The bad thing was in Libya that there wasn't a lot of extra work. Some people would come back with not many things but the people that learned about the value of money came back with more money and products. In 1994 they began paying money again. The people that came recently from Russia see this as good work even if we all have to arrange ourselves to come here.” ”

O (Male, Kuwait)

"While I went to Libya and the Middle East in order to earn foreign currencies, I started to work in the Czech Republic since 1997. There were about 180 – 200 people when I got there. The workers there had to be strictly ratified by the party. In order to receive ratification from the Foreign Ministry, the Security Department, etc., these people need to have a clean class-foundation because, if not, they could spread the words of what they saw outside the country. Also, they have to come from Pyongyang and pass the physical examination. But in 1997, even though female workers usually hesitated leaving the country, the competition rate got higher because they receive good reputation. That was why they bribed the higher officials and why children in light industry got selected instead of the children of regular workers. After selecting the workers, the government named the company Chosun-Czech Collaborated Shoes Company under light industry and named me the president. This was the one and only time North Korea had a joint-venture enterprise.

"In one month you could receive \$150 dollars and apparently the people from there (Czech Republic) would earn \$150 dollars too so by contract we were meant to get the same. However there was no way of knowing how much the other people earned. There is a big differentiation with people that are from the country and people that are from abroad. Even if you are a manager there is no way of knowing how much the others are getting paid. Overall least 55% of what was earned was sent back. So after you are taken 55% of your salary you use about \$5 dollars to buy your food. Sometimes the younger people will spend about \$7 dollars eating. They will eat things like meat and juice...The money that is raised usually goes to the light industry account in China. Then the Korea Development Bank takes the money from that account. The companies that are weak cannot leave the country very easily. They must appeal to Kim Jong Un and receive a signature from him. They must show their abilities of obtaining foreign currency. So the stronger companies are the ones obtaining the foreign currency and the small companies then buy the supplies. Each company has their own account but then they are all connected to Kim Jong Un's accounts. Even it looks like the money is going to different accounts and departments it is all recollected by the Kim Jong Un regime"

P (Male, The Czech Republic)

“In the 80s we would only receive 2% of the money. It was about 4 dollars that wasn’t even enough to buy cigarettes. However, as receiving such little money was seen as a crime, Bak Nam-gi began giving us more. That is why after 1988 in ruble was 7:8 or 8:2, and I was able to wire some money through a service offered. I would keep about 20 to 30 % from my salary and would save it myself. You would actually receive about 120 to 130 rubles. However, in the mountain the production could have been different. It depends on the type of worker that you are doing. Nevertheless, we never knew how much salary we were meant to be having so you just take what you can and save what you can.

There were 14 agencies, but the two-alliance in Tinda made the total 16. There were about 28,000 workers, around 30,000. At the time, North Korean prisoner forestry representative earned the most foreign currency. The Russians simply thought the Koreans were from lumber camps. North Korea started to change as we were assigned as workers. The prisoner forestry representative started its lumber industry in 1956, but closed in 1960 and resumed later on. At the time, all the prisoners including political prisoners and prisoners of minor offense were sent there. The history of exporting labor forces in North Korea is quite long. Although there was one or two years of severance between Russia and North Korea in 1961 due to Khrushchev’s attitude against the party, they started the alliance again in 1985. They used to not select those who would be sent into Russia. I did not even consider going. But there was the Kim Jong Il period in 1985. After the Russian government complained about the prisoners of minor offense (damaging the forests, etc.), North Korea started to select people. When we went in, there were hundreds of people and 00% of them were party members. The first 2 years was fine...”

Q (Male, Russia)

“While I went to Libya and the Middle East in order to earn foreign currencies, I started to work in the Czech Republic since 1997. There were about 180 – 200 people when I got there. The workers there had to be strictly ratified by the party. In order to receive ratification from the Foreign Ministry, the Security Department, etc., these

people need to have a clean class-foundation because, if not, they could spread the words of what they saw outside the country. Also, they have to come from Pyongyang and pass the physical examination. But in 1997, even though female workers usually hesitated leaving the country, the competition rate got higher because they receive good reputation. That was why they bribed the higher officials and why children in light industry got selected instead of the children of regular workers. After selecting the workers, the government named the company Chosun-Czech Collaborated Shoes Company under light industry and named me the president. This was the one and only time North Korea had a joint-venture enterprise..”

P (Male, Czech Republic)

“Your monthly salary is of 100 euros. We did not use dollars but euros. Even in Pyongyang we had used euros too. In 2000 it was euros. If 100 euros is about 150 dollars in Chinese money it was about 1,200- 1,300 won. A public worker in China earns about 800 to 1,000 yuan and a foreign worker might earn about 2,000 to 3,000 yan. Me, because I was in charge of the accounting I earned about 1,500 won. I didn’t get much money taken away from me. We were about 7 of us working and then we would target how much money we wanted to earn. While other businesses get more money deduced form their salary we were able to take about 70 to 80%. There was another restaurant where they had about 3 to 4 people and 5 people working as cooks. The other cooks would be other long-term immigrants. What we would get from the government was 100 euros but then you could make a lot more extra like 4,000 yuan. I would try and save as much money possible because you need to take money for your wedding. One night we were able to receive from 700 to 1,000 euros from the customers. Without even touching the money, we would send it all to the embassy.

I was in China from 2003 to 2007. I worked at Chengdu. There are three restaurants in Chengdu. In the early 2000’s, the North Korean government sent people out in China to run restaurants for the purpose of earning foreign currency. However, because there were so many of them and they were out of control, Kim Jong Il ordered them to pullout. Since then, the foreign service administration, Goryeo service administration, and

people's service administration took control. The people's service administration controls Okryuguan where people can freely go and eat. Legally, the foreign service administration should take care of sending people out to foreign countries, but because it is lucrative of foreign currencies, both Goryeo service administration and people's service administration started to send people out as well. This restaurant is under Goryeo service administration and all the restaurants in Beijing, Chengdu, and Simyang are under Goryeo service administration. The administration considers this place a public corporation. The restaurant the foreign service administration controls is called Pyongyang guan, and the people's administration controls is Moranguan, Okryuguan, and Chengrhyguan. The restaurant where workers receive education is under Goryeo service administration. At first, people had permission to go out to foreign countries for three years; however, after people tried to escape from the country in 2004-2005, the law changed the term to one year and six months. Workers who came after me worked for a year and a half. Usually the first year is touch, the second year gets better, and the third year becomes relaxing."

R (Female, China)

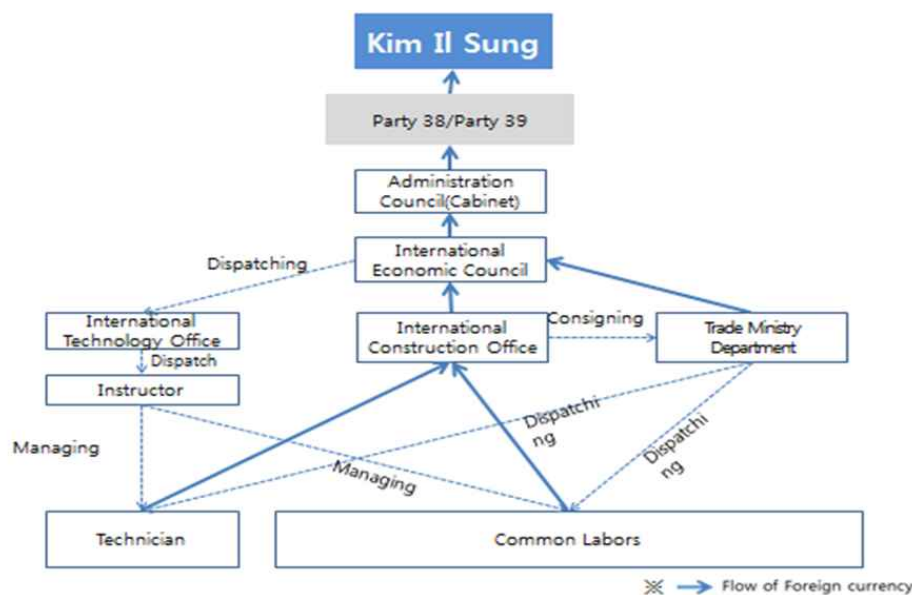
B) Overseas Labor Wage Flow

The flow of manpower sent abroad began increasing in the 80s. In Kuwait, with 3,500 exported North Korean workers, an individual worker usually earns \$5,000 per year. The North Korean government takes 48% of the amount, \$2,400. Out of the rest, \$2,600, Bangladesh transport company takes 10%, North Korean embassy of the Labor Bureau takes 25%, and Kuwait presiding North Korean company and regional workshops take 40% for operating expenses. Eventually, an individual North Korean worker receives approximately \$1,000 per year, meaning the workers' monthly salaries are \$70-80. In North Korea, it is difficult to go out of the country to earn foreign currency unless you are part of the loyal, privileged social stratum. The initial pioneers of this agenda was started and managed by the public servants of the now Foreign

Economic Ministry as they discussed new approaches to earn hard-currency for the government. The Foreign Economic Ministry worked exclusively for the growth and trade of the country at took a leading role in this type of business.

Out of all the work that the Foreign Economic Ministry was responsible, the dispatch of migrant labor was of big economic importance. However, the logging in Russia was consigned to the Department of Forestry of Administration Council.

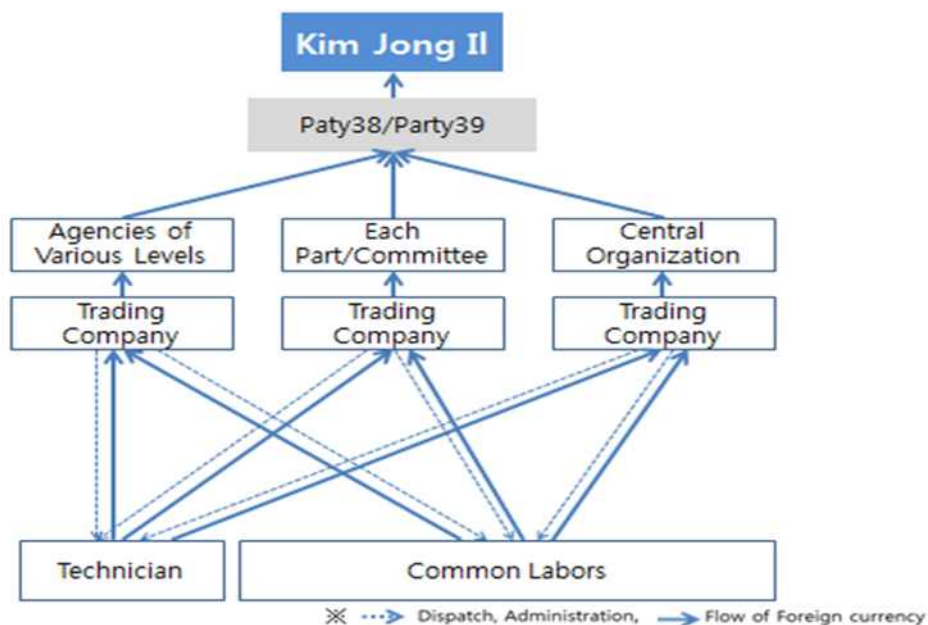
Chart 2: The flow of hard currency funds in the 80s.



There are two kinds of workers sent abroad. One the engineer and the other is regular worker for logging, construction and fishing. For example, the Foreign Economic Ministry dispatched construction workers to Libya and Dubai. And the Mansudae Changjacksa sent off Dongsangjaejackdan(artist) to Singapore. The Ministry of Maritime Affairs Fisheries transmitted fishing employees and Mannyunjangsoo Research Center under the Ministry of Health and Welfare also dispatched engineers and laborers to Malta. The Ministry of the People’s Armed Forces sent off laborers for road building in Malaysia. The groups of engineers are few compared to the large scale of regular workers. However, there are many types of businesses in the engineers groups.

There are different groups such as technicians, regular workers, and engineers. Engineers obtain about 100 to 200 dollars and obtain about 10 to 20% wages in coupons. These technical workers would purchase T.Vs or refrigerator with the coupons obtained. When workers were sent abroad they would usually go by groups and with a supervisors. These supervisors would then obtain the salaries of the workers and deposit it in bank accounts of North Korean economic departments. They usually go for section 38 and 39 and all the money obtain is gone for the works of the Kim Jong Un government.

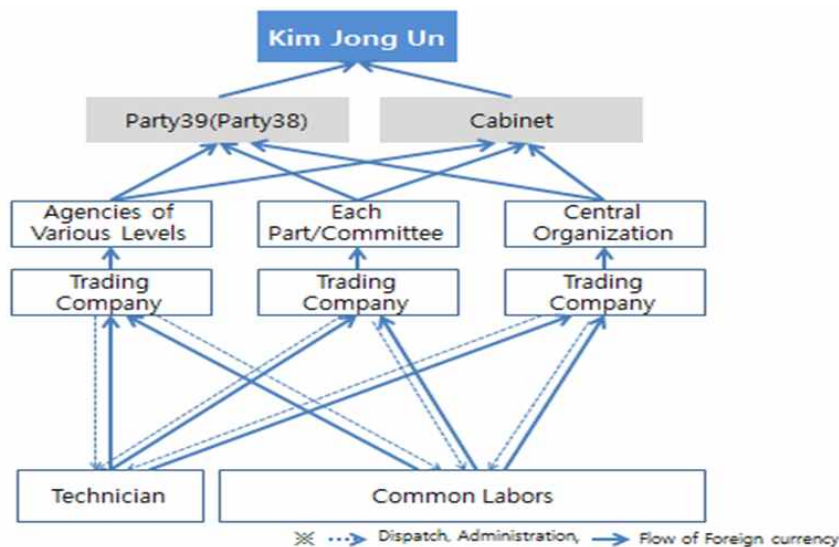
Chart 3: The flow of overseas workers in 1990



Since the early 90s there have been customary international economic committees of trade that have been in charge of obtaining hard foreign currency. Party 38 and Party 39 worked directly under Kim Jong Il and they have assigned different trade ministries in charge of obtaining foreign currency. Each ministry then opens their own business which contracts with other companies abroad in order to send labor. These companies

under strict control of the government hire the different workers to send them abroad. Now the government of Kim Jong Un has opened a new cabinet specifically in charge of the new objectives of the government which is to obtain foreign currency. This cabinet shows loyalty to the Kim regime is also allowed to open businesses that will then send workers abroad.

Chart 4: The flow of overseas labor under Kim Jong Un



C) Intermediary Phases of Exploitation

The in-depth interviews with overseas laborers showed the following results: the overseas laborers are being exploited in severe and drastic ways. Whether it is through bribery or through intermediaries we can divide the types of exploitation into three categories.

First, in order for the laborers to be able to go abroad, they must go through various intermediaries. They must give hundreds of dollars through to them. In order to make the bribes, they must make ends meet in difficult conditions. The workers that are dispatched to Russia should earn around \$500 dollars. Nevertheless, around 70% goes to the North Korean authorities. About 10 to 20% is also used in food and income tax reduction. In the end what the workers obtain is about 50 to 100 dollars. There are also

more losses as high officials can also be bribed. In 2-3 years a person can earn on average about \$1,000 dollars. Workers are told that their salaries will be managed once arriving to North Korea however nothing is given back to them. It is the way in which the workers are being exploited.

Second, the Security Department with their surveillance system is also able to obtain a portion of the labor's exploitation. According to the testimonies, a person in the security department can get paid for watching over 30 to 50 people. However, they charge each person 100 dollars. This means that there is a considerable amount of profit that the security department makes by making a surveillance check on these workers.

Some workers might know that they are being dispatched abroad for the purpose of obtaining foreign currency. They know they have to support the 'funds for the revolution' or the 'foreign currency loyalty' of North Korea. They also get paid very little cash for them to buy daily necessities, cigarettes, alcohol and fees for transportation. They might sometimes even provide them gift coupons to buy things in Pyongyang as a form of payment too.

Third, labor workers must pay on the side or directly, to the contractors to secure a job position. They also pay more money to keep rumors quiet. After paying money on the side and paying the contractors, they are able to keep what little they have left. If they take any illegal actions, like receiving tips, they must also pay the security personnel or people from the embassy not to denounce them.

3. Current State of Labor Rights

Currently, the North Korean authorities are searching for new means of obtaining hard foreign currency. They have taken away all forms of vacations for their workers and also invest on workers that will work for extremely long hours. At the same time, they are been looking into starting forms of prostitution with North Korean girls.

“I work on construction for 10 hours a day, even during night and dinner time. In the Arab Emirates, the days are very hot and so you have to work later in the day. When the temperature is lower we can rest a little. On the national holidays since there is no work to do we also rest like the other people”.

A (Male, Arab Emirates)

“If it wasn't for my family I wouldn't have defected long time ago. It is very hard. I have been working for 7 to 8 years. If I only work a little bit more I can become an intermediary.”

D (Male, Russia)

“Sometimes we work just watching sheep and others we work from 8 in the morning to 10 at night”

J (Male, Russia)

“We start at 4 in the morning at work until 7 at night. From 7 or 8 we have breakfast then work until 12 where we have lunch. We are able to sleep for about 2 hours. Then we go up there again and work until 6 or 7 at niht. Then we go up there again and do night work. If you are in an important division and cut more than 3,000 logs, then you get rest for 15 days. If you finish you quota then you can rest. So during the first 15 days I work very hard so then I can rest.”

M (Male, Russia)

“We start working at 5 in the morning and at 6 they give us some bread, milk, and eggs. Then from 7 to 12 we work where then we can have our lunch for one hour. From 2 until 6-7 we work and we have dinner. We should be able to go to rest afterwards but if you

our supervisor tells us to work more we have to do it. After working, then we can go to sleep.”

O (Male, Kuwait)

“We have to start work at 8.30, we have food and then we begin the preparations for the opening and presentation. From 11 to 2 we open the doors. Then we have 1.5 hours to sleep. We wake up at 4 and we prepare for 30 minutes and then we open the doors at 5. From 5 to 10-11 we finish up working and we close at 11.30. At 12 o’clock we must start preparing for a new show or presentation. We practiced everyday until 1 in the morning. I must admit that the first year was very difficult and we all cry remembering those days. There were also rejects within the group and since we were all women, it was very fierce.”

R (Female, China)

4. Current State of Fundamental Human Rights

The migrant workers that are dispatched abroad by the North Korean government are restricted the freedom of migration and movement at their own will. Not only are they not allowed to leave the working complex, but are also restricted from watching any television or having access to any type of local media. At the same time, they are constantly receiving education on the Party’s ideals and must show devotion to their government. Communication with the family in North Korea is also restricted. If they are allowed to make any contact to their family the information they give out must be censored.

Dispatched workers in China are mostly in the Yanbian Jirian Province where they work in garment factories. The North Korean workers are under very strict control. For example, on the first floor of a factory Chinese workers are free to work however, the

North Korean workers are left on the second floor where the door is locked and there is usually a security guard. North Korean workers are not allowed to have any contact with other people. They also live in a dormitory that is directly linked to the factory. North Korean workers do not have a weekend to rest and get all their meals from the factories they work in.

A) Housing, Food, and Clothing

“In one space there would be about 8 to 10 people sleeping, eating, and living together. We had to make some noodles out of flour with barely any salt sometimes.”

A (Male, Arab Emirates)

“We used a lot of our salary to get food. It depends on every person however. There were some people that were trying to save money really hard so they wouldn't buy any food. There were also many accidents or people would become sick. Sometimes people would be sent to China if the conditions were very bad. If you are very bad then you might get returned back but people generally hold it as they don't want to use their own money for health. I've been here for 5 years and usually I have to use hand gestures to communicate with people. I have a lot of back pains but I just take whatever medicine I can.”

E (Male, Russia)

“We slept nearby the construction site. Actually, we were meant to have an assigned living space but going back and forth was too much of a distance so we most people slept close to the construction site. We are given a blanket and a mattress. The bed you just have to figure it out yourself. Since most people sleep near the construction site, there is no access to water. In Russia, there are no houses that have their own water system and there is a public water pipe. However, in winter this pipe gets frozen. There is

a water truck that distributes water and we have to collect water reserves. Sometimes you can also use dig to find underground water.”

F (Male, Russia)

“To be honest, this is like a jail without a fence. However, it is much better than North Korea. We live inside a container which is small for 4 people. Even so, it is better than North Korea. There is also a lot to eat. If you also get sick while you are working you are going to receive free treatment. However, you are not allowed the salary of that month.”

N (Male, Russia)

“They feed you well. If you compare to North Korea we are eating very well. If you want to can have more rice and soup is abundant. Each person can also have their portion of meat and eggs. This is something that you could not even imagine of having in North Korea.”

O (Male, Kuwait)

“It is 100% the best. They even give you soy sauce. If you have the money you can also buy Russian local food. However, if you spend too much money on food then you can't send any back home so people generally don't buy food.”

Q (Male, Russia)

B) Freedom of Communication and Outside Access

“You cannot leave the complex very easily. If you work with local people you are not allowed to talk to them. There are some opportunities to meet external people and then

you can also see them at the supermarket. We can also see some foreign advertisement and TV programs. However, inside the working site we only see Arab channels...The workers generally when they work as contractors with another company then can see other Korean films and dramas. Even if they become aware of the problems of North Korea they will never say them with their own mouths.”

A (Male)

“It is not likely that we will bump into any other Korean people. The North Korean workers are trapped in wired fences so we have never met any other Koreans. We are allowed to go to many countries except South Korea. We are only allowed to watch and hear media from North Korea. Before, we could see foreign TV but since we don't understand the language I never understood what they were saying and only watched the sports section.”

O (Male, Kuwait)

“We can only leave the working complex once a month from 9 to 4.30 p.m. At night we must work. There is no free day. Maybe just once a year. When we leave we must go by 3-4 people. Our supervisor does not leave with us. We can barely watch television. Even in the cafeteria we can only watch North Korean music videos and there is no cable in our rooms. The only way we can know about the outside world is through contact with people.”

R (Female, China)

C) Surveillance and Ideology Indoctrination

When the North Korean workers are sent abroad, it does not mean that they escape ideological indoctrination or government propaganda. Contrary, they are given even more intensified ideological education so they will not be affected by external

influences when working abroad.

“All the people that leave abroad have to receive a certain type of education. As they have your family hostage as well you do not think about escaping. Your supervisor makes sure you do not attempt to leave either. There is also someone that comes out to explain how to live your daily life”

A (Male, Arab Emirates)

“Daily life and community life is all the same. In the morning we have a working community and at any moment we can be told or criticized by anyone. You are always scared that somebody will tell on you and you can receive a lot of stress. In Yemen our supervisor exposed and they turned him into a regular worker. I don't know how regular workers might think but everyone is assigned to whatever the government tells them. We get daily ideological education just as in North Korea. But we don't have as many resting periods as back home so it is more difficult. There are also some other classes every 15 days.”

N (Male, Kuwait)

“If a person goes abroad there is a lot of education one must receive. There are regulations that don't allow you to leave if you don't receive this education. So if there is any time you want to leave the working complex everything is recorded and you have to receive a signature and permission from your supervisor. Only then can you leave. If you don't have a good reason then you cannot leave. Even if people are exposed to external things, because of the education they receive before and through the working period, nobody will escape.”

P (Male, Czech)

“The person that was in charge of surveillance was me. I didn’t work on service but was on the counter. We usually tie two people in one room. While people work I watch over them. I needed to know everything the workers were talking about. Every person had to keep track of the room services they delivered and the details of the customers such as where they were from and what type of work they did. In the first 6 months they are vigorous writing details but then it is not so strict. There are ideology education every week”.

R (Female, China)

D) Per Diem Work

“If you give money to your supervisor you can work on external contracts. Normally it depend on what country you work on and how much you receive. If you want to work externally you have to arrange perhaps one month earlier to give a fee and then you can keep the remaining. There are times when we make bootleg liquor but no many people buy it.”

A (50, Male, Arab Emirates)

“I would find work for people so I barely had to work myself. I had that role where I took about four people to work externally and would make good profits for myself. If two or three people worked one day I would make about 200 dollars. The rest the people could keep it. If you are caught doing this you get into big trouble. The problem is if there is any accent then the business owner or contractor can report on you. That is how I found out that the Russians were not good people. The Russians know the conditions of the North Koreans and can report on us easily. Then they get taken back into North Korea and...”

D (Male, Russia)

“In the late 1980s we had a lot of Korean products that could be sold secretly. We would buy and sell secretly risking our lives. I brought 20 soaps and 20 toothpastes. I was caught so I was in the security detention for a while.”

M (Male, Russia)

“I did a lot of extra work in Russia. It was mostly plastering at night. I would finish work at 4 and then work from 8 to 9. You could make good money. But not anybody can do this. You must find work first and know people and give them drinks. In Yemen it was the same situation where people will come and hire you not through the government. The government does not allow this but even the supervisors take part of this money”.

N (Male, Russia)

“You think that you can work extra to buy yourself some cigarettes. Mostly with a bit of bribery you can do it.”

O (Male, Kuwait)

“People don’t make money in just a couple of days. They have to prepare the alcohol by groups and each one sells a one bottle. If you get caught you get take away.”

Q (Male, Russia)

E) Contract Work

Exposure of the living condition of North Korean overseas labor reveals that North Korean authorities are violating labor rights and the dignity of North Korean overseas workers as large amount of their wage flows into the hands of the North Korean authorities.

“I was sent abroad in 2001. You are meant to work for 2 to 3 years. But if you pay your supervisor and arrange with the embassy, you can stay longer and work.”

A (Male, Arab Emirates)

“In Vietnam I encountered a South Korean and helped me escape. There are people that sympathize with you and give you tips. If that happens they change the person in charge. But still we get called by the customers. Once a man gave one of my co-worker a necklace worth of 11,000 yuan. If she would receive that necklace she would get in big trouble. She asked me if I could keep the necklace and I didn't know what to do. There was also another girl that was escaped with a man who as an officer in Korea and had asked her if she wanted to live with him. She left with him but came back in 40 days. The man had gotten threats from the embassy that his business would go down and that he would have problems with the government. She persuaded the man to let her go. It seems that in 38 days they managed to record the girl's family's voices asking her to come back. She then went back to North Korea. It seems that more than regular people, it is the people with authority that try to escape. Others can be easily persuaded through recordings of people confessing their sins and sweet talking.”

The International Press announces that escape (to South Korea) of North Korean overseas workers happens in Cambodia, Malaysia, Kuwait and other nations as well as Nepal and Russia. Among them, a few of them entered the United States. Illegal acts including theft, traffic, and bootleg liquor production have increased for making up loyalty funds payments and living expense. Moscow's report captured the traffic in antlers, musk, and bear line of North Korean overseas labors in 2009.

Also, in Ethiopia, North Korean workers were exposed selling exempt liquor and cigarette through the North Korean embassies in 2009. In Malaysia, Some of labors trespassed onto a house and sold the stolen records and cameras. In the Arab Emirates North Korean workers stole copper in the construction site. In Kuwait and the Arab Emirates, it is widely known that some of North Korean workers made bootleg liquor

and sold it to Southesat Asia such as India and Bangladesh through brokers.

The international community has revealed powerful reports about the friction between ambassador and workers that this is is caused due to these illegal activities . In 2008, during search and seizure of their accommodations, about 90 workers were tussled with Kuwait police because of their production bootleg liquor and suspicion of sales. Eventually, about 10 workers were taken into custody.

Chapter 5- Conclusion

This report has exposed the conditions of the North Korean overseas labor system and the impacts it has caused on its workers. It has covered the processes for sending workers abroad, its scale, labor intensity, wages given, and the present abuses of human rights that have been taking place. Thus the following conclusions can be made.

First, the North Korean government is continuing its dispatch of overseas labor and has future plans of expanding this business. With evidence it has been shown that the new government of Kim Jong Un has been faced with a major foreign currency deficit and has realized the potential of its overseas labor workers.

Second, while the North Korean government continues to allow the dispatch of cheap labor abroad, there have been many intermediaries that have been able to exploit this situation. Not only have intermediaries been able to obtain commissions by facilitating connections to work, but they have also instigated forms of corruption and bribery.

Third, the harsh conditions and difficulties that the workers have been face with has been revealed. They have no security in the places they work and are not receiving the salaries they deserve. These workers are also expected to work for long hours and are not compensated for it.

Fourth, the overseas workers, even if sent abroad, have ended up in a 'Little North Korea' where surveillance is heavily implemented. While they leave in groups of 20 to 30 people, they all have to receive intense ideological education before leaving and weekly once they are abroad. In addition, they are not allowed to leave the working

complex and are forbidden to interact with any external means or people.

Lastly, given the difficult conditions that the North Korean workers are faced with has resulted them into committing different types of crimes and breaking the law. This has been caused by their need to obtain more money to take home where they engage with illegal businesses or robbery. Consequently, there have been many North Korea workers that have sought to escape and defect North Korea.

References

(All references have been written in Korean)

Cheong, Yong Cheol, ‘ North Korea’s Openness and Reform : Dual Strategy and Views of Change (Seoul: Son –In, 2004) pp. 46-48

Choi Bong Dae ‘ The North Korean private sector around marketization and urban household in the 1990s’ Hyundai North Korea Research Center, Volume 11, Semester 4, 2011

Choi, Soo Yong, ‘Expected Economic Adjustment Policy Changes in North Korea’ (Seoul, Unification Research Ministry). 2004

Hwang, Chang Yob, ‘ Citizens Life over one’s Life’, (Seoul: Shidae Joeong Shin) 1999

Kang Myong Do, ‘Pyongyang Dreams of Exile’ (Seoul, Jung-ang Il Bosa, 1995) p. 160

Kong, Yong Cheol ‘, Collected Investigation of the Labor Market in North Korea’, North Korean Studies Masters University, Master Thesis, 2010

Kim Kwang Jin, ‘ Investigation of the Foreign Exchange System and its Changes’ North Korean Studies Masters University, Master Thesis, 2010

Lee Seok, ‘The Market of North Korea: Scale Estimation and Structural Analysis’ (Seoul, Samsung Economic Research). 2008

North Korea Strategy Center, ‘Academic Seminar Materials, April 28, 2011

Park Seok Sam, ‘North Korea’s private sector ‘(Seoul, Korea Bank), 2002

Park Hyong Chung, ‘North Korea’s Economic Management: Organisation Management and Reform Changes, (Seoul, Hanam, 2002) pg. 29

Park Hyong Chung, ‘Post Summit changes in North Korea’, Unification Obstacle

Investigation, Chapter 24 (2000) pg. 196

Song, Bong Seon' The prolongation of Kim Jong Un through Hard Currency', Monthly North Korea, August 2012

Unification Research Ministry, 'Human Rights in North Korea 2011', (Seoul, Unification Research Ministry) 2011

Yang, Moon Soo, ' North Korea's Economic Market : Aspects, Personality, and Mechanisms' (Paju: Hanul Academy) 2012

Yoo, Seung Ho, 'Changes in the Foreign Exchange System of North Korea and its Limitations' Soo-Uh North Korea Economics, 2004 Summer (Seoul: Korea Export Bank).

J. Kornai, The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism

Newspapers:

Chosun Ilbo

Dong/-A Ilbo

Konas

Daily NK

Voice of America