I thank my friend.

Let me just welcome our two distinguished witnesses. I share the

concerns that many Members have concerning the nuclear issue

and the trustworthiness of the North Korean regime, but I would

like to focus on another area, and that is we all know that North

Korea continues to have probably the worst human rights record

of any country on the face of the earth. The North Korean government

characterizes its citizens into 51 classes, and there are about

7 million people, a third of the population who have been deemed

to be hostile and suffer accordingly for that alleged hostility to the

regime.

When it comes to food aid, I have been a very strong supporter

of providing maximum food aid to North Korea to alleviate their

horrific famine. I think it is worth noting, and we ought to say this

with some pride, that the United States continues to be largest

donor of food aid to North Korea. According to the GAO, the cumulative

donations since 1995 are valued at about $365 million, most

of it being channeled through the World Food Program, about 88

percent of the WFP’s distributions in North Korea.

We have gotten assurances repeatedly that our food aid will only

be distributed in counties where North Koreans permit our monitors,

and yet the GAO has found—and they were not permitted access

directly, but through conversations and interviews with all of

the other players involved—they have concluded that over 14,000

tons of food aid went into military counties. They report that WFP

estimates that 90 percent of the North Korean institutions receiving

food aid have not received monitoring visits. Of those 10 percent

in the sampling or monitoring, they found that North Korean

restrictions precluded them from randomly selecting the institutions

that they would monitor. They were told where they could go

and who they could see.

You have Doctors Without Borders and Doctors of the World

leaving. We have one NGO person writing recently that it is a big

scam, they don’t allow access. This does relate to the nuclear issue

as well. We had former Ambassador Lilly testify not so long ago before

the site visit to North Korea that what we would be going to

see would be an empty hole. He said anyone who thinks otherwise,

I will sell them the Brooklyn Bridge. That is a paraphrase, but

something along those lines because there is no way that nuclear

material would be found there given the time that was being permitted

before we would actually have an on site inspection.

Here we have something of a no brainer. We are helping to alleviate

suffering among North Korea’s own people, and we should

be proud that we are doing it. I agree with Dr. Perry, a humanitarian

basis ought to be the criteria, but where is the food really

going and what are we doing, especially in light of the GAO report

which came out in October that it would appear that much of that

food is being diverted? It is not getting to the intended recipients

and some of the poorest of the poor, like the 927 kids who suffer

a harsh fate because they are orphans or because they are without

a home. They are the ones dying from malnutrition. It reminds me

of what Mengistu did in Ethiopia some years back when he used

food as a weapon. Doctors Without Borders, coincidentally, left

there, too, believing it was an outrage to participate in something

where people were being killed and where food was being used as

a weapon.

What can be done to stop this apparent diversion of food aid and

to get monitoring and make it clear to the North Koreans we want

to help their people but you can’t deny access to international public

servants like World Food Program personnel to make sure that

it gets to its intended recipients?

Ambassador Sherman?

With all due respect, the report does point out, ‘‘WFP

told us, however, that in 1998 North Korean authorities distributed

at least 14,738 metric tons of WFP food to counties that they had

previously agreed upon would be open to WFP monitors, but that

after distribution, the North Korean military blocked WFP from

monitoring how the food was used. The ultimate disposition of the

food remains unknown.’’

To say that—they are just denying access so we don’t know. A

reasonable man or woman could say why deny access if they are

not hiding something? Then they go on with another incident, and

they speak throughout this report about not knowing. To say

anecdotally that we see people getting more healthy misses the

point. There are hundreds of thousands who are growing increasingly

famished, if not dead, that we don’t know about, and we and

the international community are stepping up to the plate to provide

what has been previously agreed upon.

My point is that this needs to be pushed at the highest level and

it is, I think, the harbinger of how they will deal with us on the

nuclear issue. There is a connection. If food cannot be dealt with

in a way that is at least somewhat transparent, how can we expect

them to deal with us on the nuclear issue in a way that we can

have a high level of confidence with regards to verification?

I yield to Mr. Pomeroy.

Reclaiming my time, I do not believe in a cutoff of

aid. I believe we need to use every lever imaginable to make sure

that we have honest and transparent monitoring. The fact that

there are hundreds of thousands of kids—927 kids is absolutely appalling.

A third of their country is considered hostile. I don’t think

that they are getting the food. I just don’t know. So this is like our

wakeup call that despite all of our best efforts, including the Administration’s,

we are still not getting the kind of compliance that

they have agreed to.

I say parenthetically, this is the only nation that agreed to an

international human rights treaty, the International Covenant on

Civil and Political Rights—the one that the Chinese government

has milked for all that they can possibly get and still are not in

the verification mode, although the enforcement is feckless at

best—which is trying to get out of it. This is a country that says

they don’t want to be held accountable to a weak enforcement policy

with regards to that treaty.

I just say that because I think we are all on the same side, but

we need to push hard to get that food aid to the intended recipient.

Dr. Cooksey.