Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you

for holding this hearing and for your focus on North Korea.

Secretary Kelly, welcome. I appreciate all your great work in this

area. I really appreciate what the administration is doing in holding

a light up on what is happening in North Korea and not just

taking kind of an easy answer, let us put a band aid on this and

let us move on, because we have done that before and it has failed

and it has been a great problem. So I appreciate the difficulty of

what you are doing and I appreciate you are attempting to get real

answers in this.

I do, though, want to raise a series of questions about who we

are dealing with in Kim Jong-il and this regime and what we

know. You know this regime very well. You have been more successful

than anybody about getting truth out of them, to admit

things that we have alleged for years and that they have said.

It is a terrorist state by our own definition. It is a charter member

of the ‘‘axis of evil’’ by our definition. By the numbers I have,

they have killed about 10 percent of their own population over the

last 10 years through starvation, deprivation, about 2 million of a

22 million population, a little under 10 percent. If you have different

figures on any of this, correct me as we go through it.

They operate a gulag system. For that, Mr. Chairman, I would

like to enter into the record at this point the summary of a report

on David Hawk’s ‘The Hidden Gulag, Exposing North Korea’s Prison

Camps,’’ which I know the Secretary is familiar with.

I also would like to include in the record

an article by Anne Applebaum, who is an authority on gulags,

about ‘‘Auschwitz Under Our Noses,’’ where she talks about the

gulag system in North Korea being very akin to Nazi Germany’s

gulag system.

You know people that have come out and

I know you have met with some that have come out of the gulag

system, as I have. We think there are somewhere around 150,000-

200,000 people in the North Korean gulag system. They operate

that type of horrific system.

They have lied or at least misled us in incredible ways on nuclear

negotiations in the past. The 1994 agreement—I believe

quoting Secretary Powell, ‘‘the ink was not even dry and they were

looking for other sources of nuclear material.’’ I have that from one

of the top defectors that came out, and I believe it is in the public

knowledge or realm at this point in time. So this is not a trustworthy

regime to negotiate with on nuclear issues given past performance

in the 1994 signed agreement.

They are arms merchants for virtually every evil regime in the

world.

They are drug runners as a government. I held a hearing on

that.

Counterfeiting money, other items, a number of places, U.S. currency.

Human traffickers. I have got the State Department Trafficking

in Persons report of June 2004, and Mr. Chairman, I would like for

this to be entered into the record, the page on North Korea. Just

to read it very briefly, if I could.

This is a State Department document.

Kidnapers in Japan. Maybe they are starting

to get those cleared up.

Chemical weapons tests on prisoners. Now, this is only according

to the BBC and several other documents coming out. So in my estimation,

it has not risen to the level of proof yet, but I quote here

from this Anne Applebaum story of a former administrator of a

North Korean camp.

Chemical testing on their own people.

They are, as I stated at the outset, a charter member of the ‘‘axis

of evil.’’ This is Kim Jong-il’s regime that we are negotiating with.

Can you really negotiate with this group? We have this track

record of what they have or are doing.

And I would too.

But let me finish on this point. With all these human rights

abuses at the extraordinary level, comparing their gulag with Hitler’s

concentration camps, tier 3 trafficking, chemical weapons tests

on their own people, 10 percent of their population dying in the last

10 years, if we provide resources from here for something in North

Korea in exchange for their dropping of nuclear weapons, completely

verified nuclear weapons dropping, we see it, we take it out

of the country or the Chinese, with us watching, take it actually

physically out, it is dismantled, and you are still giving money to

a country operating a gulag, operating trafficking, operating chemical

weapons tests on its own people?

That is the heart of the North Korea Freedom Act that we have

put forward that I have talked with you about is that I cannot in

good conscience say, we are going to fund something in here, and

recognize we will get a verifiable nuclear weapons removal, when

all the rest of this is going on. And we know it is going on and it

is right there in front of our eyes and we just cannot deny it.

I really would plead with you that you tell the North Koreans

that Congress is requiring you to put the human rights issues in

this portfolio. I know they do not want to talk about it. I would not

want to talk about it if I were Kim Jong-il or anybody in his regime,

given their track record. But this is horrific.

I have spoken to you privately about that and I will continue to

do so. I really hope that we can put that issue in there rather than

us saying we will fund this for the nuclear weapons, given the level

of other things that are going on in that regime.

Thank you for your work on this. I do not

want to demean it because I think you have done very important

work. But there is a level of frustration with what is there too.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, could I ask one more question?

I very much appreciate, Senator Biden, you

getting to the bifurcation of the issue there.

Secretary Kelly, I am sure you have talked about this a lot,

about putting the human rights issues on the table now to get

them in the negotiations. It sure seems to me that that is really

the key in driving this. When we look at past negotiations with the

Soviet Union at another time, it was the set of human rights issues

at the front end of it that really drove the radicalized change in the

regime and in the country. And these are critically important.

I understand the difficulty, but why not put these in the first

tranche and not on the bigger package of normalized relations

when you have such a horrific set and such a useful tool actually

to talk about with them?