첨부자료 1: Executive Summary

**The Suryong Dictatorship Mechanism:**

Who Is Ultimately Responsible for Crimes Against Humanity in North Korea?

This study provides an in-depth analysis of the authoritarian mechanism executed by the North Korean leader known as the “supreme leader” or the “suryong” and aims to derive implications for determining the direct responsibility of the suryong for crimes against humanity. The conclusion is simple and clear. North Korea operates under a dictatorship system where all power is concentrated in the hands of the suryong, and the ultimate responsibility for the crimes against humanity resulting from this dictatorship lies with the suryong.

The mechanism of the suryong dictatorship is complex and sophisticated. The suryong dominates all areas of the regime, including national strategy and policies through maximizing his own will and authority through the mechanism of party guidance (당적지도). Moreover, the suryong effectively executes the dictatorship through intricate surveillance, control, and severe punishments that go beyond imagination.

The study employs literature analysis and in-depth interviews as the primary research methods. The primary sources for this report are confidential documents from North Korea, such as Kim Jong Un's “Instructional Remarks” (교시말씀) (Appendix I-A) and the “WPK Policy Implementation Directives” (당의 방침집행대장) (Appendix I-B), produced by the Central Committee of the WPK. The WPK Policy Directives is a bound compilation of authorized policy documents with Kim Jong Un’s approval. All of North Korea's national strategies and policies are controlled through the party guidance of the suryong. The North Korean authorities refer to this as “internal party affairs,” (당 내부사업) and the Policy Directives is one of the various types of documents related to this operation. In addition, in-depth interviews were conducted with four high-ranking North Korean defectors and one former diplomat from the German Embassy in Pyongyang.

Chapter II of the report discusses the ideology of the suryong dictatorship and its driving force. North Korea’s ideology is not socialism or communism. In North Korea, the “will (thoughts) and teachings of the suryong” are the sole ideology and fundamental driving force of totalitarian power. North Korea finds the origin of the regime’s existence in individuals like Kim Il Sung, Kim Jong Il, and Kim Jong Un. Accordingly, the suryong’s teachings and instructions, as well as the Ten Principles which institutionalizes the establishment of the monolithic leadership system serve as absolute norms in North Korea. Kim Jong Il, starting from the late 1960s, developed the mechanism of the suryong dictatorship based on the monolithic ideology and the Ten Principles, which became ingrained as the operating standards and punishment criteria for national goals, interests, and the functioning of all organizations, including the party, state, and military.

Chapter III discusses the functioning of the suryong dictatorship mechanism, namely the monolithic leadership system. All areas of the North Korean regime are organized and combined organically to form the structure of the system. The reason why the dictatorship can be efficiently and systematically executed by the suryong is that the suryong controls and regulates all areas of organization through the Workers' Party. This power is referred to as the suryong’s "organizational authority." The suryong controls all organizations in North Korea through the Central Committee of the Workers' Party (also known as the WPK CC or the Central Party). Among the institutions belonging to the Central Party, the Organization Guidance Bureau (OGD) is particularly crucial as the suryong intervenes in the formulation and decision-making of national strategies and policies through the OGD. Moreover, the suryong exercises direct control over individuals and even micro aspects of society to an astonishing extent.

Chapter IV discusses the elements that constitute the completion and sustainability of the suryong dictatorship. Even with a perfect mechanism, the suryong cannot personally intervene in and control every situation and event. However, the suryong is directly involved in the personnel appointment of party members and officials and executing discipline and punishment. Additionally, even when the suryong does not intervene directly, North Korea has a system of horizontal surveillance among party members, officials, and ordinary citizens. This system of mutual surveillance has been institutionalized and become a crucial element that enables automatic operation of the suryong dictatorship mechanism over the last 78 years.

The punishment system in North Korea is also controlled by the Workers' Party. The suryong intervenes in and commands the punishment system through the Workers' Party, and orders and commands directly when necessary. The suryong’s direct involvement in punishment serves as evidence that he is the ultimate responsible person and the authority in charge of crimes against humanity. The suryong sometimes makes decisions on summary executions and the imprisonment of political prisoners based on his arbitrary and subjective judgment. Thus, the suryong possesses absolute dictatorial power to control and punish dignified individuals freely and at will.

In Chapter V, this research concludes with simple and straightforward implications. These implications are addressed to the international community, South Korea, and North Korea's suryong, officials, and people.

The first recommendation is addressed to the international community.

To begin, Kim Il Sung, Kim Jong Il, and Kim Jong Un are not only the key perpetrators but also the ultimate responsible figures for North Korea's systematic and widespread crimes against humanity. It is contradictory to demand Kim Jong Un, who currently holds all the power as the actual leader of North Korea, to resolve crimes against humanity. It is akin to asking a criminal to act as a judge.

Second, the international community and South Korea should formulate their North Korea strategies under the premise of acknowledging the inalterability of the suryong dictatorship mechanism. In other words, if we want to completely eliminate not only crimes against humanity, but also transnational organized crime and nuclear weapons threats of North Korea, we must clearly recognize that this is only possible when Kim Jong Un dictatorship ends. If the international community and South Korea fail to hold Kim Jong Un accountable and passively let the succession of the fourth generation to take place, these threats will continue to haunt our future generation.

Third, there is a need to improve the methods and content of information inflow into North Korea. The suryong has emphasized to party officials, "people come first." Similarly, the international community should focus on all North Korean people—except the Kim family—to induce a change in Kim Jong Un’s attitude. The information should include the message that "you and the suryong are not a community with a shared destiny, but are separate beings, and even if the forced bond that the suryong created is destroyed, you will suffer no harm."

Lastly, there is a recommendation regarding China. China must immediately stop the arrest, detention, and torture of individuals seeking freedom, human rights, and dignity. Furthermore, unconditional forced repatriation of North Korean defectors is in itself crimes against humanity. North Korea is not a vassal state of China, and China does not need to emulate North Korea's suryong dictatorship.

Next is the recommendations for North Korea.

First, this is a recommendation to Kim Jong Un. It is hoped that he will acknowledge the crimes committed by his predecessors and himself, such as murder, torture, abuse, and enforced disappearances, and offer apologies to the victims. Furthermore, he should be willing to face the appropriate punishment. The time has come for him to return the power and dignity that his predecessors have taken away to the 25 million people of North Korea.

Second, this is a recommendation for the North Korean authorities currently engaged in crimes against humanity, such as the Central Party’s Organization and Guidance Department, Ministry of Social Security, KPA Ministry Security Bureau, and the Ministry of People’s Security. To protect your own dignity, this is only possible when you treat all people as equal human beings without discrimination regardless of their background—not based on your political allegiance to Kim Jong Un. The target of “leading by example” is not the suryong or the party but the people in political prison camps, remote areas, and citizens of Pyongyang, provinces, cities and counties. There is no need to become an accomplice to the Kim family destroying your own dignity to the very end.

Third, this is a recommendation for individuals who, in the capacity of overseas laborers, workers, businessmen, diplomats or secret operative agents that engage in money laundering, hacking, weapons and drug trafficking, and underground espionage activities outside of North Korea. Please stop the actions that threaten the property and lives of righteous individuals and quietly disseminate the messages of this report to the families back home. The place in need of revolution is not South Korea or the international community but North Korea itself. The targets of patriotism and loyalty are your own families and neighbors. If you genuinely value them, I hope you will be the first to initiate the flow of freedom.

Lastly, this message is addressed to all the North Korean people. Many members of the international community are concerned about each and every one of you. Therefore, we want to convey this message: Please do not sacrifice your lives, safety, and human dignity. It is difficult for us, who do not live in North Korea, to dare to speak of not letting go of the thread of hope. We understand that it may not be possible to overturn the situation immediately. However, we can certainly promise that there are countless people who want the current situation to change, and are making efforts to change it for the better.