

# Intersections between the Denial of Education & Freedom of Religion or Belief in North Korea

Briefing report

DECEMBER 2021

# Summary

## 1

The right to freedom of religion or belief and the right to education are universal, indivisible, and overlapping human rights. Both reaffirm the principle of non-discrimination and the dignity and worth of the individual.

## 2

The right to freedom of religion or belief is protected in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief; the Convention on the Rights of the Child; and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which states "Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion. This right shall include freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice, and freedom, either individually or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in worship, observance, practice and teaching."<sup>1</sup>

## 3

Similarly, the right to education is protected in a number of international instruments, including the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation Convention against Discrimination in Education; the Convention on the Rights of the Child; and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which simply states that "Everyone has the right to education."<sup>2</sup>



## 4

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Children, in their own right, enjoy the right to freedom of education and the right to freedom of religion or belief simultaneously. The Convention on the Rights of the Child, which applies to children under the age of eighteen, recognises education and non-discrimination as legal rights and calls upon states to “respect and ensure the rights [...] to each child within their jurisdiction without discrimination of any kind, irrespective of the child’s or his or her parent’s or legal guardian’s [...] religion.”<sup>3</sup> The Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief states, “The child shall be protected from any form of discrimination on the grounds of religion or belief.”<sup>4</sup>

## 5

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Parents and legal guardians also possess rights regarding the religious and moral upbringing of their children, including through education. They enjoy both the freedom to have their children educated in accordance with their religious or belief convictions, including the right to send their children to schools that conform with their religion or beliefs, and to access state school education that is non-discriminatory.

## 6

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The Convention on the Rights of the Child asserts that “States Parties shall respect the rights and duties of the parents and, when applicable, legal guardians, to provide direction to the child in the exercise of his or her right in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child.”<sup>5</sup> The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights calls upon states “to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.”<sup>6</sup>

## 7

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States are not legally bound to provide a system of public education that includes instruction on religion or belief. Yet when a curriculum is implemented that does contain teaching on religion or belief, states are obliged to provide this education in an “unbiased and objective way, respectful of the freedoms of opinion, conscience and expression” and must offer “non-discriminatory exemptions or alternatives that would accommodate the wishes of parents and guardians” who may hold different religious beliefs.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, states must not violate the fundamental right to freedom of religion or belief through a public education system and must respect, protect, and fulfil the right to education alongside the right to freedom of religion or belief for all citizens, including children.



## 8

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In North Korea, a singular belief system is taught to all children, namely the Ten Principles for Establishing a Monolithic Leadership System. In its teaching, the state-assigned national curriculum does not offer an unbiased or objective form of moral instruction to children that is respectful of the freedoms of opinion, conscience, and expression. Rather, children are taught to singularly deify the ruling Kim family and to discriminate against other religions and beliefs, in particular Christianity and Shamanism.

## 9

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In turn, the child's right to form and hold opinions based on conscience, including religious beliefs—a right that may never be justifiably limited in international law—is denied by public officials in both schools and state organisations for children. And parents and legal guardians are denied educational freedom, namely the right to ensure the religious or moral education of their children in conformity with their own beliefs, inclusive of the right to choose schools other than state schools for their children.

## 10

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The objective of teaching children to worship Kim Il Sung, Kim Jong Il, and Kim Jong Un is conducted systematically across all state schools and organisations comprising children. The extent to which this singular belief system dominates the education of children violates Article 17 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The suppression of the right to freedom of religion or belief through this same educational system, which is enabled by and deployed in tandem with the teaching of a singular belief system, violates Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and Article 14 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child.<sup>9</sup>

# Recommendations

## On the basis that:

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**North Korea** has acceded to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, is a signatory to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and is bound by customary international law.

**North Korea's educational system** does not offer an unbiased or objective form of moral instruction to children that is respectful of the freedoms of opinion, conscience, and expression, but rather instructs children to singularly deify the ruling Kim family and to discriminate against other religions and beliefs, in particular Christianity and Shamanism.

**North Korean children's right** to form and hold opinions based on conscience, including religious beliefs—a right that may never be justifiably limited in international law—is denied by teachers, school administrators, and state organisations for children.

**Parents and legal guardians** are denied educational freedom, namely the right to ensure the religious or moral education of their children in conformity with their own beliefs, inclusive of the right to choose schools other than state schools for their children.

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The international community of states, international organisations, and national and international justice actors should:

- **Impose** targeted sanctions on individual perpetrators and state organisations responsible for violations of human rights and international crimes that have targeted persons on the grounds of their religion or belief. Human rights sanctions specifically and exclusively targeted at persons who are proven to be involved in these egregious violations are feasible means to provide accountability for, and deter, activities that amount to serious violations of international human rights and criminal law. This may take place under existing United States, United Kingdom, Canadian, and European Union sanctions regimes.
- **Prioritise** the gathering and preservation of linkage evidence to a criminal law standard that can lay the legal groundwork for a range of future efforts to hold perpetrators of violations of human rights and international crimes in North Korea to account. The preservation of linkage evidence can support the creation of prosecution-ready dossiers of high-ranking perpetrators, indictments, and legal briefs that can support domestic, national, hybrid, and international justice mechanisms. This is critical for North Korea where the responsibility of individual perpetrators can be established but not yet their biographical and identifying details. This may provide potential for both short-term (e.g., domestic civil or criminal cases) and long-term (e.g., an ad-hoc international tribunal or hybrid court) accountability. This model would go beyond most current forms of human rights documentation and focus on laying the groundwork for a range of future legal efforts that will hold perpetrators to account for crimes against humanity and other human rights violations and abuses.

## Background

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**The North Korean government has persecuted the followers and institutions of Korean Buddhism, Catholicism, Cheondogyo, North Korean Shamanism, and Protestantism over a period of 73 years.**

A 'Period of Eradicating Superstition', discriminatory legislation, and the state's appropriation of land and capital in the late-1940s first eroded the abilities of religious persons and communities to worship. During the Korean War (1950-1953), religious persons were explicitly targeted, detained, and killed by North Korean forces. Many adherents from institutionalised religions, such as Catholicism and Buddhism, fled to South Korea further weakening religious minorities. Since the late-1950s, the formation of the *songbun* class system, whereby religious persons are classified as hostile to the state and subject to absolute discrimination and persecution, and the expansion of a political prison camp system, which detains up to three generations of families associated with religion for life, has embedded religion and belief as a *de facto* crime in the political and social consciousness of North Korea.



Based on 237 interviews of survivors, witnesses, and perpetrators of violations of the right to freedom of religion or belief, we have identified only small communities and isolated adherents of two religions: North Korean Shamanism and Christianity.

We have not documented cases of remaining adherents of Korean Buddhism or Catholicism and only one adherent of Cheondogyo.

**Shamanism is the most widespread religious practice in North Korea and is and claims adherents from every level of the social strata.**

Predating institutionalised religion on the Korean peninsula, Shamanism became an essential component of North Korea's religious landscape following the collapse of its economy in the 1990s. Manifestation of Shamanic beliefs mainly takes the shape of divination rituals and methods of divination vary among shamans but diverge into numerology, card reading, or physiognomy.

**Christianity claims fewer adherents, yet is the most severely persecuted religious tradition within North Korea.**

Aside from the very few North Korean Christians who inherit their faith from family members who practiced Christianity prior to the founding of the current regime in 1948, most were inducted into the religion by Christian missionaries during periods where adherents had illicitly crossed into China to find food or earn money. North Korean Christians commonly practice their faith through private prayers, proselytisation to immediate family members, and attendance of religious ceremonies in China after the adherents illegally cross the border. Underground churches consisting of small congregations exist in North Korea, but are rare and subject to extreme levels of persecution.





**International Covenant on Economic,  
Social and Cultural Rights**

**Article 13**

The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to education. They agree that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. They further agree that education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups, and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

**Convention on the Rights of the Child**

**Article 29 (1b)**

States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to: The development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

**Universal Declaration of Human Rights**

**Article 26 (2,3)**

Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.



**E**ducation is the process of lifelong learning that takes place in formal and non-formal environments. Yet it is in formal institutionalised education during childhood and, in particular, in compulsory educational institutions run by the state, where the right to education is most critical to the cognitive development of children and their understanding of their identities and belief systems.

The North Korean government mandates a twelve-year compulsory education programme for all children. This comprises one year in kindergarten, five years in primary school, three years in middle school, and three years in high school. In addition, every child is compelled to join and participate in the Children's League between the ages of seven and thirteen and the Youth League between the ages of fourteen and thirty.

The teaching of religion or belief in North Korea's schools is coercive and discriminatory. A singular belief system that deifies the Kim family is taught as an objective fact, both in dedicated lessons and in most subjects, from mathematics to art. Children are presented with no alternative but to learn and to obey. This mode of teaching of a belief system is incompatible with the right to freedom of religion or belief and the right to education and educational objectives. The International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights, to which North Korea has acceded, requires state education to "strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms" and enable children "to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all [...] religious groups".

In contravention of the International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights, parents and legal guardians are denied educational freedom, namely the right to ensure the religious or moral education of their children in conformity with their own beliefs, inclusive of the right to choose schools other than state schools for their children.

The following evidence draws from the memories of North Korean exiles who completed their education in North Korean schools. The timetables are indicative of their experiences.

# Elementary Education

Children undertake five hours of classes each week dedicated to the teaching of North Korea's singular belief system, namely the deification of the Kim family. These lessons implicitly and explicitly deny children their right to form, to adopt, and to change their convictions and beliefs and to be free from coercion. Lessons that instruct children on the deification of the Kim family are the first lessons of every school day. Children learn the teachings of North Korea's rulers, Kim Il Sung, Kim Jong Il, and Kim Jong Un, and are instructed in how they must practice worship.

From childhood, **Shin Nam Ki** recalled that "Kim Il Sung is considered to be our God. We call him Father and we learn that we exist because of him [...] In every school, there are statues of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il and there are portraits of them in every classroom." **Yang Keum Jun** noted how children were taught "the Ten Principles and that no law stands before the leader."

In other lessons, including mathematics, music, dance, and art, teaching actively denies children their right to form, to adopt, and to change their convictions and beliefs and to be free from coercion. **Park Sung Hwa** said, "Besides our political ideology classes, our classes were all centred around Kim Il Sung. In our art class, we learned a story about Kim Il Sung catching a rainbow. We then had to draw that rainbow. We then had to draw a rock that is somehow related to Kim Il Sung, and so on. Our education looked like this."

In Korean literature and language classes, children encounter materials that portray Christian and Buddhist figures as rapists, murderers, and invaders. No alternative views are offered to children. **Kang Ga Mi** estimated that close to 90% of his classes as a child contained instructions on North Korea's singular belief system and elements of anti-religious education. Another interviewee, **Jung Chun Deok**, told investigators, "The Kim family were everywhere. Even in our encyclopaedias."



## SECOND YEAR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

STUDENTS (8 YEARS OLD)

	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
08:00	The childhood of Kim Il Sung	The childhood of Kim Jong Il	The childhood of Kim Jong Un	Korean Language	Moralist Ethics	Korean Language
09:00	Math	Math	Math	Math	Math	Math
10:00	Korean Language	Korean Language	Korean Language	Korean Language	Korean Language	Self-criticism session
11:00	Nature Studies	Music and Dance	Painting Workshop	Music and Dance	Painting Workshop	
12:00	LUNCH	LUNCH	LUNCH	LUNCH	LUNCH	
13:00	Extracurricular Activities	Extracurricular Activities	Extracurricular Activities	Extracurricular Activities	Extracurricular Activities	

### LEGEND

#### WEAK

Teaching of a singular belief system and anti-religious instruction is less visible in these classes. However, lesson structures are still centred on the deification of the Kim family.

#### MEDIUM

Teaching of a singular belief system and anti-religious instruction is present and visible in these classes. Anti-religious materials are deployed and obedience to the Kim family is taught through Korean language and literature.

#### STRONG

Teaching of a singular belief system and anti-religious instruction are ubiquitous in these classes and define the purpose of teaching. Children are instructed how to deify the Kim family as Gods, are mandated to engage in self-criticism, and to engage in criticism of other children—all based on the Kim family's guidance.

One story that is recalled by all North Korean children is titled “the American Jackal.” In this story, which is taught to children in the second year of elementary school in Korean language classes, a young North Korean boy picks an apple from an orchard owned by a Christian missionary. Enraged, the missionary apprehends the child and ties him to the tree before burning the word ‘Thief’ into the child’s forehead with acid. The missionary then releases his dogs to maul the child. This story has been taught for at least fifty years and carries an enduring message that is hostile toward Christianity and its practitioners. Appearing not only in children’s textbooks, but in movies and children’s books, its legacy was lasting among all interviewees. **Ryang Ki Deuk** recalled that, after escaping into China, “I found a church but could not approach it because of the traumatic ideas I had of Christianity from the story.”

To prepare children to ideologically and politically defend the North Korean state, an exaggerated form of history and mythology surrounding the Kim family is presented as an unquestionable fact. **So Hyeon Min** recalled, "Our textbooks were Kim Il Sung's words, acts, and routines. I did not even think to question them. Before escaping [to South Korea], I thought the whole world worshiped Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il. We were told there was no place like North Korea on earth. When I watched documentaries in North Korea, they depicted foreigners travelling to North Korea to worship the Kim family and our country."

Another interviewee, **No Kyeong Min**, observed, "Almost every day, we would learn the same subject. Nobody cast any doubts or questioned what we learnt. North Korean children have limited access to the outside world. There is no internet, and we only have access to North Korean television. That is how indoctrination worked."

In addition to weekly classes, children must participate in mandatory self-criticism sessions where they are forced to disclose incidents to fellow students where they failed to obey the teachings of the Kim family. Following their confessions, children must then point out the ideological failings of their fellow classmates.

Quote: \_\_\_\_\_

At schools, they do not teach you about religion,  
However, they enlighten you about not having a religion.



Every North Korean above the age of seven is required to associate with a state organisational unit that receives directives from, and ultimately reports back to, the Central Party Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea. In turn, every child in North Korea's educational system and mandatory state organisations falls under a system of absolute oversight whereby the denial of religious freedom is enforced through the national curriculum; weekly ideological lectures; weekly self-criticism sessions; networks of informants, including children, who monitor other children for signs of religious belief; and reporting networks whereby all children, parents, legal guardians, and teachers effectively come under the oversight of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea.

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Quote:

"The teachers checked our political ideology textbooks. Since they were our most used books, they were inevitably the scruffiest. So, we covered them up with a thick paper [and] we had to erase any marks in the textbooks before our teachers inspected them [...] If teachers found something wrong with the textbooks, they physically beat us. I was hit a lot as a student. Teachers have 1.2-metre-long sticks they hit children with."

At the beginning of the second grade of elementary school, children enter the Children's League, a political organisation of the Workers' Party of Korea that is dedicated to the teaching of North Korea's singular belief system. Upon joining, children pledge an oath of eternal loyalty to the Kim family and to the North Korean state. They are subject to instruction on the singular belief system every Thursday and must undergo weekly self-criticism sessions every Saturday for up to two hours. During their time in the Children's League, children learn and will be able to recite the teachings of the Kim family.

**Kwon Eun Som** recalled, "When I entered the Children's League, I had to pledge an oath. I had to memorise the Ten Principles and say, 'I will be loyal to Great General, Kim Il Sung, and to General Kim Jong Il from now on.'"

## Middle and High School Education

In middle school, all children receive an average of seven hours of teaching about North Korea's singular belief system each week. At high school, students receive an average of six to seven hours of teaching about North Korea's singular belief system every week. As children grow older, the teaching of alternative religions or beliefs becomes more actively discriminatory of the fundamental right to freedom of religion or belief, in particular, the right to manifest a religion or belief through teaching, worship, practice, and other forms of observance.

**Son Jun Ho** recalled, "Teachers told us not to participate in superstitious acts. They said 'Your parents may engage in such practices, but it is not right.' We were told terrible things about Christianity [including graphic language]. When I was taught these lessons, I thought how lucky I was to be studying in school, all thanks to [Kim Il Sung]. I was glad not to be religious and thought I should study diligently to protect our nation [from religion]. It was not just me thinking in this way, but every other student."

**Lee Yong** recalled, "In North Korea, the image of religion at school was as something futile that senseless people adhere to. I understood religion as a tool for rich people to manipulate and exploit poor people. To destroy their brains so they could no longer think for themselves [...] I hated religion."

### Quote:

"In North Korea, there is only one God, General Kim, and nothing else. North Korea is not a socialist or a communist country. It is a pseudo-religious system of rule."

During high school, students participate in a course titled 'Military Activities: Basic Level,' in which anti-religious instructions are mixed with military training and teachings on North Korea's singular belief system. Students are even subjected to punishing physical treatment in order to reinforce their ideological commitments. **Keum Jin Soo** recalled, "My class went to a site at Baekdu Mountain, near Kim Jong Il's childhood house near Cheoilbong. I was aged sixteen. It was about 122 kilometres [from our school], and we walked all the way there in the snow for ten days. We had to pack ten days' worth of food. The purpose was to cultivate revolutionary morals."

Students who privately question the veracity of their education are unable to freely express their reservations. **Min Hyeong Guk** recalled, "In high school, I had a weekly lecture on Kim Jong Un. Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il's achievements were understandable to some degree, but Kim Jong Un was described as God's son who drove a car aged three, read scientific theses, won a world-class Judo competition, and so on. I started thinking that it may not be true, but I only thought about this alone. There was no one casting doubt or asking questions."

## SECOND YEAR MIDDLE SCHOOL

STUDENTS (13 YEARS OLD)

	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
08:00	The revolutionary activities of Kim Il Sung	The revolutionary activities of Kim Jong Il	The revolutionary activities of Kim Il Sung	The revolutionary activities of Kim Jong Il	The revolutionary activities of Kim Jong Un	Korean Language
09:00	Korean Language	Korean Language	Korean Language	Korean Language	Korean History	Math
10:00	Math	Math	Math	Math	Korean Geography	Self-criticism session
11:00	Socialist Ethics	English	English	English	English	
12:00	Natural Science	Natural Science	Natural Science	Natural Science	Natural Science	
13:00	Information Technology	Basic Technology	Physical Education	Music and Dance	Art	
14:00	LUNCH	LUNCH	LUNCH	LUNCH	LUNCH	
15:00	Extra Curricular Activities	Extra Curricular Activities	Extra Curricular Activities	Extra Curricular Activities	Extra Curricular Activities	

### LEGEND

#### WEAK

Teaching of a singular belief system and anti-religious instruction is less visible in these classes. However, lesson structures are still centred on the deification of the Kim family.

#### MEDIUM

Teaching of a singular belief system and anti-religious instruction is present and visible in these classes. Anti-religious materials are deployed and obedience to the Kim family is taught through Korean language and literature.

#### STRONG

Teaching of a singular belief system and anti-religious instruction are ubiquitous in these classes and define the purpose of teaching. Children are instructed how to deify the Kim family as Gods, are mandated to engage in self-criticism, and to engage in criticism of other children—all based on the Kim family's guidance.

## SECOND YEAR HIGH SCHOOL

STUDENTS (16 YEARS OLD)

	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
08:00	The revolutionary history of Kim Il Sung	The revolutionary history of Kim Jong Il	The revolutionary history of Kim Il Sung	The revolutionary history of Kim Jong Un	The revolutionary activities Kim Jong Un	Korean Language
09:00	Korean Literature	Chinese	Korean Literature	English	The revolutionary history of the anti-Japanese female hero, Kim Jung Suk	Math
10:00	Korean Literature	Chinese	Korean Literature	English	The revolutionary history of the anti-Japanese female hero, Kim Jung Suk	Math
11:00	English	History	English	Geography	Information Technology	Self-criticism session
12:00	Math	Math	Math	Math	Math	
13:00	Art	Physics	Physics	Physics	Physics	
14:00	Chemistry	Chemistry	Chemistry	Chemistry	Biology	
15:00	LUNCH	LUNCH	LUNCH	LUNCH	LUNCH	
16:00	Biology	Physical Education	Biology	Basic Technology	Party Policies	

Extracurricular & Military Activities Basic Level

### LEGEND

#### WEAK

Teaching of a singular belief system and anti-religious instruction is less visible in these classes. However, lesson structures are still centred on the deification of the Kim family.

#### MEDIUM

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# Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> United Nations. "Universal Declaration of Human Rights." Accessed November 22, 2021. <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights>; United Nations. "Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief." Accessed November 22, 2021. <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/ReligionOrBelief.aspx>; United Nations. "Convention on the Rights of the Child." Accessed November 22, 2021. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx>; United Nations. "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights." Accessed November 22, 2021. <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CCPR.aspx>.
- <sup>2</sup> United Nations. "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights." Accessed November 22, 2021. <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CCPR.aspx>; United Nations. "Convention against Discrimination in Education." Accessed November 22, 2021. <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/DiscriminationInEducation.aspx>; United Nations. "Convention on the Rights of the Child." Accessed November 22, 2021. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx>; United Nations. "Universal Declaration of Human Rights." Accessed November 22, 2021. <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights>.
- <sup>3</sup> United Nations. "Convention on the Rights of the Child." Accessed November 22, 2021. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx>.
- <sup>4</sup> United Nations. "Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief." Accessed November 22, 2021. <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/ReligionOrBelief.aspx>.
- <sup>5</sup> United Nations. "Convention on the Rights of the Child." Accessed November 22, 2021. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx>.
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- <sup>7</sup> United Nations. "CESCR General Comment No. 13: The Right to Education Food (Art. 13)." Accessed November 22, 2021. [https://www.right-to-education.org/sites/right-to-education.org/files/resource-attachments/CESCR\\_General\\_Comment\\_13\\_en.pdf](https://www.right-to-education.org/sites/right-to-education.org/files/resource-attachments/CESCR_General_Comment_13_en.pdf).
- <sup>8</sup> United Nations. "Convention on the Rights of the Child." Accessed November 22, 2021. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx>; United Nations. "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights." Accessed November 22, 2021. <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CCPR.aspx>.
- <sup>9</sup> United Nations. "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights." Accessed November 22, 2021. <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CCPR.aspx>; United Nations. "Universal Declaration of Human Rights." Accessed November 22, 2021. <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights>; United Nations. "Convention on the Rights of the Child." Accessed November 22, 2021. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx>.
- <sup>10</sup> United Nations. "International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights." Accessed November 22, 2021. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cescr.aspx>.
- <sup>11</sup> We have concealed the identities of interviewees and, where necessary, we use pseudonyms to protect interviewees' family members who remain in North Korea.



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## *Intersections between the Denial of Education & Freedom of Religion or Belief in North Korea*

*Korea Future would like to acknowledge Stefanus Alliance International for generously funding and supporting this work. The contents of this report are the sole responsibility of Korea Future and can under no circumstances be regarded as reflecting the position of Stefanus Alliance International.*

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