



# **HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF NORTH KOREA**



**ILPYONG J. KIM**



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# Historical Dictionary of North Korea

Ipyong J. Kim

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## Editor's Foreword

Of all the countries in the world, none comes close to being as poorly known as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), or more simply North Korea. Most of the time, it is ignored. When it is not, the response is usually annoyance, anger, or alarm, depending on the action it has taken. Yet, even then, it is clear that the outside world does not know just whom it is dealing with or exactly what is going on there. The descriptions are vague, consist more of rumor than hard fact, and sadly enough, reflect North Korean propaganda by referring only to one person as if there were no one else there. Yet, North Korea is a big country—it has a relatively large population—and while its positive contribution to the international community is hardly worth mentioning, its negative potential cannot be overlooked.

It is therefore useful to know a bit more about the DPRK than can be found in the press or on TV: First, it's useful to know about a few people who either still exercise or once exercised important functions; then, about a few places, cities, provinces, rivers, and mountains to make North Korea seem more real; then, about its political system and economy; then, about its ideology (*Juche*), which covers every aspect of life; and finally, about the history of the past half century, which contains more twists and turns than one would expect and may just give us a clue to where the country will head next. The *Historical Dictionary of North Korea* provides all of this information, although inevitably more sparsely than such information is presented for most other countries. Sparse or not, however, this information is all the more precious given the prevailing lack of knowledge.

It was not easy to find an author for this volume, so it was very fortunate that Ilpyong J. Kim took on the task. One of the foremost North Korea watchers, he is also familiar with neighboring South Korea and China and a specialist on communist regimes. He has written numerous

books, chapters, and articles, including the early *Communist Politics in North Korea* (1975) and the more recent *Two Koreas in Transition: Implications for U.S. Policy* (1998). He is currently professor emeritus of political science at the University of Connecticut and has taught in South Korea and Japan as well. This historical dictionary is the fruit of decades of effort to help us know more about the least-known country on Earth.

Jon Woronoff  
Series Editor

## Preface

This book provides the most up-to-date and most comprehensive history of North Korea. It covers more than a half century of the political, economic, and social development of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), or North Korea, from its founding on September 9, 1948, to the most recent changes in its political, economic, and social structures when North Korea elected the Supreme People's Assembly (SPA), which adopted the new socialist constitution on September 5, 1998, and elevated Kim Jong Il to succeed his father Kim Il Sung on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the DPRK on September 9, 1998. Many subsequent developments between 1998 and 2001 have been added to this volume, such as the Sunshine Policy, the reconciliation of North and South Korea, and the summit meeting between the North Korean leader Kim Jong Il and President Kim Dae-Jung of South Korea in June 2000. The writing and editing of this book took several years due largely to the constantly changing events in North Korea in the early 1990s after the death of Kim Il Sung in July 1994, which was followed by a three-year mourning period. Then, the succession of Kim Jong Il as general secretary of the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) in October 8, 1997, was uncertain and fraught with problems, but was eventually completed on September 5, 1998, when he was officially installed as the chairman of the National Defense Commission, which has become the most powerful position in North Korea under the new socialist constitution. Because of the changes in the political, economic, and social structure, many entries in this dictionary had to be updated or changed as the events unfolded. Some of the sections in this book were rewritten because of changes in the government structure under the new socialist constitution of September 5, 1998.

I have used extensively the most recent South Korean publications, *Pukhan Tae Sachon (The Big Dictionary of North Korea)* (1999) and A

*Handbook on North Korea* (1998) for references. I would like to express appreciation to Jon Woronoff, series editor, for his invaluable advice, encouragement, and patience during the prolonged period of writing this book. However, if there is any omission or fault in this book, it is the sole responsibility of the author. I would like to dedicate this book to the researchers and specialists who have devoted their lives to collecting, compiling, and processing information on North Korea and who have worked in Korea as well as abroad. Without their research, this book would never have been possible.

Dr. Hyunyong Chung Kim, a professional librarian and director of library services at Quinebaug Valley Community College of the Connecticut state college system, has been not only patient and cheerful during my research and writing of this book, but also helpful in my search for bibliographic references. Therefore, I would like to dedicate this book to Hyunyong for her forbearing and consistent support during my work of this book.

## Korean Writing System and Romanization

The Koreans developed their own written language in 1446 when King Sejong (r. 1418–1450), who was known as Sejong the Great, created an indigenous alphabet for the Korean language. He commissioned certain members of the academy of scholars, called the Hall of Wise Scholars (*Chiphyonjon*), to create the phonetic system. When they had created the new scripts, King Sejong adopted the new system and in 1446 proclaimed it *Hunmin Chongum*, or the “correct sounds to instruct the people,” commonly known as *hang’gul* (Korean letters) or *onmun* (vernacular letters). The vernacular letters have evolved into the present-day Korean language, which is used widely in both North and South Korea.

All Korean words in the text are given in the McCune-Reischauer system of romanization or transliteration with some stylistic modifications. However, North Korea has developed its own system of romanization and the names of the people and places are given in the text according to the North Korean system of romanization. Individual names that are widely recognized and accepted in publications, such as Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il, are presented in that form. Other exceptions are certain place names, such as Seoul and Pyongyang, and official terms, like *Juche* ideology. Otherwise the family names precede given names, and the given names are hyphenated, such as Yang Hyung-sup, Kim Yong-nam, Kim Song-ju.



## Abbreviations and Acronyms

AC	Administration Council
ADC	Auditing Committee
BUR	Bottom-up Review
CC	Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CIC	Commander-in-Chief
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CMC	Central Military Commission
COCOM	Coordinating Committee on Export Controls
CPC	Central People's Committee
CPEEC	Committee for the Promotion of External Economic Cooperation
CPRF	Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
DBPU	Date of Birth and Place Unknown
DCRK	Democratic Confederate Republic of Koryo
DFRF	Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland
DMZ	Demilitarized Zone
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FTZ	Free-Trade Zone
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union

JETRO	Japan External Trade Organization
JSA	Joint Security Area
KCBS	Korean Central Broadcasting System
KCNA	Korean Central News Agency
KEDO	Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization
KFRAM	Korean Fatherland Restoration Association in Manchuria
KOC	Korean Operation Committee
KOTRA	Korean Trade Promotion Corporation
KPA	Korean People's Army
KSDP	Korean Socialist Democratic Party
KWP	Korean Workers' Party
LWR	Light-Water Reactor
MAC	Military Armistice Commission
MIA	Missing in Action
NDC	National Defense Commission
NNSC	Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission
NPT	Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PCC	Political Coordinating Committee
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PRC	People's Republic of China
ROK	Republic of Korea
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
SPA	Supreme People's Assembly
TCOG	Trilateral Coordination and Oversight Group
TRADP	Tuman River Area Development Program
U.N.	United Nations
UNC	United Nations Command
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNSC	United Nations Supervisory Commission
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WFP	World Food Program
WPK	Workers' Party of Korea







## Chronology

**1918–1925** Korean communist movements develop in China and Russia.

**1926–1945** Communist movements develop in Korea under Japanese colonial rule.

**1945 August 15:** Korea is liberated from Japanese colonial rule. **September 9:** Kim Il Sung, who had been in China and the Soviet Union (USSR), returns to North Korea. **October 10:** A meeting is held in Pyongyang to establish the North Korean chapter of the Korean Communist Party. Kim Il Sung delivers a keynote address at the rally. North Korea observes the day as the founding anniversary of the Korean Workers' Party (KWP).

**1946 March 5:** The North Korean Provisional People's Committee promulgates laws on agrarian reform, which deny the right of individuals to own land. **July 30:** Laws on sexual equality are promulgated. **August 28:** The First Party Congress of the North Korean Communist Party is held in Pyongyang; the party is transformed into the Korean Workers' Party (KWP). **November 25:** The KWP organ, the monthly *Kulloja* (Workers), is published. **December 5:** North Korea's official news agency, the Korean Central News Agency (KCNA), is founded.

**1947 February 20:** The Provisional People's Committee is transformed into the People's Committee. Kim Il Sung is elected chairman of the People's Committee. **December 1:** North Korea undertakes monetary reforms, replacing all currencies the citizens possess.

**1948 February 8:** The Korean People's Army (KPA) is founded. (In 1978, North Korea changed its founding anniversary to April 25.) **March 27:** The Second Congress of the KWP convenes in Pyongyang to prepare for the foundation of the Democratic People's Republic of

Korea (DPRK) (March 27–30). **September 9:** The foundation of the DPRK is announced. Kim Il Sung becomes the prime minister of the DPRK. **October 12:** North Korea establishes diplomatic relations with the USSR.

**1949 March 3:** Kim Il Sung visits Moscow and holds summit talks with Joseph Stalin (March 3–5). **June 24:** Kim Il Sung becomes the chairman of the Central Committee of the KWP. **June 25:** The Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland is formed to implement the KWP's policies toward South Korea. **October 6:** North Korea establishes diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC). **November 7:** North Korea opens diplomatic relations with East Germany (GDR).

**1950 January 31:** North Korea establishes diplomatic relations with Vietnam. **June 25:** North Korea wages war against South Korea. **June 26:** Kim Il Sung becomes chairman of the Military Committee.

**1951 January 31:** Deputy Premier Kim Chaek is killed in the Korean War. **July 10:** Armistice talks begin in Kaesong, attended by representatives from North Korea, China, and the United Nations Command (UNC).

**1952 May 1:** Kim Il Sung presents a thesis calling for an armistice agreement on the Korean Peninsula. **October 10:** The Trade Promotion Committee is formed. **December 1:** The Academy of Sciences is founded.

**1953 February 7:** Kim Il Sung is decorated with the highest military rank of marshal. **July 27:** An armistice agreement is signed between North Korea, China, and the UNC to end the Korean War. **September 1:** Kim Il Sung visits the USSR to appeal for economic assistance from Moscow (September 1–19). **September 19:** An agreement on economic cooperation is signed between the DPRK and the USSR. **November 10:** Kim Il Sung visits the PRC to appeal for economic aid from China (September 10–27). **November 23:** North Korea and China conclude an agreement on cultural and economic cooperation.

**1954 January 1:** The three-year economic plan (1954–56) is launched. **September 28:** Kim Il Sung visits China to attend functions for the fifth anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) (Sep-

tember 28–October 5). **November 1:** A plenary session of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC) is held in Pyongyang (November 1–3). Kim Il Sung calls for concerted efforts to develop the rural areas.

**1955 February 15:** North Korea proposes to establish diplomatic relations with Japan. **May 25:** The General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (*Chongryon*), a pro–North Korean organization, is founded in Japan. **December 15:** Pak Hon-yong, Kim Il Sung's political rival, is sentenced to death on the charge of espionage activities for South Korea.

**1956 April 23:** The Third Congress of the KWP is convened in Pyongyang (April 23–29). Kim Il Sung is elected chairman of the KWP. **June 1:** Kim Il Sung makes visits to Eastern European countries, such as the USSR, East Germany, Poland, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Albania, and later to Mongolia (June 1–July 19). **October 31:** The Pyongyang–Moscow civil aviation agreement is signed. **November 2:** The North Korea–Mongolia economic and cultural agreement is concluded.

**1957 January 1:** The five-year economic development plan (1957–61), with an emphasis on developing the heavy industrial sector, begins. The plan is completed one year early in 1960. **October 2:** North Korea and Burma conclude a trade agreement. **October 18:** A plenary session of the KWP CC is held to adopt the principle of political self-reliance. **November 4:** Kim Il Sung visits the USSR to attend celebrations to mark the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution (November 4–21).

**1958 March 3:** The first conference of representatives of the KWP is held in Pyongyang to deal with problems of economic development and party unity (March 3–6). **September 25:** North Korea establishes diplomatic relations with Algeria. **October 3:** The North Korea–China Friendship Association is founded. **October 26:** The Chinese People's Liberation Army, which participated in the Korean War, completes its withdrawal from North Korea. **November 21:** Kim Il Sung visits China and Vietnam (November 21–26).

**1959 January 14:** The Worker-Peasant Red Guards, a civilian military organization, is founded. **February 6:** Kim Il Sung holds talks in

Moscow with Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Communist Party leader. **April 1:** A civil air route opens between Pyongyang and Beijing. **August 3:** North Korea and the Japanese Red Cross Society sign an agreement to launch the return-to-the-fatherland program for Korean residents in Japan. The first group of reverse emigrants, numbering 975, arrives in North Korea on December 16, 1959. **September 25:** Kim Il Sung visits China to celebrate the tenth founding ceremony of the PRC.

**1960 January 26:** Li Jong-ok is appointed deputy premier. **March 2:** The General Federation of Unions of Literature and Arts is founded. **May 21:** The Central News Agency and the Chinese Xinhua News Agency sign a cooperation agreement. **August 14:** North Korea introduces a confederate formula for national unification featuring “one nation, one state, two systems and two governments.” **September 16:** The KCNA and the Soviet ITAR-Tass News Agency conclude a cooperation agreement.

**1961 January 1:** The first seven-year economic development plan (1961–1967) begins. The plan is extended by three years to 1970. **May 13:** The Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland, the prime organization responsible for mapping out all policies that deal with South Korea, is formed. **June 29:** Kim Il Sung visits the USSR, leading a KWP mission (June 29–July 10). **July 10:** The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between North Korea and the USSR is concluded. **July 11:** Kim Il Sung visits China and signs the North Korea–China Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance (July 11–15). **September 11:** The Fourth Congress of the KWP is held in Pyongyang (September 11–18). Kim Il Sung is elected chairman of the party’s Central Committee. **October 14:** Kim Il Sung visits Moscow to participate in the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

**1962 January 1:** Kim Il Sung promises in his New Year’s address to make it possible for the people to eat rice with meat soup and live in tile-roofed houses. **June 5:** North Korea joins the International Olympic Committee. **December 10:** The fifth plenary session of the Fourth KWP CC is held in Pyongyang; it adopts the military policy of Four Military Lines, which calls for (1) the armament of the entire population, (2) the fortification of the entire land, (3) the conversion into cadres, and (4) the modernization of the army. **December 17:** North Korea and Somalia agree to exchange trade representatives in their capital cities.

**1963 January 30:** *Rodong Shinmun*, organ of the Workers' Party, says North Korea supports the party line of the CCP rather than that of the USSR in the Sino-Soviet dispute. **March 2:** North Korea establishes diplomatic relations with Uganda. **May 28:** *Rodong Shinmun* denounces Yugoslavian President Tito for "engaging in revisionism." **November 15:** North Korea and Indonesia conclude an agreement on cooperation in trade, culture, and science.

**1964 February 24:** Kim Il Sung presents the "Thesis on the Socialist Rural Issue in Our Country," which consists of three paragraphs: the fundamental principle for solving rural problems, the primary projects in socialist rural construction, and the role of the counties (local administrations). **August 30:** The Administration Council adopts a decree asking for increased outputs of cement and fertilizers. **September 15:** North Korea returns 219 South Korean fishermen it had detained. **November 1:** Indonesian President Sukarno visits North Korea (November 1–4).

**1965 January 28:** North Korea establishes diplomatic relations with the Central African Republic. **February 11:** Prime Minister of the USSR, Aleksei Kosygin, visits Pyongyang. **April 10:** Kim Il Sung visits Indonesia to attend the Nonaligned Conference (April 11–20, 1965). **December 31:** The North Korea–African Friendship Association is formed.

**1966 August 26:** The first of the Red Cross talks between North Korea and Japan is held on the repatriation to the north of pro-Pyongyang Korean residents in Japan. **October 5:** The second conference of the representatives of the KWP is held in Pyongyang to discuss the task of constructing a socialist economy; the Secretariat of the party is organized. Kim Il Sung is elected general secretary of the party (October 5–12).

**1967 March 3:** A rally of the political cadres of the Korean People's Army is held in Pyongyang (March 3–8). **March 11:** North Korea establishes diplomatic relations with Burundi. **August 5:** North Korea opens a trade representative office in Vietnam. **December 14:** The first session of the Fourth Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) convenes in Pyongyang. During the session Kim Il Sung stresses the need for a "revolution of national liberation of South Korea."

**1968 January 21:** A 31-member North Korean guerrilla group infiltrates Seoul to attack Chong Wa Dae, the presidential office; 29 are

killed, one kills himself, and the other is captured. **February 9:** North Korea enters diplomatic relations with South Yemen. **April 22:** The 17th plenary session of the Fourth KWP CC adopts Kim Il Sung's *Yuil* (monolithic) theory as the ideology of the party.

**1969 February 7:** Oh Jin-u, head of the General Political Bureau of the Korean People's Army, is appointed chief of staff of the army. **May 8:** North Korea establishes diplomatic relations with Chad. **June 7:** The 68th general assembly of the International Olympic Committee calls North Korea the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) for the first time. **October 9:** North Korea signs a trade agreement with Finland. **December 1:** Kim Il Sung announces his country has implemented "successfully" the first seven-year economic development plan.

**1970 January 29:** North Korea and China conclude a shipping service agreement. **April 5:** Chinese Prime Minister Zhou Enlai visits Pyongyang (April 5–9). **September 15:** North Korea and the USSR sign an agreement on economic cooperation between the two countries. **November 2:** The Fifth Congress of the KWP is convened in Pyongyang (November 2–13). Kim Il Sung is reelected general secretary of the party.

**1971 January 1:** The six-year economic development plan (1971–76) is launched. **June 10:** Romanian President Nicolae Ceausecu visits North Korea. **October 18:** North Korea establishes diplomatic relations with Sierra Leone. **November 16:** The Japan–North Korea Friendship Promotion Association is formed in Tokyo.

**1972 January 1:** Kim Il Sung proposes an inter-Korean peace treaty. **March 16:** North Korea and Cambodia sign an agreement on military assistance. **July 4:** North and South Korea announce a "Joint North-South Communiqué," which stipulates that the unification process should be based on three principles: *Jaju* (self-determination), peaceful means, and grand national unity. **August 30:** Inter-Korean Red Cross talks are held in Pyongyang. The second round of talks is held in Seoul on September 13. **December 25:** The Fifth SPA holds its first session in Pyongyang (December 25–27); a socialist constitution is adopted and Kim Il Sung is elected state president.

**1973 February 26:** Foreign Minister Ho Dam is appointed deputy premier. **April 18:** North Korea exports cement to Japan for the first



time. **May 17:** North Korea joins the World Health Organization. **September 20:** Li Gun-mo, Chong Jun-ki, and Hong Song-nam are appointed deputy premiers. **November 15:** The North Korean United Nations delegate delivers a speech at the United Nations General Assembly for the first time in North Korean history. **November 17:** The KWP proposes holding an inter-Korean Grand Nation Congress. **December 10:** North Korea establishes diplomatic relations with India.

**1974 January 29:** North Korea establishes diplomatic relations with Libya and Gabon. **February 15:** Kim Yong-ju, younger brother of Kim Il Sung, is appointed deputy premier. **March 20:** The SPA proposes to conclude a peace agreement between North Korea and the United States. **April 15:** Kim Il Sung's birthday is proclaimed a national holiday. **May 14:** North Korea establishes diplomatic relations with Nepal. **September 16:** North Korea joins the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). **October 17:** North Korea enters the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). **December 20:** North Korea establishes diplomatic relations with Switzerland.

**1975 April 15:** North Korea establishes diplomatic relations with Portugal. **April 17:** President Kim Il Sung visits China (April 17–26). **May 8:** North Korea establishes diplomatic relations with Thailand. **May 22:** President Kim visits Romania, Algeria, Mauritania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia (May 22–June 10). **June 5:** North Korea establishes diplomatic relations with Ethiopia. **August 30:** North Korea gains membership in the Nonaligned Conference. **October 7:** The February Eighth House of Culture opens. **November 26:** President Kim has an interview in Pyongyang with the managing editor of the Japanese newspaper, *Mainichi Shimbun*.

**1976 March 7:** Deputy Premier Nam Il dies. **April 26:** The sixth session of the Fifth SPA convenes in Pyongyang; it makes Kim Il first vice president and Pak Song-chol premier. **May 14:** North Korea joins the Group of 77 of the United Nations. **May 16:** Deputy Premier Hong Won-gil dies. **August 18:** North Korean guards armed with axes attack UNC guards in the Joint Security Area (JSA) of the truce village of Panmunjom, resulting in the death of two U.S. officers and injury of nine others, who were trimming branches of a tree some 40 yards from a UNC checkpoint.

**1977 January 1:** President Kim Il Sung in his New Year's address calls on Washington to conclude a peace treaty with Pyongyang. **April 4:** The 13th plenary session of the Fifth KWP CC convenes in Pyongyang to discuss measures to overcome the poor harvest. **August 24:** Yugoslavian President Tito visits North Korea (August 24–29). **November 14:** North Korea joins the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). **December 10:** East German leader Erich Honecker visits North Korea. **December 15:** The Sixth SPA holds its first session in Pyongyang; Li Jong-ok is appointed premier.

**1978 January 1:** The second seven-year economic development plan (1978–84) begins. **May 4:** Seychelles President France Albert Rene visits North Korea (May 4–7). **May 5:** General secretary of the CCP, Hua Guofeng, visits North Korea (May 5–10). **May 14:** Mozambique President Samora Machel visits North Korea (May 14–21). **May 20:** Romanian President Nicolae Ceausecu visits North Korea (May 20–23). **May 25:** President Joachim Hyombi Opang of the Congo visits North Korea (May 25–27). **July 12:** A joint meeting of the party Politburo and the Central People's Committee is held in Pyongyang to discuss matters relating to the Belgrade Nonaligned Conference.

**1979 March 20:** Burundi President Jean Baptiste Bagaza visits North Korea. **April 25:** The 35th World Table Tennis Championships opens at Pyongyang Gymnasium. **May 3:** Kim Il Sung holds talks in Pyongyang with U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim. **June 13:** The 18th plenary session of the Fifth KWP CC convenes in Pyongyang to deal with the question of “how to increase the transportation capacity by upholding the resolutions” adopted at the 13th plenary session of the Fifth KWP CC (June 13–15). **August 21:** North Korea and the new Nicaraguan government issue a joint communiqué in which the two countries agree to establish diplomatic relations. **October 17:** *Rodong Shinmun* claims President Kim Il Sung formed the *Tado* (down-with) Imperialism League on October 17, 1926, when he was 14. **December 21:** An expanded plenum of the People's Army Committee of the KWP is held in Pyongyang with the attendance of President Kim Il Sung (December 21–24). **December 31:** Ro Tae-sok, deputy premier and head of the State Planning Commission, dies at 60.

**1980 April 2:** The fourth session of the Sixth SPA convenes in Pyongyang to enact the Public Health Law and the 1980 budget (April

2–4). **May 7:** Kim Il Sung visits Yugoslavia to attend the funeral of Tito. Later Kim travels to Romania (May 7–9). **July 18:** President Kim Il Sung meets in Pyongyang with visiting U.S. representative Stephen Solarz. **September 4:** North Korea enters diplomatic relations with Mexico. **October 10:** The Sixth Congress of the KWP is held (October 10–14). Kim Jong Il, eldest son of Kim Il Sung, is formalized as the successor to his father. The congress introduces a 10-point Grand Charter for the Unification of Korea, which calls for the establishment of the Democratic Confederate Republic of Koryo (DCRK) consisting of two different governments in the north and the south.

**1981 February 14:** Francois Mitterrand, head of the French Socialist Party, visits North Korea. **April 8:** The fifth session of the Sixth SPA convenes in Pyongyang. **September 30:** President Kim holds talks in Pyongyang with President Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo. **October 4:** The fourth session of the Sixth KWP CC presents four nation-remaking projects, including the construction of the West Floodgate and Taechon hydraulic power station, the reclamation of 300,000 hectares of tideland, and the formation of 200,000 hectares of new arable land. **December 1:** President Kim Il Sung confers in Pyongyang with Ugandan President Milton Obote. **December 22:** President Kim Il Sung meets with visiting Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang, who heads a Chinese delegation.

**1982 February 10:** The Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland proposes a joint meeting of 100 North-South Korean politicians. **March 31:** Kim Jong Il presents a paper entitled “For *Juche* Idea,” to mark his father’s 70th birthday. **April 1:** President Kim makes an inspection tour of the Tower of *Juche*, Moranbong Stadium, and the Grand People’s Study Hall. **April 3:** The Sixth KWP CC holds its fifth session in Pyongyang. **April 13:** President Kim Il Sung confers with visiting president of Mozambique, Samora Machel. **April 17:** Romanian President Nicolae Ceausecu visits North Korea (April 17–19). **September 15:** President Kim Il Sung visits China. Kim holds talks in Beijing with Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping (September 15–26). **November 1:** President Kim holds talks in Pyongyang with Libyan President Muammar Al-Qadafi. **December 15:** The Seventh Congress of the Agricultural Workers Union is held in Pyongyang with the attendance of President Kim Il Sung (December 15–17).

**1983 January 9:** Vice President Kang Yang-uk, who headed the nominal Social Democratic Party, dies at 80. **February 27:** North Korea establishes diplomatic relations with Bulgaria. **April 5:** The second session of the Seventh SPA convenes in Pyongyang. **April 6:** A regular air route is opened between Moscow and Pyongyang in accordance with a civil air transport agreement. **April 26:** President Kim Il Sung holds summit talks in Pyongyang with President Albert Rene of the Seychelles. **June 2–12:** Kim Jong Il visits China at the invitation of Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CCP Central Committee. **July 9:** President Kim Il Sung confers in Pyongyang with Andre Kolingba, President of the Central African Republic. **August 29:** President Kim Il Sung holds a meeting with visiting President Maumoon Addul Gayoom of the Maldives. **October 9:** Three North Korean army officers bomb the Martyrs' Mausoleum in Rangoon in an attempt to assassinate South Korean President Chun Doo-hwan, killing 17 South Koreans, mostly high-ranking officials, on a visit there. The Burmese government decides to cut off diplomatic relations with Pyongyang (November 11). **November 29:** The eighth plenary session of the Sixth KWP CC convenes in Pyongyang.

**1984 January 10:** A joint meeting of the Central People's Committee and the SPA is held in Pyongyang; the meeting proposes a nonaggression pact with South Korea and a peace treaty with the United States. **January 25–27:** The third session of the Seventh SPA is held; Premier Li Jong-ok is appointed vice president and First Deputy Premier Kan Son-san is promoted to premier. **March 9:** Vice President Kim Il dies. **May 16:** Kim Il Sung pays a round of visits to the USSR, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Romania (May 16–July 1). **September 8:** The Joint Venture Law is promulgated. It consists of 26 articles and deals with the basic rules on foreign investment in North Korea.

**1985 January 3–5:** A national agricultural rally is held in Pyongyang, with President Kim Il Sung attending. **April 9:** The fourth session of the Seventh SPA convenes in Pyongyang. The session proposes a north-south parliamentary conference to discuss the question of adopting a joint declaration of nonaggression. **May 4:** General secretary of the CCP Hu Yaobang visits North Korea (May 4–6) **July 27:** The National Democratic Front of Korea, dubbed Hanminjon, a propaganda instru-

ment disguised as a dissident group in South Korea, is inaugurated. **September 20:** North and South Korea exchange hometown-visit groups and folk troupes (September 20–23). **October 12:** Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu visits Pyongyang (October 12–15). **October 18:** Vice President Pak Song-chol makes an address in the United Nations General Assembly, expressing his country's opposition to entering the United Nations simultaneously with the South. **December 12:** North Korea signs the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT).

**1986 March 9:** Cuban President Fidel Castro visits Pyongyang and holds summit talks with Kim Il Sung (March 9–10). **March 27:** The sixth Congress of the General Federation of Literature and Arts Union is held in Pyongyang (March 27–28). Paek In-jun is elected chairman of the federation. **April 7:** The fifth plenary session of the Seventh SPA convenes in Pyongyang (April 7–9). **June 10:** Inter-Korean athletic talks are held in Switzerland (June 10–11). **June 20:** A joint meeting of the party Politburo and the Central People's Committee is held in Pyongyang with Kim Il Sung attending. **September 5:** The Chief Command of the People's Army announces that military personnel, numbering about 150,000, will be mobilized at economic construction sites. **October 4:** President Kim Il Sung holds talks in Pyongyang with Chinese Premier Li Xianien. **October 19:** President Kim Il Sung holds talks in Pyongyang with East German leader Erich Honecker. **October 27:** President Kim Il Sung visits Moscow and holds talks with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev (October 27–30). **December 30:** President Kim Il Sung proposes politico-military talks between Pyongyang and Seoul during the first session of the Eighth SPA. Li Gun-mo is appointed prime minister.

**1987 January 1:** The third seven-year economic development plan (1987–1993) begins. **April 17:** President Kim holds summit talks in Pyongyang with Guinean President Lansana Konte. **May 20:** President Kim Il Sung visits Beijing and holds talks with CCP leader Zhao Ziyang (May 20–23). **November 19:** North Korean agents plant a bomb in a South Korean civilian airliner, KAL 858, which explodes over the Andaman Sea near Burma. **December 14:** The Chief Command of the Korean People's Army announces North Korea has reduced the number of its military personnel to about 100,000.

**1988 January 12:** The North Korean Olympic Committee announces North Korea will not participate in the 1988 Olympics to be held in

Seoul. **April 27:** Vice President Lim Chun-chu dies. **August 14:** Kim Pyong-il, stepbrother of successor-designate Kim Jong Il, is appointed ambassador to Finland. **September 7:** Chinese President Yang Shang-kun visits North Korea. **October 7:** The Central People's Committee names Kim Dal-hyon chairman of the External Economic Affairs Commission; he also takes the post of foreign trade minister, replacing Choe Jong-gun. **November 30:** The 14th plenary session of the Sixth KWP CC convenes in Pyongyang.

**1989 January 1:** President Kim Il Sung proposes in his New Year's address an Inter-Korean Consultation Conference for National Reunification. **April 25:** President Kim Il Sung holds talks in Pyongyang with visiting general secretary of the CCP Zhao Ziyang. **May 1:** May Day Stadium is dedicated in a ceremony on Rungna Island in Pyongyang. **May 14:** Iranian President Seyed Ali Khamenei visits Pyongyang. **July 1–8:** The 13th World Festival of Youth and Students is held at the May Day Stadium in Pyongyang, attended by some 20,000 participants from 170 countries, according to the Pyongyang report. **July 2:** President Kim Il Sung holds talks with Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, who was on a visit to Pyongyang. **November 5–7:** President Kim Il Sung visits China.

**1990 January 1:** President Kim Il Sung proposes in his New Year's address a consultation conference involving top government authorities and leaders of political parties of the north and the south. **February 27:** Kim Il Sung, as the supreme commander of the People's Army, orders all armed forces units, along with the members of the Security Guards, the Worker-Peasant Red Guards, and the Red Youth Guards, to be "combat-ready" to counter the South Korea–U.S. military exercise. **March 14:** General secretary of the CCP Jiang Zemin visits North Korea. **May 10:** Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, flies into Pyongyang on a visit. **May 23:** The 18th plenary session of the Sixth KWP CC convenes in Pyongyang; Choe Gwang, chief of the General Staff of the People's Army, and KWP Secretary Han Song-ryong are promoted to party Politburo members. **May 24:** Kim Jong Il is elected first vice chairman of the National Defense Commission at the first session of the Ninth SPA. **May 31:** A joint meeting of the Central People's Committee, the Standing Committee of the SPA, and the Administration Council is held in Pyongyang; the meeting pro-

poses mutual arms inspections and the creation of an inter-Korean high-level military committee to discuss and bring about disarmament between the north and south. **September 4:** The first round of inter-Korean high-level talks is held in Seoul. Premier Yon Hyong-muk leads the North Korean delegation to South Korea (September 4–7). **October 17:** The second round of inter-Korean high-level talks is held in Pyongyang. **September 28:** A joint Pyongyang-Tokyo communiqué for normalizing diplomatic ties between the two countries is announced in Pyongyang. **November 2:** Pyongyang and Moscow sign an accord to settle two-way trade in hard currency, discontinuing barter trade between the two countries. **December 12:** The third round of inter-Korean high-level talks is held in Seoul (December 12–13). **December 15:** Talks are held in Beijing between Pyongyang and Tokyo for the normalization of diplomatic relations between the two countries (December 15–17).

**1991 March 11:** The second round of talks is held between Pyongyang and Tokyo for the normalization of diplomatic relations between the two countries (March 11–12). **April 29:** The 85th Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) is held in Pyongyang attended by 830 delegates and observers from 86 countries and 10 international organizations (April 29–May 4). **September 17:** North Korea enters the United Nations along with the South. **October 4:** President Kim visits Beijing. **October 22:** The fourth round of inter-Korean premiers' talks is held in Pyongyang. **December 12:** The fifth round of inter-Korean premiers' talks is held in Seoul. North and South Korea sign a basic agreement on reconciliation, nonaggression, exchange, and cooperation (December 12–13). **December 16:** A joint meeting of the Central People's Committee and the Standing Committee of the SPA is held in Pyongyang to recognize the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, Exchange, and Cooperation. **December 24:** Kim Jong Il is given the top military title, supreme commander of the People's Army. **December 28:** North Korea issues Administration Council Decree No. 74 to declare an area of 621 square kilometers bordering China and Russia as a free economic and trade zone.

**1992 January 26:** North Korea and China sign in Pyongyang an accord for hard currency payment in their mutual trade beginning that year. **January 30:** North Korea and the IAEA sign in Vienna the nuclear safeguard accord. **February 18:** The sixth round of inter-Korean high-level

talks is held in Pyongyang. **April 8:** The third session of the Ninth SPA is held in Pyongyang; it sets the budget for fiscal year 1992 at US\$ billion and ratifies the nuclear safeguard agreement North Korea signed on January 30 with the IAEA. The session also revises the constitution. **April 13:** Kim Il Sung is decorated with the highest military rank of grand marshal by a joint decree of the KWP CC and the Central Military Committee. **April 21:** Kim Jong Il is decorated with the title marshal. **May 5:** The seventh round of inter-Korean Premiers' talks is held in Seoul (May 5–8). **May 11:** IAEA Director General Hans Blix visits North Korea to tour atomic energy research facilities in Yongbyon. **July 19:** Deputy Premier Kim Dal-hyon, who is also chairman of the External Economic Affairs Commission, visits Seoul (July 19–25). **August 31:** A team of IAEA officials led by Wily Theis, a section chief in the IAEA Safeguards Department, flies into Pyongyang for the third ad hoc inspections. **September 1:** The third Seminar for Peace in Asia and Women's Role is held in Pyongyang. A South Korean delegation led by Lee Woo-Jong, a member of the National Assembly (parliament), participates in the seminar (September 1–6). **September 15:** The eighth round of inter-Korean premiers' talks is held in Pyongyang (September 15–18). **October 5:** The SPA adopts the Law on Foreign Investment, the Law on Foreign Enterprises, and the Law on Contractual Joint Ventures. **November 5:** The eighth round of North Korea–Japan talks for the normalization of diplomatic relations convenes in Beijing. **December 10:** The 20th plenary session of the Sixth WPCC convenes in Pyongyang. Kang Song-san is named premier to replace Yon Hyong-muk, who was demoted to an associate member of the party Politburo during the session. Kim Dal-hyon and Kim Yong-sun are promoted to the post of associate members of the Politburo.

**1993 January 30:** The Law on the Free Economic and Trade Zone is promulgated in a bid to lure foreign investment to the Rajin-Sonbong Free Economic and Trade Zone. **March 8:** Order No. 34 is issued by supreme commander of the People's Army Kim Jong Il to place the entire country on a "semiwar footing." Kim Jong Il orders the lifting of the semiwar footing on March 24, following the termination of "Team Spirit," the South Korea–U.S. joint military exercise. **March 12:** The Central People's Committee announces North Korea has decided to withdraw from the NPT. **April 3:** North Korea expels the Czech delegation to the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission (NNSC) in an



attempt to stop the NNSC's function as a watchdog body for the truce. **April 7:** The fifth session of the Ninth SPA convenes in Pyongyang; the session elects Kim Jong Il as chairman of the National Defense Commission. It also sets the budget for fiscal year 1993 at US\$ 18.64 billion and passes bills, including a Law on Underground Resources (April 7–9). **April 13:** The International Kim Il Sung Prize is instituted to promote the personality cult of Kim Il Sung on the occasion of his 81st birthday. **June 2:** Pyongyang-Washington talks are held in New York to deal with suspicions over North Korea's nuclear development program and are presided over by North Korean Vice Foreign Minister Kang Sok-ju and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Robert L. Gallucci (June 2–11). **December 8:** The 21st plenary session of the Sixth KWP CC convenes in Pyongyang; during the session, North Korea admits that the third seven-year plan ended in failure, and then presents a new plan to be implemented for a three-year buffer period before the launching of any new economic plan. **December 24:** U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali arrives in Pyongyang, after crossing the demilitarized zone (DMZ) dividing the Korea peninsula, to discuss North Korea's nuclear development program.

**1994 January 1:** The three-year stopgap plan (1994–96) begins under the policy of agriculture first, light industry first, and foreign trade first. **March 1:** A six-member inspection team from the IAEA flies into Pyongyang to check the seven nuclear facilities Pyongyang has reported. **April 28:** The Foreign Ministry issues a statement proposing to Washington to hold negotiations to replace the Korean armistice treaty with a peace treaty. **April 28:** North Korea declares it will pull out of the Military Armistice Commission (MAC). **May 24:** North Korea establishes a “representative office of the People's Army” in the truce village of Panmunjom. **June 13:** A Foreign Ministry spokesperson announces North Korea has decided to withdraw from the IAEA. **June 17:** President Kim Il Sung holds talks in Pyongyang with visiting former U.S. President Jimmy Carter. They agree to arrange an inter-Korean summit. **June 28:** North and South Korea agree to hold the inter-Korean summit talks on July 25 in Pyongyang. **July 8:** Kim Il Sung dies of a heart attack at 82. **July 8:** Pyongyang and Washington begin a third round of high-level talks in Geneva. **July 19:** The funeral of Kim Il Sung is held in Pyongyang. **October 11:** A dedication ceremony of the Tomb of Tangun, legendary founder of the ancient Korean dynasty, is held in Pyongyang.

**October 21:** Pyongyang and Washington sign in Geneva the Agreed Framework. Under the agreement, Washington and its allies will supply light-water reactors and 500,000 tons of heavy oil annually to North Korea in return for Pyongyang's freezing of its nuclear development program. **November 1:** Kim Jong Il presents a thesis entitled "Socialism is Science," which touts North Korean efforts to safeguard its socialist policy based on the principles of independence, collectivism, and strict ideological control over the people. **November 9:** Kim Jong Il issues Order No. 51, which instructs the People's Armed Forces Ministry to complete the second-phase construction of the Chongryu Bridge and the construction of the No. 2 Kumrung Tunnel by October 10 next year, the 50th founding anniversary of the KWP.

**1995 January 1:** The organs of the KWP, the People's Army and the League of Socialist Working Youth, carry a joint editorial instead of a New Year's address from the head of state. **February 7:** The Central People's Committee decrees Kim Jong Il's birthday as the "most festive national holiday" in North Korea. **February 25:** People's Armed Forces Minister Oh Jin-u, who ranks second in the Pyongyang power hierarchy after Kim Jong Il, dies at 78 of liver cancer. **February 28:** North Korea ousts the Polish delegation to the NNSC. **March 28:** The KWP holds talks in Pyongyang with the Japanese ruling coalition, consisting of the Liberal Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the Soka Gakkai Party, on the resumption of normalization talks between the two countries (March 28–30). **April 28:** The Pyongyang International Sports and Culture Festival for Peace is held in Pyongyang (April 28–30). **May 1:** The KWP announces 270-plus slogans urging the people to stick to socialism, construct the economy, and build up the military forces in celebration of the 50th anniversary of its foundation. **May 3:** North Korea closes down the NNSC office in the northern half of Panmunjom under its control. **June 4:** A delegation of North Korea's International Trade Promotion Committee visits the United States for the first time as a North Korean trade mission to arrange economic cooperation between the two countries (June 4–10). **June 19:** Kim Jong Il presents a paper entitled "To Place Priority on Ideological Indoctrination Is a Prerequisite to Carrying Out the Great Socialist Tasks." **October 2:** Kim Jong Il presents a paper entitled "The Workers' Party of Korea Is the Great *Suryong*, Comrade Kim Il Sung's Party." **October 8:** Choe Gwang is appointed minister of the People's Armed Forces and

promoted to marshal. Cho Myong-rok, who had been air force commander since 1977, is named to head the General Political Bureau of the Korean People's Army, Vice Marshal Kim Yong-chun to become chief of the General Staff of the Army, and Vice Marshal Kim Gwang-jin to become first vice minister of the People's Armed Forces. **October 10:** Celebrations are held in Pyongyang to mark the 50th founding anniversary of the KWP, but the central function is a military parade by hundreds of thousands of troops at Kim Il Sung Square. **December 25:** Kim Jong Il presents a paper entitled "Respect for Senior Revolutionaries Is a Virtue Required of All Revolutionaries."

**1996 January 1:** The organs of the KWP, the Korean People's Army, and the League of Socialist Working Youth carry a joint editorial entitled "Let Us March through the New Year in Full Force Holding High the Red Banner." **January 17:** Functions to mark the 50th founding anniversary of the League of Socialist Working Youth are held in the North; a meeting decides to rename it the Kim Il Sung Socialist Youth League (January 17–19). **January 19:** North Korea and Bosnia-Herzegovina sign in New York a communiqué to establish diplomatic relations. **February 22:** The Foreign Ministry calls for a "tentative agreement" to be signed between North Korea and the United States until a full-scale peace treaty is in place to arrange an institutional device "at least to deter an armed conflict and war on the Korean Peninsula." **May 4:** Pyongyang and Washington hold talks in New York on the repatriation of the remains of U.S. soldiers missing from the Korean War (May 4–9). **July 2:** Kim Jong Il issues a "telegraphic" order of the supreme commander of the Korean People's Army to declare the completion of the first phase of the Mt. Kungang hydraulic power station. **June 14:** North Korea and the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) sign a transportation and communication protocol for the implementation of the light-water reactor project. **July 20:** North Korea participates in the 1996 Summer Olympic Games in Atlanta. **September 13:** The Rajin-Sonbong Zone International Investment and Business Forum is held in Sonbong, sponsored by the U.N. Development Program (UNDP) and the U.N. Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) (September 15–19). **September 18:** Dozens of armed North Koreans infiltrate the eastern coastal area in the south by submarine. **September 23:** The North Korean People's Armed Forces Ministry claims that the submarine drifted due to engine trouble during a routine training mission

in North Korean waters and demanded the immediate return of the warship and its crew members.

**1997 January 24:** A meeting of KWP cadres from throughout the country, numbering some 10,000, is held in Pyongyang. The gathering, the largest party forum since the sixth party congress held in October 1980, was held “to hear the guidelines for struggles to make a revolutionary turning point in socialist economic construction,” which were presented previously by Kim Il Sung (January 24–27). **February 12:** Hwang Jang-yop, a secretary of the KWP CC in charge of international affairs, seeks asylum in Seoul while staying in Beijing. **July 9:** A resolution is issued jointly by the KWP CC, the National Defense Commission, the Central People’s Committee, and the Administration Council to introduce North Korea’s own *Juche* Calendar, with the 1912 birth year of Kim Il Sung as its initial year, and to declare his birthday, April 15, as “the Day of the Sun.” **August 19:** A groundbreaking ceremony for the two 1,000 MW nuclear reactors to be provided by the KEDO to North Korea is held at the construction site in Kumho, Shinpo. **September 5:** A project is announced for the construction of 10,000 housing units in Pyongyang to mark the 50th founding anniversary of the Pyongyang regime. **October 8:** The KWP CC and the KWP Central Military Committee issue a special report to declare Kim Jong Il’s assumption to the post of general secretary of the KWP. **November 8:** Fifteen Japanese women living in North Korea visit their hometowns in Japan for the first time since they emigrated to the north in the 1950s along with their pro-Pyongyang Korean husbands. **December 9:** The first round of four-party talks, involving Seoul, Pyongyang, Washington, and Beijing, aimed at achieving a permanent peace regime on the Korean Peninsula, is held in Geneva. The talks ended after two days of disagreement concerning the agenda (December 9–10).

**1998 March 16:** The second round of four-party talks is held in Geneva. They failed to bear fruit due to Pyongyang’s demand that the agenda of the talks must first be fixed and the agenda items must include discussion of a U.S. troop pullout from the Korean Peninsula and a peace treaty between Pyongyang and Washington (March 16–21). **April 11:** Inter-Korean talks are held in Beijing for the first time since July 1994. The talks collapse because Pyongyang insists that Seoul’s provision of fertilizer aid should be dealt with ahead of all other issues.

Pyongyang refuses to discuss Seoul-proposed programs for improving relations between the two Koreas, such as the exchange of special envoys and the arrangement of meetings of North and South Koreans with their relatives living in the other half of Korea. A spokesman of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland blames Seoul for the stalemate in the inter-Korean vice ministerial level talks in Beijing (April 11–17). **April 21:** The KWP CC and the Central Military Committee jointly publish more than 200 slogans to instigate North Koreans to display more loyalty to their leader, Kim Jong Il, and to work harder on the occasion of the 50th founding anniversary of the republic. **May 25:** The Korean Central Broadcasting Station (KCBS) says the Standing Committee of the SPA has organized a Central Election Committee that consists of 13 members for the July 26 election. **July 26:** The KCBS says the election of deputies to the Tenth SPA was held at all constituencies. A total of 687 deputies are elected to the SPA with 100 percent support from voters who participated in the election. **September 4:** The KCBS claims the projectile Pyongyang launched on August 31 was a satellite, not a missile, transmitting the melody of revolutionary “Songs of General Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il” and the Morse signals of “*Juche* Korea” at 27 MHz. Three days later, the North reports that the name of the satellite is *Kwangmyongsong-1*. **September 5:** The first session of the Tenth SPA opens to amend the constitution for an overhaul of the ruling system. It reelects Kim Jong Il as chairman of the National Defense Commission and names former Foreign Minister Kim Yong-nam as chairman of the SPA Presidium, acting as figure head of state, and approves the new cabinet led by Premier Hong Song-nam. **September 7:** Kim Jong Il issues an order, in his capacity as chairman of the National Defense Commission, to name Kim Il-chol minister of Korean People’s Armed Forces. **September 8:** Li Yong-mu, vice chairman of the National Defense Commission, and Kim Yong-yon, head of the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School, are promoted to vice marshal. **September 9:** The DRPK celebrates the 50th founding anniversary with a mammoth military parade and mass rally. **October 19:** The Korean People’s Armed Forces Minister Kim Il-chol holds talks in Pyongyang with a delegation from the Chinese Liberation Army, headed by Lieutenant General Du Tienhuan. **October 30:** Kim Jong Il holds talks in Pyongyang with Chung Ju-yung, the founder and honorary chairman of the Hyundai Business Group of South Korea. **November**

**18:** A South Korean cruise ship sets sail for North Korea's Mount Kumgang, marking the opening of the first inter-Korean tourism project since the end of the Korean War in 1953. **December 15:** Chung Ju-yung arrives in Pyongyang via Panmunjom for economic cooperation talks. **December 21:** *Rodong Shinmun*, the KWP newspaper, states that it feels no further need to uphold the 1994 Agreed Framework between Washington and Pyongyang so long as Washington refuses to ease economic sanctions on the DPRK.

**1999 January 1:** A joint New Year's editorial entitled "Let Us Glorify This Year a Turning Point in the Construction of a Kangson Taeguk (Powerful and Prosperous Nation)" appears in *Nodong Shinmun*, *Choson Inmingun*, *Youth Vanguard*, the organs of the KWP, the Korean People's Army, and the Kim Il Sung Socialist Youth League. **January 7:** The Antinuclear Peace Committee issues an indictment against the United States, accusing it of delaying the implementation of its duties under the Geneva Agreed Framework between the United States and DPRK. **January 11:** A Foreign Ministry spokesman says the ministry will exert all efforts to improve the DPRK's relations with Southeast Asian countries. **January 14:** *Rodong Shinmun* criticizes the director-general of the Japanese Defense Agency, Hosei Norota, for visiting the truce village of Panmunjom in the Korean DMZ. **January 18:** Radio Pyongyang criticizes U.S. Defense Secretary William Cohen for reaffirming cooperation with Seoul to cope with a possible North Korean missile attack. **January 21:** The KCBS reports that the delivery of 80,000 tons of Chinese crude oil, donated to North Korea, was completed on January 14. **January 22:** The fourth-round meeting of four-party peace talks to achieve a permanent peace on the Korean Peninsula closes in Geneva. A delegation of the European Union (EU) flies into Pyongyang. **January 23:** The KCNA criticizes U.S. President Bill Clinton's State of the Union message of January 19, which reaffirmed Washington's expanded efforts to contain the spread of nuclear weapons and missiles from North Korea to India and Pakistan. **January 28:** *Rodong Shinmun* demands compensation from the United States for "breaching" the 1994 U.S.–North Korea Agreed Framework. **February 1:** The Asia-Pacific Peace Committee issues a memorandum reviewing "deteriorating" relations between North Korea and Japan. **February 3:** A joint conference of political parties and social organizations is held at

the People's Palace of Culture, attended by Pak Song-chol, honorary vice chairman of the Presidium of the SPA, and party secretary Kim Yong-sun. The conference proposes that Seoul hold high-level inter-Korean "political talks" in the second half of 1999. **February 5:** The KCNA says the DPRK recently enacted an agricultural law consisting of 78 articles with six chapters. **February 5:** The Ministry of the People's Armed Forces holds a symposium on the "greatness of Kim Jong Il" at the April 25th House of Culture to mark Kim's 57th birthday. **February 10:** *Rodong Shinmun* reiterates that it would allow a one-time visit of U.S. inspectors to a suspected nuclear site in Kumchang-ri, North Korea. **February 14:** The Ministry of People's Armed Forces holds a banquet in Pyongyang to mark Kim Jong Il's 57th birthday. **February 15:** A central report meeting to mark Kim Jong Il's 57th birthday is held at the April 25th House of Culture, attended by chairman of the SPA Presidium, Kim Yong-nam, and Li Jong-ok and Pak Song-chol, both honorary vice chairmen of the SPA Presidium, Cho Myong-rok, head of the General Political Bureau of the Army, Marshal Li Ul-sol, and Premier Hong Sung-nam. The pro-DPRK General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (Chongryon) holds a central meeting in Tokyo to mark Kim Jong Il's 57th birthday. **February 16:** A banquet hosted by the KWP CC is held in Pyongyang for foreign delegates visiting North Korea to celebrate Kim Jong Il's 57th birthday. **February 19:** A main ceremony to mark the 25th anniversary of Kim Jong Il's address on the *Juche* idea is held at the People's Palace of Culture, attended by Kim Yong-nam, chairman of the Presidium of the SPA, and other dignitaries. **February 23:** A banquet hosted by Chinese ambassador Wan Yonxiang is held at the Chinese Embassy in Pyongyang to mark the 40th anniversary of the conclusion of a cultural agreement and aviation accord between the DPRK and PRC. **February 24:** A central report meeting is held at the People's Palace of Culture to mark the 35th anniversary of late leader Kim Il Sung's presentation of his thesis on the socialist rural economy. **February 25:** A seminar is held in Pyongyang to mark the 25th anniversary of Kim Jong Il's address on the *Juche* idea, attended by the power elites of the party, military, and government. **March 3:** A decree of the SPA Presidium announces the division of the Ministry of City Management and Land-Environment Protection into two independent ministries—city management and land-environment protection. **March 7:** Elections for provincial, city, and county people's

assemblies are held throughout the nation. **March 9:** Delegates of the International Atomic Energy Agency fly into Pyongyang to attend a meeting. **April 18:** The first high-level meeting in four years between North and South Korea collapses in Beijing after North Korea refused to discuss the reunion of separated families. **April 26:** Fifth round of four-party talks in Geneva (April 23–26); “useful” talks but no agreements. **June 3:** Kim Yong-nam, chairman of the Standing Committee of the SPA, leads a DPRK delegation on an official visit to China (June 3–7). **June 22:** North-South Korean vice ministerial meetings begin in Beijing to discuss fertilizer aid to North Korea. The talks collapse, partly because of a naval clash a week earlier in the Yellow Sea. **June 25:** The U.S.-Korea-Japan Trilateral Coordination and Oversight Group (TCOG) meets in Washington to review North Korean developments. **July 19:** A DPRK delegation visits New Zealand to discuss normalizing diplomatic relations (July 19–21). **August 5:** Four-party talks, involving North Korea, South Korea, the United States, and China, are held in Geneva, and the sixth round ends without progress (August 5–9). **September 7:** U.S.-DPRK talks are held in Berlin to discuss the possible North Korean missile launch and other topics. Agreement was reached to maintain a “positive atmosphere” (September 7–12). A Clinton-Kim-Obuchi meeting reaffirms cooperation on North Korean issues (September 12). **September 24:** North Korea formally announces it will not test missiles while the DPRK-U.S. talks continue. **October 5:** PRC Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan visits the DPRK. **October 21:** North Korea establishes its first Internet Web site, “Korea Infobank,” according to the Japanese newspaper *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*. **November 8:** Russian Foreign Minister Ivanov visits the DPRK (November 8–15). The meeting of the TCOG in Washington in advance of U.S.-DPRK bilateral talks in Berlin (November 5) takes place. **November 16:** U.S. special envoy for the Korean Peninsula talks, Ambassador Charles Kartman, meets with his DPRK counterpart, Vice Foreign Minister Kim Gye Gwan in Berlin; the senior-level visit ends without agreement. **December 1:** A Japanese delegation led by former Prime Minister Tomichi Murayama visits the DPRK, and the two sides agree to resume bilateral negotiations to normalize diplomatic relations (December 1–3). Murayama and DPRK Secretary of the KWP CC Kim Yong-sun agree to resume unconditional bilateral negotiations to normalize diplomatic relations within the year. **December 5:** Hiromu Non-



aka, a senior lawmaker of the Liberal Democratic Party and member of the Murayama delegation, calls for diplomatic relations between Japan and the DPRK by the end of 2000. **December 15:** KEDO signs a turnkey contract with KEPCO for construction of two light-water reactors in the DPRK. **December 19:** Japan and DPRK hold Red Cross talks at the DPRK embassy in Beijing and reach agreement on “humanitarian cooperation” (December 19–21).

**2000 January 4:** Diplomatic relations are established between the DPRK and Italy. **January 9:** A new peace treaty is signed between the DPRK and Russia, replacing that of 1961 with the former USSR, minus the former commitment to mutual military support. **January 22:** U.S.-DPRK talks open in Berlin (January 22–28). **February 9:** Russian Foreign Minister Igor S. Ivanov visits Pyongyang (February 9–10) and signs a new bilateral Treaty on Friendship, Good Neighborliness, and Cooperation to replace the USSR-DPRK alliance treaty of 1961. **February 21:** North Korea signs with Indonesia a treaty of investment and protection. **February 23:** The Japanese-DPRK Friendship Association of Politicians is formed. Former Prime Minister Murayama is the association’s first president; 169 diet members, including those from the Japanese Communist Party, join the association. **March 10:** Republic of Korea (ROK) President Kim Dae-jung’s “Berlin Declaration” offers aid to rebuild North Korean infrastructure. Soon after, secret North-South talks begin in China. **March 22:** Japanese Foreign Minister Yohei Kono announces that the Japanese and DPRK governments will hold normalization talks in Pyongyang on April 4–8, 2000. **April 8:** Kim Dae-jung announces the first ever North-South summit meeting, set for June 12–14. **April 25:** The United States decides to keep North Korea on its list of terrorist-sponsoring states. DPRK denounces the United States for designating it a terrorist state and vows to continue protecting Japanese Red Army fugitives on April 28. **May 8:** DPRK diplomatic ties with Australia are restored after a hiatus of 25 years. **May 29:** DPRK leader Kim Jong Il arrives in China for an unannounced three-day visit and meets with President Jiang and Premier Zhu (May 29–June 1). On May 29 New Zealand Prime Minister Clark announces intentions to resume diplomatic relations with North Korea. **June 13:** DPRK leader Kim Jong Il and ROK President Kim Dae-jung meet in Pyongyang for the historic inter-Korean summit and sign a joint declaration. **June 20:**

President Clinton announces partial lifting of DPRK sanctions. North Korea calls for complete lifting and promises to maintain the moratorium on long-range missile tests. **July 19:** Russian President Vladimir Putin becomes the first top Kremlin leader (Soviet or Russian) to visit the DPRK for a meeting with North Korean leader Kim Jong Il (July 19–20). Putin later announces that Kim Jong Il will eliminate the missile program if another country launches satellites for North Korea. They sign the 11-point DPRK-Russian Joint Declaration in Pyongyang (see Appendix 4). **July 20:** The DPRK announces it will expand its “omnidirectional diplomacy” to improve relations with major powers, including the United States and Japan, and to normalize ties with the European Union, Canada, and New Zealand. **July 27:** The DPRK formally joins the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and becomes the 23rd member at the seventh meeting in Bangkok. DPRK Foreign Minister Paek Nam-sun meets with his U.S., South Korean, Japanese, and other opposite numbers. **July 29:** The first post-summit North-South ministerial talks take place in Seoul (July 29–31). **August 15–18:** The first historic North-South family reunions since 1985 take place. A hundred family members from each side fly to the other capital for brief public meetings with long-lost kin (August 15). The southern contingent is chosen by lot, while the northern consists mainly of dignitaries. **August 29:** The second round of inter-Korean ministerial talks is held in Pyongyang (August 29–31). **September 2:** Under the auspices of the World Food Program, Japan announces it will grant food aid worth 400,000 tons of rice to DPRK. **September 4:** At a TCOG meeting, the ROK, the United States, and Japan reaffirm their policy toward the DPRK, highlighting the importance of inter-Korean dialogue and the continued implementation of the Agreed Framework. **September 11:** DPRK Asia-Pacific Committee leader Kim Yong-sun leads a delegation to Seoul to discuss arrangements for Kim Jong Il’s return visit, then expected during 2000 (September 11–14). **September 15:** North and South Korean athletes march together under a single flag at the opening of the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games, but go on to compete separately. **September 25:** DPRK Foreign Minister Paek Nam-sun opens talks with the German foreign minister for diplomatic normalization in Berlin. **September 25:** The first historic meeting of DPRK Defense Minister Kim Il-chul and ROK Defense Minister Cho Sung-tae takes place in Cheju Island, South Korea. **September 27:** The third round of

inter-Korean ministerial talks is held in Cheju Island, South Korea (September 27–30), and agreement is reached to set up a joint economic consultation body. **October 9:** Vice Marshal Jo Myong-rok, first vice chairman of the DPRK National Defense Commission (the top state organ), visits Washington (September 9–12) and meets President Clinton. The United States and DPRK issue a joint communiqué (see Appendix 4). **October 10:** The KWP celebrates the 55th anniversary of its founding in Pyongyang with a military parade and mass rally. **October 22:** Chinese Defense Minister Chi Haotian visits the DPRK (October 22–26) and meets Kim Jong Il. **October 23:** U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright visits North Korea and holds talks with North Korean leader Kim Jong Il (October 23–25). **November 2:** The DPRK and Russian governments conclude the fourth round of talks on trade, economy, science, and technology cooperation and sign an agreement. **November 17:** High-level military leaders of the DPRK and United States meet at Panmunjom. **December 12:** Choe Jin-su is appointed DPRK ambassador to China, replacing Ju Chang-jun, who had served since 1988. **December 12:** The United Kingdom and the DPRK establish diplomatic relations. **December 13:** Fourth inter-Korean ministerial talks are held in Pyongyang (December 13–16). Agreements are signed on a framework for economic cooperation. **December 15:** Diplomatic ties are established between the DPRK and Spain.

**2001 January 1:** A joint editorial of the *Rodong Shinmun*, the KWP newspaper, the army newspaper *Choson Inmin-kun* (Korean People's Army), Youth Daily (*Chongnyon Chonui*), and the Youth Vanguard calls for changes in the DPRK in the new century with emphasis on “new thinking.” The editorial proposes to reform the economy by introducing modern technology and improving its economic management structure to answer the requirements of the new environment and new climate. **January 15:** DPRK leader Kim Jong Il visits China (January 15–20) again. In Shanghai, he tours Pudong industrial complex, inspecting General Motors's US\$ 1.5 billion Buick factory and other flagship Sino-foreign joint ventures, such as NEC's US\$ 1.2 billion semiconductor foundry. A summit meeting between DPRK leader Kim Jong Il and Chinese leader Jiang Zemin is held in Beijing before he departs for Pyongyang. **January 15:** The Netherlands and DPRK establish diplomatic relations. **January 26:** During talks between U.S. Secretary of

State Colin Powell and Japanese Foreign Minister Yohei Kono, the new George W. Bush administration indicates that it is willing to pursue rapprochement with the DPRK if it moves toward a formal agreement on limiting sales and exports of its long-range missile. **January 29:** The third round of Inter-Korean Red Cross talks opens. The two sides discuss the proposed exchange of letters and visits between a hundred separated family members from each side. They also agree to allow the first-ever correspondence between 300 selected separated families on each side beginning on March 15. **January 30:** Editorials in all of the state-controlled newspapers criticize the administration of President Bush. The KCNA, quoting the editorials, criticizes a U.S. Defense Department 2001 report for highlighting the DPRK military threat and calling for a closer U.S.-Japan security alliance in East Asia. **January 31:** The Korean National Red Cross and the DPRK Red Cross issue a six-point agreement at the conclusion of the third round of meetings (January 29–31) in Kumkangsan. **February 6:** Canada, Germany, and Spain establish diplomatic relations with the DPRK (February 6, 7, and March 1, respectively). **February 26:** The third meeting of separated families from the north and south begins. **March 22:** Kim Jong Il receives the visiting organization director of the CCP. **April 5:** The fourth session of the SPA convenes in Pyongyang. **April 26:** DPRK Vice Chairman Kim Il-chol meets with President Vladimir Putin and Foreign Minister Ivanov in Moscow, and an accord is signed on defense industry cooperation. **May 1:** Putin agrees to arms sales to DPRK, including fighter jets and intelligence-getting systems totaling US\$ 50 million. **May 1:** A man claiming to be Kim Jong-nam, son of Kim Jong Il, is detained in Narita, Japan, on a fake passport; he is deported on May 5 to China. **May 2:** An EU delegation led by Swedish Prime Minister Goran Persson visits the DPRK; Kim Jong Il pledges to maintain the missile moratorium. The European Union announces on May 14 that it will establish diplomatic relations with the DPRK. **May 9:** Ambassadors of Spain and the Netherlands present their credentials to the DPRK. **May 19:** The KCBS announces the thesis entitled “The 21st Century Is an Age of Information Industry.” **May 30:** The DPRK and Cuba sign the Cultural Exchange Agreement for 2001–2003. **June 4:** Malaysian Foreign Minister Hamid Albar arrives in the DPRK for four-day visit. **June 6:** President Bush announces completion of the Korea policy review and U.S. willingness to resume talks with the DPRK. **June 14:** The first

anniversary celebration of the June 15 joint declaration begins in Pyongyang. On the north-south summit anniversary of June 15, President Kim calls for Kim Jong Il to make a return visit to South Korea. **June 26:** U.S. Special Envoy Jack Prichard and DPRK counterpart Li Hyung-chol begin talks in New York. **June 27:** The DPRK establishes diplomatic relations with Turkey and DPRK Foreign Minister Paek Nam-sun meets with Foreign Minister Alexander Downer in Australia. **July 1:** Kim Jong Il visits the PRC embassy to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the founding of the CCP. **July 11:** Kim Yong-nam, chairman of the DPRK SPA Presidium, visits Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. **July 13:** U.S. and North Korean officials hold talks on resuming a North-South dialogue in New York. **July 16:** North Korean leader Kim Jong Il begins a Russian trip via the Trans-Siberian train. **August 4:** Kim Jong Il visits Russia, attends summit meetings with President Vladimir Putin in Moscow (August 3–8), and announces an eight-point joint declaration. **September 2:** North Korea proposes resumption of the inter-Korean high-level dialog, after a half year of silence. **September 3:** Chinese President Jiang Zemin visits North Korea (September 3–5) and issues a joint statement in Pyongyang after the summit meeting with Kim Jong Il (September 5). **September 13:** North Korea issues a statement denouncing the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York. **September 15:** The fifth round of North-South Korean ministerial level talks convenes in Seoul (September 15–18) and adopts an eight-point program for economic cooperation. **September 19:** North and South Korea agree to resume family reunions. **November 9:** The sixth North-South Korea cabinet-level meeting is held at Mount Kumgang in the southeast of North Korea (November 9–12).



## Introduction

North Korea is very little known to the West and even to its Asian neighbors because of its isolation and a policy of self-reliance for the past half century. However, it is strategically located, and the security interests of the four major powers—the United States, Japan, China, and Russia—intersect on the Korean Peninsula. Moreover, North Korea as a country is very difficult to handle because of its myopic worldview and recalcitrant behavior in international relations.

The United States has been involved in Korean affairs ever since it participated in the division of the Korean Peninsula at the 38th parallel into North and South Korea in 1945. The United States has stationed its troops in South Korea to ensure the security of South Korea from North Korea's threat for the past half century. The United States, along with 16 other nations, dispatched troops under the United Nations' flag to repel the North Korean invasion of South Korea during the Korean War of 1950–53 and negotiated the armistice agreement with North Korea in 1953.

North Korea attracted world attention after the collapse of the Soviet Union (USSR) and demise of communism in Eastern Europe in 1989–1991. However, North Korea has not collapsed and is making a slow but gradual transition from a traditional authoritarian system to an open and more responsive system to cope with the changes in the international environment of the Korean Peninsula. North Korean leader Kim Jong Il initiated the effort in 2000 to open his country to the outside world by establishing diplomatic ties with members of the European Union and also inviting U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to Pyongyang to establish diplomatic relations with Washington. This is therefore a good time for outsiders to pay more attention to North Korea and attempt to understand what is happening in its political, economic, and social system under the new leadership of Kim Jong Il.

## LAND AND PEOPLE

Korea as whole is a mountainous country, but the west coast along the Yellow Sea and the southern coast have low hills and farmland. In the north, the Changbaek Range and its hills cover an extensive area. The Changbaek Range runs along the banks of the Yalu and Tumen Rivers. Mt. Paektu is the highest peak (2,750 meters) and is recognized in North Korea as the sacred mountain because the North Korean leader was reportedly born in the forest of this mountain. The Kaema and the Pujon plateaus in the Nangnin Range constitute the “roof” of North Korea. The Taebaek mountain chain, which is the backbone of the peninsula, runs from north to south in the east-central peninsula. The famous Mt. Kumgang, or Diamond Mountain (1,783 meters), Mt. Sorak (1,866 meters), and Mt. Taebaek (1,700 meters) are located in the Taebaek mountain chain. A branch of this mountain chain running in a southwesterly direction is known as the Sobaek Range, where the peak known as Mt. Chiri (2,083 meters) is located.

The geographic area of North Korea is 122,762 square kilometers (47,398 square miles)—about the size of Mississippi. The coastline is about 2,495 kilometers long; the borderline with South Korea is 248 kilometers long, that with China is 1,360 kilometers long, and that with Russia is 16.5 kilometers long. North Korea has 94,772 square kilometers of mountainous areas, which constitute about 77.2 percent of its total area. Thus, arable land constitutes only 17.3 percent, which is 21,173 square kilometers.

The capital of North Korea is Pyongyang, and other major cities include Hamhung, Chongjin, Wonsan, Nampo, Kaesong, Kaesung, Haeju, and Rajin-Sonbong. About 77 percent of the land area is covered by moderately high mountains separated by deep, narrow valleys and small cultivated plains. The remainder is lowland plains covering small, scattered areas. Because of the deposit of mineral resources in the north, the Japanese colonial government concentrated its industrial development projects in the north, while the agricultural sector was developed in the plains of the south.

The climate of Korea is more continental than oceanic, and there are four distinct seasons. Spring generally begins in early March, accompanied by warm breezes from the south, and lasts until the end of June with light rain falls at regular intervals. Late June and the month of July



are generally the heavy rainy season with July temperatures ranging from 27–31 degrees Centigrade in the south, while the north is a little cooler. However, global warming trends have changed the temperatures in the two Koreas. Annual precipitation varies from about 60 millimeters in the northeast to more than 150 millimeters in the southern regions. The autumn season starts generally from late September and ends toward the end of November with the first frost. The fall is a period of dry and sunny weather, which the Koreans refer to as a season of “high and blue sky and fat horses.” The winter begins around mid-December and lasts until February, during which it is extremely cold in the north. The January temperature in the north drops to 8 degrees Centigrade.

The Koreans are a homogeneous people and speak the same language throughout the peninsula. In about 30,000 B.C., human beings inhabited the Korean Peninsula and left many Paleolithic cultural sites. Around 3,000 B.C., certain tribal units of the Tungusic people, such as the Han, the Kaema or Koma, the Maek, and the Puyo, migrated into the peninsula from the Altai Mountain region via Siberia, Mongolia, and Manchuria and brought with them the Neolithic culture, including the Ural-Altai language and Shamanism; thus, they became the ancestors of the present-day Koreans. Ethnologically, the Koreans belong to the Altaic family of races, which include the Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungusic people.

The total population of Korea was about 25 million when the country was liberated from Japan and partitioned into Allied military operation zones in 1945. The American zone in the south had about 16 million and the Soviet zone in the north had a little over 9.5 million people. The current population of North Korea was 23.56 million in 1998. The annual population growth rate is less than 2 percent; ethnic composition includes small Chinese and Japanese groups, but the majority is Korean. The religions are Buddhism, Shamanism, Chondogyo, and Christianity, but religious practice has been virtually nonexistent since 1948.

## HISTORY

### Early Periods

The history of Korea can be traced back to the Old Choson period when the Kingdom of Choson was found by Tangun in 2333 B.C. The

Three Kingdom Period began in 57 B.C. and ended in 668 A.D. when the three kingdoms, Koguryo in Manchuria (founded in 37 B.C.), the state of Paekche in central Korea (founded in 13 B.C.), and the state of Saro (founded in 57 B.C. and later renamed Shilla), were conquered by Shilla to create the unified Kingdom of Shilla which lasted until 918 A.D. The kingdom of Shilla, however, was overthrown by Wang Kon, who founded the Kingdom of Koryo, from which the English name *Korea* derives. The Koryo period lasted until 1392 when General Yi Song-gye carried out a coup d'état and founded the Yi Dynasty (1392–1910), which is now recorded as the Choson Dynasty by historians. The modern period of Korean history began in 1876 when the Kingdom of Choson was forced to open itself to the outside world.

The Choson Dynasty lasted a little over five centuries, but was overthrown in 1910 when Japan occupied Korea and imposed colonial rule for three and a half decades, until it was defeated by the Allies in World War II. In 1868 Japan had carried out the Meiji Restoration and launched the successful modernization of its own political and social institutions. As the result, Japan emerged as a strong military power in East Asia and was able to colonize the Korean Peninsula, ruling it for the first half of this century. Korea was liberated from Japanese colonial rule and became an independent and sovereign state again after the end of the war in 1945.

The division of the Korean Peninsula came about in 1945 when the United States and the USSR agreed to draw the demarcation line at the 38th parallel to accept the surrender of the Japanese army. It was a provisional decision, but became a permanent boundary between North and South Korea. In August 1945, Soviet troops occupied the northern part and U.S. troops the southern part, thus dividing the Korean Peninsula into two halves. The north had three competing political forces: the nationalist forces, the socialist forces, and the repatriated Koreans from overseas, especially from China and the former USSR.

The Korean nationalist movement originated in Russia and China as early as 1910, after the Japanese occupation of Korea. The Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 sparked revolutionary movements around the world, and Koreans overseas joined the national independence movements to cast off the yoke of Japanese colonial rule and achieve an independent and sovereign state. Large numbers of Koreans drafted into the Japanese Imperial Army were sent to Manchuria and Northern

China to fight in the Sino-Japanese War, but many of them defected to the Chinese side, joining either the Chinese nationalist forces or the Chinese communist forces in Yanan.

Also, Korean people living in the northern provinces of Hamkyong-do and Pyongan-do crossed the Tumen and Yalu Rivers in search of fertile soil in the northeastern provinces of China to plant crops and farm when they suffered from famine caused by draught or flood in the mid nineteenth century. The influx of Korean people into northeastern Manchuria continued in the early twentieth century when the Japanese government colonized Korea.

The Koreans in China organized to fight for Korean independence. At the end of Japanese colonial rule in 1945, several million overseas Koreans returned to Korea to join the new independent state. More than one million repatriated to Korea from China, while two million Koreans returned from Japan. Two separate states were thus created in the Korean Peninsula when the Koreans came back from overseas and took leadership positions in their respective governments in Pyongyang and Seoul. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), or North Korea, was established on September 9, 1948, north of the 38th parallel. Thus North Korea celebrated the 50th anniversary of its founding on September 9, 1998.

### **The Rule of Kim Il Sung**

Kim Il Sung is closely identified with the DPRK because he was the founder and ruler of North Korea for 50 years—from the time he returned from the USSR in August 1945 when the USSR declared war on Japan and occupied North Korea after the Japanese army surrendered on August 15, 1945. Actually Kim Il Sung is so closely identified with North Korea and vice versa that, in a way, the history of North Korea is a history of Kim Il Sung's struggle for national independence.

After graduating from the Yukmun Middle School in Jilin Province, China, Kim Il Sung joined the Anti-Japanese Revolutionary Army to struggle against the Japanese occupation of Korea and Manchuria. He and his comrades in arms were forced by the Japanese army into the small village of Buyatsuk, Khavarovsk, in Siberia in the USSR and continued to carry out the guerrilla activities in the early 1940s. His son and the successor to the North Korean leadership, Kim Jong Il, was report-

edly born in this guerrilla base in February 1942. The remnant of the Anti-Japanese Revolutionary Army was restructured to form the 88 Brigade, which continued to fight the Japanese armed forces until Japan was defeated and Korea was liberated from the yoke of Japanese colonial rule. Many of his followers and commanders of the guerrilla units under his leadership emerged as the power elite of North Korea during the half-century of Kim Il Sung's leadership from 1945 to 1995. This powerful group was known as the Manchurian faction in North Korean politics.

Following the defeat of Japan in World War II in 1945, Korea was liberated from Japanese occupation and three major factions emerged in North Korea. The domestic nationalist faction was headed by Cho Man-shik and was by far the largest group supported by the majority of the people. The socialist faction, which consisted of intellectuals and students returned from their education in Japan, merged with the Korean revolutionaries who defected from the Japanese army and joined Mao Zedong's forces in Yen-an in the 1930s and 1940s; headed by Kim Tu-bong, this was known as the Chinese Yen-an faction. The Manchurian faction was joined by the Soviet Koreans, who were second-generation Koreans or Korean immigrants serving the Soviet armed forces when the Soviet Army moved in north of the 38th parallel in 1945. Thus, these factions with very diverse backgrounds and alignments maneuvered in the struggle for power in North Korean politics until Kim Il Sung consolidated his power and emerged as the sole leader and the most powerful among the revolutionary leaders in the process of creating the DPRK.

Kim Il Sung was the protégé of the USSR when he was chased out of Manchuria by the Japanese military forces and joined the anti-Japanese partisan movement in the Soviet territory of Siberia. Kim was known among the overseas Koreans as the leader of the anti-Japanese guerrilla movement in Manchuria and Siberia, but he did not have a political base in North Korea to be selected to head the Korean Workers' Party (KWP), as well as the government, in 1945 when Japanese colonial rule ended. Therefore, it was Soviet assistance that brought Kim to the leadership position of the party and government, thus establishing the party-state system in North Korea.

With this Soviet support, Kim Il Sung was installed as the head of the government and the North Korean Communist Party, which was later merged with two other minor parties to establish the North Korean

Workers' Party, which in turn merged with the South Korean Workers' Party to create the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) in 1947. After taking over the government and the party Kim introduced several reform programs, such as the land reform by abolishing the roles of landlord and tenant farmer and distributing land to the peasants. He also carried out the nationalization of major industries that were formerly owned and operated by the Japanese colonial administration. He then implemented a series of economic plans in the 1950s and 1960s to achieve the goal of industrialization.

On August 15, 1948, the Republic of Korea (ROK) was established in the south under the auspices of the U.S. government, while the DPRK was established in the north on September 9, 1948, under the influence of the Soviet government. Thus, the Cold War began in Korea when the two regimes with competing political ideologies and economic systems were established and supported by the two rival powers in international politics. Moreover, North Korea under the leadership of Kim Il Sung adopted a policy of hostility toward the south in the name of national unification. The two hostile regimes built up their armed forces, which carried out skirmishes in the border areas of the 38th parallel. North Korea launched an all-out attack on the south on June 25, 1950, to unify the Korean Peninsula.

This was a very serious mistake, for the Korean War of 1950–53 devastated most of the urban areas both in North and South Korea, and the civilian casualties amounted to more than two million on each side. Because of the Korean War, the Korean Peninsula became the flashpoint of the world, and the division of the peninsula was frozen for more than a half century. During the war, North Korean forces occupied most of South Korea except the Pusan perimeter, but U.N. forces, allied with the U.S. armed forces, launched a counter-attack in September 1950 that included the famous Inchon landing, which brought about the recovery of most of the lost territory.

Had it not been for U.S. intervention in the Korean War, the entire Korean Peninsula would have been unified under Kim Il Sung's rule. However, the U.S. intervention in the war and its crossing the 38th parallel in September 1950 and marching to the Chinese–North Korean border brought about the intervention of the Chinese communist forces to recover the lost territory and restore the North Korean regime, which was on the verge of collapse. Thus, Kim Il Sung's invasion of South Korea

invited the U.N. forces to rescue South Korea from its collapse while the crossing of the U.S. forces of the 38th parallel line to conquer North Korea elicited the intervention of the Chinese communist forces to salvage the collapsing North Korean regime. The Korean War was thus the major cause of the conflict between the United States and the People's Republic of China (PRC) for the following two decades.

Kim Il Sung carried out the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the North Korean economy, 90 percent of which was destroyed by the war, after the armistice agreement of July 1953 between U.N. forces on the one hand and North Korean and Chinese forces on the other. The economic race between the north and south thus began in 1953, and the north was ahead of the south in terms of economic growth and industrial development due largely to the communist bloc countries' economic and technical assistance in the 1950s. However, the economic growth and industrial development in the south turned around in the late 1960s following the normalization of diplomatic relations between the ROK and Japan in 1965 when Japan agreed to provide US\$ 500 million as reparations for Japanese colonial rule in Korea.

Kim Il Sung developed his foreign policy based on the *Juche* ideology of self-identity and self-reliance during the height of the Sino-Soviet conflict in the 1960s. North Korea thus turned into a "hermit nation" by isolating itself from any contact with the outside world and maintained a myopic, isolationist worldview that was difficult for foreign nations to deal with. At the same time, Kim Il Sung stepped up his hostility toward the south by increasing the guerrilla activities there.

North Korea was a totalitarian state based on communist ideology. Kim Il Sung founded the KWP in 1945 and controlled it for a half century until he died in July 1994. The structure of the KWP was patterned after the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the mantle of power was placed on the shoulders of Kim Il Sung. Thus, only a dozen or so members of the Standing Committee of the KWP Central Committee's (CC) Politburo had the ability to control the North Korean government. Party statutes call for a party congress every four years, but a party congress has not been convened for over two decades, the last being the Sixth Party Congress of October 1980.

The original structure of the government of the DPRK also followed the pattern of the Soviet system of government, but gradually evolved into an institutional structure with Korean characteristics. Kim Il Sung

headed the government for five decades as prime minister in the 1950s and 1960s, then as president of the DPRK after the constitutional changes in 1972, which created the new post of president. He also served as the chairman of the Administrative Council, which performed the cabinet functions with a premier and nine deputy premiers and some 40 cabinet members. The senior Kim also served as the chairman of the Central People's Committee, which was a supercabinet including 16 members of the KWP Politburo (10 full members and 8 alternate members) and the Secretariat. The party had full control of the government organizations and also of the bureaucracy.

The North Korean political system was based on the Soviet model, but evolved to reflect more the practice of the political institutions of the Choson Dynasty (1392–1910). Kim Il Sung ruled North Korea like the kings of the Choson Dynasty, and the ideology of *Juche* was the functional equivalent of Confucianism, the official ideology of the Choson Dynasty. A high-ranking member of the KWP and professor of *Juche* ideology at Kim Il Sung University, Hwang Jang Yop, who defected to South Korea in March 1997, asserted that North Korea was no longer a Marxist state nor a communist state. It abandoned Marxism when it adopted *Juche* as its official ideology.

Some analysts have even compared Kim Il Sung with Taewongun, who was the father of King Kojong (1852–1919). When Kojong was enthroned at the age of 12, Taewongun ruled Korea as a regent from 1864 to 1873, during which time he carried out the staunch isolationist policy of the Kingdom of Choson. A decade of his regency brought about the isolation of Korea, which was characterized by Westerners as the Hermit Kingdom. However, Queen Min maneuvered the Confucian officials to oust Taewongun. The succession of King Kojong to his father's rule opened Korea to the outside world and brought long overdue reforms and launched the modernization program to lift Korea from a feudal society to a modern society. If this analogy is correct, the isolationist policy of Kim Il Sung will be replaced by an open door and reform policy during the rule of Kim Jong Il.

### **Kim Jong Il Rule**

Kim Jong Il has been portrayed to the outside world as a reckless and unpredictable leader. As a result, Kim has been perceived as a person

who could start a war anytime, so the allies of the ROK should maintain vigilance. The image of Kim Jong Il and North Korea is so bleak and dark that no one can scrutinize and assess the true nature of Kim as a leader and the facts and realities of North Korea. The self-imposed isolation of North Korea created a mystery wrapped inside a riddle. Is Kim Jong Il reckless and unpredictable? No foreigner has ever interviewed him in depth, nor has any foreign leader met him, except for the Chinese leaders who hosted him during his visit to China in June 1983 and, more recently, Oleg Shenin, chairman of Russia's Council of the Union of Communists Parties, who met him on September 2, 1997, in Pyongyang.

Kim Jong Il was groomed to succeed his father as early as 1964, when he graduated from the Kim Il Sung University and was placed in the Organization Department of the KWP. He was officially appointed to the number-two position in the ranks of the Standing Committee of the KWP Politburo at the Sixth Party Congress in October 1980. However, Kim Jong Il began to consolidate his power when he was appointed to serve as the first deputy chairman of the National Defense Commission in May 1990 and was elevated to the position of supreme commander of the Korean People's Army in December 1991. He became marshal of the republic in April 1992 and was appointed to the chairmanship of the National Defense Commission. These positions prepared the younger Kim to take full control of the military and enabled him to replace more than 1,000 generals and senior officers in the military with a younger generation of officers and commanders loyal to him. Although he had never had any military training or participated in combat, he was able to control the military forces sheerly through title and position.

Kim Jong Il was reportedly born in Siberia, although the official biography of North Korea states that he was born in the guerrilla base on Mount Paetu along the border area of North Korea and China on February 16, 1942, and came back to Pyongyang in 1945. He completed elementary school in 1954 and middle and high school in 1960 in Pyongyang. In 1964 he graduated from the Kim Il Sung University with a major in political economy. His graduation thesis entitled "The Role of the County System in Administrative and Economic Development" was recognized as a major contribution to the political economy of North Korea. Upon his graduation from university, he started his political career



in the organization and guidance department of the KWP in 1964. After a decade of party organizational work, Kim was elected to the KWP CC in 1974, by which time he was being groomed to succeed his father. By the time of his ascension, Kim had had more than a quarter century of leadership training and management of the party-state system.

After this long apprenticeship under his father, Kim Jong Il succeeded in taking over the top leadership position of North Korea after taking control of the military forces, which could easily challenge his legitimacy and leadership, and then KWP organizations, which could control the government bureaucracy. Today, the question is whether he is likely to continue his father's policy of isolation and self-reliance or to open North Korea to foreign investment and trade? He is really in a dilemma because he believes that if he opens North Korea to the outside world, the North Korean socialist system will collapse just as the socialist systems collapsed in Russia and Eastern Europe. Many observers and foreign analysts assert that the younger Kim will not change and will persist in his father's isolationist policy, which will eventually lead to North Korea's collapse. Some experts and analysts in the United States, however, agree on the possibility of North Korea's opening to the outside world and gradually reforming its outdated economic system in order to avoid this collapse.

Due to the structural problems of the North Korean economy, economic growth in the 1960s slowed down to the level of zero in the 1980s, which led to a disastrous famine and shortage of fuel and consumer goods, coupled with flood and draught in the 1990s. The decline of economic output in the 1970s and 1980s was caused by structural problems, as well as mismanagement of the economic bureaucracy. To alleviate such an economic crisis in the 1980s, North Korea attempted a piecemeal reform and opened its economy to foreign investment. Kim Jong Il, who was designated as the heir to his father at the Sixth Party Congress in October 1980, took a trip to China in June 1983 to learn more about the Chinese model of structural reform and open-door policy. He was particularly interested in the Special Economic Zone in Shenzhen.

Upon his return from the China trip Kim Jong Il experimented with the Joint Venture Law in 1984 to solicit foreign investment and improved relations with capitalist countries like the United States and Japan. However, the junior Kim's attempts to reform the economic system did not

yield positive results owing in large part to the opposition of conservative forces that resisted change and to hostile international relations, which blocked efforts by capitalist countries to have joint venture enterprises in North Korea. Meager investments from Western European countries and the huge effort of Korean residents in Japan did not bring in sufficient investment to enable North Korea to take off economically.

Following the collapse of the communist system and the end of the Cold War, North Korea introduced a reform program in December 1991 when the Administrative Committee (cabinet) adopted reform bill No. 74, which established the Rajin-Sonbong Free Economic and Trade Zone and made Chongjin a free-trade port. These measures were similar to what China attempted in 1978 as a prelude to the implementation of the economic reform and open-door policy. To facilitate such a reform program, North Korea adopted more than 30 laws including the Foreign Investment Law in 1992. In March 1993, a comprehensive plan for national construction was proclaimed to support economic reform and the open-door policy. For the development of the Rajin-Sonbong free-trade zone and for solicitation of foreign investment, the North Korean government created the Committee for the Promotion of External Economic Cooperation (CPEEC) under the Department of External Economic Cooperation.

There have already been clear indications of change in North Korean economic policy during the three-year mourning period. Because without reform, there would be economic collapse; economic reform and opening to the outside world were the most urgent tasks of the new leadership. A number of foreign investment laws were adopted, establishing the legal framework for foreign firms operating in North Korea. The initial investments from foreign countries remained small, in the order of US\$ 150 million, and more delegations for the promotion of foreign trade were dispatched abroad. About 90 percent of all investments were made by the pro-North Korean Chochongryun (Federation of Korean Residents in Japan). Most of these investments concentrated on light manufacturing and retailing.

However, following the announcement of Kim Jong Il's appointment to the post of the KWP general secretary on October 8, 1997, North Korea moved to establish private enterprises for the sake of inviting foreign investment, introduced an independent accounting system in public enterprises, and expanded the Rajin-Sonbong Free Economic and

Trade Zone. These measures are similar to the policy lines that the Chinese government implemented in the 1980s. But the debate in top policy-making circles did not end on the question of whether to continue Kim Il Sung's outdated policy of isolationism based on the *Juche* ideology or to move gradually to adopt an open-door policy to increase foreign investment and trade, as well as to introduce structural reform of the economy following the Chinese model of development.

The conservative hard-line position seemed to assert that the party and government must persist in the policy of Kim Il Sung. Therefore, foreigners should not expect any changes from Pyongyang. The moderate pragmatists in the government bureaucracy, on the other hand, seemed to hold the position that North Korea could overcome its economic crisis by reforming its economic structure and inviting foreign investment. The debate continues. It is speculated that the younger Kim will introduce economic reforms and expand the open-door policy because he represents a new generation and also recognizes the changing environment of the Korean Peninsula. He cannot continue his father's policy of *Juche* ideology because he does not have the legitimacy or the charisma to lead the 23 million people of North Korea. He is more likely to adopt the political style of Deng Xiaoping because he favors the leadership style of bureaucratic management rather than the charismatic leadership of his father or Mao Zedong. However, the rhetoric of upholding the *Juche* ideology and the continuation of the policies of Kim Il Sung will be expressed in the editorial pages of the party organs by the ideologues and hard-line conservatives as a form of protest. The junior Kim cannot afford to stamp out his father's ideological legacies in North Korean society because of the conservative hard core of his father's generation and the respect and reverence of the people for his father.

Nevertheless, Kim Jong Il has replaced most of the old guard with the younger generation of leadership in the KWP, the military, and the government structure, thereby paving the way for structural reform and an open-door policy. A number of changes had already taken place under Kim Jong Il's leadership during the 1998–2000 period, which ushered in the historic summit meeting with South Korean President Kim Dae-jung on June 12–15, 2000, and the establishment of diplomatic relations with Australia, Canada, Italy, New Zealand, and countries of the European Union. Kim Jong Il also made his third visit to China in January 15–20, 2001, and toured the industrial complex in Shanghai to learn

more about the Chinese model of economic reform and its open-door policy. There is a clear indication that Kim is planning to open North Korea to the outside world for foreign investment to restructure the outdated economic system.

## POLITICS

### Political Culture and Ideology

When the DPRK was established as an independent and sovereign state, it adopted Marxism-Leninism as its ruling ideology. However, this ideology was replaced in the late 1960s by the so-called *Juche* (or *Chuche*) ideology, which is a creative application of Marxism and Leninism to the concrete conditions of Korea. It was during the height of the Sino-Soviet conflict over ideological issues that North Korea declared its independence by adopting its own ideology, developing its own self-sufficient economy without the economic support of the USSR or China, and maintaining self-defense in military affairs.

North Korea stressed that the *Juche* ideology was created by Kim Il Sung and further developed into a man-centered philosophy by his eldest son, Kim Jong Il. However, according to Hwang Jang Yup, theorist and secretary of the KWP in the 1950s and 1960s, Kim Il Sung asked him to theorize his speeches into the *Juche* ideology. In a sense, the content of *Juche* was expressed by Kim Il Sung in his speeches, but was theorized by the theoretician Hwang Jang Yup as the legitimate ideology of North Korea. The *Juche* ideology (self-identity and self-reliance) consists mainly of two parts: the philosophical theory, which maintains that the masses are the masters of history and revolution, and the guiding principle, or the “Revolutionary View of the Leader,” which stresses that “nonetheless the masses are not able to take up spontaneously any revolutionary course unless they are organized into revolutionary forces and are led by the *suryong* (the leader).” This has been a way to justify Kim Jong Il’s undisputed succession of his father as leader of North Korea.

Kim Jong Il began to develop the concept of the “Revolutionary View” into a more theoretical and systematized form by presenting his own “Theory of the Immortal Socio-Political Body” in the 1980s. The trinity of the *suryong*, the party, and the masses are completely integrated into an immortal sociopolitical body, the brain of which is the

leader; physical life, which is mortal, is given by the parents, while political life, which is immortal, is given by this sociopolitical body; thus, the masses are only required to be obedient to the brain of the body, which is the leader.

The North Korean political system has been governed by the *Juche* ideology, which has been an unprecedented mechanism by which the people are constantly brainwashed to be dedicated and loyal to the leader of the country. Thus, the political culture of North Korea is developed to support authoritarian rule, and the inculcation of this culture upheld the single most important ruler to serve as the father, the son, and the *Juche* ideology throughout the past half a century. Even the constitution of the state stipulates that “the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea makes the *Juche* ideology, a revolutionary ideology with a people-centered view of the world that aims to realize the independence of the masses, the guiding principle of its actions.”

## The Government

The most powerful institution, as in other communist countries, is the KWP, which formulates the policies and has the government perform the executive, legislative, and judicial roles. There are other political parties, such as the Korean Social Democratic Party (KSDP) and the religious Chondoist Chongu Party, but they do not have any power to make policies or to challenge the power of the ruling party, the KWP.

The KWP is the most powerful political institution in North Korea and the preamble of its charter stipulates, “the Workers’ Party is the vanguard organization of the working class and the highest form of revolutionary body among all organizations of the working masses.” The KWP is headed by a general secretary elected by the KWP CC. The highest organ of the party is the Party Congress, which is supposed to convene every five years, according to its charter. However, the congress has not been convened since the Sixth Party Congress in 1980. Party membership is estimated at three million. The office of the general secretary had been vacant since the death of Kim Il Sung in July 1994, but his son Kim Jong Il was elected to the post of general secretary in October 1997 after the end of the three-year mourning period. It was an unusual practice that the younger Kim was elected by the grassroots organizations of the party rather than by the party congress or the KWP CC.

The decision-making organ of the party is the KWP CC, which convenes regularly every six months and discusses and decides many important issues. It elects the general secretary, secretaries, and members of the Political Bureau and its Presidium. It organizes the Secretariat of the party, which functions as the executive body of the party. The KWP CC also elects the Military and Control Committees.

All decisions concerning government policies, as well as the nomination of government officials, including cabinet ministers, are in fact made by the KWP CC. The Administrative Council (cabinet), which was changed to a cabinet system under the new constitution adopted in September 1998, is endowed with the function of putting party decisions into practice. However, the role of the Administrative Council was enhanced during the economic crisis because the economic bureaucracy was better trained with a long period of experience while the party administrators tended to attend to ideological issues and domestic affairs.

The National Defense Commission emerged as the center of political power in North Korea when the newly adopted constitution of the DPRK abolished the post of president of the republic, which was held by Kim Il Sung and made him an eternal president of the DPRK. Kim Yong-nam is the nominal head of state as he was made the chairman of the Standing Committee (Presidium) of the Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) of the DPRK. Kim Yong-nam stated that National Defense Commission (NDC) Chairman Kim Jong Il is in charge of all political, military, economic, and other affairs. Article 100 of the new constitution stipulates, "The National Defense Commission is the highest military leading organ of State power and an organ for general control over national defense" (*See Appendix 1 for the text of the Socialist Constitution of the DPRK*).

According to the new constitution, the cabinet took over most functions of the Central People's Committee, which was abolished in September 1998. It is composed of the premier, deputy premiers, chairmen of commissions, ministers, and some other members, including heads of the Academy of Sciences and the Central Bank. The cabinet is empowered to control the commissions and ministries as well as the local people's committees (the local governments). It also institutes, amends, and supplements regulations concerning state management.

The government organization is divided into three main branches:

1. Executive—Chairman of the National Defense Commission, premier (head of government)
2. Legislative—SPA
3. Judicial—Supreme court; provincial, city, county, and military courts

Subdivisions of the government consist of nine provinces (South Pyongan, North Pyongan, South Hamgyong, North Hamgyong, South Hwanghae, North Hwanghae, Kangwon, Jagang, Yanggang), four province-level municipalities (Pyongyang, Kaesong, Chongjin, Nampo), and one free-trade zone (Rajin-Sonbong FTZ). The SPA is a parliament and similar to the Supreme Soviet of the former USSR or the National People's Congress of the PRC. It functions as a rubber-stamp body that endorses the policies of the government and the KWP. The ninth assembly was composed of 687 representatives, who were elected in April 1990. North Korea announced that the election of the Tenth SPA was held on July 26, 1998. Each electoral district has an average of 50,000 residents who cast votes on election day. North Korea has universal suffrage at 17. After the election, the SPA posted the list of 687 elected.

Reflecting the strong influence of the military in the North Korean leadership, the list of the representatives to the Tenth SPA included 75 lieutenant (two-star) generals or higher-rank military leaders. More than one in every 10 assemblymen is from the military brass. Among those elected in 1998 were two marshals—Kim Jong Il and Li Ul-Sol. Membership in the SPA symbolized this privileged social status in North Korea.

The SPA has the right to elect or recall the chairman of the Standing Committee, who is a nominal head of state, and vice chairman, as well as the chairman and vice chairman of the National Defense Commission, the president of the Central Court, and the premier of the cabinet; it also has the right to approve economic development plans and the state budget. However, it has in the past acted on the instruction or guidance of the KWP. It has not rejected any bills proposed by the government. The judicial system of North Korea, like the SPA, is under the control and guidance of the KWP for punishing criminals and achieving political and ideological goals. It was set up on the basis of the socialist concept of law and justice. The judicial system consists of the Central Court, under which are the courts of the province or of the municipality,

the People's Court, the Special Court, and the Supreme Public Prosecutor's Office, which has provincial and special city prosecutors.

The functions of the Central Court are to hear criminal and civil cases, review emergency cases appealed from the provincial courts, and supervise the judicial work of all courts. The SPA elects and recalls the president of the Central Court. Special courts hear cases involving military personnel and railway and water transportation workers; they are the Military Court, and the Traffic and Transportation Court.

The prosecutor general of the Supreme Public Prosecutor's Office is appointed by the SPA, and he or she, in turn, appoints all other prosecutors. The duties of the prosecutor include general surveillance, investigation, preliminary examination, and prosecution of criminals and offenders, as well as preserving the laws and implementing the policies set by the KWP.

## Economic and Social Development

North Korea's economy has been likened to the command economy practiced in the Soviet bloc countries because it is a highly centralized and planned economy. The history of economic development in North Korea begins with the democratic reform to carry out the transformation and socialization of the economic structure of Japanese colonial rule. Under the slogan of the anti-imperial and antifeudal democratic revolution, North Korea carried out the reform and nationalization of major industries. Thus, North Korea implemented a series of economic development plans as of the founding of the republic in 1948 and, more systematically, after the end of the Korean War. They were a three-year economic development plan (1954–56); a five-year plan (1957–61), the goal of which was achieved in four years; the first seven-year development plan (1961–67), which was supposedly extended by three years and completed in 1970; a six-year plan (1971–76); the second seven-year plan (1978–84), which was extended by two years and completed in 1986; the third seven-year plan (1987–93); and a three-year plan (1994–96).

One can hardly understand North Korea's development in the 1960s without a full knowledge of the *Chollima* movement, which was launched in 1957 and subsequently paralleled the Great Leap Forward movement in the PRC. Some of the development strategies formulated



by the North Korean leadership in the 1957–60 period were quite similar to Chinese development strategy during the Great Leap Forward. Following successful postwar reconstruction (1953–56), which is claimed to have surpassed the industrial output of the prewar period, North Korea embarked on an ambitious five-year economic development plan (1957–61).

The recovery of North Korea's economy and industry during the postwar reconstruction period owed a great deal to the massive economic aid and technical assistance provided by the USSR and other Eastern European countries. Therefore, the North Korean leadership formulated its economic development program on the assumption that Soviet bloc countries would continue to provide aid and assistance at the same level as during the postwar period. However, the international environment changed considerably as a result of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), at which Nikita Khrushchev proclaimed the de-Stalinization policy. This was followed by the Sino-Soviet conflict. In this changed mood of international relations in the socialist bloc countries, Kim Il Sung, then premier of the DPRK, paid a special visit to Moscow and Eastern Europe to obtain economic and technical aid, but he returned home almost empty-handed. Upon his return to Pyongyang, he launched a massive program to mobilize domestic resources to pay for the original five-year economic plan instead of revising it. The goals of this plan were "to carry out socialist construction of industry and socialist collectivization of agriculture"; these goals were criticized by Khrushchev as being too ambitious.

The North Korean leadership wanted to avoid the Chinese mistakes and it needed to justify the mass-line policy of the *Chollima* movement in order to formulate a development strategy for socialist construction rather than making the transition to communism bypassing the socialist stage of development. Kim Il Sung thus began to formulate a theory based on the Cultural Revolution in the countryside and the technological revolution in industry as the prerequisite for successful construction of socialism in North Korea. By alternating his emphasis on the three revolutions—the Cultural Revolution in 1958–59, the technological revolution in 1960–63, and the ideological revolution in 1965–68—Kim Il Sung was able to combine moral and ideological appeal and material incentives in the course of implementing the mass-line policy.

The Cultural Revolution, according to Kim Il Sung, was meant to step up ideological indoctrination by initiating a new education program. The indoctrination was designed to eradicate the remnants of traditional ideas from the thought and consciousness of the working mass. The traditional ideas included certain feudalistic and capitalistic notions derived from the concepts of individualism, liberalism, and conservatism. The Cultural Revolution was, therefore, designed to increase the political and ideological consciousness of the working people so that they might be transformed into dedicated, selfless, and patriotic members of a socialist society. “At the present stage of socialist construction, the fundamental task before us is to realize the Cultural Revolution in order to advance the technological transformation of the people’s economy in terms of socialist productivity, and to consolidate further the material and productive basis of socialism,” Kim stressed.

Kim Il Sung attempted to achieve in the 1957–59 period the ideological transformation of his people; this came before the technological transformation of the workers and the intelligentsia. To pay the bills for the industrialization program, the North Korean leadership demanded that the population in general, and the peasant masses in particular, make sacrifices for a better future. Instead of providing material incentives or investing in the agrarian sector, Kim Il Sung attempted to arouse the enthusiasm and creativity of the working masses by means of ideological and political stimulation. He expounded the thesis that the Cultural Revolution should precede the technological revolution: “Unless we realize the Cultural Revolution,” Kim stressed, “we won’t be able to carry out successfully the technological revolution in our people’s economy.”

Within the general framework of the Cultural Revolution, the North Korean government devoted itself to improving the intellectual and technical level of the workers, strengthening public health and medical welfare, and developing the cultural activities of the working class. To comply with the KWP’s call to carry out the Cultural Revolution, the party’s propaganda cadres stepped up their activities in November 1958, immediately following Kim’s speech entitled “On the Education of Communism” to the party’s activists. It was important to educate the working masses with the spirit of “socialist patriotism” and “proletarian internationalism,” according to Kim’s speech, because they needed to learn to love their working place, their own village and town, and to cultivate

their love for the public and state interest rather than being selfish and indifferent to the government's call for socialist industrialization. The working masses could show their love for the country only by participating in the implementation of the mass-line policy of the *Chollima* movement, which was currently elevated to a development strategy.

The technological transformation, on the other hand, was designed in the late 1950s primarily to modernize agricultural productivity by introducing irrigation, electrification, and mechanization programs. By the end of 1956, about 80 percent of the North Korean peasantry had already been collectivized, and in 1958, a total collectivization was carried out at the same time that the people's communes were created in China under the banner of the Great Leap Forward. By providing material incentives for the work team movement, which was launched in 1959, the North Korean leadership attempted to stimulate the working masses to increase productivity. A work team was organized in each production unit to encourage socialist competition for increased production. The work team in the industrial plant usually consisted of 20 to 25 members; those in educational, cultural, and public health institutions often had 50 members. All members took part in the production competition.

As for the overall economic achievements of the 1960s, Kim Il Sung stressed that the country as a whole was transformed from "an industrial-agricultural state" to "a socialist industrial state," which meant that North Korea had achieved the goal of socialist industrialization. Following the twin goals of socialist industrialization and defense fortification, North Korea had established a system of defense capable of coping with any external attack. Moreover, political and ideological unity following the faction-ridden political conflict and ideological disputes had been consolidated under the banners of three revolutions: the cultural, the ideological, and the technological. In the rural areas the ideological revolution was "the most important and most difficult task that had to be achieved, ahead of all other work." Thus, after the completion of the first five-year development program, the North Korean economy was so successful that Japanese and other outside observers and analysts predicted that North Korea was way ahead of South Korea in the economic race for industrialization. "One for all and all for one," is the principle of collectivism in North Korean society. Thus, the fate of the individual is closely associated with the fate of the collective entity to

which the individual belongs. The concept of collectivism has been shaped by the teaching of Confucianism for many centuries in East Asia, and Confucianism has had an even greater impact on Korea since the Choson Dynasty (1392–1910) adopted it as the state doctrine. Confucianism reinforced the concept of collectivism and inculcated the value of the family system throughout Korean society and established the lineage system in the dynastic succession of the kings during the Choson (Yi) Dynasty. The values and mores of the family system continue to influence the daily practice of common people in contemporary Korea, both in the north and south, and the practice of everyday politics in the two Koreas still remains under the influence of Confucian values.

The succession of Kim Jong Il, the eldest son of Kim Il Sung, was greatly influenced by the dynastic succession of the Choson Dynasty as it was the practice of the first son to succeed the father and inherit political power in the Choson Kingdom. When Kim Il Sung, the first ruler of North Korea died on July 8, 1994, North Korea observed the Confucian practice of a three-year mourning period (1994–97). The heir designate, Kim Jong Il, did not succeed his father as the general secretary of the KWP until October 1997, and then as chairman of the National Defense Commission, the most powerful position of North Korea's power structure, on September 5, 1998.

With the values and mores of Confucianism still prevalent in Korea, it was rather easy for the North Korean leadership to inculcate the concept of Confucian socialism. The ideological indoctrination of the KWP expounded the ideas of sacrifice for the good of a collective entity like the KWP and the state. It was no easy task for the North Korean leadership to transfer the individual loyalty from the family to the state and the supreme leader. To achieve the goal of collective unity, the North Korean leadership launched a variety of mass mobilization campaigns for ideological indoctrination and the inculcation of collective values for participation in mass organizations. Numerous mass organizations were created along occupational lines, as well as social organizations, to bring the masses of the people to support the KWP and state organizations.

All mass organizations are guided and directed by the KWP leadership at various levels. To have official policies penetrate deeply among the masses and to rally the support of the people, the party organized subsidiary organizations, such as the League of Socialist Working Youth, the Korean Democratic Women's Union, the General Federation

of Trade Unions, and other professional unions, like the Writers' Union, the Religious Associations, and the Youth Pioneer Corps and Student Associations, and many others. In addition to these social organizations, North Korea maintained such political parties as the Korean Social Democratic Party and the religious party known as the Chondoist Chongu Party. These parties did not play an important role as political parties, but functioned as mass organizations guided and directed by the government and the KWP.

The Committee for the Peaceful Unification of the Fatherland headed by Yun Ki-pok and the Korean National Peace Committee play an important role in propagating the North Korean appeal to South Korea for peaceful unification of the two Koreas. In the 1990s, the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland functioned as the main actor in facilitating the North-South talks for reconciliation and peaceful exchanges.

## THE FUTURE

The future of North Korea will depend largely on the leadership of Kim Jong Il. If he assesses correctly the changing environment of the Korean Peninsula and accepts the economic and social realities of North Korea, he will have no choice but to take the courses of reform and open-door policy. The recent trip to China in January 2001 was undertaken to learn from Chinese experience how an underdeveloped country can attain an economic take-off and reach the stage of industrialization and modernization. If Kim Jong Il has learned the Chinese model of economic development and open-door policy, he is likely to implement reform policy and economic opening in order to attract foreign investment and trade. There are indications that Kim Jong Il will change his policy toward the United States and European countries to solicit economic assistance and investment so that he may launch the industrialization program. The success or failure of Kim's economic reform and open-door policy will depend largely on the degree of change in the international political environment surrounding the Korean Peninsula.



# The Dictionary

– A –

**ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.** The Academy of Sciences of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) was established on December 1, 1952, to promote scientific research. It has various affiliated institutions, such as Physics and Mathematics, Chemistry, Engineering, Medicine, Economics and Law, History, Philology and Literature, and Archeology and Ethnography. A biological research laboratory is under the direct control of the academy. To the Academy of Sciences are attached various committees, such as for the compilation of technical terms, the compilation of classics, language reform, etc.

It was reported in 1955 that representatives of the Academy of Sciences participated in an Eastern European conference on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, which was the beginning of nuclear-related activities in North Korea. In 1956 North Korea signed two agreements with the Soviet Union covering joint nuclear research. In 1959 additional agreements on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy were signed with the Soviet Union and China. The 1959 agreement with the Soviet Union included setting up a nuclear research facility under the Academy of Sciences near Yongbyon and developing a nuclear-related curriculum at Kim Il Sung University.

**ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL.** The Administrative Council functioned as a cabinet before the constitutional amendment of September 5, 1998, and is composed of commissions, ministries, and some other institutions, including the Academy of Sciences (q.v.) and the Central Bank. It is headed by the premier, who is assisted by a dozen deputy premiers. The council drafts the economic development plans and state budgets, and is responsible for implementing

economic, sociocultural, and health programs under policy guidance from the Central People's Committee and the Korean Workers' Party (q.v.). However, this council became the cabinet (q.v.) when the new constitution (q.v.) of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) was adopted on September 5, 1998, by the Supreme People's Assembly (q.v.).

**AGRARIAN REFORM.** Land reform was carried out in North Korea from March 8–30, 1946, on the basis of the Land Reform Law of March 5, 1946. Land reform in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) was not a simple structural reform of rural society for economic reasons. It was designed primarily to restructure and transform rural society to give the ruling elite full control of it. Agrarian reform was thus politically motivated by the slogans of the anti-imperial and antifeudal struggle for democratic reform, which eliminated the landlord, comprador capitalists, and the collaborators of the Japanese colonial rule. The Land Reform Law was legitimized when it was incorporated into the constitution (q.v.) of the DPRK on September 9, 1948, and it was enforced until October 1958, when agricultural collectivization was completed. The main thrust of the Land Reform Law stipulated that all land owned by all Japanese landlords, national traitors, religious groups, and local landlords was to be confiscated without compensation and distributed to the tenant farmers and the tillers of the land. In the process of executing the Land Reform Law, the draft animals, farm implements, and dwelling property of the landlords and the traitors were also confiscated by the state and converted into state property. Confiscated orchards and irrigation facilities were also nationalized, and the large forests, except for small plots of land, were nationalized by the state. The land-ownership system and the tenant system were abolished, and trade on the market or rental to tenants of distributed land was prohibited. As a result of the land reform program, 54 percent (one million hectares) of the total arable land (1,840,000 hectares) in North Korea was confiscated by the state without compensation. Thereafter 980,000 hectares of the one million hectares confiscated by the state were distributed free to the 724,000 households of the rural population. Tenant farming was thus completely abolished. Eradication of the landlord system and tenant farming paved the way for the nationalization of the farmland.



The farmland distributed to the tenant farmers was restricted so as not to be sold nor traded on the market. When and if the peasants are not able to provide self-cultivation of the distributed land, they were obliged to return their farmland to the state. After the agrarian reform program was introduced, approximately one million landlords, pro-Japanese collaborators, and bourgeoisie escaped from North Korea and took refuge in South Korea. The Provisional People's Committee adopted the Land Reform Law on March 5, 1945, and implemented the land reform in November and December 1945, following the fall harvest. Two agriculture experts from the Soviet Union advised on the implementation of the Land Reform Law. The land owned by 44,000 landlords, which constituted about 50 percent of the arable land in North Korea, was confiscated without compensation for their property and distributed to the 70 percent of North Korean rural population. The peasantry constituted about half of the North Korean population, and they were thus encouraged to support the new regime.

As a result of land reform, the North Korean branch of the Korean Communist Party benefited the most. Its membership increased from 6,000 in August 1945 to 134,000 by August 1946. Land reform was the beginning of a revolution in North Korea because the exploitation of the tenant peasants by landlords ended. Policies to rehabilitate and develop a prosperous economy, educational reform, and measures to secure the livelihood of the common people by eradicating Japanese colonial rule were supported fully by the common people and were implemented as speedily as possible by the new regime in North Korea.

**AGREED FRAMEWORK.** On October 21, 1994, representatives of the United States (q.v.) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) signed an agreed framework in Geneva for resolving the nuclear issue. The 1994 framework calls for the following steps:

1. North Korea agreed to freeze its existing nuclear program under enhanced International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards.
2. Both sides agreed to cooperate to replace the DPRK's graphite-moderated reactors for related facilities with light-water reactor (LWR) power plants.

3. The two sides agreed to move toward full normalization of political and economic relations.
4. Both sides agreed to work together for peace and security on a nuclear-free Korean Peninsula.
5. Both sides agreed to work together to strengthen the international nuclear nonproliferation regime.

**AGREEMENT ON RECONCILIATION, NONAGGRESSION, EXCHANGE, AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.** This agreement was reached during the fifth round of talks of the premiers of North Korea and South Korea in Seoul in December 1991. The first three premiers' talks were held in September, October, and December 1990, and the fourth in October 1991. The agreement was dated December 13, 1991, (effective February 19, 1992). This agreement, along with the July Fourth Joint Communiqué (q.v.) of 1972, was a basic document by which North Korea and South Korea attempted to resolve their conflicts and cooperate with each other for the reunification (q.v.) of the two Koreas. (See Appendix 2 for the full text of this agreement.)

**AGRICULTURE.** The population of North Korea has suffered famine (q.v.) and food shortage since 1995 due largely to three years of flood and draught, which started between July 30 and August 18, 1995, and resumed in 1996 and 1997. However, the food shortage was mainly caused by the failure of North Korea's agricultural policy. Following the historic flood of 1995, the World Food Program (WFP) and other international relief agencies conducted a survey of the flood damage and the causes of the food shortage. To alleviate the food shortage the international organizations carried out research on the agrarian situation in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and concluded that the agricultural policy based on the *Juche* ideology (q.v.) had caused the food shortage. North Korea has 1,992,000 hectares of arable land, compared with South Korea's 2,050,000 hectares of arable land. However, North Korea's wet land for the production of rice, which is the major food staple, is 570,000 hectares, only 29 percent of its total arable land, while South Korea has 1,300,000 hectares of wet land, which is twice as large an area. The rest of the arable land is dry land on which North Korea has to plant corn,

wheat, or other crops. The dry land is located in the mountainous areas, which require more labor, but produce less. North Korea's major grain is corn, which is about 52 percent of the total grain produced, while rice production constitutes only 36 percent, and other grains constitute 12 percent. North Korea attempted to increase grain production on the basis of the *Juche* method of agriculture, which was designed to assure self-sufficiency in the production of food grains, but food production gradually decreased after 1985.

Kim Il Sung (q.v.) claimed North Korea had produced 10 million metric tons of grains in an interview given to a foreign correspondent in 1984 when the second seven-year economic plan was successfully completed. However, North Korea has not published any economic indexes since 1985 when the beginning of the third seven-year economic plan was postponed by two years to started in 1987 and run to 1992; there was no announcement of grain production between 1990 and 1992 when the third seven-year economic development plan was completed. It is possible that the economic statistics at various levels of the bureaucracy might have been inflated in the process of reporting from the lowest level to the highest level of the bureaucratic structure. Thus, the report on grain production of 10 million metric tons in 1984 may have been exaggerated because the DPRK has not been able to produce more than five million tons of grain in the 1990s.

Such inflated reporting of grain production reached a crisis point in 1985 when North Korea faced the problems of trade deficit and lack of foreign currency to finance increased imports. The shortage of fertilizer and farming tools might have aggravated the reduction in agricultural production. At the same time, factories designed to produce agricultural machinery and tractors were transformed into armament industries, thereby reducing the production of agricultural machinery, which contributed to the decrease in food production. Thus, the grain production in North Korea decreased gradually, coupled with the flood and draught of the 1995–97 period. Such slogans as “Agriculture First” or “Rice Is Socialism” had no impact on the peasants, who had become bitter about their hard labor with little reward.

North Korea adopted a nationwide food rationing system in November 1957, and the amount of food rationed was determined by the

government. The laborer was allocated 700 grams of food each day, the military 800 grams, children under 15 years of age 100–500 grams, and others' rations were determined on the basis of their occupation and age. However, since 1973, when the tension increased on the Korean Peninsula and the preparation for war was underway, the government extracted four days of food (12 percent) of each month's ration from each individual's allotment for war preparedness. The food ration was further reduced by 10 percent in 1987 in preparation for the World Youth and Students Festival of 1989. The food rationing system changed several times, and the current rationing system is divided into seven stages from 100 grams to 900 grams per person. An average ration is 450 grams, but people who are engaged in very critical work, such as air force pilots or miners receive 900 grams a day. The ration was further reduced to one half after the floods of 1995 and to a third in 1996. However, the families of military officers and police staff received the regular ration of 900 grams each day.

Rice production in North Korea is estimated at 2 to 4 million metric tons with a population of 23 million in comparison to that of South Korea which produces 7 million metric tons with a population of 45 million and Japan, which produces 13 million metric tons with a population of 120 million. North Korea needs at least four million metric tons of grain to feed its population, but the grain production decreased to only two million and a half metric tons in 1996. Table 1 indicates the amount of grain produced and imported, the available food supply, the amount of food needed, and the shortage of food in metric tons between 1991 and 1996.

The Flood Emergency Committee claimed in 1997 that the DPRK needed 7,840,000 metric tons of food. China (q.v.) has supplied

**Table 1**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Production</i>	<i>Import</i>	<i>Supply</i>	<i>Need</i>	<i>Shortage</i>
1991	4,427,000	920,000	5,347,000	6,400,000	1,053,000
1992	4,300,000	1,090,000	5,390,000	6,500,000	1,111,000
1993	3,900,000	600,000	4,500,000	6,580,000	2,080,000
1994	4,125,000	900,000	5,025,000	6,670,000	1,645,000
1995	3,450,000	950,000	4,400,000	6,400,000	2,000,000
1996	2,500,000	662,000	3,160,000	6,400,000	3,230,000

500,000 metric tons of food grain each year since 1995 and the United States, Japan, and South Korea (q.v.) have donated funds to the World Food Program and international relief agencies to purchase food grain for North Korea. It is estimated that a total of US\$ 1 billion worth of food grain has been donated by international relief organizations from 1995 to 1998. A total of 1,500,000 metric tons of food grains have been donated by overseas relief agencies each year from 1995 to alleviate the famine in North Korea. Thus, North Korea needs one to two million metric tons of food grains more to cover the shortage of food each year, indicating that present agricultural production is not able to meet the food needs of the North Korean population. *See also* AGRARIAN REFORM; FARMERS' MARKETS; WORK SQUADS; YEAR-END OUTPUT ASSESSMENT OF FARMS.

**ALL-KOREA ON PAN-NATIONAL RALLY.** The first rally of this kind was held in August 1990 to initiate North Korea's strategy to demonstrate that all Koreans around the world support North Korea's formula to achieve the reunification (q.v.) of Korea. The seventh rally in 1998 was held in Pyongyang (q.v.) and Shenyang, China, simultaneously. North Korea attempted to hold the rally in South Korea, but was not successful. The rally has been organized by the Pyongyang office of the National Alliance for the Country's Reunification. The office is headed by Paek In-jun, a vice chairman of the North Korean Supreme People's Assembly (q.v.).

**APRIL FIFTEENTH LITERARY WORKS GROUP.** This group was organized in 1967 to write novels, poems, and other literary works designed to promote the personality cult of Kim Il Sung (q.v.). This group was inaugurated by his son Kim Jong Il (q.v.) on April 15, 1967, to celebrate his father's birthday within the organizational framework of the Writers' Union and maintains a membership of more than 50 novelists, poets, and scriptwriters.

**ARCH OF TRIUMPH.** This monument was dedicated to Kim Il Sung (q.v.) on the occasion of his 70th birthday on April 15, 1982. The construction of this arch was based on an idea drawn from the Arch of Triumph in Paris; however, it is taller than the one in Paris by 11 meters,

with a height of 60 meters and a width of 52.5 meters. The number 60 signifies the 20 years of Kim's anti-Japanese struggles and his 40 years of contribution to the socialist construction of North Korea.

**ARMED FORCES.** The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) maintains the fourth largest armed forces in the world. In numerical terms, North Korea built up armed forces that are one million larger than that of South Korea, although the Republic of Korea's (ROK) armed forces are supported by the United States (q.v.) and equipped with much more efficient and modernized armaments. However, the morale of the DPRK armed forces is very high because of ideological indoctrination and their dedication to the security of the garrison state. The North Korean armed forces are under the direct control of the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) (q.v.) Military Affairs Committee and under the command of the National Defense Commission (q.v.), which is chaired by North Korea's supreme leader, Kim Jong Il (q.v.).

1998 Military Budget: Estimates range from US\$ 2,400,000,000 to US\$ 5,400,000,000, but a 2000 estimate of the 1999 military budget is US\$ 1,400,000,000. Total Regular Forces: 1,054,000 (est.), Army: 923,000 (est.), Reserves: 4,700,000, Navy: 46,000 (est.), Air Force: 85,000.

Ground Forces: DPRK's ground forces are organized into 20 corps units (12 infantry, 4 mechanized, 2 artillery), plus a light special-forces command, which oversees special warfare units. Its heavy equipment consists of 3,800 tanks (T-55, T-62, T-72, light tanks), 2,270 armored personnel carriers, and 11,200 pieces of field artillery, with a major percentage being self-propelled for purposes of speedy artillery support. The units are geared for mechanized warfare reminiscent of the Nazi blitzkrieg.

Ballistic Missiles: DPRK has at least 30 Scud-B and Scud-C missiles (probably many more); at least 10 short-range Nodong missiles believed to have entered service (outside estimates range from 20 to 30); the intermediate-range Taepo Dong-1 (tested in August 1998) under development, as is the nuclear-capable Taepo Dong-2.

Combat Aircraft: DPRK has 607 combat aircraft.

Naval Vessels: DPRK has 26 attack submarines, 3 frigates, 5 Corvettes, 43 fast attack craft (missile), approximately 197 fast attack

craft (torpedo), 25 coastal patrol craft, 153 inshore patrol craft, approximately 25 minesweepers, 10 amphibious crafts.

Security Alliances: Treaty of Friendship and Nonaggression with the People's Republic of China (1961); Treaty of Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union (1961), replaced by the DPRK-Russia Treaty on Friendship, Good Neighborliness, and Cooperation, which was ratified on July 26, 2000, and signed into the law on August 5, 2000.

See Table 2 for a comparison of North and South Korean military capabilities. *See also* MILITARY ARMISTICE COMMISSION; LIGHT INFANTRY; MILITARY INSTITUTIONS; MILITARY-ORIENTED THOUGHT; PANMUNJOM; UNITED NATIONS.

**Table 2 Comparison of North and South Korean Military**

	<i>DPRK (North)</i>	<i>ROK (South)</i>
Total	1,147,000	690,000
Ground Forces	996,000	560,000
Navy	48,000	67,000
Air Force	103,000	63,000
Corps	20	11
Divisions/Brigades	153	71
Tanks	3,800	2,150
APC	2,270	2,250
Artillery	11,200	4,800
Combat Vessels	430	180
Submarines	40	5
Support Vessels	340	40
Combat Aircraft	850	550
Support Aircraft	510	180
Helicopters	310	630

**AUGUST THIRD CONSUMER GOODS PRODUCTION CAMPAIGN.** This campaign began when Kim Jong Il (q.v.) inspected a consumer goods fair held in Pyongyang (q.v.) on August 3, 1984, and ordered government and KWP officials to launch a campaign to boost the production of consumer goods. Following four years of this campaign,

on August 3, 1988, the Korean Workers' Party (q.v.) announced that "thanks to the wise leadership of Dear Leader Kim Jong Il, the campaign resulted in producing 5,800 items of consumer goods and that yearly production had increased 22 times over the first year," however, the announcement did not mention what kinds of consumer goods produced. As part of this "side-job work teams" and the "household work teams" were organized in every workshop and village to increase the production of consumer goods. Members of these teams were instructed to exploit as many resources as possible from the immediate surroundings and to work extra hours in addition to their regular assignments.

**AUGUST POLITICAL CRISIS.** This was the first political challenge Kim Il Sung (q.v.) encountered at the plenary meeting of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC) (q.v.) in August 1956. It was really serious opposition to the policy of Kim Il Sung, and he was almost ousted from his leadership position. Following the Third Congress of the KWP in April 1956, Kim Il Sung took a long trip to the Soviet Union (q.v.) and nine Eastern European countries from June 1–July 19, 1956. The purpose of this trip was to solicit economic assistance from these fraternal nations to finance the first five-year economic development plan (1957–61). However, he returned from abroad with empty hands. The plenary session of the KWP CC was convened from August 30–31, 1956, in Pyongyang (q.v.). Kim Il Sung presented his report on his trip to Russia and Eastern Europe and on the first five-year economic development plan. The pro-Chinese Yen-an faction, in cooperation with the pro-Soviet faction, registered opposition to the report presented by Kim Il Sung, which was the first case of rejection in the history of the KWP CC. They opposed Kim's report on two vital issues: (1) the KWP should change the policy of giving priority to the development of heavy industry, which would bring more suffering to the people, and accept the proposition for prioritizing development of consumer and light industry; and (2) the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) should pursue the policy of permanent neutralization of the Korean Peninsula by abandoning the communist system to adapt to the changing international situation of peaceful coexistence between the Soviet bloc and the Western



bloc. Some members of the KWP CC criticized the personality cult of Kim Il Sung and the chairman of the Korean Trade Union Federation advocated free-trade unions and their independence from government interference. The opposition to Kim Il Sung was also emerging in the military, but it was crushed in advance. The political challenges to Kim Il Sung at the KWP CC meeting brought about the political crisis, but Kim Il Sung's upper hand in political maneuvering crushed the opposition and many of its members fled to China (q.v.) and the Soviet Union by crossing the border and seeking asylum. After crushing the opposition, Kim Il Sung carried out a series of purges not only of the KWP organizations, but also of every other social organization. The extent of the purge was well reflected in the new composition of the KWP CC, which was elected at the Fourth Party Congress between September 11–18, 1961. Out of 85 KWP CC members, 57 were newly elected and 28 were reelected, which means that 60 percent of the KWP CC was purged. Thus, the August political crisis is prominently recorded in the lexicon of the KWP history.

– B –

**BASIC AGREEMENT ON RECONCILIATION, NONAGGRESSION, EXCHANGE, AND COOPERATION.** See AGREEMENT ON RECONCILIATION, NONAGGRESSION, EXCHANGE, AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

**BERLIN AGREEMENT OF 1999.** A crucial round of talks was held in Berlin in September 1999 between U.S. negotiator Charles Kartman and Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) Vice Foreign Minister Kim Gye Gwan. When the talks concluded on September 12, the two sides released a short statement saying that they had agreed to "preserve a positive atmosphere" in anticipation of further talks on missiles (q.v.) and the easing of U.S. economic sanctions. Subsequently, President Bill Clinton's National Security Advisor, Samuel Berger, announced that North Korea had agreed to freeze its long-range missile program during an extended period while talks continued. This produced a mood of relief and even euphoria for

some in Seoul and Washington, who referred to the negotiating outcome as an “agreement” and a “breakthrough.” *See also* UNITED STATES, RELATIONS WITH.

**BIG BANG THEORY.** This theory refers to a sudden internal collapse of North Korea and the ensuing chaos, which would lead to the reunification (q.v.) of the two Koreas. The big bang theory postulates that the collapse of the Kim Jong Il (q.v.) regime is imminent and that such a collapse will produce catastrophic effects on South Korea.

**BOMMINRYON (NATIONAL ALLIANCE FOR THE COUNTRY'S REUNIFICATION).** Bomminryon is an abbreviation of the Korean word for the Pan-National League for the Reunification of the Fatherland. This organization came into being in August 1990. It is organized into a North Headquarters, a South Headquarters, and an Overseas Headquarters, and is presided over by a 14-member chairman group, which consists of four members each from the north and the south, and six members from overseas. North Korea has been using this organization to carry out various activities to accomplish its strategy to reunify the entire Korean Peninsula under its formula. The South Headquarters of this organization is operating underground in South Korea.

**BOTTOM-UP REVIEW (BUR).** In 1993, President Bill Clinton's defense team conducted a comprehensive review of the United States' (q.v.) defense requirements, known as the Bottom-Up Review (BUR). This assessment formed the basis of the Clinton administration's 1995 defense budget and of the administration's overall strategic outlook. North Korea figures prominently in the BUR. *See also* FISCAL MANAGEMENT.

– C –

**CABINET.** The constitutional change on September 5, 1998, abolished the Central People's Committee (CPC) (q.v.), which was headed by the state president, and also changed the functions of the Administrative Council (q.v.) to the cabinet system. According to the New Socialist

Constitution (q.v.) of 1998, “The Cabinet is the administrative and executive body of the highest organ of the State power and a state management organ.” (Paragraph IV, Article 17) The cabinet consists of the premier, vice premiers, chairmen of commissions, ministers, and some other necessary members. The cabinet’s term is the same as that of the Supreme People’s Assembly (SPA) (q.v.). The new cabinet is headed by Premier Hong Sung-nam and two vice premiers, Cho Chang-dok and Kwak Bom-gi. It has 27 cabinet posts headed by the ministers of foreign affairs (Paek Nam-sun); public security (Paek Hak-rim); the State Planning Commission (Pak Nam-gi); the power and coal industry (Shin Tae-uk); the mining industry (Kil Song-nam); the metal and machine industry (Chon Sung-hun); the building materials industry (Cho Yun-hi); railways (Kim Yong-sam); land and marine transportation (Kim Yong-il); agriculture (Li Ha-sop); chemical industry (Pak Bong-ju); light industry (Li Yon-su); trade (Kang Jong-mo); forestry (Li Sang-mu); fishery (Li Song-un); city management and national territory and environmental protection (Choe Jong-gon); state construction supervision (Pae Dal-jun); commerce (Li Yong-son); irrigation safety (Paek Chang-ryong); education (Choe Jae-hyon); post and telecommunications (Li Gum-bom); culture (Choe Jae-hyon); finance (Lin Gyong-suk); labor administration (Li Won-il); public health (Kim Su-hak); physical culture and sports (Pak Myong-chol); and state inspections (Kim Ui-sun). Related institutions are the Academy of Sciences (q.v.) (Li Gwang-ho), Central Bank (Chong Song-taek), Central Statistical Bureau (Kim Chang-su), and the Secretariat of the Cabinet (Chong Mun-san). Traditionally, the cabinet of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) functioned as an executive body to approve policies decided by the functional departments of the Korean Workers’ Party (KWP) (q.v.). The Central Committee (q.v.) of the KWP (KWP CC) maintains more influential departments in parallel to the ministries, commissions, and functional departments of the cabinet, which supervised implementations of the policy decisions of the KWP CC. The heads of the functional departments in the KWP CC may be appointed concurrently with the ministers of the cabinet. Kim Yong-nam, for example, was the head of the International Department of the KWP CC while he served as the minister of foreign affairs in the cabinet. Thus, the members of the cabinet have been subordinate to the functional departments of the KWP CC.

**CAMPAIGN FOR EMULATING HIDDEN HEROES.** North Korea launched this campaign in October 1979, when it conferred the title “Hero of Labor” on four scholars, including a botanical researcher at the Academy of Sciences (q.v.) named Paek Sol-hi. It held a workers rally in Pyongyang (q.v.) in October 1986 for the campaign. Three years later, at the tenth anniversary meeting of the campaign, North Korea claimed there were 15,000 “hidden heroes.” The objective of this campaign is to accelerate economic development by mobilizing all sources of labor.

**CAMPAIGN TO PROMOTE SOLIDARITY BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND CIVILIANS.** The concept of this campaign, according to North Korean literature, can be traced back to the 1930s when Kim Il Sung (q.v.), who was leading the anti-Japanese guerrilla war, said that “guerrilla troops will not be able to survive when they are away from the people, like fish cannot live when they are out of water.” This campaign was renewed in March 1992 on the orders of Kim Jong Il (q.v.) as the supreme commander of the Korean People’s Army (KPA). It announced such slogans as “Our Outpost—Our Factory,” “Our Outpost—Our Farm,” and “Our Outpost—Our Schools.” The campaign was aimed at encouraging military personnel and, thus, raising their morale by uniting the military and the people, who are urged to support and console the military units suffering from the shortage of material supplies. *See also* ARMED FORCES.

**CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE KOREAN WORKERS’ PARTY (KWP CC).** This organ is one of the most important committees in the Korean Workers Party (KWP) (q.v.). Because the Congress of the KWP convened very infrequently, every 5 or 10 years and performed only rubber-stamp functions, the KWP CC convenes more often and plays an important role in policy making and policy execution. The Sixth Congress of the KWP was held in October 1980 and no other congress was convened for more than two decades. Therefore, the KWP CC performs the decision-making functions between KWP congresses. The KWP CC elected by the Sixth Congress in October 1980 was composed of the following executive organs:

Secretary General: Kim Jong Il

Politburo Presidium Members: Except for Kim Jong Il, all four other members elected in October 1980 died or dropped out. They are Kim Il Sung, Kim Il, Oh Jin-U, and Li Jong-ok

Politburo Members: Kim Jong Il, Li Jong-ok, Pak Song-chol, Kim Yong-ju, Kim Yong-nam, Kye-Ung-tae, Chon Byong-ho, Han Song-ryong

Secretaries: Kye Ung-tae (ideology), Chon Byong-ho (the defense industry), Han Song-ryong (economy), Choe Tae-bok (education), Kim Gi-nam (propaganda), Kim Guk-tae (party cadre), Kim Jung-rin (socioeconomic associations), Kim Yong-sun (united front programs)

The Central Committee: chairman, unknown; vice chairman, Cho Jin-uk

The Central Auditing Committee: chairman, unknown

Heads of the KWP CC departments: Organization and Guidance: unknown; Propaganda and Agitation: Kim Gi-nam; Party Cadre: Kim Guk-tae; International: Kim Yang-gon; Military: Li Ha-il; People's Defense: Kim Ik-hyon; United Front: Kim Yong-sun; International Liaison: Kang Ju-il Room; No. 35: Kwon Hi-gyong; Operations: Oh Gukryol; Munitions Industry: Chon Byong-ho; Economic Policy Inspection: Han Song-ryong; Agricultural Policy Inspection: unknown; Financial Planning: Chae Hi-jong; Science and Education: Choe Tae-bok; Labor Organization: Won Dong-gu; Fiscal Management: Ro Myong-gun; Others: Kim Nam-yun, King Bong-ju, Choe Bong-man, Choe Su-gil, Kim Gyong-hi

Chiefs of Other Institutions: Kim Il Sung; Higher Party School: Kim Guktae; Party History Institute: Kim Gyong-hi

Responsible secretaries of local party committees: Pyongyang City, Nampo City, and Kaesong City; South Pyongan Province, North Pyongan Province, Jagang Province, Yanggang Province, South Hwanghae Province, North Hwanghae Province, South Hamgyong Province, North Hamgyong Province, and Kangwon Province (three cities and nine provinces)

The Central Military Committee: chairman, vacant; supreme commander of the People's Army: Kim Jong Il; members: Kim Jong Il, Li Ul-sol, Cho Myong-rok, Kim Yong-chun, Paek Hak-rim, Kim Ik-hyon, Kim Il-chol, Li Ha-il, Pak Gi-so, Li Du-ik, Oh Ryong-bang, Kim Myong-guk, Kim Du-nam, and Li Yong-chol

**CENTRAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE (CPC).** This body functioned as the legislative body to the Administrative Council (q.v.) prior to the constitutional revision of September 5, 1998. The CPC supervised and balanced the activities of the Administrative Council, which was the North Korean version of a cabinet (q.v.). The CPC was chaired by the state president and was abolished by the new constitution (q.v.). It maintained five commissions: the Economic Policy Commission, the Internal Policy Commission, the External Policy Commission, the Security Commission, and the Legislation Commission. After the constitutional revision of 1992, the National Defense Commission (NDC) (q.v.) became independent from the CPC. The CPC was composed of the president, vice presidents, secretary of the committee, and other members, such as chairmen of local people's committees, who are concurrently responsible secretaries of the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) chapters in three major cities (Pyongyang, Nampo, and Kaesong) (qq.v.) and nine provinces.

**CHAE HI-JONG (1924–).** Chief of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee's (KWP CC) (q.v.) Financial Planning Department. Born in South Hamgyong Province, he graduated from Kim Il Sung University and Moscow State University. He became minister of labor administration in 1977, a KWP CC secretary in charge of finance in 1983, minister of labor administration again in September 1988, minister of joint-venture industry in November 1988, and chief of the KWP CC department later.

**CHAE MUN-DOK (DBPU).** Chief of the Political Bureau of the Public Security Ministry. He was vice minister of the Public Security Department in 1983, chief of the Public Security Department in 1987, and reassigned as chief of the Political Bureau, Public Security Ministry, in 1995.

**CHAE TAE-BOK (1929–).** Chairman of the Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) (q.v.), associate member of the Politburo (q.v.), and secretary of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC) (q.v.). He was born in North Hamgyong Province. He graduated from Mangyongdae Revolutionary School and studied in East Germany. Chae became a professor of chemical engineering at Hamhung

Technical Engineering College in 1961, dean of Kimchaek Engineering College in 1978, chairman of the Education Commission in 1981, minister of higher education in 1985, a KWP CC secretary in 1986, and associate member of the Politburo in 1990. He was elected chairman of the SPA on September 5, 1998.

**CHANG CHOL (1926–).** Vice chairman of the Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) (q.v.). Born in North Hamgyong Province, he graduated from Meiji University in Japan. He served as chief of the Education Department, General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (*Chosen Soren*), during the first half of the 1960s. He immigrated to North Korea in 1965. He served as a senior official at the Ministry of Culture from August 1966 to December 1972, then as vice minister of culture and arts, then as minister in 1986; he became a deputy premier in 1990. Chang continued in these positions until he was named vice chairman of the SPA in September 1998.

**CHINA, FOREIGN RELATIONS WITH.** North Korea relies heavily on the People's Republic of China (PRC) in its international relations and national security, as well as its economy, despite the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and South Korea. It was China that dispatched its armed forces to fight in the Korean War (q.v.) in October 1950 when North Korea was on the verge of collapse and being overwhelmed by the United Nations (q.v.) forces. China also prevented the U.N. Security Council from taking sanctions against North Korea when it withdrew from the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) (q.v.) in March 1993. The North Korea–China Friendship Treaty, a virtual security pact concluded in July 1961, was designed to enable China to offer military assistance to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and is still in effect. For a quarter of a century after the Korean War, the PRC adopted a rigid one-Korea policy in the diplomatic, military, and economic fields. During this period, Beijing provided Pyongyang with generous grants and loans and conducted bilateral trade. China was the major donor of economic and technical assistance to North Korea during the post-Korean War reconstruction of its economy. When Premier Kim Il Sung (q.v.) led an eight-member delegation to China in November 1953, the two governments signed an agreement on economic and

cultural cooperation stipulating that both sides “shall extend to each other all possible economic and technical aid, carry out the necessary economic and technical cooperation and endeavor to promote cultural exchanges between the two countries.” The PRC provided a grant of 800 million yuan to restore North Korea’s war-torn economy. North Korean leader Kim Il Sung was able to negotiate successfully to receive in 1976 an estimated US\$ 967 million in grants and loans from China. North Korea’s trade with the PRC accounted for 20 percent of its total foreign trade throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Because North Korea does not produce a single drop of oil, the major import item from China was crude oil. The China-Korea Friendship Pipeline, which was completed by joint effort in January 1976, transported oil from Daqing to North Korea. When Premier Hua Guofeng visited North Korea in 1978, China agreed to increase its annual oil export to one million metric tons at the “friendship price” (US\$ 4.50 a barrel). It then sent engineers and technicians to construct oil refineries, petrochemical plants, and other related industries in North Korea. The PRC also signed long-term trade agreements for the period of 1982–86 and also for the period of 1987–91, which helped the DPRK’s third seven-year economic development plan (1987–93). Pyongyang and Beijing held numerous economic meetings and concluded agreements in a variety of fields, such as trade, hydroelectric power, navigation, railways, civil aviation, communications, publications, educational exchange, public health, and science and technology. A large number of North Korean students, scientists, technicians, bureaucrats, and other professional personnel, including military staff officers, visited China each year and studied at Chinese universities and research institutes, or initiated scientific and technical exchange programs with their Chinese counterparts. North Korean leader Kim Il Sung visited China more than 40 times and had summit meetings with many Chinese leaders, including Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Hua Guofeng, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, and Hu Yaobang, which cemented the solidarity of North Korean relations with the PRC. The Chinese leaders also paid reciprocal visits to Pyongyang (q.v.) to consolidate the diplomatic and security relations between the two countries. When Kim Il Sung died in July 1994, Deng Xiaoping extended condolences to the Korean Workers’ Party Central Committee (q.v.) and expressed his “deep grief” at the loss of a “close comrade in



arms.” China recognized Kim Jong Il (q.v.) as the new supreme leader in North Korea to assist in his smooth transition to power. When Kim Il Sung’s 44-year rule was over, China expected that his successors would pursue a pragmatic open-door foreign policy and improve inter-Korean relations. China invited Kim Jong Il to visit China. Kim Jong Il visited China from January 15–20, 2001, which was his third visit (he had visited once in June 1983 and again from May 29–31, 2000). During his previous visits to China, he met with the top leaders of the PRC and expressed his interest in China’s economic development. During his January 15–20, 2001, visit Kim toured the Pudong industrial complex in Shanghai, inspecting the US\$ 1.5 billion Buick plant and other flagship Sino-foreign joint ventures, such as NEC’s US\$ 1.2 billion semiconductor foundry in Zhangjiang High Tech Park. He also had summit meetings with Chinese leader Jiang Zemin in Beijing on January 20, 2001. Jiang Zemin visited North Korea from September 3–5, accompanied by over 100 various officials from the PRC government, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), and the military and economic sectors. Jiang’s aides included Zeng Qinghong, head of the Organization Department of the CCP Central Committee, Qian Qichen, vice premier and foreign minister of the State Council of the PRC, Zeng Peiyan of the State Development Planning Commission, and top members of the People’s Liberation Army (PLA). The summit conference between Jiang Zemin and Kim Jong Il took place in Pyongyang. The DPRK and the PRC have gained full momentum in making exchanges at various levels since the DPRK-PRC summit talks in Pyongyang. This was Jiang Zemin’s second visit to North Korea since his visit in March 1990, when he was the general secretary of the CCP. There had developed strains and stresses in the PRC-DPRK relations following the establishment of diplomatic relations between the PRC and the Republic of Korea (ROK) (q.v.) in August 1992 and high-level exchanges of visits had been greatly reduced. However, the reciprocal visits between Kim Jong Il and Jiang Zemin have now restored close and friendly relations between the two allies.

**CHO CHANG-DOK (DBPU).** Deputy premier, chief of the Mining Bureau. Until he was named a deputy premier during the reshuffle of September 1998, Cho held relatively minor posts in the Ministry of Mines. No other information is available.

**CHO CHONG RYUN.** This body is known in Japanese as Chosen Soren (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan), and its membership is estimated at 240,000 members who support North Korea through remittances that have been estimated at anywhere from US\$ 400 million to US\$ 2 billion a year. These remittances have been financing North Korea's trade deficits. This organization is the largest outside of North Korea that has not only supported the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) economically but also served as a major interest group in Japan (q.v.) to bring about changes in Japanese policy toward North Korea. It has established a school system from kindergarten to college for the education of Korean residents in Japan. There are 61 primary, middle, and high schools and one university, known as Choson University, that are supported by *Chosen Soren* in Japan. These institutions teach Korean language and culture among other subjects to inculcate Korean nationalism. There is an opposition group known as Mindan (*chaeil choson koryu mindan*), which is a pro-South Korean resident organization in Japan. However, *Chosen Soren* is more active in supporting Pyongyang than *Mindan* in supporting Seoul.

**CHO MYONG-ROK (1924–).** Vice marshal, member of the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) Central Military Committee, first vice chairman of the National Defense Commission, and chief of the General Political Bureau of the Korean People's Army (q.v.). Born in Manchuria, he graduated from Mangyongdae Revolutionary School in 1959. After returning from advanced pilot training in the Soviet Union (q.v.), he became a People's Air Force commander in 1977, member of the KWP Central Military Committee in 1980, and was promoted to general in 1982, and to marshal in October 1995. At the same time, Cho became chief of the powerful General Political Bureau of the army (the unit which monitors the political behavior of all military personnel). He was named first vice chairman of the equally powerful National Defense Commission (q.v.) on September 5, 1998. Cho visited the United States (q.v.) in October 2000, representing Kim Jong Il, chairman of the National Defense Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), and signed the U.S.-DPRK Joint Statement on October 12, 2000, at the White House. (See Appendix 4 for the full text of this agreement.)

**CHOE GWANG (1918-).** Marshal, full member of the Politburo (q.v.), member of the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) Central Military Committee (q.v.), and Minister of the People's Armed Forces (q.v.). Born in North Hamgyong Province, he served as a member of a Chinese anti-Japanese guerrilla unit in the 1930s, until he escaped to the Soviet Union (q.v.) in the early 1940s to become a Soviet army officer. He returned to North Korea in 1945, along with other Koreans, including Kim Il Sung (q.v.). Choe became commander of the first division of the Korean People's Army (KPA) in 1948, commander of the Fifth Corps of the KPA in 1953, air force commander in 1960, chief of the General Staff of the army in 1963, and associate member of the Politburo in 1966. He was given the title of Republic's Hero in 1968, but was branded an "antiparty element" and purged in 1969. Choe was reinstated as chairman of the People's Committee in South Hwanghae Province in 1978 and as associate member of the Politburo in October 1980. He became a deputy premier in 1981, chief of the General Staff of the Army in 1988, vice chairman of the National Defense Commission, and a full member of the Politburo in 1990. Choe was promoted to vice marshal in 1992 and to marshal in October 1995, when he became minister.

**CHOE JIN-SU (DBPU).** Vice director of the Korean Workers' Party's (q.v.) International Bureau, he was appointed as Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) ambassador to the People's Republic of China (q.v.) on December 10, 2000, replacing Ju Chang-jun who held the same post for the previous 12 years. The younger generation of new ambassadors was appointed to various diplomatic posts in the Western countries to replace the older generation of ambassadors who were appointed by Kim Il Sung (q.v.) during his rule from 1945 to 1994.

**CHOE TAE-BOK (1929-).** Associate member of the Politburo and Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC) (qq.v.) secretary. Born in North Hamgyong Province in 1929, he graduated from Mangyongdae Revolutionary School and studied in East Germany. He became a professor in a chemical engineering college in Hamhung in 1961, dean of Kim Chaek Engineering College in 1978, chairman of the Education Commission in 1981, minister of higher

education in 1985, a KWP CC secretary in 1986, and associate member of the Politburo in 1990.

**CHOE YONG-KON (1903-?).** Born in North Pyongan Province and moved to China (q.v.), where he graduated from the Yunnan Military Academy. He joined the anti-Japanese armed struggle of the Koreans in China and became a member of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1926. Choe was a close associate of Kim Il Sung (q.v.) in Manchuria and crossed to Siberia in the early 1940s with Kim Il Sung so as to avoid the Japanese crackdown in Manchuria. Upon his return to Pyongyang (q.v.) in 1945, Choe served as the vice chairman of the Democratic Party of North Korea, which was founded in 1945 by the well-known nationalist Cho Man-shik, who became its chairman. Choe joined the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) (q.v.) and served as the vice chairman while Kim Il Sung was the chairman. He was the first defense minister in the first Kim Il Sung cabinet in September 1948. He also served as the chairman of the Standing Committee of the Second Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) (q.v.), which was elected in August 1957. He became a nominal head of the state in 1950s and 1960s.

**CHOE YONG-RIM (1929-).** Associate member of the Politburo (q.v.), deputy premier, metals industry minister, and prosecutor general. Born in Yanggang Province, he graduated from Mangyongdae Revolutionary School and studied at Kim Il Sung University and in the Soviet Union. He became first deputy chief of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee's (KWP CC) Organization and Guidance Department in 1967, and chief of a KWP CC department in 1972. Choe rose to associate member of the Politburo in 1980, full member of the Politburo in 1982, deputy premier in 1983, and responsible secretary at the presidential office in 1986. He was demoted to associate member of the Politburo in 1990, but became a deputy premier and, concurrently, chairman of the State Planning Commission in 1990. As deputy premier, he assumed the office of metals industry minister in late 1992. He was appointed prosecutor general at the Supreme People's Assembly on September 5, 1998.

**CHOLLIMA MOVEMENT.** At the December 1956 Plenum of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC) (q.v.), the party leadership adopted a resolution calling on the entire population to start the *Chollima* movement, a campaign designed to mobilize human and material resources for the priority development of heavy industry. "In order to overcome the difficulties which have arisen in the domestic and international spheres and also to reach a revolutionary high tide of socialist construction," the party resolution stressed, the KWP must adopt the *Chollima* movement as the main thrust of mass mobilization. The primary goal of this movement was to combine the program of cultural and technological revolution in order to succeed in socialist industrialization. Like the Stakhanovite movement of the 1930s in the Soviet Union (q.v.), the *Chollima* movement was launched to mobilize the working force and organize it to increase productivity in both agriculture and industry (qq.v.). The campaign for socialist competition to increase production started in the industrial sector, but spread quickly into such areas as commerce, education, public health, science, and culture and arts.

The *Chollima* movement was similar to the Great Leap Forward in the sense that it was based on the mass-line policy, with moralistic fervor and ideological appeal "to increase the maximum productivity and maintain maximum savings." It was quite different from the Great Leap Forward because the North Korean leadership carefully avoided the mistake of introducing the Chinese style of commune. Though they carried out a total collectivization of agriculture and amalgamated 16,032 agricultural cooperatives into 3,843 basic production units at the village (*ri*) level, they avoided creating larger communes like those in China. The *Chollima* movement was adopted as the "general line" of North Korean economic development in September 1958, and it was modeled on the "general line" and the "Great Leap Forward" of communist China, which began in May 1958 and performed the same function of mobilizing manpower and natural resources to fulfill the first five-year plan (1957–61). A *chollima* is a legendary horse that can run 1,000 *ri* (400 kilometers) a day. This slogan implied that one of the important tasks of the KWP was to spur the people on to work as hard as the *chollima*. The *Chollima* movement has become the source of all forms of work-harder and Stakhanovist campaigns. This movement started as

early as in December 1956 on the basis of a policy decision made by the KWP. The movement had three goals: remolding the entire population into faithful communist revolutionaries, increasing the productivity of the workers, and bringing about cultural enhancement. Later, this movement developed into various forms of campaigns and produced such slogans as the following:

“*Chollima* Work Team Movement,” which was designed to make the workers on all work sites compete with each other to achieve excellent work results

“Movement to See the Early Morning Stars,” which was designed to make workers and farmers get up and go to work very early in the morning

“Movement Not to Have Soup,” which was originated by workers of textile factories in order to minimize the frequency of going to the bathroom

“Movement to Shovel One Thousand Shovelfuls Before Stretching,” which was initiated on cooperative farms in order to spur the farmers to work for hours without a break.

Other slogans included the “Movement to Carry One More Load” and the “Movement to Go Out Fishing 300 Days a Year.”

**CHON BYONG-HO (1926-).** Full member of the Politburo, secretary of the Korean Workers Party Central Committee (KWP CC) (q.v.), member of the National Defense Commission (q.v.), and chief of the KWP CC’s Munitions Industry Department. He was born in North Hamgyong Province and graduated from Mangyongdae Revolutionary School and Kim Il Sung University. He also studied at Moscow State University. Cho became chief of the KWP CC’s Light Industry Department and Commerce Department in 1971, chief of the KWP CC’s Machine Industry Department in 1974, chairman of the Second Economic Committee, KWP CC in 1982, associate member of the Politburo in 1982, a KWP CC secretary in 1986, full member of the Politburo in 1988, and a member of the National Defense Commission in 1990. He was retained as a member of the National Defense Commission in the September 1998 reshuffle.

**CHON HA-CHOL (DBPU).** Current position is unknown. He became chief of the Korean Workers’ Party Central Committee’s (q.v.) Gen-

eral Affairs Department in 1984 and minister of resource development in 1989. Chon was dismissed as natural resources minister in 1990. He was conferred the Order of Kim Il Sung in April 1991. He ranked 48th on the funeral committee for Oh Jin-u, former minister of the People's Armed Forces (q.v.), who died in February 1995. This was an indication of his continuing importance in the North Korean regime.

**CHON JAE-SON (DBPU).** Korean People's Army (KPA) (q.v.) vice marshal, commander of the First Army Group. He became a deputy chief of General Staff in 1981, corps commander in 1985, associate member of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (q.v.) in 1986, and member of the Supreme People's Assembly (q.v.) the same year. He was promoted to full general in 1992 and to vice marshal in 1997.

**CHON MUN-SOP (1924–).** Honorary vice chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) (q.v.). Born in Manchuria, he served with the Communist Chinese Eighth Route Armies during the 1930s. He became a division commander in 1950, commander of a corps in 1980, commander of an army group in 1961, vice minister of public security and chief of the Secret Service in 1964. He was appointed associate member of the Politburo (q.v.) in 1975. Chon was promoted to commander of the Pyongyang Defense Command and a full member of the Politburo in 1980, chairman of the State Inspection Committee under the umbrella of the Central People's Committee (q.v.) in 1984, a deputy minister of the People's Armed Forces (q.v.) in 1988, chairman of the State Inspection Committee (second time) in 1992, and honorary vice chairman of the SPA on September 5, 1998.

**CHONGSAN-RI METHOD.** The *Chongsan-ri* method was developed by Kim Il Sung (q.v.) in February 1960 when he went down personally to a rural and backward village to inspect a cooperative farm in *Chongsan-ri*, Kangso County, South Pyongan Province. There he demonstrated personally the work of rural development that later served as a model for other villages to follow. Similar to *xiafang* (downward to the village) in China (q.v.) in 1956, it reshaped leadership techniques to make closer contact and linkage between the cadres and the masses of the people. The *Chongsan-ri* method and

spirit became the means of implementing the mass-line policy in the 1960s. The essence of this method and spirit is that managerial personnel on the farm must present themselves at the sites of work in person and help farmers solve problems through field surveys.

**CHOSEN SOREN.** *See* CHO CHONG RYUN.

**CHRISTIAN FEDERATION.** This is an official church organization of Christians in North Korea. There are 12,300 Christians, 30 pastors, and 300 officials of Christian churches, according to Kim Young-sop, chairman of the federation, who attended the seventh annual conference of the North and South Korean Christians for the peaceful reunification of and missionary work in the fatherland on December 12–15, 2000, in Fukuoka, Japan. It was reported that more than 520 household churches were organized in North Korea as of 1997. Three well-known churches in Pyongyang (q.v.) are Bongsu Church, founded in 1988, Chilgol Church, founded in 1992, and a Catholic Church founded in 1988. They are members of the Christian Federation in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

**CHUCHE IDEOLOGY.** *See* JUCHE IDEOLOGY.

**COMMAND POST OF REVOLUTION.** This term was first used in a speech delivered by Vice Marshal Kim Yong-chun, chief of the General Staff of the Korean People's Army (KPA) (q.v.) during an important ceremony held in Pyongyang on April 24, 1996, to commemorate the 64th anniversary of the army. The term has circulated widely in North Korea after *Rodong Shinmun*, the official newspaper of the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) (q.v.), used it in an editorial on December 18, 1996, to mark the fifth anniversary of Kim Jong Il's (q.v.) inauguration as supreme commander of the KPA. The editorial, under the heading "Let Us Demonstrate to the Last Our Glory of Honoring the Great Iron-Willed General as the Supreme Commander," stressed, "Let us safeguard the command post of the revolution headed by Dear Comrade Kim Jong Il, even at the cost of our lives. This is the guidance for the struggle and life of all of our people and servicemen of the People's Army today." It was referring to the 11-member National Defense Commission (q.v.), as head of which Kim



Jong Il was elected during the first session of the Tenth Supreme People's Assembly (q.v.) on September 5, 1998.

**COMMITTEE FOR THE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF THE FATHERLAND.** This committee is a social organization set up on May 13, 1961, under the leadership of Kim Il Sung (q.v.) for the purpose of rallying all patriotic capabilities in the north and the south and achieving an independent reunification (q.v.) of the peninsula. This organization comprises all political parties and social organizations in North Korea. The committee performs the function of carrying out political propaganda activities to arm South Koreans and Koreans abroad with Kim Il Sung's revolutionary ideology and to rally them under his leadership to expel the American presence and influence from South Korea and achieve the North Korean policy of reunification.

**COMPLEX ENTERPRISE SYSTEM.** This is a sort of trust-form complex in which the functions of producing and processing raw materials and manufacturing final goods are performed in a chain. North Korea began to construct such complexes in the 1970s in the mining, metals, and chemical industry sectors. Later, it was extended to other sectors. This system was designed to solve problems arising from disputes or inactive cooperation between companies involved in the production of the same goods. The new management system placed collective responsibilities on the managers of mines, plants, or factories in order to standardize the serial production system, as well as to help the depressed economy improve. However, it is reported that the system did not achieve practical results because it simply collected plants and factories in a series without implementing measures to increase the productivity of each enterprise.

**COMPUTER SCIENCE.** No one would believe that North Korea has developed world-class computer software, according to Dr. Chan-Mo Park, professor of computer science and engineering at Pohang University of Science and Technology in South Korea. Yet, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's (DPRK) Silver Star Research Institute of Computer Technology developed software, the "Silver Go" program, which was the number one winner in the fourth FOST Cup

Computer Go Championship in Tokyo, defeating the United States, Great Britain, Japan, and South Korea in August 1998. North Korea had already developed the first-generation digital computer known as “Chonchin (Advance)-5500” in the 1960s and further developed the second-generation computer “Yongnam-san No. 1” in the 1970s. The 8-bit personal computer “Bong-Hwa 4-1” was manufactured in 1982 and was improved to a 32-bit PC in the 1980s. Thus, North Korea manufactured computers in the 1980s on the basis of the Z-80 computer model. In the 1990s, North Korea placed great emphasis on the development of computer software and sponsored national competitions for software development programs annually. The DPRK has concentrated on the development of computer-related personnel through educational programs. Kim Il Sung University, Kim Chaek Technical University, Pyongsong University of Science and Technology, and Pyongyang College of Electronic Technology, as well as other colleges and universities, have introduced a variety of educational programs in the fields of computer science. Even some high schools have introduced computer science programs. The First High School in the city of Pyongyang (q.v.) has a gifted-student program in the area of computer science and has experimented with educational programs in computer science for secondary schools. The research and development programs of computer software are carried out not only in the colleges and universities, but also in various institutes, such as the Pyongyang Information Center, the Korean Computer Center, the National Academy of Science (q.v.), the Silver Star Research Institute of Computer Technology, etc. An Information Technology (IT)-related search engine developed by the DPRK’s technology agency in 1997 now connects the computers of over 1,300 institutions nationwide, including government agencies, universities, industrial complexes, and research centers. The DPRK’s monthly magazine *Minjok 21* in its August 2001 edition introduced photos of the home page, which seems to have its basis in Microsoft’s Windows system. It displayed its *Kwangmyong* home page as being the first network ever in the DPRK. Its explorer is in Japanese because it is based on the Japanese version of Windows. The network home page named *Kwangmyong* means “bright star.” The DPRK has opened its Internet-based e-mail service, which allows foreigners to communicate with selected citizens. Launched on October 2001,

Silibank.com is relaying e-mails through two server systems located in the DPRK capital of Pyongyang and Shenyang in northeast China. Subscribers can freely exchange e-mails with DPRK citizens who own e-mail accounts provided by Silibank. *See also* E-MAIL SERVICE.

**CONSTITUTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA.** The Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) was proclaimed on September 8, 1948, when the DPRK was founded (see Appendix 1). It had 10 chapters and 104 articles. It was amended at the first session of the Third Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) (q.v.) on October 12, 1962. The Socialist Constitution of the DPRK was adopted at the first session of the Fifth SPA on December 27, 1972, which created the new post of state president. It contained 11 chapters and 149 articles. In the 1948 constitution, the premier served as the head of state. However, the constitutional amendment of April 9, 1992, created the National Defense Commission, by which the power to control the armed forces was transferred from the state president to the chairman of the National Defense Commission (q.v.), thus reducing the power of the state president. It contained 7 chapters and 171 articles. The constitutional revision at the first session of the Tenth SPA on September 5, 1998, brought about changes in the power structure when the position of the state president was abolished and Kim Il Sung (q.v.) was made the "eternal" state president of the DPRK. Kim Jong Il (q.v.) emerged as the successor to his father, and also became the single most powerful leader of North Korea when he was elected to the post of chairman of the National Defense Commission in September 1998, in addition to his position as the general secretary of the Korean Workers' Party (q.v.) to which he was elected in October 1997. The new socialist constitution contained 7 chapters and 166 articles. The three constitutional revisions of 1972, 1992, and 1998 changed not only the institutional arrangements of political power, but also the power structure of the DPRK.

**COOPERATIVE FARMS.** In North Korea today, the cooperative farms are under the control of the farm management committees in their counties, which are supervised by the rural economic management

committee in their province under the umbrella of the Agricultural Commission. *See also* AGRICULTURE.

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**DEFENSE SPORTS.** North Korean people are encouraged to strengthen their physical capabilities and promote health through military drills called “defense sports.” Clubs for defense sports are run in most areas, and local competitions are held three or four times a year. Competition divisions include hand-grenade throwing, marching on mountains, shooting, and river crossing.

**DEMILITARIZED ZONE (DMZ).** This zone was drawn by the United States, People’s Republic of China (q.v.), and North Korea at the time of the armistice agreement, which ended the Korean War (qq.v.) (1950–53) at Panmunjom on July 27, 1953. The DMZ separates North and South Korea by 4 kilometers (approximately 1.4 miles) and extends 248 kilometers (155 miles) along the 38th parallel from the east coast to the west coast. This zone has been preserved as the natural boundary of the two Koreas since 1953. During the past 45 years, this area has been left untouched by humans while nature reclaimed the zone. It is now a sanctuary for rare birds, animals, and plants and exists as a last vestige of Korea’s natural state.

**DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR THE REUNIFICATION OF THE FATHERLAND (DFRF).** This organization was formed on June 25, 1949, under the instructions of Kim Il Sung (q.v.). The DFRF is regarded as the brilliant embodiment of Kim Il Sung’s thought regarding the United Front. It was founded with peasant-worker alliances at its base and the Korean Workers’ Party (q.v.) as the driving force. During the period of peaceful construction, the DFRF contributed greatly to the struggle to rally all the patriotic capabilities in South Korea around Great Leader Kim Il Sung and to crush the U.S. schemes to alienate the nation. Today, the DFRF is engaged in “a vigorous struggle to bring together the socialist capability of the North and all the anti-imperialist forces in the South for the realization of the fatherland’s reunification (q.v).”

**DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA (DPRK).**

The DPRK was founded on September 9, 1948, with the "People's Democratic Constitution" as its basis. However, the constitutional revision in 1972 to the "Socialist Constitution" brought about a change in the nature of the North Korean political system from a "people's democracy" to socialism. The 1972 constitution (q.v.), which was adopted at the first session of the Fifth Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) (q.v.) on December 27, 1972, stated in Article 4, "The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is guided in its activities by the *Juche* idea of the Korean Workers' Party (qq.v.) which is a creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea." The constitutional amendment of 1992, however, eliminated the term "Marxism-Leninism" from the constitution and added an Article 3 to the effect that "The Democratic People's Republic of Korea makes *Juche* ideology, a revolutionary ideology with a people-centered view of the world that aims toward the realization of the independence of the masses, the guiding principle of its actions." In the 1972 constitution, the state president was the most powerful position, in which was concentrated all the authority of the state. However, in the 1992 constitution, the state power was divided between the state president and the chairman of the National Defense Commission (q.v.), thus reducing the power and authority of the state president. In the 1998 constitution, the position of the state president was abolished and the chairman of the National Defense Commission became the most powerful position in North Korea. Under the 1972 constitution, the political power was concentrated in the hands of Kim Il Sung (q.v.), but the creation of the National Defense Commission by the SPA in 1990 divided the authority between the Central People's Committee (CPC) (q.v.) and the National Defense Commission. The CPC was headed by the state president and functioned as the cabinet (q.v.). The Administrative Council (q.v.), which was created by the 1972 constitution, functioned as the administrative organization of the SPA, a North Korean version of parliament. The constitutional amendment of 1998, however, abolished both the CPC and the Administrative Committee and created a new cabinet system. The DPRK is symbolically headed by the chairman of the Presidium (Standing Committee) of the SPA (Kim Yong-nam); the cabinet is led by the premier (Hong Sung-nam)

and two deputy premiers (Cho Chang-dok and Kwak Bom-gi) and has 27 cabinet posts. The cabinet took over most of the functions of the CPC, which was abolished by the 1998 constitution. The cabinet is composed of the premier, deputy premiers, and ministers, including the heads of the Academy of Science (q.v.) and the Central Bank. The cabinet is empowered to control not only commissions and ministries, but also local people's committees. It also institutes, amends, and supplements regulations concerning the state management system.

### **DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA POLICY OF KIM DAE-JUNG.**

South Korean President Kim Dae-jung was elected by a slim margin on December 19, 1997, and inaugurated on February 25, 1998. He made a major departure from traditional Republic of Korea (ROK) policy by seeking coexistence with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). By doing so, he wanted to reduce the tensions on the Korean Peninsula and encourage a gradual system transformation in the north similar to that taking place in China and Vietnam. Kim Dae-jung believed that the DPRK had sent signals to him during the post-election transition period that it would look favorably on a "personal" channel for secret dealings, but he rejected the idea because the secret dealings of his predecessor were "not productive." President Kim's decision to accept coexistence with the DPRK should settle the debate in the U.S. Congress and elsewhere about whether preservation of the DPRK is a legitimate interim outcome. He added, "Supplying food to North Korea's starving millions, as Washington is doing, helps prop up that regime, but is essential for inescapable humanitarian reasons." President Kim Dae-jung on February 12, 1999, in an interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, gave a positive assessment about the possibility of rapprochement with the DPRK. He stated, "North Korea is showing positive signs as well as negative signs," mentioning that the good must be "seriously considered" along with the bad. "If you look at the attitude of North Korea," he added, "we cannot unilaterally say they are not cooperating with us, but you can't say for sure they are coming with an attitude of dialogue." Regarding the DPRK's missile production, Kim argued, "As a sovereign nation, North Korea has never promised that it won't develop missiles (q.v.), and they have no obligation to anyone

not to. The United States is very concerned, and Japan (q.v.) is reacting hysterically.” As positive signs in the DPRK, he cited “aggressive participation” in the four-party peace talks, which meant a “narrowing of differences of opinion” regarding inspections of underground construction sites; resumption of Military Armistice Commission talks; introduction of the private sale of agricultural products; 110 DPRK students being sent overseas to study under World Bank and U.N. sponsorship; permission for ROK citizens to visit Mt. Kumgang; and the recent proposal for direct dialogue with the ROK. Kim stressed, “Now we have continuing contact with them for the first time.” He said that there is “no alternative” to a policy of dialogue, and that “all the countries in the world,” including the United States, Japan, Russia, and the People’s Republic of China (qq.v.), agree. Thus, his Sunshine Policy would lead to peaceful existence between the north and the south, which would bring about the reunification of the two Koreas if the United States abandoned economic sanctions and established diplomatic relations, and if Japan also normalized relations with the DPRK. The engagement policy thus ushered in a new period in the North-South Korean relations, and there were periodic talks between both sides and economic, cultural, and personal exchanges took place. By 2001, however, the results seemed to be fairly limited, and there was growing dissatisfaction with the policy in South Korea while North Korea seemed to be showing less interest.

**DESPERATE MARCH FOR SOCIALISM.** The editorials of *Rodong Shinmun*, the official newspaper of the Korean Workers’ Party (q.v.), as well as other North Korean newspapers, used the slogans “Desperate March for Socialism” and “Painful March Under Trial,” which were designed to overcome urgent economic difficulties. On June 8, 1998, North Korea introduced the slogan “Desperate March for Socialism,” in an editorial in *Rodong Shinmun* entitled “Let Us Push Ahead with a March for Socialism As the Only Way We Korean People Can Survive and Accomplish Socialism.” This slogan, along with the slogan “Spirit of the Revolutionary Army,” was used as a means to accomplish the ultimate victory of socialism in North Korea. The slogans “Spirit of Kanggye” and “Today’s Spirit of *Chollima*” are meant to encourage North Koreans to engage actively in the “Desperate March for Socialism.” All these slogans

are North Korea's effort to inculcate the ideology of socialism in order to overcome the economic crisis of 1995–98 during which flood and draught brought about famine (q.v.) and food shortages.

**DOWN-WITH-IMPERIALISM LEAGUE.** This is an anti-Japanese youth organization created by Kim Il Sung (q.v.) in 1926 when he was 14 in Manchuria. The charter of the Korean Workers' Party (q.v.) states that "Comrade Kim Il Sung founded the Down-with-Imperialism League, the first revolutionary Communist organization, to provide the organizational and ideological base for the establishment of a Communist party, and to set up the glorious Workers' Party based on it." An editorial in *Rodong Shinmun* on October 17, 1996, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the League, stressed that "The biggest legacy of the League is socialism of our own style." North Korea attached great significance to the league because of its claim that Kim Il Sung's revolutionary career originated in the league, but no historical documents have been discovered to back up Pyongyang's claim.

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**ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLANS.** See ECONOMIC GROWTH.

**ECONOMIC GROWTH.** The North Korean economy is basically a planned economy. North Korea has undertaken a series of economic development plans since the inauguration of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in 1948. These plans included a three year-plan (1954–56), a five-year plan, which started in 1957, but ended in four years (1957–60), the first seven-year plan (1961–67), a six-year plan (1971–76), the second seven-year plan (1978–84), the third seven-year plan (1987–93), and a three-year plan (1994–96). North Korea claimed that all these plans were successfully completed, the development goals were achieved, and an average annual economic growth rate of 8 to 10 percent had been registered during the plan periods except the 1990s. However, North Korea has been afflicted by flood and draught and continued to appeal for foreign



food aid since 1995. Thus, the North Korean economy has registered negative growth in real terms for the period of 1990–97. North Korea announced the per capita Gross National Product (GNP) in U.S. dollars beginning with US\$ 1,920 in 1979; US\$ 2,200 in 1982; US\$ 2,400 in 1987; US\$ 2,530 in 1988; and US\$ 2,460 in 1991. Thus, the average per capita GNP was US\$ 2,000 in the 1990s. The Bank of Korea in Seoul, however, estimated the GNP of North Korea for 1997 at US\$ 17.7 billion, and the population in 1997 was 23.85 million; thus, the per capita GNP was estimated at US\$ 741 in 1997. Compared to this, the per capita GNP for South Korea was US\$ 9,511 in 1997. North Korea's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was estimated at US\$ 22 billion in 1997. North Korea has now gone through more than a decade of economic decline. The continuing economic crisis was caused by several factors, particularly the rigid autarchy and ideologically oriented central planning that created poor economic performance at home. The growth rate of the North Korean economy has gradually diminished since 1990. Measured on the basis of the GDP, the North Korean economy registered negative growth of 3.7 percent in 1990, minus 5.1 percent in 1991, minus 7.7 percent in 1992, minus 4.3 percent in 1993, minus 1.7 percent in 1994, and minus 4.6 percent in 1997. North Korean factories are operating at less than 30 percent of their capacity on average, mainly because of a shortage of energy and raw materials. One of the hardest hit sectors of the economy was the agriculture, forestry, and fishery sector, whose production, measured in constant U.S. dollars, decreased 5.8 percent in 1997 from the preceding year, and harvested 3.48 million metric tons of grains, which is far short of its needed 5 million metric tons of food grain. Another key factor of the economic crisis was an unbalanced development strategy, which gave priority to heavy industry with a special focus on armaments. Thus excessive military expenditure is draining the light and consumer industries. North Korea's military expenditure in 1994 represented 26.7 percent of its GNP, which was US\$ 5.76 billion out of a total US\$ 21.2 billion, while 11.6 percent of the national budget was allocated to national defense. Since 1995, North Korea has not announced a government budget due to the economic crisis.

The Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (q.v.) plenary session was convened in December 1993 to assess the third seven-year

economic development plan and reported that the planned goal was not achieved due largely to the international environment. During the plan period, the Cold War ended and the communist system in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe collapsed, which in turn brought about a reduction of economic assistance to and trade with North Korea.

When North Korea adopted the *Juche* ideology (q.v.), which advocated independence in politics, self-reliance in economy, and self-defense in national security, during the height of the Sino-Soviet conflict, the Soviet Union's economic assistance to and China's trade with North Korea halted. Thus, in an attempt to be free from Soviet economic assistance, North Korea bought plants with billions of dollars in loans from Western countries in the initial stage of the second seven-year economic development plan. However, North Korea was unable to manage the industrial plants and produce industrial goods of high quality that could be exported to earn foreign currency. Thus, it defaulted on the foreign loans. For the first time, North Korea had to admit that the third seven-year economic plan failed.

Furthermore, the three-year economic plan (1994–96) has not been completed due largely to the death of the leader Kim Il Sung (q.v.) in July 1994 and the three-year mourning period that followed. Thus, nobody will know the future direction of the North Korean economy until new economic development plans are formulated and implemented. *See also* AGRICULTURE; INDUSTRY; MINING.

**ECONOMIC STRUCTURE.** This terminology appeared in an editorial of *Rodong Shinmun*, the Korean Workers' Party (q.v.) newspaper, on September 17, 1998, under the heading, "Let Us Maintain to the Last the Policy to Construct an Independent National Economy." The editorial defined the "economic structure of our own style" in terms of a self-sufficient economy with powerful heavy industry at its core and all economic sectors well balanced. Warning against the "imperialist plot" to lure North Korea toward reform and an open-door policy, the editorial stressed, "We have incessantly improved and still continue to improve the economic management in our own style under the principle of *Juche* (q.v.). For us there is nothing to reform and open anew." This editorial is reverting to the economic policy of the 1960s when the Pyongyang government launched a policy of the priority development of heavy industry along with the program to de-

velop its military strength. This slogan is a calculated assertion by the hardliners in their debate with the moderate reformers to reverse the economic policy of “agriculture first, light industry first, trade first” adopted by the three-year economic plan (1994–96). *See also* INDUSTRY.

**EDUCATION.** North Korea adopted a system of 11 years of compulsory education. The government is responsible for paying all educational costs and students receive free education. Preschool education lasts one or two years, elementary education lasts four years, and then the middle and high school last six years. A student enters the two-year preschool at the age of four, moves to the four-year elementary school (called “People’s School”) at the age of six, and then attends the six-year high schools, which are all compulsory. The entrance into college or university is determined by academic achievement in high school, as well as the students’ social background. The sons and daughters of Korean Workers’ Party (KWP) (q.v.) cadres are given priority entrance into Kim Il Sung University, whose prestige is comparable to that of Seoul National University in the South or the University of Tokyo in Japan. The power elite of North Korea in the KWP, the government, and the military are drawn from the graduates of Kim Il Sung University. However, the scientists, technicians, and professional manpower are recruited from the graduates of the colleges and universities of science and technology established in various provinces. The national achievement tests for college and university entrance, which the students are required to take when they reach the sixth year of high school, are offered in May of each year. The examination results with the scores and ranking are announced by the province, city, and county education board. On the basis of the achievement tests, the province, city, and county offices of the education committee assign the students to various colleges and universities. In early July of each year, the students are informed of their assigned colleges and universities and they take the entrance examination at the end of July. One important part of the examination is to write an essay on the “Revolutionary History of Comrade Kim Jong Il (q.v.),” as well as English language, Korean language, and mathematics tests. The students are informed of their test score by the end of September. The entrance examination to the colleges and universities are so competitive

that 1 out of 7 applicants to the engineering college and 1 out of 10 to the medical colleges is selected. High-school graduates who fail the college entrance examination have no other choice but compulsory military service. After military service, such students are allowed to take the college entrance examination again. Thus, the college entrance examination usually determines the students' future career. After graduating from college, students are assigned to the work force by the local committees of the KWP. At the time of North Korea's establishment in 1948, two thirds of all school children did not attend primary school, and some 2.3 million adults were illiterate. In 1950, primary education became compulsory. However, the outbreak of the Korean War (q.v.) in June 1950 delayed this goal, and universal primary education was not achieved until 1956. By 1958 North Korea implemented seven-year compulsory primary and secondary education. In 1959 "state financed universal education" was introduced in all schools; not only instruction and educational facilities but also textbooks, uniforms, and room and board were provided to students without charge. By 1967, North Korea implemented nine-year compulsory education, and in 1975 the compulsory 11-year system was introduced, which includes 1 year of preschool education and 10 years of primary and secondary education. This system remains in effect. *See also* SOCIALIST EDUCATION.

**E-MAIL SERVICE.** The Associated Press reported that Silibank.com, a company based in Shenyang in northeastern People's Republic of China (PRC) and supported by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) government, said it installed server computers in Pyongyang (q.v.) in early October 2001 and is running an experimental e-mail service. Government agencies or other official organizations said the service is limited for now to only those who want to exchange e-mails with DPRK companies. A Silibank.com official in Shenyang said in an interview that e-mail service for ordinary DPRK citizens is being discussed with authorities in Pyongyang. Silibank.com said it has only 10 subscribers so far for its service. During the experimental phase, Silibank.com will transmit e-mails in and out of the DPRK only once every hour. *See also* COMPUTER SCIENCE.

**EMPLOYMENT.** An individual in North Korea has no freedom to choose his or her occupation because jobs are assigned by the local committees of the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) (q.v.). If graduates are selected to work in the KWP or a government organization, their housing and livelihood are guaranteed. However, the most popular occupations among students are technician, office worker, school-teacher, or the professional military. Even more desirable is work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a diplomat or in the Office of the Trading Company, which would enable travel abroad and the earning of U.S. dollars. Moreover, these workers receive the priority assignment of an apartment, which is a luxury because there is a shortage of housing in Pyongyang (q.v.). The job assignment of college graduates in Pyongyang is conducted by the College Cadres Department of the KWP and the job assignments of local and community college graduates are usually conducted by the relevant departments of the provincial government. *See also* EDUCATION.

**ENERGY SUPPLY.** The energy supply in North Korea, which totaled 27.3 million tons of oil equivalent (TOE) in 1990, according to the Republic of Korea (ROK) Ministry of National Unification, fell to 14.7 million TOE for 1997, compared with 179.8 million TOE for South Korea. The energy supply in 1997, it was estimated, comprised 10.3 million TOE in coal, 0.96 million TOE in oil, 2.66 million TOE in electric power, and 0.78 million TOE in other energy sources. Thus, coal is the major source which constitutes 70 percent of the energy supply in North Korea, compared with 19.1 percent in South Korea. North Korea's excessive dependence on coal surfaced when its coal production decreased from 37.5 million tons in 1985 to 20.6 million tons in 1997. Power generation in thermal power plants in 1994 was estimated at 9.3 kilowatt hours (kwh), compared with an estimated 12.8 billion kwh in 1985. This situation has led North Korea to build more hydraulic power stations in recent years. The share of hydraulic power plants in the energy supply rose from an estimated 50.2 percent in 1980 to 56.3 percent in 1990 and 55.4 percent in 1997. North Korea has no other option but to construct hydraulic power plants because it cannot afford to purchase oil to fuel power plants. Another source of energy supply is the nuclear reactors that North Korea constructed in the 1990s. *See also* NUCLEAR ENERGY.

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**FAMINE.** The population of North Korea has suffered famine and food shortage since 1995 due largely to three years of flood and draught, which started on July 30th and lasted until August 18th in 1995, returning in 1996 and again in 1997. However, the food shortage was caused by the failure of North Korea's agricultural policy. Following the historic flood of 1995, the World Food Organization (WFO) and other international relief agencies conducted a survey of the flood damage and the causes of the food shortage. Various international organizations carried out research on the agrarian situation in North Korea. North Korea had already been facing food shortages at least since the early 1990s and it is still experiencing a famine of unknown severity. U.S. congressional staffs who visited North Korea reported that from 1995 to 1998 between 900,000 and 2.4 million people had died from starvation or hunger-related illnesses with deaths peaking in 1997. Nongovernmental organizations, extrapolating from interviews with refugees in China and observations on the ground, have produced estimates of famine-related deaths on the order of 2.8 to 3.5 million. The causes of the food shortage may be traced back to the implementation of the so-called *Juche* method of agriculture (q.v.), which clung to the traditional method of self-reliance rather than improving farming technology and management. The *Chongsan-ri* method (q.v.), which was introduced by Kim Il Sung (q.v.) in 1963, did not increase agricultural production in the 1960s. It is estimated that North Korea needs five million metric tons of food each year to feed its population, but it produced only 3.69 million tons in 1996 and 3.49 million tons in 1997. The shortage of food has been estimated at two to three million tons since 1995. To alleviate the food crisis in North Korean, Vice Premier Hong Sung-nam (q.v.) (now premier of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea [DPRK] since September 1998) visited China (q.v.) in 1996 to solicit food relief. China committed to provide more than two million tons of grain: 500,000 tons of grain each year from 1995 to 1998. The United States (q.v.) also provided 300,000 tons of grain in 1996 and one million tons of food grain: 500,000 tons in 1997 and 1998. In the Republic of Korea (ROK) (q.v.), more than 2,200 private relief organizations sprang up in 1995 and delivered US\$ 43 million worth of relief goods

through the Korean Red Cross and the International Red Cross. The South Korean government has also delivered US\$ 270 million worth of relief goods to North Korea during the 1995–98 period. The food shortage in North Korea, however, is showing signs of easing, according to a ROK government report. In 1998 the DPRK began to distribute food donated from international relief agencies to its citizens. In the past it had provided international relief food mainly to its military personnel and security-related officials. The expansion of the beneficiaries was made at the instruction of the DPRK supreme leader Kim Jong Il (q.v.) in December 1998. Kim ordered the DPRK authorities not to delay food rationing beyond 12 days after the date they already set and to observe bimonthly distribution dates. The expanded food distribution in North Korea has resulted in a sharp reduction of the price of rice on the black markets mainly in the border areas of North Korea and China. The Korean Central News Agency (KCNA) reported in January 1999 that the people of the DPRK over the past year (1998) had overcome the damage caused by natural disasters. The report said that the people “have risen up like a phoenix to build a powerful nation despite numerous trials.” The United Nations (q.v.), however, predicted that famine would persist in the DPRK despite massive supplies of food aid. The United Nations appealed for US\$ 376 million in aid in 1999 to alleviate the food shortages and health problems resulting from prolonged malnutrition. After five years of famine and food shortage, the World Food Program and other relief agencies concluded in 2001 that the food supply in North Korea has greatly improved in 2000 and 2001, and the DPRK stepped up the increase of food production by introducing the farmer’s responsibility system following the Chinese model of increasing agricultural production and enriching the farmers.

**FARMERS’ MARKETS.** All farms are collectivized in North Korea and all farmers work on collective, cooperative, or state-owned farms. However, the farmers are now allowed to plant vegetables and raise chickens on private plots around their residences and keep or sell the produce on the free market. To balance the distribution of farm products, North Korea operates “farmers’ market” in rural areas. However, these markets have often been turned into black markets, where not only farm products, but also various other goods are exchanged.

Outside analysts have speculated that the farmers' market might be a path to a market economy, a symbol of capitalism. China (q.v.) started the peasant market in the 1970s, which was gradually converted into a free market for the exchange and trading of farm products in rural areas. The North Korean government admitted that the farmers' markets and the black markets, which are on the increase, are needed because the government is not able to supply the people with proper rations of food and daily necessities. The farmers' market opened once a month in 1995, but because the food crisis was not likely to be resolved, the government encouraged the opening of a daily market. People can buy farm products from rice to vegetables at the farmers' market. However, they have to pay high prices; vendors charge three times the food ration for the purchase of rice. The farmers' market is not truly a free market because the price of commodities is strictly controlled by the government. The farm products sold on the farmers' market came from private plots or the farmers hide some of their farm products after delivery to the government. In 1996 North Korean officials allowed government offices and individuals to acquire their own food. Thus, the farmers' market became the source of food supply. It is estimated that there are about 300 to 350 farmers' markets scattered throughout North Korea. There are one or two farmers' markets in every county and three to five in every city. The reason why the number of farmers' markets has increased in recent years is that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) government had to supplement the official channels of distributing farm products, which did not meet the demand among the population. Originally, the produce of private plots was sold on the farmers' market and a variety of goods, including industrial goods and liquor, were freely exchanged and sold at the farmers' market. The commodities sold on the farmers' market consist of private products, goods transferred from official channels, and the goods smuggled in from China and other border areas. The price of the commodities is determined by supply and demand. *See also* AGRICULTURE.

**FATHERLAND LIBERATION WAR.** *See* KOREAN WAR.

**FISCAL MANAGEMENT.** The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) convened its first session of the Tenth Supreme People's



Assembly (SPA) (q.v.) in September 1998. The Ninth SPA ended in 1994. However, the election of SPA members was delayed for three years of mourning after Kim Il Sung (q.v.) died in July 1994. Therefore, there was no announcement of national budgets for these years, indicating the serious difficulties in fiscal management. The budget bill for fiscal 1994 set the target for revenues and expenditures at US\$ 19.3 billion and US\$ 19.2 billion respectively. The fiscal share in Gross National Product (GNP) was 89.2 percent in 1994. This compares with 73.7 percent in 1965, 84.6 percent in 1975, and 74.3 percent in 1985. The share was very high when compared with 64.0 percent in 1989 for Hungary, 50.7 percent in 1991 for Russia, 22.0 percent in 1988 for China, and 21.9 percent in 1990 for South Korea. The share of military expenditure in the national budget topped 32.4 percent in 1968, and then decreased to 11.6 percent in 1994. However, some observers believe North Korea is window-dressing to conceal its actual military expenditures. The Bank of Korea in Seoul estimated North Korea's military expenditure in 1994 at US\$ 5.76 billion. This share represented 30.0 percent of the total budget and 27.2 percent of GNP. The comparable ratios for South Korea for 1994 were 24.2 percent, and 3.3 percent, respectively.

**FIVE-HOUSEHOLD SYSTEM.** This system was developed in 1967 when Kim Il Sung (q.v.) mentioned that he made a field trip to a village in North Pyongan Province. He stated, "If each cadre member of the Party can be responsible for guiding five households in carrying out indoctrination and economic projects, everything will be successful" (*Nodong Shinmun*, September 13, 1967). The Five-Household Team was explained by *Kulloja* (November 1962), the monthly magazine of the Korean Workers' Party (q.v.), in that "Since the leader of the team is endowed with the responsibility for supervising only about five households, he will be easily acquainted with information concerning the activities and ideological status of every member of the households. This system is thus designed to cover everything from production activities to house work and from children's affairs to those of adults." This system, consisting of five households each in a village, grew to become a powerful political surveillance mechanism operating at the village level. Its functions were increased in the early 1970s when North and South Korea conducted the Red Cross Talks

and the North-South Korea Dialogues were carried out by the South-North Coordinating Committee. In the 1990s, this system was still functioning and a three-day conference of the leaders of the Five-Household Team was convened in Pyongyang (q.v.) on March 21, 1990, with the participation of Vice President Li Jong-ok and other high-ranking officials. Kim Il Sung met the participants to “encourage them” (North Korean Central Broadcasting Station, March 23, 1990). This system was still in operation as of 2001.

**FIVE-POINT JOINT DECLARATION.** *See* NORTH-SOUTH KOREA RELATIONS.

**FIVE-POINT PRINCIPLE FOR ALL-KOREA UNITY.** To commemorate the 50th anniversary of the joint conference of the political parties and social organizations from the south and north, a conference was convened in Pyongyang (q.v.) on April 18, 1998. North Korean leader Kim Jong Il (q.v.) sent a letter entitled “Let Us Accomplish the Fatherland’s Unification in Independence and Peace by Uniting All-Korea,” thus generating this principle. The five points are (1) national independence, (2) all-Korea unity, (3) improved inter-Korean relations, (4) opposition to foreign domination and struggles against elements opposing the unification of Korea, and (5) contacts and talks between all Koreans and their alliance. This is the unification policy Kim Jong Il enunciated for the first time. However, this policy is somewhat similar to the Ten-Point Guiding Principle for All Korea Unity (q.v.), which was announced by his father Kim Il Sung (q.v.) in April 1993. *See also* REUNIFICATION.

**FOREIGN RELATIONS.** When the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) was founded on September 9, 1948, the first country to recognize it as a legitimate government was the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and all the Eastern European countries followed suit in 1948. China (q.v.) recognized the DPRK in October 1949. Over the years, DPRK established relations with many Western European and third-world countries. Thus, North Korea maintained diplomatic relations with more than 134 countries in the 1970s and 1980s; the Republic of Korea (ROK) (q.v.) had diplomatic relations with only a few more countries than North Korea during the height of

diplomatic competition over the recognition of North or South Korea by the international community of nations. However, more than 90 countries recognized both North and South Korea in the 1970s and 1980s. The DPRK closed 14 of its overseas missions in 1998, according to the ROK Ministry of Foreign and Trade Affairs. Most of these were in Africa, where North Korea shut embassies and consulates in Ghana, Senegal, Algeria, Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Togo, and Mali. The DPRK also closed missions in Denmark, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Finland, Jordan, and Pakistan, and downgraded its diplomatic offices in Romania and Yemen. The number of DPRK missions abroad in 1999–2000 stood at 54, down from 68 in 1997. The reduction of diplomatic missions was in line with the DPRK's announcement in March 1998 that it would reduce foreign operations until food shortages eased and economic conditions improved. However, in 2001, the DPRK established diplomatic relations with 12 EU countries (except Belgium), as well as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and others. The DPRK proclaimed in its Constitution (q.v.), "The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is an independent socialist state representing the interests of all the Korean people" (Article 1). Thus, North Korea does not recognize the existence of the ROK because it claims that it is the sole legitimate government on the Korean Peninsula. Therefore, all the diplomatic efforts over the past half-century have been directed at discrediting the legitimacy of the ROK government, an effort that has expended enormous numbers of resources. However, an increasing number of nations around the world have recognized both North and South Korea, and the two Koreas were admitted to the United Nations (q.v.) in 1991 as separate and independent nations.

The development of foreign relations in the DPRK may be divided into seven periods:

1. Period of alliance with the Soviet Union (1945–50)
2. Alliance with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China (PRC) (1950–56)
3. Sino-Soviet conflict (1956–61)
4. Close alliance with China (1962–64)
5. Improving relations with the Soviet Union (1965–68)
6. Independent policy line and the Equal Distance Policy (1968–89)
7. Improving relations with the United States (1990–)

When the DPRK was established on September 9, 1948, the Soviet Union (q.v.) immediately recognized it as the sole legitimate government on the Korean Peninsula and provided economic and technical assistance. China also recognized North Korea on October 6, 1949, after the PRC was founded on October 1, 1949. Thus, the close relations with the two communist allies were maintained during the Korean War (q.v.) (1950–53) because the Chinese People’s Volunteer Forces were sent in to rescue the collapsing North Korea when it encountered resistance by the U.N. forces in 1950. China increased its influence in North Korea following the conclusion of the armistice agreement in July 27, 1953, and in subsequent years when the influence of the Soviet Union declined. The relations between North Korea and China became very close when Nikita Khrushchev carried out his detente policy with the United States. In 1962, when the Soviet Union withdrew its missiles from Cuba after the Cuban Missile Crisis, North Korea could no longer count on the Soviet leadership to protect its security. Thus, North Korean–Soviet relations cooled, and the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries halted economic and military assistance to North Korea.

The first seven-year economic development plan (1961–67) failed to achieve its goals due largely to the severance of economic assistance by the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries. About 70 percent of foreign aid to North Korea came from the Soviet bloc countries. Thus, North Korea attempted to improve its relations with the Soviet Union in 1965 by inviting Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin to Pyongyang (q.v.) on his way home from a visit to North Vietnam. At the same time, North Korean relations with China had deteriorated because of the Cultural Revolution, during which the Red Guard criticized the situation in North Korea in January 1967. The wall posters of the Red Guard on February 4, 1967, reported that “Kim Il Sung (q.v.) was arrested” and also criticized Premier Kim Il Sung for being a “millionaire, nobleman, and a big bourgeois.” North Korea declared an “Independent Foreign Policy” on August 12, 1968, and criticized China for being dogmatist or doctrinaire. North Korean relations with China began to improve in 1969 when the Cultural Revolution ended.

Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai visited North Korea in April 1970 and announced a Joint Communiqué with Premier Kim Il Sung. The main

points of the joint communiqué included (1) recognizing the Chinese–North Korean relations sealed with fresh blood; (2) cooperating with each other to carry out the anti-American struggle; and (3) recognizing that Japanese and American Imperialism are common enemies and carrying the struggle against them out jointly. However, the Sino–North Korean relationship faced new problems when U.S. President Richard Nixon visited China in February 1972 and normalized diplomatic relations between Beijing and Washington. When Nixon arrived in China, North Korea dispatched Foreign Minister Ho Dam to Moscow and Eastern Europe to improve diplomatic relations. In the 1970s and 1980s, however, North Korea attempted to expand its diplomatic relations with third-world countries while maintaining an equal-distance diplomacy with the Soviet Union and China.

During the different phases of big power relations, such as the Sino-Soviet conflict, the Soviet-American detente, and the normalization of Sino-American relations in the 1960s and 1970s, North Korea was unable to cope with the changing environment of international politics. North Korea was so isolated and rigid in its perception of the outside world that it was unable to adapt itself to the Soviet *perestroika* or to the reform and opening of China. To avoid diplomatic pressure from the Soviet Union or China, North Korea maintained an equal-distance diplomacy by declaring an independent and self-reliant foreign policy. To check and balance the Soviet and Chinese influence and exert pressure, North Korea attempted to play one off the other, but was a “shrimp trapped in the struggle between the two giant whales.” To counter the Sino-Soviet competition for influence in Pyongyang, the North Korean leadership developed the strategy of maintaining a balanced diplomacy while soliciting the support of the nonaligned countries or the United States. *See also* JAPAN, FOREIGN RELATIONS WITH; REUNIFICATION.

**FOUR-PARTY PEACE TALKS.** The four-party peace talks were proposed by the United States (q.v.) and South Korea during President Bill Clinton’s Seoul visit in April 1996 to establish a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula and conclude a peace treaty to end the Korean War (q.v.) (1950–53). The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) had proposed in the past that the armistice be replaced by a peace treaty between North Korea and the United States. The first

round of plenary four-party peace talks, involving North Korea, South Korea, the United States, and China (q.v.) was held in Geneva on December 9–10, 1997, after a series of four preparatory meetings from August to November 1997. Expectations were modest when the first round of peace talks opened. Delegates said only that they hoped to reach an agreement on the framework for discussions, narrow down the agenda, and set a date for a fresh round of talks. The first round of peace talks, however, did not accomplish much because North Korea demanded the withdrawal of the 37,000 U.S. troops stationed in South Korea. North Korea was unable to agree with the United States on issues related to the organization of the work under the agreed agenda, which was to replace the armistice agreement with a permanent peace structure and to reduce tensions on the Korean Peninsula. In a keynote speech on December 9, the chief Chinese delegate called for a normalization of U.S.–North Korean relations as well as for a “relaxation of tension between the two sides of the peninsula through dialogues.” The second round was held in Geneva on March 16–21, 1998, but failed to reach an agreement on the agenda due to North Korea’s insistence that the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea be a key item on the agenda. The agreed agenda was, according to a U.S. government spokesman, to replace the armistice with a permanent peace structure and to reduce tensions on the Korean Peninsula. However, a spokesman for the DPRK Foreign Ministry on March 23, 1998, blamed the United States for the lack of progress. The spokesman added that the DPRK wanted separate talks with the United States to discuss a bilateral peace treaty and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Korean Peninsula. He stated, “Through the talks, we realized again that, first of all, we should sit together with the United States to solve the matter of discontinuing its hostile policy toward the DPRK.” The third round of peace talks was held on October 21, 1998, in Geneva when North Korea agreed to establish two subcommittees to deal with the questions of establishing a peace regime on the peninsula and reducing tension there. South Korean delegate Park Kun-woo referred to the agreement as “big progress” and the head of the Chinese delegation, Qian Yongnian, labeled it a “tangible result.” The United States and South Korea at the first round of peace talks in December 1997 had proposed to set up two subcommittees for efficient proceedings,

but North Korea insisted on including the question of U.S. troop withdrawals and a peace treaty in the agenda of the four-way peace talks prior to establishing the two subcommittees. However, North Korea accepted the two subcommittees on the condition that the two questions of U.S. troop withdrawals and the peace treaty would be included in the agenda of the fourth round. The fourth round of the four-party peace talk was convened on January 18–22, 1999, in Geneva and agreed on the operating procedures of the two subcommittees: a peace system subcommittee and a tension reduction subcommittee. The four-party talks, which were held three times in 1999, were led by the two subcommittees. The peace system subcommittee discussed the topics of the parties concerned, the process of establishing the peace system, and a guarantee of such a peace system, while the tension reduction subcommittee dealt with the tension reduction and programs for building confidence. However, North Korea's attitude throughout these meetings, which focused on the DPRK-U.S. talks, affected the progress of the four-party meetings. By the time the fourth four-party talks began on January 18–22, 1999, North Korea had talks with the United States for issues of the Kumchang-ri underground nuclear development site, and the two countries negotiated on the missile (q.v.) test issue almost simultaneously with the sixth four-party talks in August 5–9, 1999. The four countries agreed on the procedures to be followed by the subcommittees in the fourth meeting. They agreed, first, to make decisions based on a unanimous consensus; second, to transfer those issues that could not be resolved by the subcommittee meetings; and third, to express opinions freely in the subcommittee meetings. However, the four-party talks were unable to find a point of compromise because South Korea and the United States intended to create an atmosphere for peace settlement through confidence building, whereas North Korea pressed for the withdrawal of U.S. military forces from Korea and the conclusion of the U.S.-DPRK peace treaty before any other matters were settled. The fifth (April 24–27) and sixth (August 5–9) four-party meetings took place, but they were not able to reach an agreement. The positions of the U.S.–South Korean side and North Korea deadlocked.

**FOUR-POINT MILITARY POLICY.** The Korean Workers' Party (KWP) (q.v.) adopted the fundamental military policy in December

1962 during its fifth session of the Fourth Central Committee (q.v.) of the KWP. “The armament of the entire population” was aiming at the military training of the entire population, thus establishing military-oriented command channels in every sector of life, from industrial plants to rural villages. “The unification of the entire population” was designed to convert the whole country into a barracks-style camp. During the height of the Sino-Soviet conflict in the 1960s, North Korea adopted this military policy line because it was not able to receive any economic or military assistance from the Soviet Union (q.v.) as a result of having taken a pro-China stand during the period of Sino-Soviet border disputes over Qingdao Island in the Ussuri River. This military policy was, in many respects, a return to a self-reliance and self-defense policy along with other economic policies based on *Juche* ideology.

**FOUR PROJECTS FOR NATURE REMAKING.** The Korean Workers’ Party (KWP) (q.v.) presented the four projects for nature remaking during the fourth session of the Sixth Central Committee (q.v.) in October 1981. This proposal includes the West Sea Lock Gate. This was a project to construct a lock gate in the estuary of Taedong River. The construction began in May 1981 prior to the KWP’s announcement of the nature-remaking project. However, it was completed in June 1986 by constructing an eight-kilometer sea wall and three lock gates and three dams in the estuary. The project reportedly cost US\$ 4 billion. Another major project was the Taechon Hydroelectric Power Station. This project has been designed to construct five power plants along the tributaries of the Taedong River near Taechon County, North Pyongan Province. It was launched in 1983, and, when completed, the plants will have a generating capacity of 746,000 kilowatts, according to North Korean authorities. The project was reported to have been completed 60 percent, but there was no further report on this project. Two other projects are the reclamation of 300,000 *jongbo* (735,000 acres) of tideland and the formation of 200,000 *jongbo* (490,000 acres) of new arable land. The progress on these projects is reported to have been slow, however, due largely to the labor shortage and food crisis in the 1990s.

**FRIDAY LABOR.** Since the 1970s, North Korea’s civil servants and the Korean Workers’ Party (q.v.) bureaucrats in Pyongyang have been



mobilized to work on farms or construction sites one day a week, usually Friday. The North Korean Central Broadcasting System, on January 3, 1993, reported that senior officials of the government and major companies in Pyongyang participated in their Friday Labor in construction sites at the Nungna Islet resort and other places.

**FUNDAMENTAL STRATEGY.** North Korea's post-Korean War (q.v.) strategy to reunify Korea has been based on a policy formulated in 1964. This policy calls for the strengthening of the "three revolutionary capabilities": (1) North Korea will be a home base to support all revolutionary activities in the South; (2) strong revolutionary potential must be fostered in South Korea, which is the field of revolution; and (3) the world progressive potential must be nurtured to become supportive forces that will help realize revolution in South Korea. Concerning the method of reunification (q.v.), Kim Il Sung (q.v.) in 1968 stated that there are peaceful means and nonpeaceful means, or a combination of the two. The nonpeaceful means unquestionably refer to the use of force; however, the peaceful means were also designed to resort to violence because he said that reunification should be achieved through collaboration with a people's government to be established in the South in the wake of a communist revolution. However, for both Kim Il Sung and his successor Kim Jong Il (q.v.), the stationing of U.S. troops in South Korea has been an obstacle to their achievement of the fundamental strategy; thus, North Korean policy with regard to reunification has concentrated on achieving the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the South. *See also* NORTH-SOUTH KOREA RELATIONS; UNITED STATES, RELATIONS WITH.

– G –

**GENERATION AFTER GENERATION.** This term is used to stress the legitimacy of the father-to-son hereditary succession plan and to inculcate the people with the belief that they and their offspring must be loyal to Kim Il Sung and his son Kim Jong Il (q.v.).

**GOVERNMENT.** The government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) (q.v.) was established on September 9, 1948,

when the DPRK was founded and the Democratic People's Constitution was adopted. However, the groundwork was laid during the Soviet occupation of North Korea (1945–48), during which the “Administrative Bureau of Five Provinces” functioned as a government, and the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, then the People's Committee of North Korea served as government organizations. The general election on August 25, 1948, resulted in the establishment of the DPRK and the government of Kim Il Sung (q.v.). The first session of the First Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) (q.v.), which was elected on September 2, 1948, approved the first cabinet (q.v.) on the basis of Article 37 of the DPRK constitution (q.v.). Kim Il Sung was elected as premier on September 8, 1948, and then his cabinet members were approved by the SPA on September 9, 1948. The cabinet (q.v.) consisted of one premier, three vice premiers, and the chairmen of the State Planning Commission, and 16 ministers of different ministries. The second-term cabinet was organized in September 1957, following the second election of the SPA on August 17, 1957. The second-term cabinet was headed by Premier Kim Il Sung with eight vice premiers, four chairmen representing the State Planning Commission, the Heavy Industry Commission, the Light Industry Commission, and the State Construction Commission. There were 14 cabinet posts. Some of the cabinet members, including Choe Yong-kon (defense minister) (q.v.), Li Jong-ok (vice premier in the second-term cabinet) (q.v.) and Kim Kwang-hyop (defense minister in the second-term cabinet) (q.v.), served in the cabinet for more than four decades until their death in the 1990s. Li Jong-ok, for example, later became premier in the 1980s and was elected as one of three honorary vice chairman of the presidium of the SPA on September 5, 1998. The Fifth SPA convened its first session from December 25–27, 1972, and adopted a socialist constitution. Kim Il Sung was elected the new president, while keeping the position of premier. Furthermore, the constitutional revision at the first session of the Tenth SPA on September 5, 1998, created a new cabinet system by abolishing the Central People's Committee (CPC) (q.v.), which had been chaired by the state president. The cabinet has now replaced the Administrative Council (q.v.), which functioned as the cabinet in the 1990s under the 1992 constitution. Because of the constitutional change of September 5, 1998, the cabinet governs the local adminis-

trative units, the local people's committees. The new system is designed to promote Kim Jong Il (q.v.) as a lofty leader above the hierarchical structure of government, but also to be more productive in economic management. The present government structure consists of the National Defense Commission (NDC) (q.v.), headed by Kim Jong Il, the cabinet with Premier Hong Sung-nam (q.v.) and two deputy premiers, and the SPA (q.v.), a rubber-stamp parliament, and the judicial system: the Central Court headed by Kim Byong-ryul and the Central Public Prosecutor's Office headed by Prosecutor General Choe Yong-rim.

The newly elected Tenth SPA convened its first session on September 5, 1998, and amended the constitution of the DPRK to overhaul the governing system and approved a sweeping reshuffle of major offices as proposed by the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) (q.v.). This was the first session of the SPA convened since the death of Kim Il Sung in July 1994. The election of the Tenth SPA, which had been due in 1995, was not held due to the three-year mourning period.

The new governing system created by the first session of the Tenth SPA had very different structures from the governing system of Kim Il Sung. The KWP Central Military Committee, under the authority and control of the Politburo (q.v.) of the KWP Central Committee (KWP CC) (q.v.), proposed the reelection of Kim Jong Il as chairman of the National Defense Commission (NDC) (q.v.). Other officials were First Vice Chairman Cho Myong-rok and two vice chairmen, Kim Il-chol and Li Yong-mu. Members included Kim Yong-chun, Yon Hyong-muk, Li Ul-sol, Paek Hak-rim, Chon Byong-ho, and Kim Chol-man. The minister of people's armed forces, Kim Il-chol, also served on the NDC. This meant that North Korea had become a garrison state, even though Kim was still the general secretary of the KWP. Kim Jong Il assumed the office of the supreme commander of the Korean People's Army (q.v.) in December 1991 and was bestowed with the highest military rank of marshal in April 1992. He then became chairman of the NDC, which emerged as the most powerful organ of the DPRK government. The NDC is presently comparable to the "Command Post of the Revolution" (q.v.), a slogan widely used in the north in recent years. One slogan reads, "Let us safeguard the command post of the revolution led by Great Leader, Comrade Kim Jong Il, even at the cost of our lives." The new constitution also abolished

the office of the state president, which was held by Kim Il Sung, who was honored as North Korea's "eternal" state president.

Under the 1998 constitutional revision, the chairman of the Presidium of the SPA, Kim Yong-nam, will be a nominal head of the state and his role will be only ceremonial. The 19-member Presidium of the SPA will act during the recess of the SPA; it is to include the heads of such social organizations as the General Federation of Trade Unions and Democratic Women's Union. Government institutions in the central government include the SPA with Legislation Committee, Budget Committee, NDC, SPA Presidium, and the cabinet. The cabinet includes 28 ministries: Foreign Affairs, Public Security, State Planning Commission, Power and Coal Industry, Mining Industry, Metal and Machine Industry, Building and Material Industry, Railways, Land and Marine Transportation, Agriculture, Chemical Industry, Trade, Forestry, Fishery, City Management and National Territory and Environment, State Construction Supervision, Commerce, Procurement and Grain Management, Education, Post and Telecommunications, Culture, Finance, Labor Administration, Public Health, Physical Culture and Sports, and State Inspection. Other cabinet posts include the Academy of Sciences (q.v.), Central Bank, Central Statistics Bureau, Secretariat of the cabinet. Subcabinet posts include chairmen of local people's committees in three cities (Pyongyang, Nampo, Kaesong) (qq.v.) and nine provinces and chairmen of local rural management committees in three cities and nine provinces. Judicial institutions include the Central Court (President Kim Byong-ryul) and the Central Prosecutor's Office (Prosecutor General Choe Yong-rim). *See also* Appendix 1 for the text of the Socialist Constitution of the DPRK.

– H –

**HAN SONG-RYONG (1923-).** Full member of the Politburo (q.v.) and secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party (KWP CC) (q.v.). Born in North Hamgyong Province, he became vice minister of Secon Machine Industry in 1971. He was shipbuilding industry minister in 1972, secretary of the KWP chapter in Hamhung in 1973, chairman of the Economic Guidance Committee in Jagang

Province in 1981, associate member of the Politburo and KWP CC secretary in 1988, and a full member of the Politburo in 1990.

**HONG SOK-HYONG (1924-).** Associate member of the Politburo (q.v.) and chairman of the State Planning Commission. He was probably born in Seoul, the grandson of then Dong-A Ilbo managing editor Hong Myong-hi. A plant manager for the Kimchaek Steel Mill in 1981, he became first vice minister of the metals industry in 1984, chairman of the State Planning Commission, and associate member of the Politburo in 1993. He was given no government post during the September 1998 reshuffle, but it is expected he will surface again because he is a friend of Kim Jong Il (q.v.).

**HONG SUNG-NAM (1924-).** Premier and an associate member of the Politburo (q.v.). Born in Kangwon Province, he graduated from Kim Il Sung University and studied in Czechoslovakia. He became chief of a Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC) department in 1970, deputy premier and, concurrently, chairman of the State Planning Commission in 1973, and associate member of the Politburo in 1982. He was made responsible secretary of the South Pyongan Party Committee in November 1982. He was deprived of his associate Politburo membership in 1984, but was reinstated in February 1986 when he was appointed a deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission. Hong became a full member of the Politburo and first deputy premier in December 1986, only to be demoted to associate member in 1989. He retained his job as chairman of the State Planning Commission, however. He was named premier on September 5, 1998.

**HOUSEHOLD WORK TEAMS.** *See* AUGUST THIRD CONSUMER GOODS PRODUCTION CAMPAIGN.

**HWANG JANG-YOP (1923-).** Secretary of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC). Born in Pyongyang (q.v.), he graduated from Moscow State University in 1949. He became head professor at Kim Il Sung University in 1954, a deputy chief of the KWP CC's Propaganda and Agitation Department in 1959, president of Kim Il Sung University in 1965, chairman of the Supreme People's

Assembly (q.v.) in 1972 and again in 1982, and a KWP CC secretary in 1985. Hwang defected to South Korea in 1997.

**HYON CHOL-HAE.** (DBPU). General, deputy chief of the General Political Bureau of the Korean People's Army (KPA) (q.v.). He was in command of the KPA Logistics Department in 1991 and promoted to colonel general in 1992, and to full general in October 1995. Hyon was an associate member of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (q.v.) in 1991 and full member in 1993.

**HYON JUN-GUK (1922–).** Chief of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC) (q.v.) International Department. He was born in South Hamgyong Province and graduated from Mangyongdae Revolutionary School before studying at Moscow State University. He became a deputy editor-in-chief of *Rodong Shinmun* in 1959, president of the Publishing House of the KWP in 1962, chief of the KWP CC's Propaganda and Agitation Department in 1964, and ambassador to China in 1967. Subsequently, he was made chief of the KWP CC's International Department in 1986, editor-in-chief of *Rodong Shinmun* in 1988, and chief of the KWP CC's International Department again in 1994.

– I –

**INDEPENDENT ACCOUNTING SYSTEM.** The members of the work team in a collective farm or an industrial plant share and take home the extra portions of their production after meeting the established quota. This was the profit-sharing principle; the harder the work team worked and the more it produced, the greater would be its share of the profits after the established quota for the team had been met.

**INDOK, POLITICS OF.** *Indok* is a North Korean word meaning benevolent virtue. This word was first used on January 28, 1993, when *Rodong Shinmun* published an article entitled "Long Live Socialism Which Embodies the Politics of *Indok*." This term is used for the exclusive purpose of depicting Kim Jong Il (q.v.) as a leader of generosity, who is always concerned about the happiness of the people and works out various policies to protect them. To glorify the

governing of Kim Jong Il based on *Indok*, North Korea stresses that he provides the people with banquets to celebrate their 60th, 70th, or 80th birthdays, blesses the birth of quadruplets, and cares for patients in the mountainous hinterland.

**INDUSTRY.** Industrial development in North Korea can be traced back to the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945). The occupation policy of Japan (q.v.) was to enhance the industrial development in the northern half of Korea, while the agriculture was encouraged in the south. Thus, Korea was characterized by analysts and observers as the “industrial” north as opposed to the “agricultural” south because the mountainous north had deposits of economic resources, such as coal, other minerals, and nonferrous metals, while the southern half had plenty of paddy fields and fertile soils for production of rice and other crops. The Japanese colonial administration had developed heavy industry, especially in the metal and chemical industries, hydroelectric power plants, and mining. However, the Korean economy was structured in such a way that it benefitted Japan and depended on Japan for final processing of the products. Heavy industry was limited to the production of mainly raw materials, semifinished goods, and war supplies, which were then transported to Japan for final processing and consumption. Japan did not permit Korea to develop a machine-tool industry, and all industrial development was designed to meet the ambitions of Japanese colonial expansion. However, the defeat of Japan and division of Korea at the 38th parallel in 1945 ushered in very different economic-development strategies in North and South Korea. North Korea inherited the infrastructure of a modern economy at the end of Japanese colonial rule and achieved remarkable success in economic growth due to the ability of the communist regime to mobilize the economic resources by nationalizing the major industries and implementing the land reform program. However, the North Korean economy was devastated by the Korean War (1950–53) (q.v.) and industry was totally demolished by U.S. air force bombing. However, the North Korean economy took off after a series of economic development plans such as the post-war economic rehabilitation and construction plan (1954–56) and the first five-year economic development plan (1957–60), during which industrial development in North Korea reached or exceeded the level of economic

development in South Korea. Japanese analysts and economists of North Korea assessed that North Korean industry was far ahead of South Korea's and even predicted that if the rate of economic growth continued at that of the 1950s, North Korea might become an economic giant in East Asia in the 1960s. Around the beginning of the 1960s, however, delays and bottlenecks began to emerge in the North Korean economy, and industrial development stagnated. North Korea encountered serious economic problems beginning in 1961, one of which was its unbalanced structure: 28 percent of all industry was classified as primary industry, 53 percent as secondary industry, and 19 percent as tertiary industry. Heavy industry occupied the absolute majority of North Korea's industrial investment. Only 20 percent of the total investment for the period of 1961–69 was made in light industry, while heavy industry occupied 80 percent. In the field of heavy industry, the North Korean government concentrated on the armament industry: 68 percent of the investment in heavy industry was allocated to the armament industry and 58 percent of heavy industrial factories were armament plants. The emphasis on the defense industry can be seen also in the number of industrial workers engaged in heavy industry: 53 percent of the 150,000 industrial workers were believed to be engaged in the defense industry in the 1960s. Table 3 shows the annual growth rate of industrial output by economic plan period.

1977, 1985, and 1986 were periods of adjustment and the official data did not include these years in their announcements.

**TABLE 3**

<i>Economic Plan</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Annual Average Growth Rate of Industrial Output</i>
Post-War Three-Year Economic Development Plan	(1954–56)	41.7%
First Five-Year Economic Development Plan	(1957–60)	36.6%
Seven-Year Economic Development Plan	(1961–70)	12.8%
Six-Year Economic Development Plan	(1971–76)	16.3%
Second Seven-Year Economic Development Plan	(1978–84)	12.2%
Third Seven-Year Economic Development Plan	(1987–93)	10.0%



**INTER-KOREAN RELATIONS.** *See* NORTH-SOUTH KOREA RELATIONS.

**INTERNATIONAL KIM IL SUNG PRIZE.** This prize was established on April 13, 1993, when North Korea organized the International Kim Il Sung Prize Council in New Delhi as part of its effort to celebrate the 81st birthday of Kim Il Sung on an international scale. According to the council, this prize is awarded to those who have devoted themselves to the embodiment of Kim Il Sung's *Juche* ideology (q.v.) and thereby contributed to the realization of independence and peace in the world. As of 1996, five people had received this prize (one each in 1993–1995 and two in 1996). The first winner of the prize was Shuhachi Inoue, director-general of the Tokyo-based International Institute of *Juche* Ideology. The prize included a gold medal and a cash gift. The subsequent winners have not been disclosed.

– J –

**JAPAN, FOREIGN RELATIONS WITH.** North Korea and Japan have still not normalized diplomatic relations, although South Korea and Japan established diplomatic relations in 1965. The critical issue standing in the way of normalization of relations has been the payment of reparations for the Japanese occupation of Korea for 36 years and the status of some 600,000 Korean residents in Japan. South Korea received the payment of reparations in the amount of US\$ 500 million in the forms of grants (US\$ 200 million) and commercial loans (US\$ 300 million) when the South Korean–Japanese normalization treaty was signed in 1965. The South Korean economy was beginning to take off in the late 1960s when the massive investment of Japanese capital boosted economic growth and development, which was recognized as the miracle of the Han River. However, the increased exchange of businessmen and politicians not only enhanced the deepening relationship, but also brought about charges of economic colonialism by South Korean critics of economic dependency on Japan. The deepening relations between Japanese businessmen and politicians on the one hand, and Korean officials on the other, led to some bribery and corruption scandals. North Korean relations with

Japan were quite unpleasant at best due to the normalization of the Republic of Korea (ROK)-Japan relations in 1965. North Korea was closely allied with Japanese opposition parties, such as the Japanese Socialist Party (JSP) and the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), which attempted to press the conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) to recognize the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) at the expense of undermining ROK-Japan relations. Some Japanese businessmen who conducted trade relations with North Korea were even burnt due to the lack of trust and confidence. North Koreans often defaulted on the repayment of credit that the Japanese business and industry offered to them.

However, negotiations for the normalization of relations between Japan and the DPRK started in September 1990 when Japanese Deputy Prime Minister Shin Kanemaru and the chairman of the Japan Socialist Party, Makoto Tanabe, visited Pyongyang (q.v.) and agreed to establish diplomatic relations under the terms of the joint declaration of the three political parties (Liberal Democratic Party and Socialist Party of Japan and Korean Workers' Party). However, difficulties arose when the declaration of the three parties included the payment of reparations. The Japanese government was not willing to honor the commitment of the politicians. The normalization of relations should be concluded by the governments of North Korea and Japan, not the political parties of the two countries. Thus, the governments of Japan and North Korea carried out eight rounds of negotiations in Beijing, China, from January 1991 to November 1992. But, the Japanese negotiators demanded to know the whereabouts of Lee Eun-hee, a Japanese national who was alleged to have been kidnapped by a North Korean agent. Another issue was to halt the development of nuclear weapons in North Korea, which made Pyongyang break off the negotiations. In the autumn of 1996, Pyongyang called on Tokyo to reopen the normalization negotiations without any conditions attached. But Japan responded by stating that the environment for negotiations should be improved by reopening the North-South Korean (q.v.) dialogues and convening the four-party conference, which would include China, the United States (qq.v.), North Korea, and South Korea. The four-way conference began in 1998 and continued in 2001, but Japan brought other issues to be resolved prior to normalization negotiations, such as the suspected

kidnapping of Japanese students from a girls' high school and smuggling of drugs to Japan by North Korean agents. The resumption of the talks came about in the second half of 1997 in Beijing as the result of the delegation of the three Japanese coalition ruling parties visiting North Korea in late 1997. The talks, however, had not yielded any good results as of 2001. The representatives of the Japanese and North Korean governments started again to normalize diplomatic relations. At the same time, a group of Japanese women who had married Korean residents in Japan and immigrated to North Korea with their husbands visited their hometowns. The hometown visit program was suspended following the second group's tour of Japan in January 1998, when Japan demanded that North Korea clarify suspicions that it had abducted at least 10 Japanese nationals. The launching of a missile (q.v.) on August 31, 1998, worsened the situation and Japan took several retaliatory actions against North Korea, including the suspension of its food aid. In the absence of formal diplomatic relations between Pyongyang and Tokyo, the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (*Chosen Soren* [q.v.]) played an important role. The pro-North Korean General Association has a membership of approximately 240,000 people who are identified as North Korean citizens. About 400,000 Koreans in Japan are identified as South Korean citizens and about 60,000 to 70,000 Koreans don't identify with North or South Korea. Thus, about 700,000 Koreans still live in Japan. During the Japanese colonial rule of Korea from 1910 to 1945, more than two million Koreans were drafted to work as laborers in the Japanese mines, factories, and other manual jobs. During World War II, Koreans were drafted to serve in the Japanese military and work in the arms factories. When the Japanese surrendered on August 15, 1945, more than two million Koreans returned to Korea; thus, 600,000 remained in Japan, the population of which has grown to 700,000 during the postwar period.

The General Association of Korean Residents in Japan was organized in May 1955 for the purposes of fighting discrimination and improving national education. The organization played an important role in uniting the Korean people and providing fellowship among the compatriots. It set up banks, credit unions, and business firms to supply venture capital to Koreans in Japan. It then collected funds to purchase machines, industrial goods, and electronics and shipped

them to North Korea. The government of North Korea sent millions of dollars worth of funds to finance educational institutions from grade schools to a Korean university in Japan. Thus, Korean children were educated in the Korean national culture and language. Many of them also studied in colleges and universities in North Korea. The pro-North Korean *Chosen Soren* functioned as the diplomatic representatives of North Korea in the absence of diplomatic relations between Tokyo and Pyongyang.

**JOINT VENTURES.** On October 5, 1992, Daewoo, Inc., became the first South Korean company to receive government permission to pursue cooperation in the form of a joint venture in North Korea's Nampo industrial complex. Since then, 43 companies have been issued permission to pursue joint ventures. By the end of 1999, however, four companies had had their permission revoked because they fell short of required standards or disturbed the order in inter-Korean economic cooperation. As a result, there are 39 companies participating in cooperative partnerships currently promoting inter-Korean joint ventures. Since the inauguration of the Kim Dae-jung government, 10 companies have been issued permission for cooperative partnership and 11 were issued permission for cooperative projects. South Korea's largest Chaebol (business conglomerate), Hyundai, is taking the lead in constructing an industrial complex in Kaesong, and other companies are following suit, enabling the two Koreas to promote large-scale joint ventures in developing the industrial complexes in North Korea.

**JUCHE CALENDAR AND SUN'S DAY.** On July 8, 1997, North Korea decreed a *Juche* calendar with Kim Il Sung's birth year of 1912 as its starting point and his birthday, April 15, as the "Sun's Day"—a move to further promote Kim's personality cult. The decree, proclaimed jointly by the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) Central Committee (q.v.), the KWP Central Military Committee, the National Defense Commission (q.v.), the Central People's Committee (q.v.), and the Administrative Council (q.v.), came on the occasion of the third anniversary of Kim Il Sung's death. The application of the calendar began on September 9 of that year, the 49th foundation anniversary of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), in-

licated with the Western calendar in brackets after the *Juche* year. On April 15, 1998, North Korea called Kim Il Sung the “Sun of all Korean People and the Eternal Sun for *Juche*.” The North Korean decision was aimed at “glorifying the revolutionary life of Great *Suryong* (leader), Comrade Kim Il Sung” and his “imperishable” achievements. *See also* JUCHE IDEOLOGY.

**JUCHE IDEOLOGY.** The *Dictionary of Philosophy in North Korea* defines *Juche* ideology as “Kim Il Sung’s revolutionary idea.” The word *Juche*, or *Chuche*, was used by Kim Il Sung (q.v.) for the first time on December 28, 1995, when he made a speech entitled, “On the Need to Repel Dogmatism and Formalism and to Establish *Juche* in Carrying Out Ideological Programs.” However, North Korea actually began to use the term *Juche* ideology after December 6, 1967, when Kim Il Sung gave a speech to the first session of the Fourth Supreme People’s Assembly (q.v.) under the title “Let Us Materialize Our Self-Reliant, Independent, and Self-Defensive Lines Completely,” in which he said, “Our *Juche* ideology refers to the most correct Marxism-Leninism-oriented guiding philosophy designed to carry out our revolution and construction.” *Juche* can be translated directly as “self-identity,” but in practice the idea of self-reliance is more appropriate. North Korea claims that the origin of the *Juche* ideology should be traced back to June 1930 when Kim Il Sung presided over a meeting of the Down-with-Imperialism League (q.v.) in Manchuria. Thus, North Korea insisted that *Juche* ideology originated from Kim Il Sung and it was further transformed into a theory or philosophy by Kim Jong Il (q.v.). The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) constitution (q.v.) had included a phrase stipulating that the *Juche* ideology, which is a creative application of Marxism-Leninism, must be upheld as the guiding principle of North Korean ideology. However, the word Marxism-Leninism was deleted from the DPRK constitution of 1992 (*see* Appendix 1).

The *Juche* ideology consists mainly of two parts—the philosophical theory, which maintains that the masses are the masters of history and revolution, and the guiding principle, or the “Revolutionary View of the Leader,” which asserts that “nonetheless, the masses are not able to take up spontaneously any revolutionary course unless they are organized into revolutionary forces and are led by the *Suryong*

(leader).” This is similar to what Mao Zedong called the *mass-line approach* during the revolutionary period of the 1930s and 1940s in China. Thus, North Korea maintains that Kim Jong Il developed a more theoretical and systematic concept of the “Revolutionary View” and wrote about it during the 1980s in “Theory of the Immortal Sociopolitical Body.” He stressed that physical life, which is mortal, is given by the parents, but political life, which is immortal, is given by the sociopolitical body, and therefore, the masses are only required to obey unconditionally the brain of the body, which is the *Suryong*. Hwang Jang-yop, former secretary of the Korean Workers’ Party Central Committee (q.v.) and professor of philosophy at Kim Il Sung University, who defected to South Korea in 1997, claimed that he had developed *Juche* ideology under the direction of Kim Il Sung in the late 1950s.

**JULY FOURTH JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ.** On July 4, 1972, following a series of secret negotiations that began in May between the director of the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency and its North Korean counterpart, the governments of North and South Korea each issued an identical statement announcing a historic agreement to end hostilities and work together toward peaceful unification of the country without outside interference. The seven-point statement included the following three principles for national unification:

Unification shall be achieved through independent Korean efforts without being subjected to external imposition or interference.

Unification shall be achieved through peaceful means, and not through the use of force against each other.

As a homogeneous people, a broad national unity shall be sought above all, transcending differences in ideas, ideologies, and systems.

The communiqué pledged “to ease tensions and foster an atmosphere of mutual trust between the South and the North.” Both sides agreed not to “slander or defame each other” or “undertake avowed provocative measures and to prevent inadvertent military incidents,” and that each side would carry out “various exchanges in many fields to restore severed ties, promote mutual understanding and expedite independent peaceful unification.” In order to achieve these objectives, the communiqué stated that a political dialogue between Seoul and Pyongyang would begin. Ever since, North Korea has advocated

the three principles of reunification (q.v.), including “the principles of independence, peaceful reunification, and grand national unity.” *See also* NORTH-SOUTH POLITICAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

**JUNE FIFTEENTH JOINT DECLARATION.** Chairman Kim Jong Il (q.v.) of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) National Defense Commission and President Kim Dae-jung (q.v.) of the Republic of Korea held a historic summit meeting from June 13–15, 2000, in Pyongyang (q.v.) after 55 years of division and conflicts between North and South Korea. They announced the five-point joint declaration on June 15, 2000. (*See* Appendix 3 for the text of the declaration.)

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**KAESONG.** An ancient capital city of the Koryo dynasty (918–1391). The first armistice talks held in this city were to end the Korean War (q.v.) in 1953.

**KANG HYON-SU (1919–?).** He was born in South Pyongan Province and graduated from Kim Il Sung University. He was elected to the fourth session of the Supreme People’s Assembly (SPA) (q.v.) in November 1968 and still serves as a delegate to the Tenth SPA. He is recognized as one of the elite vanguard group under the leadership of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il (qq.v.). He has also been on the Korean Workers’ Party Central Committee (qq.v.) since November 1970, chief of the Party Committee in the City of Pyongyang (q.v.), and chairman of the Pyongyang City government.

**KANG SUK-JU (1939–).** First vice minister of foreign affairs. Born in Pyongyang (q.v.), he was chosen as vice foreign minister in 1984 and was promoted to first vice foreign minister in 1986. He became an associate member of the Korean Workers’ Party Central Committee (q.v.) in 1988.

**KANG SUNG-SAN (1931–).** Full member of the Politburo (q.v.) and former premier. Born in North Hamgyong Province, he graduated

from the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School in the 1940s, and studied at a university in Prague in 1952. He became responsible secretary of the Party Committee in Jagang Province in August 1969, that of the Party Committee in Pyongyang (q.v.) in November of that year, and associate member of the Politburo in 1973. Later positions included chairman of the Transportation and Postal Service Commission in 1975, deputy premier in 1977, railways minister in 1979, first deputy premier in 1982, premier in 1984, and a Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (q.v.) secretary in 1986. Kang was demoted to responsible secretary of the KWP Committee in North Hamgyong Province in 1988. He was reinstated as a full member of the Politburo later. He served as premier again from 1992 to 1998.

**KANGSONG TAEGUK.** This Korean term means a great country that is militarily strong and economically prosperous. This term first appeared in an editorial of *Rodong Shinmun*, organ of the Korean Workers' Party (q.v.), on August 22, 1988, two weeks before Kim Jong Il (q.v.) completed his formal succession to power in the first session of the newly elected Tenth Supreme People's Assembly (q.v.) on September 5, 1998. The editorial stated, "It is our General's [Kim Jong Il] way to build a *Kangsong Taeguk* to turn the Republic into an ideologically strong country, to firmly establish the army as the pillar of the revolution and achieve a brilliant economic takeoff." North Korea touted the August 31 launch of its "*Kwangmyongsong-1* satellite" as proof that it is heading toward a *Kangsong Taeguk*.

North Korea's call for turning the country into a *Kangsong Taeguk* came at a time when its economic situation was bleak as the result of food shortages and lackluster industrial activities. The move was followed by return to a heavy-industry-oriented policy of arms buildup from the "revolutionary economic strategy" of the Korean Workers' Party, which was applied to the three-year economic plan (1994–96) to make up for the unsuccessful third seven-year plan (1987–93). Under the strategy, North Korea has placed top priority on agriculture (q.v.), light industry, and foreign trade.

**KIM BOK-SHIM (1925–).** Deputy premier and chairman of the Light Industry Commission. Born in North Pyongan Province, she graduated from the Central Party School in 1954. After serving as manager



of a pulp plant, she became deputy minister of light industry in 1958, deputy chief of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee's (q.v.) Light Industry Department in 1960, vice chairman of the Light Industry Commission in 1961, associate member of the Politburo (q.v.) in 1983, chairman of the Trade Commission in December 1985, and chairman of the Light Industry Commission of the Politburo in December 1992.

**KIM BYONG-RYUL (1926-).** General, president of the Central Court. Born in North Pyongan Province in 1926, he served for over 10 years as responsible secretary for North Pyongan Province during the 1960s and 1970s. He was promoted to colonel general in 1994 and to general in 1995, but apparently never had active military experience or command. Speculation is that he either commanded or was deeply involved with the Seventh Bureau, which conducted intelligence operations outside North Korea. He was placed in charge of the Central Court at the Supreme People's Assembly (q.v.) in September 1998.

**KIM CHAEK (1904-1950).** He was born in South Hamkyong Province, studied in Moscow in his youth, and joined the Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai in the 1920s. He joined the anti-Japanese guerrilla forces, which were then led by Kim Il Sung (q.v.) in Manchuria, in the 1930s. Kim was one of Kim Il Sung's very close associates during the anti-Japanese guerrilla war in Manchuria and Siberia, along with Choe Yong-kon (q.v.), who later became the head of state in North Korea. Kim came to Pyongyang with Kim Il Sung and served as vice premier and minister of industry in the first cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in 1948 under the leadership of Kim Il Sung. He was the field commander of the Korean People's Army during the Korean War (qq.v.) and was killed in the combat zone in 1950. To commemorate his dedication to the DPRK, Kim Il Sung established the Kim Chaek University of Engineering and also the Kim Chaek Integrated Iron and Steel Works, the largest iron and steel center in North Korea.

**KIM CHOL-MAN (1918-).** General and associate member of the Politburo (q.v.), member of the National Defense Commission

(NDC) (q.v.). He was born in South Pyongan Province and served with the Chinese Communist Eighth Route Armies in the 1930s and 1940s. Given command of an army division in 1955, and then of an army corps in 1965, he rose to army deputy chief of staff in 1968, and first deputy chief of staff in 1970. Kim became an associate member of the Politburo in 1976, a member of the Central Military Committee of the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) (q.v.) in 1980, and chairman of the Central People's Committee's Second Economic Commission in 1981. He was discharged as a member of the KWP's Central Military Committee in 1982, but named a member of the NDC in 1990 and retained as a member of the commission during the reorganization in September 1998.

**KIM DU-NAM (1927–).** General. His current position is unknown. Born in North Pyongan Province, he graduated from Mangyongdae Revolutionary School in 1947 and the Soviet Military Academy in 1963. He became a member of the Central Military Committee of the Korean Workers' Party (q.v.) in 1980, and an associate member of the Politburo (q.v.) in October 1982. Kim was promoted to general in 1985. The Order of Kim Il Sung was conferred on him in 1992. He ranked 49th on the funeral committee of Oh Jin-u.

**KIM GI-NAM (1926–).** Secretary of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC) (q.v.) and chief of the KWP CC's Propaganda and Agitation Department. Born in Kangwon Province, he graduated from Kim Il Sung University. He became acting ambassador to China (q.v.) in 1953, editor-in-chief of the *Rodong Shinmun*, and chairman of the Standing Committee of the Journalists Union in 1976. Kim was appointed first deputy chief of the KWP CC's Propaganda and Agitation Department in 1987, became chief of the department in 1989, and a KWP CC secretary in 1992.

**KIM GUK-TAE (1924–).** Secretary of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC) (q.v.) and chief of the KWP CC's Cadre Department. Born in North Hamgyong Province, he graduated from Mangyongdae Revolutionary School and the Soviet Military Academy. He became deputy chief of the Korean People's Army's (q.v.) General Political Bureau in 1963, chief of the KWP CC's Organiza-

tion Department in 1968, chief of the KWP CC's Propaganda and Agitation Department in the 1970s, principal of the Party Cadres training school in 1976, chief of the KWP CC's Education Department in 1983, chief of the KWP CC's Cadres Department in 1984, and KWP CC secretary in 1992. Kim was chairman of the Supreme People's Assembly's (q.v.) Qualification Screening Committee for the September 1998 session.

**KIM GWANG-JIN (1918–1992).** Vice marshal, member of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC) and the National Defense Commission (NDC), first vice minister of the People's Armed Forces. Born in South Pyongan Province, he became artillery commander in 1969, deputy chief of the General Staff of the Korean People's Army (KPA) (q.v.) in 1978, and vice minister of the Korean People's Armed Forces in 1985. Kim was appointed a member of the NDC in 1990, a member of the Korean Workers' Party Central Military Committee in early 1995, and first vice minister of the People's Armed Forces in October 1995.

**KIM GYONG-HI (1946–).** Chief of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee's (KWP CC) (q.v.) Light Industry Department. She is the younger sister of Kim Jong Il (q.v.). Born in Pyongyang (q.v.), she graduated from Kim Il Sung University. She became deputy chief of a KWP CC department in 1984, chief of the KWP CC's Light Industry Department in 1993, and chief of the KWP CC's Economic Policy Inspection Department later.

**KIM HA-GYU (DBPU).** General. He was a Korean People's Army deputy chief of General Staff in 1987, promoted to colonel general in 1992, to full general and a full member of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (q.v.) in October 1995. He is known to accompany Kim Jong Il (q.v.) frequently on inspection of military facilities.

**KIM HWAN (1930–).** Deputy premier and minister of chemical industry. Born in North Pyongan Province, he graduated from Kim Il Sung University and studied at an engineering college in East Germany. He became chemical industry minister in 1972, chief of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee's (KWP CC) (q.v.) Industry Department

in 1974, a full member of the Politburo (q.v.) and KWP CC secretary in 1978, a deputy chairman of the Chemical and Light Industry Commission in December 1986, and chemical industry minister in 1988.

**KIM IK-HYON (DBPU).** Vice marshal, member of the Korean Workers' Party Central Military Committee (q.v.). He became commander of an army corps in 1972, a deputy chief of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee's (KWP CC) (q.v.) Military Department in 1973, a Korean People's Army (q.v.) deputy chief of staff in 1975, vice minister of the Korean People's Armed Forces in 1977, and chief of the KWP CC's People's Reserve Forces Department in 1990. He was promoted to vice marshal in 1992.

**KIM IL-CHOL (1928–).** Vice marshal, vice chairman of the National Defense Commission (NDC) (q.v.), minister of the People's Armed Forces (q.v.). Born in Pyongyang (q.v.), he graduated from Mangyongdae Revolutionary School. He became a member of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (q.v.) in 1980, and deputy in the Supreme People's Assembly (q.v.) in 1982. He was promoted to lieutenant general and appointed commander of the Navy late in 1982. Kim rose to colonel general in 1985, full general in 1992, and vice marshal in 1997. He was named first minister of the People's Armed Forces shortly after his predecessor, Vice Marshal Kim Gwang-jin (q.v.), died in February 1997. He was appointed minister of the People's Armed Forces on September 7, 1998. Two days later he became a member of the NDC.

**KIM IL SUNG (1912–1994).** North Korean leader who ruled the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) for almost a half century from 1945 to 1994. He was born on April 15, 1912, in the village of Mangyongdae near Pyongyang (q.v.), the capital of the DPRK. His original name was Kim Song-ju, and when he was seven years old his family immigrated to South Manchuria, where he was enrolled in the Chinese school. His father, Kim Hyong-chik, was a doctor of Chinese herb medicine, but died at the age of 32 in 1926. The mother, Kang Ban Suk, had also moved to South Manchuria but died when Kim was 20 years old. Kim Il Sung has written about the poverty-stricken

life in Korea when he was growing up in his six-volume memoir, *With the Century: Reminiscences* (1992 and 1995), and how his father's friend, a Christian church pastor, Son Chung-to, helped his family during the difficult days. When he was 17 Kim joined anti-government organizations; thus, he was expelled from the Chinese school. When he joined the anti-Japanese struggle, he changed his name to Kim Il Sung. There were a number of Korean patriots in China who used the name of Kim Il Sung, who became a hero of the Koreans overseas. At the age of 19 Kim Il Sung joined the underground Chinese Communist Youth League, and the following year he became the leader of the Korean unit within a Chinese communist guerrilla army in Manchuria. For a decade from 1931 to 1941, Kim Il Sung engaged in the anti-Japanese armed struggle in China. Some of his comrades either surrendered or defected to the Japanese army as spies, but his strong will to fight Japanese imperialism never wavered. When the anti-Japanese guerrilla forces were virtually wiped out by the Japanese army in 1940, he and his surviving Korean guerrilla unit retreated into the Soviet Far Eastern province near Khabarovsk, where he pursued his anti-Japanese armed struggles from 1941 to 1945. Kim returned to North Korea on September 19, 1945, as a captain (some sources say as a major) in the Soviet Red Army, which had accepted the surrender of the Imperial Japanese armed forces in the port city of Wonsan. His age was 32. With the help of the Soviet occupation forces, he was able to establish a new communist government in the northern half of the Korean Peninsula. Thus, in February 1946, an Interim People's Committee led by Kim Il Sung became the first central government. In March 1946, a revolutionary land reform (q.v.) took place, dispossessing landlords without compensation. In August 1946, a powerful political party, the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) (q.v.), dominated politics as a result of a merger with the Korean Communist Party (q.v.). Kim consolidated his political power by eliminating rival factions, and his own *Kapsan* group (Manchurian guerrilla faction) seized top leadership positions in North Korea. Since the mid 1950s, Kim pursued an increasingly nationalistic, independent, and self-reliant policy based on *Juche* ideology (q.v.). Kim's ideology in the 1940s tended to be revolutionary-nationalist, rather than communist. The *Juche* ideology had its origins in the late 1940s, although the term *Juche* was not used until a 1955

speech, in which Kim castigated some of his own comrades for being pro-Soviet. The concept of *Juche*, which means “self-identity” and is antiforeign, has resonated deeply with Korea’s population as it was a “hermit kingdom” during the Choson Dynasty. *Juche* doctrine stresses self-reliance and independence; however, it draws on a neo-Confucian emphasis on the rectification of one’s thinking before taking action in the real world. By adopting *Juche* as the national ideology, Kim was able to shake off North Korea’s image as pro-Soviet or pro-Chinese, a stance which guided North Korean politics and its foreign relations (q.v.) throughout its history. To overcome the present difficulties, he inculcated the slogan “Let Us Learn from the Spirit of the Long March” during the anti-Japanese struggles of the 1930s and 1940s. During his rule of North Korea from 1945 to 1994, Kim made thousands of speeches and many hundreds of on-the-spot guidances to improve the economy, society, and culture of North Korea. All these speeches are collected in the 10-volume *Selected Works of Kim Il Sung* (1971–94). He died of a heart attack at the age of 82 on July 8, 1994.

**KIM IL SUNG SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE.** Formerly called the Socialist Labor Youth League (SLYL), the name was changed to Kim Il Sung Socialist Youth League following the death of Kim Il Sung (q.v.) in 1994. Youths, students, and military personnel aged 14 to 30 are obliged to join the league. It is the most important mass organization of the Korean Workers’ Party (q.v.).

**KIM IL SUNG’S ONE-THOUSAND-RI JOURNEYS.** North Korea claims that Kim Il Sung (q.v.) at the age of 11 left Manchuria to begin a lonely trip to his hometown near Pyongyang, following his father’s suggestion that he should learn and experience the realities of his fatherland under Japanese colonial rule in order to lead the Korean people. It is claimed that he walked all the 1,000-ri (roughly 4,000 kilometers) from Pataoku in Manchuria to Pyongyang via Popyong, a border town along the Tumen River. On March 16, 1923, he started the journey. This event is remembered by the North Koreans as the “1,000-Ri Journey for Learning.” It is also claimed that in 1925 Kim walked back to Manchuria with the ambition to lead the people’s struggle to restore the independence of the fatherland, and

this journey is named the “1,000-Ri Journey for Restoration.” North Korea launched a March campaign for the youth and students in February 1975.

**KIM IL SUNG’S THESIS ON SOCIALIST RURAL POLICY.** This thesis was presented on February 25, 1964, during the eighth plenary session of the Fourth Korean Workers’ Party Central Committee (q.v.). The basic concept of this thesis was designed to convert all farmers into working-class members, like factory workers in urban areas who are given salaries. In the thesis, Kim Il Sung (q.v.) emphasized the need to convert the cooperative ownership system of farms into the “people’s (state) ownership” system as soon as possible, stating that the wide gap in living standards between farmers and factory workers was attributable to this ownership system. The guidelines to develop the rural areas included the four-point modernization plan: irrigation of land, mechanization of farming, chemical fertilization, and electrification of the rural community. After more than 30 years of effort to establish the people’s ownership system in rural areas, North Korea has succeeded in nationalizing only 9 percent of some 3,000 cooperative farms. The North Korean Central Broadcasting System on January 16, 1993, was still emphasizing the necessity of the state ownership system. *See also* AGRICULTURE.

**KIMILSUNGIA, KIMJONGILIA.** Kim Il Sung Flower, or *Kimilsungia*, was brought into North Korea from Indonesia in 1975. During his visit to Indonesia, Kim Il Sung (q.v.) visited a botanical garden on April 13, 1975, accompanied by Indonesian President Sukarno and saw there a rare species of orchid with dark purplish-pink buds. The Indonesian president suggested that the flower should be named after Kim Il Sung as a birthday gift, according to a Korean Central Broadcasting System (KCBS) broadcast on June 6, 1983. The Kim Jong Il Flower, or Kimjongilia, made its debut when a Japanese botanist sent the newly cultivated flower to Kim Jong Il (q.v.) in February 1988 as a gift on his 46th birthday. The flower, a member of the Begonia family, is a perennial plant 30 to 70 centimeters in height and with blooms of 10 to 20 red flowers in succession for about 120 days a year. The Japanese botanist raised the flower because of his deep respect for the Junior Kim, reported the KCBS on February 21, 1988.

The KCBS broadcast said that both the *Kimilsungia* and *Kimjongilia* flowers were imported from abroad, with the blessings of all people, to take root in the rich soil of the country of *Juche* (q.v.). The North Korean people are indoctrinated to take care of these flowers.

**KIMILSUNGISM.** North Korea began to use this terminology on February 19, 1974, when Kim Jong Il (q.v.) made a speech entitled, “On Some Problems of the Party’s Task To Convert All Society into a Kimilsungism-Oriented One,” during a forum of Korean Workers’ Party (q.v.) officials in the ideological sector. In this speech the Junior Kim defined Kimilsungism as a new and creative revolutionary idea to meet the demands of *Juche* times and further explained that it was a systematized form of the idea, theory, and guiding principles of the *Juche* ideology (q.v.). Kim Jong Il’s thesis entitled “On the *Juche* Ideology,” which was presented in March 1982, stressed that *Juche* was formally designated to be called Kimilsungism. North Korea’s ideologues have since used the two words, *Juche* ideology and Kimilsungism, to refer to the same ideas and concepts. Thus, Kim Il Sung (q.v.) was elevated to the level of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin in developing the theory.

**KIM JONG IL (1942–).** Son of Kim Il Sung (q.v.) and supreme leader of North Korea since his father’s death. Kim Jong Il was born on February 16, 1942, in Buyatsk, near Khavarovsk in the Soviet Union after his father was forced to move to the Soviet Far East from Manchuria in 1941. However, North Korea’s official account is different. According to the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK)’s official record, Kim Jong Il was born in a log cabin in the thick forest of Paetu Mountain when Kim Il Sung established the supreme command of the Korean People’s Revolutionary Forces there in September 1936 to avoid the crackdown on the Korean guerrillas by the Japanese Imperial Army. A female comrade, Kim Jung-suk, whom Kim Il Sung later married, followed Kim’s orders to set up a guerrilla base there from June 1941 to the spring of 1943. She bore him two sons and a daughter before she died on September 22, 1949, of tuberculosis. The following year, Kim Il Sung married his second wife, Kim Song-ae, who was his secretary. He had five children (two sons and three daughters) by the second marriage. Thus,



Kim Jong Il has two stepbrothers and three step-sisters. Kim Jong Il came to Pyongyang (q.v.) along with his mother, Kim Jung-suk, in November 1945. He entered Kim Il Sung University in 1960 and graduated in June 1964. Then he became a cadre in the Organization and Guidance Department of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC) (q.v.) in June 1964, rising to chief of a section with the KWP CC's Propaganda and Agitation Department and concurrently deputy chief of the KWP CC's Cultural-Art Department in 1971. He was later promoted to candidate member of the Politburo (q.v.) and secretary in charge of organization, propaganda, and agitation for the KWP CC in 1973. His position as successor to his father, Kim Il Sung, was firmly established by the KWP CC session held in February 1974 and formalized at the Sixth Congress of the KWP in October 1980. At this congress, he was elected to the KWP CC's five-member Standing Committee (Presidium). Kim Jong Il made his debut in the Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) (q.v.) in 1982. In May 1990, he became first deputy chairman of the National Defense Commission (NDC) (q.v.) and then supreme commander of the Korean People's Army (KPA) (q.v.) in December 1991. Given the rank of marshal in April 1992, he added the position of chairman of the National Defense Commission (NDC) (q.v.) in April 1993. Following his father's death in 1994, the Junior Kim ruled North Korea as supreme army commander until elected general secretary of the KWP in 1997. He consolidated his power base at the first session of the Tenth SPA on September 5, 1998. Kim Jong Il was thus appointed by the KWP to take the position of general secretary, who controls the party structure and makes state policy. He also succeeded his father as chairman of the NDC of the DPRK when North Korea convened the Tenth session of the SPA on September 5, 1998, after the election of the SPA in July 1998. However, the Tenth session of the SPA abolished the post of presidency and made Kim Il Sung eternal president in the DPRK. Kim Jong Il was thus made the chairman of the NDC, a position that is likely to function as the center of political power in North Korea. Currently, Kim holds the posts of marshal, general secretary of the KWP CC, chairman of the NDC, supreme commander of the KPA. He is a member of the Politburo of the KWP CC and also member of the KWP Central Military Committee.

**KIM JUNG-RIN (1924-)**. Secretary of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC) (q.v.). He was born in Pyongyang Province (q.v.). He became deputy chief of a KWP CC department in 1954, chief of the KWP CC's Department of Culture in 1962, KWP CC's secretary in charge of anti-South Korea programs, an associate member of the Politburo (q.v.) in 1969, and a full member of the Politburo in 1970. Kim was demoted to an associate member of the Politburo and discharged as KWP CC secretary in 1983. He was reinstated as KWP CC secretary in 1988.

**KIM KWANF-HYUP (BDPU)**. A close associate of Kim Il Sung (q.v.) in Manchuria and Siberia during the anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare and served as a vice premier and defense minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in the second cabinet of 1957. Kim continued to serve as vice premier and defense minister until he was purged in 1969 following the Pueblo incident in 1968 and the shooting down of the EC121 reconnaissance plane in 1969.

**KIM YONG-CHU (1922-)**. Vice marshal, chief of the General Staff of the Korean People's Army (q.v.). Born in 1922, he won associate membership in the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC) (q.v.) in 1980. He became deputy chief of a KWP CC department in 1983. He was promoted to general in 1992 and to vice marshal in October 1995, when he became chief of the General Staff of the army. He is most probably also a member of the KWP Central Military Committee.

**KIM YONG-JU (1922-)**. Younger brother of the late North Korean leader, Kim Il Sung (q.v.), member of the Politburo (q.v.). He was born in South Pyongan Province, and graduated from Moscow State University in 1940. He became a cadre of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee's (KWP CC) (q.v.) Organization and Guidance Department in 1954, department section chief in 1957, department chief in 1962, associate member of the Politburo and KWP CC secretary in 1966, and a full member of the Politburo in 1970, but retained his position as KWP CC secretary and premier in 1974. Kim disappeared from public view in April 1975 (one year after Kim Jong Il (q.v.) was named to succeed his father). He reappeared on July 26,

1993, at the 40th anniversary of “North Korea’s Victory in the Korean War” ceremonies. He was reinstated as a full member of the Politburo in December 1993 and became vice president. He was elected honorary vice chairman of the Supreme People’s Assembly (q.v.) Presidium in September 1998.

**KIM YONG-NAM (1925-).** Chairman of the presidium of the Supreme People’s Assembly (SPA) (q.v.). Born in North Hamgyong Province, he graduated from Kim Il Sung University in 1944. He later studied at Moscow State University in 1953. He became a cadre in the International Department of the Korean Workers’ Party Central Committee (KWP CC) (q.v.) in 1954, a section leader in the department in 1956, deputy chief of the department in 1963, and was named a vice foreign minister in September 1963. He became an associate member of the Politburo (q.v.) of the KWP CC in 1974, a KWP CC secretary in 1975, a full member of the Politburo in 1978, then foreign minister and, concurrently, a deputy premier in 1983. Kim was elected to the position of chairman of the Presidium at the Tenth Supreme People’s Assembly (q.v.), which makes him the nominal head of the state because the position of president was abolished by the new constitution (q.v.) adopted at the Tenth SPA on September 5, 1998. He was replaced by Hong Sung-nam as premier.

**KIM YONG-SUN (1934-).** Korean Workers’ Party Central Committee (KWP CC) (q.v.) secretary in charge of programs against South Korea. Born in South Pyongan Province, he graduated from Kim Il Sung University and studied at Moscow State University. He became deputy chairman of the People’s Committee in Kangwon Province in 1960, ambassador to Egypt in 1970, deputy chief of the KWP CC’s International Department in 1974, KWP CC secretary in 1984, chief of the KWP CC’s International Department in 1988, and KWP CC secretary again in 1990. Kim was named chairman of the Supreme People’s Assembly (SPA) (q.v.) Diplomacy Committee in April 1992, and chairman of the SPA Reunification Policy Committee in 1993. He was dismissed as an associate member of the Politburo in December 1993.

**KIM YUN-HYOK (1926-).** Secretary general of the Presidium of the Supreme People’s Assembly (SPA) (q.v.). Born in South Pyongan

Province, he studied at Leningrad Engineering College. He became secretary of the Administrative Council (q.v.) in 1977, minister of the metal industry in 1980, full member of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (q.v.) in October 1980, and deputy premier in 1982. Kim served in this post until named secretary general of the SPA Presidium on September 5, 1998.

**KOREA, REPUBLIC OF (ROK).** *See* SOUTH KOREA, RELATIONS WITH.

**KOREAN NATION FIRST IDEA.** The "Korean Nation First Idea," as an ideological base to safeguard North Korea's "Socialism of Our Own Style," was initially presented by Kim Jong Il (q.v.) in a speech to a group of senior cadres of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (q.v.) on July 15, 1986, under the title, "On Some Problems of Education in the *Juche* Idea." Kim Jong Il stated: "First of all, our people must love the nation, which is worth their faithful commitment to the revolution. For this reason, I propose the Spirit of the Supremacy of Our Nationality." However, Kim replaced the term, "Our Nationality" with "Korean Nationality" in a speech on December 28, 1989, stressing the change as aimed at urging the people to commit themselves more to the cause of socialist revolution and construction. He argued, "The spirit of the supremacy of the Korean nationality is possible because the Koreans have a great *Suryong* (leader), a great party, a great ideology, and socialist institutions which are the most excellent in the world."

**KOREAN PENINSULA ENERGY DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION (KEDO).** In order to implement the Agreed Framework (q.v.) of October 1994 between North Korea and the United States (q.v.), the KEDO was set up. This is an international organization charged with constructing two light-water reactors in North Korea. The agreement included the following points: The United States will provide by the year 2003 the two million-kilowatt light-water reactors to North Korea; the United States will supply 500,000 tons of crude oil each year until the first light-water reactor becomes operational; North Korea will halt the construction of its graphite reactors; North Korea will seal the spent fuel rods under the supervision of the

International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); diplomatic liaison offices will be set up in the capitals of the two countries; North Korea will implement the Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula; and North Korea will accept the inspection of its nuclear facilities.

KEDO agreed to construct the light-water reactors in Shinpo on the east coast of North Korea, and the South Korean type of the light-reactor will be built by KEDO. Thus, President Bill Clinton was able to announce the freezing of North Korean nuclear development. *See also* NUCLEAR ENERGY.

**KOREAN PEOPLE'S ARMY (KPA).** *See* ARMED FORCES.

**KOREAN WAR or FATHERLAND LIBERATION WAR.** This is North Korean terminology for the Korean War of 1950–53. *The North Korean Dictionary of Politics* (Pyongyang: December 1973) states that the “American invaders and the South Korean junta triggered an invasion war against the North on June 25, 1950, in a surprise attack.” However, the following explanation implies that the North Korean side took the initiative in the war.

North Korea's first stage (June 25 to September 1950) strategy was to annihilate the enemy before the arrival of reinforcements. Under this strategy, the Korean People's Army (q.v.), within a month and a half, could mop up the enemy's primary forces and occupy 90 percent of South Korean territory. The second stage (mid-September to mid-October 1950) was the period for the North Korean army to make a strategic retreat and reorganize its forces for a counterattack. The third stage (mid-October 1950 to June 1951) was to recover the area north of the 38th parallel. The fourth stage (June 1951 to July 1953) was the period during which North Korea was to strengthen its defense position.

During the Korean War the Korean People's Army was almost demolished and civilian casualties in the north were estimated at two million, while 38,000 American soldiers were killed in action. In the south, there were three million civilian and military casualties during the Korean War. More than one million Chinese soldiers, who were known as People's Volunteers, were killed in action. Several hundred volumes of war memoirs and strategic studies on the Korean War

have been published, and many more books on the international politics of the Korean War are being published due to the observation of the 50th anniversary of the war in 2000.

**KOREAN WORKERS' PARTY (KWP).** The KWP is the highest form of revolutionary organization among all the organizations in North Korea, according the preface of the KWP charter. The origin of the KWP, or the Workers' Party of Korea (*Chosen Nodong-Tang*), can be traced back to the establishment of the Korean Communist Party (KCP) in 1925, which was dissolved in the 1930s due to the factional infighting and the Japanese police crack down. However, the KCP was reconstituted on October 10, 1945, when the responsible cadres and activists of the communist organizations in the five provinces of the northwestern part of Korea established the North Korean Bureau of the KCP, which later served as the organizational foundation for the creation of the KWP. The North Korean Bureau of the KCP later became the North Korean Communist Party in April 1946. This organization subsequently merged with the New People's Party of Korea (*Choson Sinmin-Dang*), which was organized by the Koreans in China who were active in the Korean Independence League during the Sino-Japanese War of 1937–45, and this unified organization changed its name to the North Korean Workers' Party (NKWP) on August 29, 1945. Subsequently the NKWP merged again with the South Korean Workers' Party (SKWP) on June 30, 1949, and became the present-day KWP. The organizational structure of the KWP followed the same pattern of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in many respects because the structure of all the communist parties resembles a pyramid. In the hierarchical structure of the KWP, the secretary general and the Politburo (q.v.) are the top echelon, and the KWP Central Committee (KWP CC) (q.v.) is the middle echelon, while the Party Congress at the bottom represents more than four million members of the KWP in North Korea. When the KWP was organized in 1945, Kim Il Sung (q.v.) became the general secretary and chairman of the KWP CC, then served as the supreme leader of the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) as premier, president, and chairman of the National Defense Commission (NDC) (q.v.) until he died in 1994. His eldest son, Kim Jong Il (q.v.), succeeded him in the highest positions of the KWP and

the DPRK without a power struggle because the son had been groomed to succeed his father since the 1970s. The organizational principle of the KWP is based in theory on “democratic centralism”; however, the general secretary of the KWP runs the party, the government, and the army organizations as a one-man dictator. In the early period of the KWP, the Party Congress and the Central Committee had enormous powers, but the Political Committee, which was comparable to the Politburo of other communist parties, had emerged as the most powerful organ following the Third Party Congress of 1956. When the Secretariat was created by the KWP CC in October 1966, it was transformed into the apex of power in North Korea because all the party organizations were directed by General Secretary Kim Il Sung, who was in charge of the Secretariat. When the political committee of the KWP CC was reorganized to serve as the Politburo, and its standing committee was also newly created on the basis of the amendment of the party constitution at the Sixth Congress of the KWP in 1980, the standing committee of the Politburo emerged as the center of power and was headed by Kim Il Sung. In the early stage of the KWP, the Party Congress was convened once a year, and the Central Committee meeting was called once every three months. However, the amendment of the party constitution at the Sixth Congress in 1980 stipulated that the Party Congress will be convened every five years and the plenary session of the KWP CC will be convened every six months. The Party Congress has not been convened in more than two decades, since the Sixth Congress of 1980. The First Congress was convened in August 28–30, 1946, with a membership of 450,000; the Second Congress was convened in March 27–30, 1948; the Third Congress in April 23–29, 1956; the Fourth Congress in September 11–19, 1961; the Fifth Congress convened in November 2–13, 1970, with 1,871 delegates representing more than 1.6 million members, and the Sixth Congress was convened in October 10–14, 1980, with 3,220 delegates representing two million members of the KWP. The current membership of the KWP has reached at least four million during the two decades since the Sixth Congress of 1980. The Sixth Congress created a new organization known as the Military Committee, which was changed to the present-day NDC (q.v.) in 1984, and Kim Il Sung became its chairman. Thus, Kim Il Sung became the chairman of the three most powerful organs

of the KWP: the NDC, the standing committee of the Politburo, and the Secretariat of the KWP CC. He was followed by his son, Kim Jong Il, when he died in 1994.

**KORYO CONFEDERATE REPUBLIC.** The reunification (q.v.) formula of two Koreas proclaimed by North Korea. The concept of a confederate republic was first presented by Kim Il Sung (q.v.) in August 1960 and formulated in the form of a proposal to the south under the name of the “Confederate Republic of Koryo” on October 10, 1980, when North Korea held the Sixth Party Congress. This formula is designed to permit two different ideologies and governments to co-exist in one state as a transitional process to unification. The formula calls for the abolition of anticommunist laws in South Korea; the guarantee to protect all political activities by all political organizations, including communist and anti-Seoul organizations, in the south; the democratization of South Korean society; and the conclusion of a North Korea–U.S. peace pact and the withdrawal of U.S. (q.v.) forces from the South.

**KORYO MEDICINE.** Herbal medicine. North Korea began to use this term in 1992 in a move to stress its “independent posture.” Koryo is the name of a Korean dynasty, which was the legitimate Korean kingdom in Korea, North Korea claims, and which is also similar to the earlier Koguryo Dynasty, whose capital was Pyongyang (q.v.). Koryo medicine uses about 1,400 items from plants, animals, and minerals for treatment and 50,000 prescriptions including moxibustion. However, it can only alleviate the poor conditions of North Korea’s modern medical capability.

**KWAK BOM-GI (DBPU).** Deputy premier. Until being named deputy premier during the reshuffle of September 1998, Kwak held relatively minor posts in the Heavy Industry Ministry. No other information is available.

**KWANGPOK POLITICS.** This term, which means “extensive magnanimity,” was used to elevate Kim Jong Il’s (q.v.) image in North Korea and stressed that politics for the people must be on a grand scale. The Kwangpok policy concerns Kim Jong Il’s achievements,



such as the construction of large structures, including the *Juche* Ideology Tower and the Yugyong Hotel in Pyongyang (q.v.).

**KWON HE-GYONG (1928-)**. Chief of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee's (KWP CC) (q.v.) External Information Survey Department. Born in Jagang Province, he became a vice foreign minister in 1965, ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1972, and vice foreign minister again in 1976. He was appointed ambassador to the Soviet Union again in 1980, and chief of a KWP CC department sometime after he returned from Moscow in December 1989.

**KYE UNG-TAE (1925-)**. Full member of the Politburo (q.v.) and secretary of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC) (q.v.). Born in North Hamgyong Province, he graduated from a college in Manchuria and studied in the Soviet Union in 1948. He became vice foreign minister in 1960, vice trade minister in 1962, trade minister in 1967, deputy premier in 1976, and an associate member of the Politburo in 1977. He won his full membership in the Politburo in 1980. Kye was demoted to an associate member of the Politburo in 1981, but became a deputy premier in 1982, responsible secretary of the Party Committee in South Pyongan Province in 1983, and KWP CC secretary in 1985. He recovered his full membership in the Politburo in 1988.

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**LAND REFORM.** *See* AGRARIAN REFORM.

**LI CHANG-SON (1925-)**. Chief of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee's (KWP CC) (q.v.) Social and Cultural Department. Born in 1925, he was a bodyguard for Kim Il Sung (q.v.). He became a deputy chief of the KWP CC's Propaganda and Agitation Department in 1961, a vice minister of culture in 1962, first vice minister of culture in 1970, culture minister in August 1972, a minister of culture and arts in December 1972, and minister of culture and arts in 1977. Li was also vice president and editor-in-chief of the Publishing House of the KWP in 1992.

**LI HA-IL (DBPU).** Vice marshal, member of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee's (KWA CC) (q.v.) Military Committee. Li became a full member of the KWP CC in 1980, a deputy chief of the KWP CC's Military Department in 1987, and member of the National Defense Commission (q.v.) in 1990. He was promoted to full general and became chief of the KWP CC's Military Department and a member of the Party Military Commission in 1992, being promoted to vice marshal in October 1995.

**LI JONG-OK (1916–).** Member of the Politburo (q.v.) and vice president. Born in South Hamgyong Province, he graduated from a Chinese engineering college in 1940 and became vice industrial minister in 1950, light industry minister in 1951, chief of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee's (KWP CC) (q.v.) International Department and concurrently chairman of the State Planning Commission in 1956. He became vice chairman of the KWP CC in 1959, a deputy premier and chairman of the Heavy Industry Commission in 1960, and a member of the Politburo in 1961. Later he held positions as metals and chemical industry minister in 1962, president of the Academy of Science (q.v.) in 1965, deputy premier in 1967, mining industry minister in 1971, and chairman of the Heavy Industry Commission in 1972. Li was named a deputy premier in 1976 and premier in 1977, a member of the Politburo and its Presidium in 1980, and premier in 1982. He was dismissed as a member of the Politburo Presidium in 1983, and he became a vice president in 1984. Li was elected to the Tenth Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) in July 1998 and was thus the only member of the SPA who was consecutively elected for the past 50 years from the First SPA in 1948 to the Tenth SPA in 1998. He currently serves as honorary vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the SPA.

**LI JONG-SAN (DBPU).** Vice marshal. Chief of staff for the Second Army Group in 1965, he was promoted to colonel general in 1989, full general in 1992, and vice marshal in 1997. Li's current assignment is unknown.

**LI MYONG-SU (DBPU).** Colonel general and chief of the Operational Bureau of the General Staff of the Korean People's Army (q.v.). He

was promoted to colonel general in October 1995. He frequently accompanies Kim Jong Il (q.v.) on inspection tours.

**LI SON-SHIL (1925–).** Associate member of the Politburo (q.v.). She became an associate member of the Politburo in 1980. A South Korean investigation of an attempt to inaugurate the South Korean Workers' Party revealed in 1992 that she had crossed into South Korea three times since 1966 to rally North Korean sympathizers in the South.

**LI UL-SOL (1920–).** Marshal, chief of the Secret Service. Born in South Hamgyong Province in 1920, he served with the Chinese Communist Eighth Route Armies during the late 1930s. He graduated from a Soviet military academy. Li became a regimental commander in 1951, commander of a corps in 1962, commander of the Fifth Army Group in 1968, member of the Korean Workers' Party Central Military Committee in 1980, chief of the Secret Service in 1982, and a member of the National Defense Commission (q.v.) in 1990. He was promoted to vice marshal in 1992 and to full marshal in 1995.

**LI YONG-CHOL (DBPU).** Member of the Korean Workers' Party (q.v.) Central Military Commission. He was first deputy chief of the Party Central Committee Department. He occasionally accompanies Kim Jong Il (q.v.) on inspection tours.

**LI YONG-MU (DBPU).** Vice marshal, vice chairman of the National Defense Commission (q.v.). He was already a lieutenant general in 1964 and served as first deputy head of the Korean People's Army's (q.v.) General Political Bureau. He became a member of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC) (q.v.) in 1970, deputy to the Supreme People's Assembly in 1972, was promoted to chief of the Army Political Bureau in 1974, and became a member of the Politburo (q.v.) in 1975. Li vanished from public view in 1977 and stayed out of sight until November 1988, when he reappeared as an associate member of the KWP CC. He became a full member of the KWP CC and chairman of the State Inspection Committee in 1989, was named chairman of the Transportation Commission in 1991, vice chairman of the National Defense Commission on September 5, 1998, and promoted to vice marshal three days later.

**LIGHT INFANTRY.** The light infantry is a special unit of the North Korean army. Its specially trained troops are equipped with portable weapons so they can move swiftly and secretly in any terrain, including tunnels, and under any circumstances. All North Korean combat troops above the level of division operate light infantry troops separately. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) has an independent special warfare corps, which also has light infantry troops under its command. *See also* ARMED FORCES.

– M –

**MANGYONGBONG-HO.** This is the name of the 3,500-ton North Korean freighter-passenger ship plying the route between the North Korean port of Wonsan and the Japanese port of Niigata. This ship is widely known as the “repatriation ship.” From 1959 through the 1980s, a total of 93,000 pro-Pyongyang Koreans residing in Japan (q.v.) immigrated to the alleged “paradise on earth” in North Korea aboard the boat. More than 6,000 Japanese women also went to North Korea following their Korean husbands. The repatriation was based on an agreement signed between the Red Cross societies of Japan and North Korea at Calcutta on August 13, 1959. This ship is still operating, but no longer as a repatriation ship.

**MANGYONGDAE REVOLUTIONARY SCHOOL.** This school, located in the Mangyongdae District in Pyongyang (q.v.), was established in 1947 for privileged children, including the daughters and sons of senior officials of the Korean Workers' Party and the government (qq.v.). It was located in Taesong County of South Pyongan Province at the time of its establishment. A year later the school was moved to Mangyongdae, which is the birthplace of Kim Il Sung (q.v.). The Mangyongdae Revolutionary School is different from other schools in the sense that it provides all of the 11-year education from kindergarten and elementary people's school to middle-high school, which is under the control of the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces. Kim Jong Il graduated from this school. Among other graduates are former premier Kang Sung-san (q.v.) and two Party secretaries, Chon Byong-ho and Choe Tae-bok.

**MANSUDAE ART THEATER.** This is the representative theater built in 1977 in Pyongyang (q.v.) where the five revolutionary operas are performed. The Mansudae Art Troupe belongs to this theater. With a total area of 60,000 square meters, this theater has 2,200 square meters of a rotating stage and 4,000 seats. The Mansudae Art Troupe has 300 members, consisting of a chorus, a dance troupe, and an orchestra.

**MARCH UNDER TRIALS.** In the emergency situation after the death of Kim Il Sung (q.v.) in July 1994, North Korea launched the March Under Trials program in an effort to deal with political, economic, and social problems. According to Pyongyang's account, the march originated in Kim Il Sung's anti-Japanese struggles in the late 1930s. Pyongyang maintains the March Under Trials was made by the members of the anti-Japanese Korean army led by Kim Il Sung between December 1938 and March 1939 to counter an intense Japanese offensive. The term first appeared in an editorial printed on January 1, 1996, jointly with the newspapers of the Korean Workers' Party, the Korean People's Army, and the Kim Il Sung Socialist Youth League (q.v.). It also appeared in a joint editorial of the papers on New Year's Day of 1997 under the slogan, "Let All of Us Become Honorable Winners in the March Under Trials This Year." But North Korea contended that the march in the 1990s was not the first since the late 1930s. The North Korean Central Broadcasting System stated on March 31, 1997, "In the year 1956, our Party experienced harsh trials without parallel. The *Suryong* launched the second such March Under Trials . . ."

**MASS ORGANIZATIONS.** Mass organizations play an important role in communist society because they are organized in such a way that the masses feel they are participating in the political and social process. Because political power is concentrated in the hands of a small elite group in the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) (q.v.) the leadership needs the support of the masses to implement the policies of the KWP. To mobilize and provide the support for the implementation of the KWP policies the KWP leaders organize the mass organizations to function as support groups and disseminators of the centrally decided policies to the masses. The sociopolitical organizations include Academy of Social Sciences (q.v.), Chodoist Association,

Chondoist Chongu Party (CCP), Christian Federation, Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland, Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland, Democratic Women's Union, Religious Council, General Federation of Trade Unions, Kim Il Sung Socialist Youth League (q.v.), National Alliance for the Country's Reunification, Roman Catholic Association, Buddhist Federation, Social Democratic Party (SDP), and Union of Agricultural Working People.

**MILITARY.** *See* ARMED FORCES.

**MILITARY ARMISTICE COMMISSION (MAC).** This organization was set up under the truce agreement in July 1953 to prevent violations of the truce accord and another war on the Korean Peninsula. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea pulled out of the MAC in April 1994.

**MILITARY INSTITUTIONS.** Military institutions in North Korea include the General Political Bureau, which is headed by Cho Myong-rok; General Staff of the People's Army, which is headed by Kim Yong-Chun; and the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces, which is headed by Kim Il-chol. Under the General Staff of the People's Army there are five bureaus, five commands, and two military schools: Operations, Reconnaissance, Air Force Commander, Navy Commander, Commander of the East Sea Fleet, Commander of the West Sea Fleet, Artillery Command, Tank Guidance Bureau, Antiair Artillery Command, Light Infantry Guidance Bureau, General Logistics, Kim Il Sung Military Academy, and Mangyongdae Revolutionary School (q.v.).

**MILITARY-ORIENTED THOUGHT.** The death of Kim Il Sung (q.v.) in July 1994 increased the military's role and influence in North Korea over general affairs and even over the status of the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) (q.v.), resulting in the concept of the "driving force" of the North Korean brand of socialism. The term *military-oriented thought* appeared for the first time in an editorial of *Rodong Shinmun*, a KWP organ, on April 7, 1997, under the headline, "There Is a Victory for Socialism on the Guns and Bombs of the People's Army." The

editorial defined the thought as “the revolutionary philosophy to safeguard the socialism of our own style under any circumstances,” while claiming the thought to be Respected General Kim Jong Il’s (q.v.). Kim Jong Il regards his office as supreme army commander as more important than his position as general secretary of the KWP, a post he assumed in October 1997; this is shown by his frequent visits to military units. Reflecting his military-oriented thought, two-thirds of Kim Jong Il’s public activities in 1997 were concerned with the Korean People’s Army (q.v.).

**MINING.** North Korea’s economy depends to a great extent on the extraction of its many mineral resources for industrial raw materials, fuels, and metal processing, as well as for exporting. Anthracite coal, the reserve of which is estimated at 1.8 billion tons, is the most abundant of the country’s mineral resources. The coal is produced in large quantity for both domestic consumption and export. Coalmines are concentrated in South Pyongan Province and 68 million tons of anthracite coal and 22 million tons of lignic coal were produced during each year of the 1990s. North Korea relies heavily on coal as its main energy source because it lacks any reserves of oil or gas, but there has been a persistent energy shortage during the 1980s and 1990s. The production lag in the extraction industry is largely due to the aging of existing mining equipment and facilities developed by the Japanese colonial administration, the inefficiency of the labor force, and the lack of modern, efficient equipment. Because of the lack of domestic production, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) has relied on foreign sources for coal and energy sources. By the end of the 1980s, China (q.v.) was the chief source of coke coal, and the Soviet Union (q.v.) has also supplied energy sources. Iron ore, with estimated reserves of 400 million tons in North Korea, is a major source of foreign exchange earnings and continues to be important. According to some Japanese estimates, annual iron ore output increased from 8 million tons in 1985 to 10 million tons in 1990. North Korea also has the largest and the highest-quality magnesite deposits in the world—an estimated 490 million tons. The mining of magnesite is very important for the domestic industrial ceramics industry and for export. Magnesite mines are concentrated in the Tanchon area of South Hamgyong Province. Other important minerals are lead, zinc,

tungsten, mercury, copper, phosphates, gold, silver, and sulfur. Manganese, graphite, apatite, fluorite, barite, limestone, and talc are also found in large supply. The well-known Unsan Gold Mine was originally opened by a United States firm in 1896 and was taken over by a Japanese firm during the colonial period. It has an estimated deposit of more than 1,000 tons, which could make it one of the world's major gold mines. It was reported that the North Korean authorities often sold their gold on the world market at a lower price to earn foreign exchange in order to purchase industrial goods or military hardware.

**MISSILES.** Rodong Missile No. 1 is a ballistic missile with a maximum firing range of 1,000 to 1,300 kilometers developed by North Korea based on the Soviet Scud-B. North Korea test-fired it in May 1993 in Hwadae County, North Hamgyong Province. A spokesman of the North Korean Foreign Ministry, in a statement issued in September that year, admitted that Pyongyang had developed the missile. North Korea is reported to have the capability of producing 100 missiles a year. They are usually called Scud-Ds. In November 1997, the South Korean defense minister said North Korea began to develop the Rodong No. 1 missile in 1988 and test fired it once each year in 1990 and 1993. The North Korean army is likely to be armed with the missile in the twenty-first century. However, subsequent to negotiations with the United States (q.v.) in 1997 and 1998 North Korea agreed to freeze missile testing and production until 2003.

**MONOLITHIC IDEOLOGICAL SYSTEM.** The word "monolithic" was first used on May 17, 1967, when *Rodong Shinmun* published an article entitled, "Let Us Establish a Firm Monolithic Ideological System for All Party Members and Workers." A month later, the task was a major topic during a session of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (q.v.). In a speech during the Fifth Party Congress held in November 1970, Kim Il Sung (q.v.), then premier, stressed the issue, stating that "Most important in strengthening the role and the function of the Party is to place the entire Party under the monolithic ideological system and to cement continuously the unity of Party ranks." This was the source of Pyongyang's emphasis on "monolithic leadership," referring to the unchallengeable leadership of the Party and Kim Il Sung (q.v.).



**MOVEMENT TO BECOME TALLER.** This movement began in the mid-1980s for the purpose of making teenagers taller on the orders of Kim Il Sung (q.v.). All primary schools and secondary high schools in North Korea were ordered to prepare two hours of extracurricular activities for the students to participate in physical exercise designed to make them taller. However, the shortage of food and malnutrition inhibited North Korea's effort to make the youth taller.

– N –

**NAMPO.** One of the largest port cities in the west coast located 43 kilometers southeast of Pyongyang (q.v.). It was elevated to the status of a special city at the time of the administrative reorganization of March 1980. A major industrial complex is located here and Nampo is being considered to be one of the special economic zones, like the Rajin-Sonbong Free Economic and Trade Zone (q.v.), when the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) implements the policy of opening and reform. A South Korean shipping company started a cargo ferry between Inchon and Nampo three times a week for economic exchanges between the two Koreas.

**NATION AND DESTINY.** A series of 50 films being produced to praise the North Korean socialist system. North Korea produced the first and second films in February 1992 to mark the 50th birthday of Kim Jong Il (q.v.). As of November 1996, 36 films had been produced. North Korea praised the series as "monumental and great works." As of September 1998, 44 films had been produced, and by 2000 the series of 50 films had been completed.

**NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMISSION (NDC).** Under the constitutional revision of September 5, 1998, the NDC became the most powerful organ headed by Kim Jong Il (q.v.) as its chairman. "The office of the Chairman of the National Defense Commission is a very important post: It is in charge of the whole of North Korea's political, military, and economic powers and is the top post of the republic," Presidium Chairman Kim Yong-nam (q.v.) said when he nominated Kim Jong Il as chairman of the NDC at the first session of the Tenth

Supreme People's Assembly (q.v.) on September 5, 1998. The NDC's ranks include First Vice Chairman Cho Myong-rok, Vice Chairmen Kim Il-chol and Li Yong-mu, members Kim Yong-chun, Yon Hyong-muk, Li Ul-sol, Paek Hak-rim, Chon Byong-ho, Kim Chol-man, and Minister of the Korean People's Armed Forces (q.v.) Kim Il-chol.

**NATIONALIZATION.** The nationalization of major industries, including industrial plants, transportation, communication, banks, commerce, and foreign trade, which were owned and operated by Japanese colonial rule, enhanced democratic reform toward socialism. The Provisional People's Committee of North Korea proclaimed the Law Concerning the Nationalization of Industry, Transportation, Communication and Banks on August 10, 1946, and the nationalization of the industrial sector was completed by February 1947, by which time North Korea had entered into the transitional period of socialism. However, by 1958 the agricultural sector was fully collectivized and the country was then called a socialist industrial nation in the 1960s.

**NEUTRAL NATIONS SUPERVISORY COMMISSION (NNSC).**

Set up under the terms of the armistice agreement of July 27, 1953. The members of this commission were Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. Twenty inspection teams were permitted and each team was composed of at least four military officers, half of them appointed by Sweden and Switzerland and half by Czechoslovakia and Poland. Ten of these teams were divided among five South Korean ports of entry—Inchon, Taegu, Pusan, Kangnung, and Kunsan—and five North Korean ports—Shinuiju, Chongjin, Hungnam, Nampo (q.v.), and Sinanju. These teams were to supervise, on behalf of the NNSC, the armistice provisions on the introduction and movement of troops and weapons in North and South Korea and to investigate infringements of the arrangements. Article II of the armistice agreement laid out concrete arrangements for the cease-fire and armistice. The main objective of these arrangements was to monitor and restrict levels of troops and armaments within the peninsula and to ensure the smooth functioning of the Military Armistice Commission (MAC) of the NNSC.

**NONPROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT).** The Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was signed in Washington, London, and Moscow on July 1, 1968, after many years of negotiations. The need to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons was evident from the first days of the nuclear era. On November 15, 1945, the United States (q.v.), the United Kingdom, and Canada proposed the establishment of a United Nations Atomic Energy Commission for the purpose of “entirely eliminating the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes.” The Baruch plan of 1946, offered by the United States, sought to forestall nuclear arms proliferation by placing all nuclear resources under international ownership and control. However, the early postwar efforts to achieve agreement on nuclear disarmament failed. The Soviet Union (q.v.) in 1949, the United Kingdom in 1952, France in 1960, and the People’s Republic of China (q.v.) in 1964 became nuclear-weapon states. Increasingly, it became apparent that earlier assumptions about the scarcity of nuclear materials and the difficulty of mastering nuclear technology were inaccurate. These and other developments increased the prospects for the threat of nuclear proliferation. Thus, a succession of initiatives beginning in the 1950s by both nuclear and non-nuclear powers sought to check proliferation. In 1961, the U.N. General Assembly unanimously approved an Irish resolution calling on all states, particularly the nuclear powers, to conclude an international agreement to refrain from the transfer or acquisition of nuclear weapons. In addition, the general disarmament plans, which had been submitted by the United States and the Soviet Union during the period 1960–1962, included provisions banning the transfer and acquisition of nuclear weapons. On August 17, 1965, the United States submitted a draft NPT to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC). This draft obliged the nuclear-weapon powers not to transfer nuclear weapons to the national control of any non-nuclear country not having them. Non-nuclear nations would undertake to apply International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) or equivalent safeguards to their peaceful nuclear activities. After several years of negotiations, the United States and the Soviet Union were able to submit separate, but identical, texts of a draft treaty on nonproliferation to the ENDC on August 24, 1967. Other ENDC members proposed numerous amendments, largely reflecting the concerns of the non-nuclear states. After several review

conferences, the fourth NPT conference was held in August 1990 in Geneva. A comprehensive and thorough review of the operation of the NPT over the previous five years was conducted, which once again affirmed that the NPT was a vital instrument for preserving global stability and security. The NPT remains the cornerstone of international efforts to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons. With over 180 parties, it is the most widely adhered-to arms control agreement in history. This impressive membership, which continues to grow, is a concrete reflection of the growing international support for nuclear nonproliferation.

North Korea signed the NPT in 1985. However, North Korea continued to develop more destructive devices that violated the NPT, and the IAEA made the decision to inspect North Korean nuclear facilities, especially the Yongbyon nuclear energy site where North Korea may have secretly stored enough plutonium to produce two or three nuclear bombs. Under pressure to allow inspections by the IAEA, North Korea finally threatened to withdraw from the NPT in 1993, and the nuclear crisis ensued. The United States Department of State condemned North Korea as a “rogue state” for the reason that it had exported nuclear and missile technologies to Iraq and other states in the Middle East.

**NORTH-SOUTH KOREA RELATIONS (INTER-KOREAN RELATIONS).** North-South Korean dialogue began in April 1948 when a joint meeting of political parties and social organizations was held in Pyongyang (q.v.) with the participation of major political leaders from South Korea, among them Kim Ku of the Korea Independence Party and Kim Kyu-shik, an American-educated nationalist who served as the chairman of South Korean Interim Legislative Assembly (SKILA) during the American Military Government (1945–48). The conference of the representatives of the political and social organizations in North and South Korea was convened to block the establishment of separate governments in Seoul and Pyongyang and work for the unity of the nation. To commemorate the 50th anniversary of this meeting, a joint meeting of political and social organizations was convened in Pyongyang on February 18, 1998, and a letter was adopted at the meeting and sent to political parties and social associations through South Korean Red Cross channels on February 19,

1998. The letter stressed, “We again make it clear we are keeping the doors for talks always open, while recognizing that talks and negotiations are the basic means of resolving the question of reunification (q.v.) independently and peacefully.”

North Korea thus approached the South on two levels: through non-governmental organizations, such as political and social organizations, and through the official channel of government-to-government dialogue and negotiations. However, in the 1950s, North Korea started the Korean War (1950–53) (q.v.), which it called the “Fatherland Liberation War,” and the dialogues and negotiations were halted until the 1970s when the detente between the United States and the Soviet Union (qq.v.) and normalization of relations between the United States and the People’s Republic of China (q.v.) emerged. To cope with the changing international environment in North Korea, official-level dialogues and negotiations began, which resulted in the first-ever talks between the two Koreas. The talks began with Red Cross contacts, which started on August 20, 1971, for a reunion of Koreans whose family members and other relatives had been separated in the South and the North as a result of the Korean War. A total of seven rounds of plenary talks were held between August 29, 1972, and July 13, 1973.

The Red Cross talks were following in May 1972 by the secret exchange of special envoys between the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) and the Republic of Korea (ROK) (qq.v.) to start government-level talks. Lee Hu-rak, head of the Central Intelligence Agency in the South, made a four-day visit to the north and met Premier Kim Il Sung and Pak Song-chol (qq.v.), a member of the Politburo of the ruling Korean Workers’ Party (qq.v.); a North Korean deputy premier visited Seoul and met President Park Chung-hee. Then a joint communiqué was issued by the north and south on July 4, 1972, which declared three principles for the reunification of Korea and calling, among other things, for an end to propaganda and armed provocation against each other and for a variety of programs to facilitate cooperation between the divided halves of Korea. On the basis of the July Fourth Joint Communiqué (q.v.) the North-South Political Coordinating Committee (PCC) was formed to start government-level talks between the north and south in parallel with the Red Cross talks.

The first round of the PCC cochaired talks was held in the truce village of Panmunjom (q.v.) on October 12, 1972, the second in Pyongyang (q.v.) on November 2–3, and the third in Seoul on November 30. The full-fledged committee meetings were convened three times thereafter, alternately in Seoul and Pyongyang. But the talks did not make any progress because of the wide gap between the Koreans on ways to promote cooperation between them. The north, from the start, insisted on dealing with security affairs, while the south wanted to begin with soft, nonpolitical, and nonmilitary subjects. The inter-Korean talks were suspended on August 28, 1973, when the north issued a statement declaring that it would not attend the meetings unless the south released all “patriots” in prison and allowed representatives of various political parties and social organizations to participate in the talks. These talks in the first half of the 1970s, despite a lack of substantive results, resulted in the connection of telephone lines between Seoul and Pyongyang. In February and March 1979, the north and south held sports meetings in Panmunjom to form a single Korean team to participate in the 35th world table tennis games to be held in Pyongyang in 1979, but they failed to reach an agreement.

In the 1980s, the North-South Korean contacts resumed when DPRK Premier Li Jong-ok (q.v.) (Premier Kim Il Sung became president after the 1972 constitutional revision) sent a message to his counterpart Shin Hyon-hwack in the south on January 11, 1980, which proposed talks between the premiers of both countries. The working-level officials from Pyongyang and Seoul met in the truce village of Panmunjom 10 times from February 2 to August 20, 1980, to discuss the premier talks. However, the meetings ceased when the north walked out of the talks.

North-South Korean relations deteriorated even further when North Korean commandos bombed the Aungmye national cemetery in Burma on October 9, 1983, in an attempt to assassinate ROK President Chun Doo-hwan and his associates, who were visiting the country. The north failed to kill President Chun, but did kill 17 people from Seoul, including four cabinet members, and injured dozens of others. Despite the bombing incident, President Chun expressed South Korea’s willingness on August 20, 1984, to extend aid to the north. North Korea criticized Chun’s offer and announced on Sep-

tember 8, 1984, that North Korea was willing to supply the flood victims of the South with 50,000 sok (7,200 tons) of rice, 500,000 meters of textiles, 100,000 tons of cement, and a certain amount of medicine. South Korea accepted North Korea's offer to test the sincerity of the north. After two rounds of Red Cross contacts, North Korea delivered the items, much to the surprise of the south, on October 4, 1984, which later became the talk of the South Korean people.

The North Korean move, thus, became an occasion to resume the Red Cross talks, which had been suspended after the seventh round in July 1973. The eighth round of the Red Cross meeting was convened in Seoul in May 1985. It yielded an agreement on hometown visits between separated families and relatives, as well as an exchange of art troupes between the north and the south. Following the agreement, 50 people from the north and 50 people from the south visited their hometowns on the other side for four days beginning on September 20, 1985, while a 50-person art troupe from Pyongyang and Seoul appeared in two performances in the capital city of the other side. They were accompanied by 30 reporters and photographers, plus a 20-member support team from each side. However, the Red Cross talks came to a halt when the north boycotted the 11th round of meetings scheduled for February 26, 1986, in Pyongyang. The reason was that the United States and South Korea had conducted joint military exercises at a time of detente between the north and the south.

One week after receiving the relief goods from the north, South Korean Deputy Premier Shin Byung-hyon sent a letter to North Korean Deputy Premier Choe Yong-rim to propose economic talks. Two days later, on October 16, 1984, North Korea agreed to South Korea's bid to start the first conference on November 15, 1984. After five rounds of economic talks between the two Koreas, the north suspended the sixth round of economic talks to be held on January 22, 1986. However, the two Koreas began parliamentary talks in July 1985. The Supreme People's Assembly (q.v.) in the DPRK and the National Assembly in the ROK held 10 parliamentary meetings, but the talks also broke down when the north did not attend the 11th round of talks set for February 22, 1986. North-South Korean relations further deteriorated in November 1987 when a Korean Airline (KAL) jetliner on route to Seoul from Baghdad was bombed by two

suspected North Korean agents in an apparent attempt to disrupt the 1988 Seoul Olympics, killing all of the 115 passengers and crew members on board.

However, the premiers of the DPRK and ROK began formal talks in the 1990s, when Premier Kang Young-hoon in the south sent a message on December 28, 1988, to Premier Yon Hyong-muk (q.v.), his counterpart in the north, in which he proposed premier-level talks aimed at building confidence and easing tension between the two Koreas. Pyongyang responded positively on January 16, 1989, and the first session of North-South Korean premier talks was convened in Seoul on September 4, 1990, after a series of preliminary working-level contacts. After two years of high-level inter-Korean talks, the eighth session in Pyongyang, on September 17–18, 1991, produced a series of agreements conducive to easing tensions and promoting friendly relations between the two Koreas, including an Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, Exchange, and Cooperation (q.v.), and a joint declaration on the non-nuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, both of which went into effect on February 2, 1992. The formation of three committees on military, exchanges, cooperation, and reconciliation was also agreed upon during the premier talks.

At the eighth round of premier talks, the DPRK and the ROK agreed to activate the three committees in November 1991 and also to deal with the various programs at the ninth round of talks, which was scheduled for December 21–24, 1992, in Seoul. Then, on November 3, 1992, North Korea adopted a decision at a joint meeting of the government, political parties, and social organizations that stated that North Korea would freeze all talks and contacts as long as South Korea conducted an annual military exercise with the United States, which was scheduled for the first half of 1993. However, on October 2, 1993, North Korea responded positively to the south's proposal for an exchange of special envoys. At the eighth round of contacts, the North Korean delegate, on March 19, 1994, threatened, "If a war breaks out, Seoul will turn into a sea of flames," and then the North Koreans walked out of the meeting. This put to an end to the exchange of special envoys.

On June 28, 1994, the preparatory meeting for the summit conference between the presidents of North and South Korea opened as the result of former U.S. President Jimmy Carter's meeting with Presi-



dent Kim Il Sung to resolve the nuclear issue and North Korea's withdrawal from the Nonproliferation Treaty (q.v.). The summit never took place as the result of Kim Il Sung's death in July 1994. Thus, North-South Korean relations hardened during the Kim Young-sam administration (1993–97) due largely to the perception of South Korean leaders, including President Kim, that South Korea would eventually absorb North Korea because North Korea was on the verge of collapse. The possibility of being absorbed aggravated North Korea's hostilities toward South Korea. Thus, the government-level contacts in Beijing to provide rice for the flood victims of North Korea did not produce any agreement after a series of meetings from June 17 to September 30, 1995.

The vice minister-level meeting in Beijing on April 11–18, 1998, between North Korea and South Korea to deal with famine (q.v.) relief for North Korea did not produce any concrete results after a series of meetings. These were the first official meetings between the two Koreas since the inauguration of the Kim Dae-jung (q.v.) government in the south on February 25, 1998, which initiated the so-called Sunshine Policy toward the north and attempted to start dialogues and establish official contacts with Pyongyang. The DPRK and ROK blamed each other for the breakdown of talks on April 18, 1998. Chon Kum-chol, the chief delegate to the talks, argued that “South Korea is responsible for the failure to reach agreement because it politicized a humanitarian and economic issue.” He added that he was “pessimistic” about the future of ties with the Kim Dae-jung government because it would not donate fertilizer without strings attached.

The breakdown of the first meeting between North Korea and the Kim Dae-jung government was further complicated because an accusation was made by North Korea that the ROK's state-run KBS-TV, with government permission, wiretapped the conference room in Beijing where DPRK and ROK officials held talks. The ROK Unification Ministry admitted finding the TV crew's wireless microphone hidden in a flower bouquet in the China World Hotel conference room, but said it removed the device 80 minutes before the talks began on April 11, 1998. The North Korean Central News Agency (KCNA) quoted the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland (q.v.) as saying, “The senseless and despicable act, unprecedented in

the history of inter-Korean dialogue, shows well the behavior of the South side with no sense of elementary morality and courtesy for talks.” The first-ever historic summit meeting between ROK president Kim Dae-jung and DPRK leader Kim Jong Il (q.v.) was convened in Pyongyang on June 13–15, 2000. The leaders of North and South Korea signed the five-point agreement on June 15, 2000, which is labeled the Five-Point Joint Declaration of June 15, 2000, or the June Fifteenth Joint Declaration (q.v.) (*see* Appendix 3).

Following the inter-Korean summit, diversification and inter-Korean dialogues were ushered in as five inter-Korean ministerial talks took place between the first ministerial talks in July 29–31, 2000, and the fifth ministerial talks in September 15–18, 2001. The Red Cross talks also resumed on June 27–30, 2000, and were followed by more exchanges of separated families of North and South Korea. The first inter-Korean Defense Ministers’ Talks also took place on September 25–26, 2000, on Cheju Island of South Korea, which was followed by working-level military talks. Moreover, inter-Korean cooperation in economic, social, and cultural areas expanded.

In the area of economic exchanges and cooperation, the two Koreas agreed to pursue the cooperation partnership in the form of a joint venture (q.v.) in North Korea’s Nampo (q.v.) industrial complex. The Hyundai group of South Korea was encouraged by North Korean leader Kim Jong Il to construct the Kaesong Industrial Complex in North Korea, which was to become the joint project of Hyundai and the Korea Land Cooperation, a ROK government agency. As a first step, they conducted an on-the-spot land survey and geological study on one million *pyong*, or approximately 400 million square yards of land around the city of Kaesong in North Korea.

The two Koreas also agreed to reconnect the Seoul-Shinuiju Railway and Munsan-Kaesong highway. Since these two construction projects were to take place within the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) (q.v.) and along the Military Demarcation Line (MDL), both of which are militarily sensitive areas, the projects required close cooperation between the military authorities of South Korea and North Korea. Subsequently, the two Koreas held defense ministers’ talks and agreed to allow each side to bring its own people, vehicles, and materials into the DMZ in relation to the construction and guarantee their safety.

Following the North-South Korean summit meeting of June 2000, inter-Korean travel and trade were expanded greatly, opening and operation of inter-Korean transportation were enhanced, and the inter-Korean communication network was connected, thereby enabling the expansion of cultural exchanges and economic cooperation between the two Koreas. However, the election of George W. Bush to the presidency of the United States in November 2000 and his inauguration in 2001 ushered in skepticism and distrust on the part of the U.S. government, thus cooling the DPRK-U.S. dialogue and negotiations, which in turn slowed down the North-South Korean dialogue and exchanges.

North Korea hardened its position toward the United States, as well as toward South Korea, and Kim Jong Il was not willing to reciprocate his official visit to Seoul and halted all dialogues with South Korea. However, South Korean President Kim Dae-jung attempted to revive the North-South Korean dialogue and economic exchanges by offering more food grain and development assistance to Pyongyang in 2001.

**NORTH-SOUTH POLITICAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (PCC).** After the issuing of the joint statement of peaceful reunification (q.v.) of Korea by both Pyongyang and Seoul on July 4, 1972, the PCC of North and South Korea was established, and its preliminary meeting was held at Panmunjon (q.v.) in August 1972. A total of 10 rounds of full-fledged meetings were held in Seoul as well as in Pyongyang (q.v.) between October 1972 and March 1975. These meetings were designed to discuss and settle various procedural steps necessary for the achievement of the peaceful reunification of the country in accordance with the July Fourth Joint Communiqué.

However, in August 1973, North Korea unilaterally suspended the dialogue between Pyongyang and Seoul in the wake of the kidnapping of Kim Dae-jung from Tokyo to Seoul. Since then, efforts made by the South Korean government to bring about the resumption of the dialogue have been unsuccessful. *See also* NORTH-SOUTH KOREA RELATIONS.

**NUCLEAR ENERGY.** The history of nuclear development in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) is 50 years old.

North Korean scientists began theoretical study of nuclear energy in the early 1950s, when they started their practical training in the Soviet Union. They were interested in studying electronic physics, radiochemistry, high-energy physics, and other subjects. The training of North Korean specialists in the Soviet Union (q.v.) was carried out in the interests of the peaceful use of atomic energy. Soviet–North Korean agreements signed in this connection specifically stressed the peaceful nature of bilateral cooperation in the development of nuclear energy. Other North Korean scientists received their training in Japan (q.v.), East Germany, and West Germany, and some underwent practical training at Chinese nuclear centers as well. The scientific and experimental infrastructure in the nuclear field was built with Soviet technical assistance. Soviet technicians took part in the construction of the nuclear facilities in Yongbyon, 92 kilometers north of Pyongyang (q.v.), which was suspected of having produced sufficient plutonium to make two or three nuclear bomb. The Geneva Agreed Framework (q.v.) of 1994 froze the nuclear program in Yongbyon. *See also* KOREAN PENINSULA ENERGY DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION.

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**OH GUK-RYOL (1928-).** General. Born in Manchuria, he graduated from Mangyongdae Revolutionary School (q.v.) and the Soviet Air Force Academy. He became president of the Air Force College in 1964, air force commander in 1968, chief of the General Staff of the Korean People's Army (q.v.) in 1979, and a full member of the Politburo (q.v.) and a member of the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) Central Military Committee in 1980. Oh was dismissed as a member of the Politburo later and became chief of the KWP Central Committee's (KWP CC) (q.v.) People's Defense Department in 1988 and chief of the KWP CC's Operations Department later. Oh was promoted to colonel general in 1980 and to general in 1985.

**ORGANIZATION AND GUIDANCE DEPARTMENT.** This organization is the centerpiece of Korean Workers' Party (KWP) (q.v.) organizations. Each and every aspect of state management in North Ko-

rea is organized and guided by the organization and guidance department. KWP General Secretary Kim Jong Il (q.v.) is concurrently heading the Organization and Guidance Department, and he is assisted by five first vice directors. This organization not only directs and supervises all the KWP organizations, but also organizes and directs the work of the party branches in the government, armed forces (qq.v.), and mass organizations. Kim Jong Il started his work in the Organization and Guidance Department of the KWP after his graduation from Kim Il Sung University in 1964; thus, he was able to control and influence decision making on the state and party affairs by controlling it and finally reaching the top post of the party, government, and the military. *See also* KIM JONG IL; KOREAN WORKERS' PARTY.

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**PAEK HAK-RIM (1918-).** Vice marshal, member of the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) (q.v.) Central Military Committee, member of the National Defense Commission (q.v.), and minister of public security. Born in Manchuria, he served with the Chinese Communist Eighth Route Armies in the 1930s and 1940s. He became a division commander in 1958, chief of the Korean People's Army General Logistics Bureau in 1986, vice minister of the Korean People's Armed forces in 1978, and full member of the Politburo (q.v.) and member of the KWP Central Military Committee in 1980. Paek was appointed minister of public security in 1985, promoted to vice marshal in 1992, and became a member of the National Defense Commission in 1998, while being retained as minister of public security.

**PAEK NAM-SUN (1929-).** Foreign minister. He served as a delegate to North-South Korean talks in early 1970s and 1990s. He was vice chairman of the Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries in 1972, deputy head of the General Federation of Trade Unions in 1973, ambassador to Poland in 1973–1979, and deputy head of the Journalists Union in 1985. He served as secretary of the Committee for Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland (q.v.) in 1990–1998, when he was unexpectedly appointed

foreign minister during the reorganization of the government in September 1998.

**PAK CHAE-GYONG (1933–).** He was born in North Hamgyong Province and became major general of the Korean People's Army (KPA) (q.v.) in 1985. He was promoted to lieutenant general in 1993, to colonel general in 1994, and to full general in 1997. His promotion was one of the fastest because he received his star every two years. Currently, he holds the position of propaganda department chief of the KPA General Political Department. He was also elected as a delegate of the Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) (q.v.) in 1998 and has served as a candidate member of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (q.v.) since 1993. He frequently accompanies Kim Jong Il (q.v.) on inspections of military facilities.

**PAK GI-SO (DBPU).** Vice marshal, commander of the Pyongyang Defense Command. An associate member of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (q.v.) in 1970, he became a full member in 1986. He was promoted to colonel general in 1989, to full general in 1992, and to vice marshal in 1997. Pak frequently accompanies Kim Jong Il (q.v.) on inspection tours of North Korea's military bases.

**PAK NAM-GI (1928–).** Chairman of the State Planning Commission. Born in Haeju, he studied at Leningrad Engineering College. He became vice minister of the metal industry in 1972 and vice chairman of the State Planning Commission in 1976. He served as a secretary of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC) (q.v.) for two years beginning in December 1984. He became the chairman of the State Planning Commission in December 1986 and served in that post for 10 months. In October 1988 he was assigned to the KWP CC as chief of the Heavy Industries Department and was picked as a secretary the following month. He was reassigned to the Administrative and Economic Committee in Pyongyang (q.v.) in November 1993 as chairman. Pak suddenly disappeared from the public scene in February 1996 when he was replaced by Yang Man-gil. His appointment as chairman of the State Planning Commission on September 5, 1998, reflects Pyongyang's wish to reform the economy, which has been in serious trouble since the 1990s.

**PAK SONG-CHOL (1913–).** Member of the Politburo and honorary vice president of the Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) (q.v.). Born in North Hamgyong Province, he had been a member of a Chinese anti-Japanese guerrilla unit in the mid-1930s until he escaped to the Soviet Union (q.v.) in the early 1940s. He became commander of the 15th Division of the Korean People's Army (q.v.) as a major (one-star) general in early 1950 and chief of the Reconnaissance Bureau of the National Defense Ministry as a lieutenant (two-star) general in 1953. When he was discharged from the army, he became ambassador to Bulgaria in 1954, chief of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee's (q.v.) International Department in August 1956, vice foreign minister in November 1956, and foreign minister in 1959. Pak became an associate member of the Politburo (q.v.) in 1964, deputy premier in 1966, and a full member of the Politburo in 1970. He visited Seoul secretly in 1972 during the early stages of the North-South Korean talks (q.v.). He became chairman of the Public Welfare Commission in 1972, premier in 1976, and vice president in 1977. He was reelected as a member of the Politburo in 1980 and appointed vice president again in 1982. Pak served as a delegate of the SPA for nine terms from 1957 to 1998 and also vice president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in charge of foreign affairs until he was made an honorary vice chairman at the Tenth SPA in 1998.

**PANMUNJOM.** This is a small town located in the middle of the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) (q.v.) in the western part of the Korean Peninsula where the armistice negotiations took place to halt the Korean War (q.v.) between representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and the People's Republic of China (PRC) (q.v.), on the one hand, and on the other, the United Nations (q.v.) represented by an American general from 1951 to 1953. The armistice agreement was signed by the parties after arduous talks on July 27, 1953, but the Republic of Korea (ROK) (q.v.) did not participate in the armistice negotiations and was not a party to the armistice agreement. Panmunjom is still a site for the Military Armistice Commission (MAC) (q.v.) and for various talks between the DPRK and U.N. representatives, but the U.N. side's members are staffed mostly by the U.S. armed forces, which guard the security areas at Panmunjom.

**PEOPLE'S ARMY MISSION IN PANMUNJOM.** North Korea stated in April 1994 that it would withdraw from the Military Armistice Commission (MAC) (q.v.), and in May it said it had established the "People's Army Mission in Panmunjom" in place of its mission to the MAC. The north has since tried to ignore the functioning of the MAC; instead, it has attempted to establish a military contact channel between Pyongyang and Washington, excluding Seoul.

**PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.** *See* CHINA, FOREIGN RELATIONS WITH.

**PERSONALITY CULT.** This terminology is commonly used regarding the creation of personality worship in a totalitarian society. Stalin created a personality cult by which the Russian people were forced to worship him and Hitler also cultivated a personality cult to sustain his dictatorship. In North Korea the personality cult was built up around Kim Il Sung (q.v.) when he returned from his exile in Manchuria and Siberia in 1945 at the age of 35. After 49 years of dictatorial rule by personality cult in North Korea, Kim Il Sung died in 1994, and his successor was his eldest son, Kim Jong Il (q.v.), who did not possess any charisma and needed the personality cult to sustain his political power so that he could continue his father's wishes and policies. *See also* REVOLUTIONARY HISTORICAL SITES.

**POLITBURO.** The highest decision-making organ elected by the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC) (q.v.), which consists of 16 full members and 19 candidate members and functions like the board of directors of business corporations in the West. The Politburo also maintains the Standing Committee, which administers and implements all the policies that the KWP CC decides during its plenary sessions. Because the KWP CC convenes its plenary sessions twice a year, the Politburo of the KWP CC executes all decisions made by the KWP CC while it is in recess. The Standing Committee of the Politburo consists of five members chosen from the full members of the Politburo.

**PROJECT TO EARN FOREIGN EXCHANGE.** North Korea has relied heavily on the exports of nonferrous metals or arms to obtain for-



eign exchange; however, the earnings are far less than what the country needs. Since the mid-1980s, the North Korean authorities have begun to stimulate all organizations, ranging from large factories to small handicraft shops, and including even nonbusiness organizations and individuals, to exert efforts to earn foreign exchange by all possible means. As a result people across the county were urged to pick exportable herbal medicines in mountainous areas, and even children were urged to raise rabbits to sell their skins. The Korean Workers' Party (q.v.), the military, and the government organizations have maintained separate trading companies for the purpose of achieving the allocated amounts of foreign exchange earnings. Thus, North Korean diplomats have been involved in the trafficking of narcotics, circulating counterfeit dollars, and smuggling in duty-free goods as part of Pyongyang's efforts to earn foreign exchange.

**PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP.** According to the *North Korean Dictionary of the Korean Language* published in 1973, "proletarian dictatorship means state guidance of society during the entire period in which the working class thoroughly suppresses all counter-revolutionary elements and crushes imperialism on a global scale, thus to achieve the complete victory of communism." The Korean Workers' Party (KWP) (q.v.) charter, in its preamble, stipulates, "The Workers' Party strengthens the proletarian dictatorship . . ." North Korea is thus following the Leninist theory of proletarian dictatorship to justify the one party rule of the KWP. Kim Jong Il (q.v.), in his speech on May 5, 1991, also stressed the importance of the proletarian dictatorship.

**PYONGYANG.** The capital city of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPNK) (q.v.). It has 18 districts and 4 counties (*gun*) with a population of 4,430,000. Pyongyang is the center of cultural, educational, and commercial activities in North Korea. The major government organizations are located there. The government also restricts and monitors migration to cities like Pyongyang and ensures a relatively balanced distribution of population in provincial centers in relation to Pyongyang. During the Korean War (q.v.), Pyongyang was almost completely destroyed, but the city has been rebuilt on a grand scale. Many new buildings were constructed during the 1980s and 1990s in order to enhance Pyongyang's status as a capital. Full-swing

construction work took place before the celebration of Kim Il Sung's (q.v.) 80th birthday in 1992, which included the building of apartment complexes and the Reunification Expressway, a four-lane road connecting the capital and the Demilitarized Zone (q.v.). The highway is a showpiece of North Korean engineering that cuts a straight path through mountainous terrain with 21 tunnels and 23 bridges on the 168-kilometers route to Panmunjom (q.v.). In Pyongyang visitors find monuments like the *Chollima* Statue, a 28-meter-high bronze statue of Kim Il Sung (q.v.) in front of the Museum of the Korean Revolution, which is one of the largest structures in the world at 240,000 square meters; the Arch of Triumph (q.v.), similar to its Parisian counterpart, but 10 meters higher; and the Tower of the *Chuche* (*Juche*) Idea (q.v.), 170 meters high and built on the occasion of Kim Il Sung's 70th birthday in 1982. The traditional tiled-roof buildings include the People's Culture Palace and the People's Great Study Hall. There are high-rise apartment complexes and hotels. The most striking of these buildings is the Ryugong Hotel, which is the world's tallest hotel at 105 stories, and its triangular shape looms over north-central Pyongyang. Thus, the capital city of Pyongyang is one of the most modern and urban centers in Asia.

**PYONGYANG DECLARATION.** The Pyongyang Declaration was adopted on April 20, 1992, at the end of a meeting attended by representatives of more than 70 socialist-oriented political parties from 51 countries, which were invited to visit Pyongyang (q.v.) on the occasion of the 80th birthday of Kim Il Sung (q.v.). The declaration, under the slogan, "Let Us Defend and Advance the Cause of Socialism," called for the unity of the socialist camp to safeguard socialism. Pyongyang has since boasted, "This is a historic document declaring to the world that we are determined to stick to and develop socialism despite the breakdown of socialism in some parts of the world." All but two of the 70-plus political parties that signed the declaration had little or no influence in their local political life. The two ruling parties were the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) (q.v.) of North Korea and the People's Revolutionary Party of Mongolia. However, the Mongolian party later withdrew from the declaration because it did not coincide with its policy, according to Radio Russia on July 24, 1992. Nonetheless, North Korea has continued to use the declaration

for the purpose of propaganda to attract supporters. The Korean Central Broadcasting System claimed on October 5, 1995, that it has collected more than 224 signatures of supporters.

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**RAJIN-SONBONG FREE ECONOMIC AND TRADE ZONE.** In government decree No. 74 on December 28, 1991, North Korea declared the Rajin-Sonbong strip of 621 square kilometers on the northeastern coast a free economic and trade zone. This followed the Chinese model of special economic zones and was designed to induce foreign investment. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) government said that foreigners would be allowed to launch joint-venture (q.v.) projects in all economic sectors. North Korea also promulgated related laws and regulations.

North Korea's original three-stage plan was to complete the construction of infrastructure in this area by 1995 for the first stage, but this was postponed to 2000. However, the future of these rescheduled plans is not bright due to adverse conditions in the country. North Korea has been busy convening forums and briefings to attract foreign investments. In 1993 North Korea raised the status to a city under direct control of the government and expanded its area to cover 764 square kilometers. As of May 1996 North Korea had been successful in making investment contracts of US\$ 350 million in 49 cases, according to Professor Kim Su-yong of Kim Il Sung University, and among them only 22 projects worth US\$ 34 million had been in progress. To encourage foreign investment, North Korean authorities dispatched the government officials abroad to explain and publicize the new policies, and any foreign businessmen who planned to travel to North Korea were permitted to visit North Korea without an entry visa.

The Rajin-Sonbong Zone International Investment and Business Forum was held in Sonbong from September 13–15, 1996, and during the forum, the DPRK government concluded contracts and agreements worth a total of US\$ 840 million, an increase of US\$ 500 from 1993, with foreign businessmen and investors. Contracts for six projects, ranging from a hospital to a motorcycle factory, worth US\$

270 million, and agreements on 10 projects, including a concrete block factory, worth US\$ 570 million, were concluded. The forum was reportedly the largest investment promotion program undertaken in the Tumen River Economic Development Area (TREDA) in 1996. This forum was cosponsored by the Committee for the Promotion of External Economic Cooperation (CPEEC), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO).

Ho Maeng Chol, a section chief of the DPRK CPEEC, told an audience of about 50 Japanese businessmen, "The Rajin-Sonbong zone will be treated differently, and we will guarantee free economic activities there." The DPRK held a month-long series of investor seminars in eight Japanese cities in September 1997. According to the report presented by DPRK officials, the Rajin-Sonbong trade zone had so far lured 65 investment contracts totaling US\$ 370 million that year, with the companies being mainly from China, Hong Kong, the United States, and Japan (q.v.). Poor infrastructure has been a major concern for the zone, the DPRK said, but investment flows from Hong Kong and Southeast Asian nations should resolve the problem. "But we can't deny that most of the foreign investment has been put only in the service sector," not in industrial projects, Ho asserted.

However, as of March 1, 1998, contracts have been signed only for 65 projects. Their total value is US\$ 907.1 million. Letters of intent have been signed for US\$ 2.02 billion. These prospective deals include companies from Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hong Kong, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, Thailand, and the United States. But the volume of funds actually committed as of 2000 is only US\$ 35.1 million, including US\$ 14 million for infrastructure development, US\$ 12 million in the service sector, US\$ 7.6 million in the financial sector, US\$ 1 million in the tourist sector, and only US\$ 500,000 in productive enterprises.

As of the year 2000, the following projects have begun within the zone: a cargo terminal for fertilizers at Pier 1 in the port of Rajin with a capacity of one million tons per year; a crane for moving containers up to 110 tons in the Rajin port; a project to electrify the railroad between Hoeryong and Haksong (68 kilometers); the reconstruction and widening (to 12 meters) of the Rajin-Sonbong road (16 km), the Sonbonb-Wojong-ri road (16 km), and other roads with a total length

of 100 kilometers; the laying of fiber-optic cable from Pyongyang (q.v.) to Rajin; the installation of a telephone switching station with 5,000 lines; the construction of an international hotel in Rajin with 200 beds and a tourist hotel in Pipha with 600 beds; the building of a helicopter pad; and the construction of a bridge over the Tumen River at Wonchon. A planned bank joining North Korea's Daesong Bank and the Peregrine Investment Company in Hong Kong was initially capitalized with a foreign share of US\$ 15 million, but its fate is now in doubt due to Peregrine's bankruptcy.

The Rajin-Sonbong Free Economic and Trade Zone has a long way to go before it will be able to attract the type of investment envisioned by its supporters. Lack of infrastructure has been a severe impediment to the development of the zone. If the infrastructure hurdle is to be overcome, China would be interested in developing the zone for trans-shipment trade associated with the economic development of its Jilin Province, which borders the Rajin-Sonbong Free Economic and Trade Zone.

**RECIPROCITY, PRINCIPLE OF.** During the inter-Korean negotiations in Beijing in June 1995, the South Korean delegation demanded that the north reciprocate by agreeing to the mutual settlement of the question of separated families when the south offered food aid and fertilizer. When South Korea offered rice to the north, it was expected that the north would reciprocate by agreeing to come to the negotiations to discuss the reduction of tensions on the Korean Peninsula.

**RED BANNER.** A symbol of the communist revolution in North Korea and demonstration of its revolutionary spirit.

**RED BANNER PHILOSOPHY.** This term appeared in an editorial carried in *Rodong Shinmun* on June 9, 1996, under the title "The Red Banner Is the All-Victorious Symbol of the Korean Revolution." The editorial called on all Koreans "to live and struggle under the Red Banner philosophy," and claimed that the philosophy originated with Kim Jong Il (q.v.). The editorial defined this philosophy as a "revolutionary, profound philosophy which clarifies the fundamental principle of the revolution based on *Juche* Ideology (q.v.)." It also stated, "The Red Banner philosophy is the philosophy of independence and

creativity under which the people explore their destiny depending only on their own strength and living in their own style.” Earlier, on January 1, 1996, the newspapers of the Korean Workers’ Party, the Korean People’s Army, and the Kim Il Sung Socialist Youth League jointly carried an editorial under the title, “Let Us March Through the New Year in Full Force, Holding High the Red Banner.” It was designed to prepare ideologically for Kim Jong Il to succeed his father and the Red Banner philosophy served as the guiding principle of the Kim Jong Il leadership. Thus, the *Juche* ideology was the ruling principle for Kim Il Sung (q.v.) while the Red Banner philosophy was the guiding principle of Kim Jong Il.

**RELAY RACE TO DELIVER THE LETTER OF LOYALTY.** This is one of the functions of the loyalty festival. Representatives from all sectors of life and from every part of the country, including students, workers, farmers, athletes, soldiers, and artists, participate in this race. The first runners from all provinces start from a specific point in the provinces or cities carrying a letter of loyalty to Kim Il Sung or Kim Jong Il (qq.v.), and the last runners enter Pyongyang (q.v.) on a predetermined date. Sometimes one specific running course starts from Mt. Paektu and ends at Pyongyang.

**REPUBLIC OF KOREA (ROK).** *See* NORTH-SOUTH KOREA RELATIONS.

**REUNIFICATION.** *See* COMMITTEE FOR THE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF THE FATHERLAND; DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF KOREA POLICY OF KIM DAE-JUNG; FIVE-POINT PRINCIPLE FOR ALL-KOREA UNITY; FOREIGN RELATIONS; FUNDAMENTAL STRATEGY; JULY FOURTH JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ; KORYO CONFEDERATE REPUBLIC; NORTH-SOUTH KOREA RELATIONS; TEN-POINT GUIDING PRINCIPLE FOR ALL-KOREA UNITY; TEN-POINT REUNIFICATION PROGRAM; THREE CHARTERS FOR THE REUNIFICATION OF THE FATHERLAND.

**REVOLUTIONARY HISTORICAL SITES.** North Korea has been trying to convert the whole country into a huge open-air museum to

glorify Kim Il Sung (q.v.) and his family by constructing various monumental structures for them, especially in the areas near Mt. Paektu. The Revolutionary Historical Sites, in North Korean terms, number more than 50. They include 26 to extol Kim Il Sung, 15 to praise Kim Jong Il (q.v.), and numerous others to honor Kim Il Sung's father Kim Hyong Jik, Kim Jong-suk (Kim Il Sung's deceased first wife and mother of Kim Jong Il) and other members of the Kim family. The number of Kim Il Sung statutes alone is estimated at 35,000 across the country. Representatives of Kim's personality cult (q.v.) monuments include such structures as the following: the Tower of *Juche*, the Arch of Triumph (q.v.), Mangyongdae (the birthplace of Kim Il Sung located near Pyongyang), Mt. Paektu Milyong (Secret Camp), and the Jong Il Peak.

**REVOLUTIONARY OPERAS.** One of the comprehensive arts that reflects the people's revolutionary spirit by means of words and music. The revolutionary opera in North Korea started in the 1930s when the *Flower-Selling Girl* was first performed in the revolutionary base under the leadership of Kim Il Sung (q.v.). The following performances of the revolutionary operas attract audiences of millions: *Sea of Blood*, *Flower-Selling Girl*, *Devoted Daughter of the Party*, *Jungle! Let Me Hear Your Story*, and *Song of Mt. Kungang*.

**REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF SERVICEMEN.** On September 18, 1996, North Korea started the first phase of construction of the Mount Kungang Power Station, which was completed two and a half months early. In his speech on the occasion of the ceremony, Deputy Premier Hong Sung-nam (q.v.) called on the workers involved in its construction, who were mainly Korean People's Army (q.v.) servicemen, to demonstrate continuously the "revolutionary spirit of servicemen" to complete the second phase of construction by the target date. The phrase did not spread widely until after a four-day conference of 10,000 Korean Workers' Party (KWP) (q.v.) cadres from the whole country on January 27, 1997. In his address to the conference, Kim Gi-nam, a secretary of the KWP Central Committee (q.v.) stated, "An important way to make a fundamental reform in the working manner of Party cadres is to learn from the revolutionary spirit of servicemen." The meeting was very important; it was the first KWP meeting

held since the death of Kim Il Sung (q.v.). Kim Jong Il (q.v.) sent a special message to the conference and his message was “Let Us Make This Year a Turning Point in Our Socialist Economic Construction.”

**REVOLUTIONIZATION OF HOME.** North Korea began to use this catch phrase in March 1968 when the members of the Democratic Women’s Union decided to nurture their children into becoming faithful revolutionaries who would be immensely loyal to Great Leader Kim Il Sung (q.v.). This catch phrase was repeatedly emphasized whenever the Women’s Union held meetings. The Korean Workers’ Party (q.v.) also emphasized the need to abide by this in November 1970 during the Fifth Party Congress, and in October 1980, during the Sixth Party Congress. In North Korea, wedding ceremonies ends after the bride and bridegroom, both wearing Kim Il Sung badges on their left chest, pledge that “we, as an eternal husband and wife, commit totally to the Great Leader and the Dear Leader and swear that we will build a revolutionary home.”

**RO MYONG-GUN (DBPU).** Chief of the Korean Workers’ Party Central Committee (KWP CC)’s (q.v.) Fiscal Management Department. He became a KWP CC member in 1980. He ranked 46th on the 73-member funeral committee for Ho Dam, who died in August 1991 and 38th on the 50-man funeral committee for So Chol, who died in September 1992. His position as chief of the KWP CC’s Fiscal Management Department was reported officially in July 1993.

**RUSSIA, RELATIONS WITH.** North Korea’s relations with the Soviet Union and Russian Federation must be understood in the context of the Cold War. The Korean Peninsula was divided into two zones of occupation at the 38th parallel after the Japanese occupation of Korea from 1910 to 1945. The Soviet Union occupied the north, and the United States (q.v.) moved into the south. The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPNK) (q.v.) was established on September 9, 1948, in Pyongyang with Kim Il Sung (q.v.) as its leader under the auspices of the Soviet Union. Soviet policy in Korea following World War II was designed to create a satellite state on its border as it had done in Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union was the first to recognize and establish diplomatic relations with the DPRK, as well as a mili-



tary alliance system to compete with the American-backed Republic of Korea (ROK) government in the south. Developments in the Korean Peninsula in the 1950s were a microcosm of the Cold War in the international arena. The Korean War (q.v.), which was started by the north, was in a way a proxy war between the two superpowers. After three years of bitter fighting, the war ended on July 27, 1953, when an armistice agreement was signed and the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) (q.v.), which has remained intact for nearly five decades, was established along the 38th parallel.

North Korean–Soviet relations began to change in the post-Stalin era. Nikita Khrushchev's policy of de-Stalinization at home and peaceful coexistence abroad had repercussions on the domestic politics of North Korea. Kim Il Sung (q.v.) faced challenges to his leadership position in the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) (q.v.) as well as in the government during the political crisis of 1956. Faced with domestic challenges as well as changes in his relations with Khrushchev and the Soviet Union, Kim Il Sung began to create an independent and self-reliant foreign policy based on the ideology of *Juche* (q.v.). During the height of the Sino-Soviet conflicts in the late 1950s and the 1960s, Kim Il Sung established a balanced and equidistant policy vis-à-vis the two communist-ruled giants by concluding the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance with Moscow in July 1961 and a week later with the People's Republic of China (PRC) (q.v.). Both were considered security treaties: If North Korea were attacked by a third party, both the Soviet Union and China would automatically dispatch troops to assist it. This military alliance has become a critical issue in the post-Cold War era, and it had to be renegotiated when Mikhail Gorbachev established diplomatic relations with South Korea (q.v.) in 1990.

Until Gorbachev became the Soviet leader and initiated the policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika* in the mid-1980s, Soviet policy toward the Korean Peninsula had been marked by establishment of a bridgehead in Pyongyang to constrain South Korea's military adventure and counter the expansion of the U.S. sphere of influence in East Asia. Gorbachev's "new thinking" in Soviet foreign policy, however, dramatically changed the structure of the Cold War. The demise of the communist bloc altered the fraternal relations between Moscow and Pyongyang. During the Gorbachev period, Soviet policy toward

Korea had two aims: to maintain military and economic relations with North Korea and initiate new diplomatic relations with South Korea. Hard-liners like the Soviet military establishment continued to pursue a cooperative relationship with North Korea, and a five-year cooperation plan signed with the DPRK was implemented according to schedule. While Gorbachev put forward his historic peace initiatives with the West during the period 1986–90, Soviet generals provided their ally in Pyongyang with the latest armaments at a total cost of 1.4 billion rubles. The Soviet military establishment supplied North Korea with modern ground-to-air missile complexes known as SAM-5s, which were immediately deployed some 40 miles north of the DMZ, along with MIG 23 and MIG 29 combat fighter planes. Moreover, North Korea had reportedly requested as much as US\$ 15 to US\$ 20 billion worth of “special equipment” in 1988 and 1990. This request was not honored. Total Soviet military aid to North Korea, according to some sources, was somewhere between two and five billion rubles.

Pyongyang’s relations with Moscow, however, began to deteriorate during the Gorbachev period because the Soviet foreign policy priority was beginning to shift from maintenance of the alliance relationship with North Korea to a peace initiative in which the Warsaw Pact would be dissolved, and negotiations with the United States for nuclear disarmament would be initiated. But the Soviet leadership formally continued to support the Korean Workers Party (KWP) and the DPRK for the “peaceful and democratic unification” of Korea without any external interference. North Korean relations with the Soviet Union were beginning to shift in 1988, when the Soviet Union announced it would participate in the Seoul Olympic Games. Pyongyang’s recalcitrant attitude toward the cohosting of the Olympics, opposition to simultaneous Korean entry into the United Nations (q.v.), and objection to Soviet trade with South Korea caused the Soviets to doubt Kim Il Sung and his followers in Pyongyang. Kim and his entourage seemed too rigid in their nationalistic *Juche* ideology, opposing every aspect of the Soviet peace initiative.

Two critical issues in Pyongyang-Moscow relations were the status of the Treaty of Friendship and mutual assistance that had been concluded in July 1961 and the repayment of the North Korean debt of some 2.7 billion rubles incurred during the Soviet period. The se-

curity treaty was automatically renewed in July 1991 for 10 more years, but controversy over the treaty arose when Boris Yeltsin said in Seoul during his visit to South Korea in November 1992 that Moscow would consider repealing an article in the treaty that provided for the automatic intervention of Russia in the event of war involving either North Korea or Russia. Yeltsin also declared that it was necessary to terminate the security treaty with the DPRK, which was a total surprise to everyone; even the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs was unprepared for the announcement. The ministry reaffirmed that Russia needed to honor all international commitments of the former USSR. George F. Kunadze, Yeltsin's deputy foreign minister, was dispatched to Pyongyang as a special envoy in January 1993 to negotiate, among other issues, North Korea's stance on the nuclear issue and the new relations between North Korea and the Russian Federation. The negotiations between Kunadze and North Korea's foreign minister Kim Yong-nam (q.v.) and Deputy Foreign Minister Kang Seok-choo failed to come to an agreement on any of the key diplomatic issues except the mutual assurance of their desire to resume and promote "all-embracing contacts" and get a better understanding of each other's positions. Thus, North Korean-Russian relations have deteriorated following the establishment of diplomatic relations between Moscow and Seoul and the collapse of the Soviet Union and have improved little despite efforts by the Russian Federation. The two countries began, however, in 1996 to discuss a new treaty to redefine relations between them. Since 1995 North Korea and Russia have sought to improve relations by expanding the arena of cooperation, mainly for economic purposes. Radio Russia said on December 9, 1998, quoting a spokesman of the Russian Foreign Ministry, that North Korea and Russia agreed on the draft of a new agreement on mutual friendship and cooperation in talks held in Moscow from November 30 to December 4, 1998.

When the administration of Vladimir Putin was established in 1999, a new era of warmth between Moscow and Pyongyang developed. After many years of negotiations, a new Russian-DPRK Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighborliness, and Mutual Assistance was signed in February 2000. This treaty eliminated the old pledges of mutual support in the event of attack by external forces. There are decades of debt worth billions of dollars, which North Korea has to

pay back, but Pyongyang is neither willing nor able to pay due to the economic crisis following the severance of economic aid from the Russian Federation. However, Russia is interested in the prospect of rail links across the DMZ, seeing this as creating a new trans-Siberian freight route linking South Korea to Europe. Russian President Putin was the first-ever Kremlin top leader, Soviet or Russian, to visit North Korea on his way to the G-8 summit meetings in Japan in July 2000. He stayed less than 24 hours, but his visit to Pyongyang restored some of the trust after a decade of distrust under Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin. Putin served as a messenger to circulate good news from Pyongyang that North Korea was willing to end its missile (q.v.) program if other countries would launch its satellites. Kim Jong Il (q.v.) later said this was a joke, but the idea remains in circulation. Kim Jong Il also agreed to a return visit to Moscow, which he conducted from July 26 to August 8, 2001 by train, holding summit meetings with Russian President Putin. Following the summit, the two leaders issued the Eight-Point Russia-DPRK Declaration on August 4, 2001. North Korean leader Kim Jong Il reaffirmed his country's commitment to a moratorium on missile launches during a meeting with Russian President Putin in Moscow. They also reaffirmed the historic significance of the Russian-DPRK Joint Declaration of July 19, 2000, and the DPRK-Russian Treaty of Good Neighborliness, Friendship, and Cooperation, which was signed on February 9, 2000. North Korea and Russia had discussed their pending issues earlier through mutual visits of high-level officials and sought progress in their relations. When Russian Vice Foreign Minister Karasin visited Pyongyang from March 15–17, 1999, he exchanged views with North Korean Foreign Minister Paek Nam-sun (q.v.) on subjects of common interest. Their discussion included ways of promoting relations between the two countries, situations on the Korean Peninsula and in the international arena, the matter of joining Russia in the four-party talks, and the issue of the theater missile development (TMD) project.

They also supported North Korea's participation in multilateral forums, such as the Asian Regional Forum. North Korea purchased weapons and components in 1999 from Russia and Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) nations through legal and illegal channels, about which South Korea and surrounding nations expressed

concern. It was confirmed in June 1999 that North Korea was assembling about a dozen MIG 29 fighter planes, which it had imported, and it was reported that North Korea bought 19 tanks from Belarus in March 1999. It was also confirmed that North Korea imported 34 MIG 21 fighter planes in April 1999 from a nongovernmental organization in Kazakhstan, a dozen of which were already assembled. To solve problems in assembling the MIG 21 fighter planes, North Korea attempted to steal its design drawings from Russia, but the attempt was detected and resulted in the expulsion of the North Korean officials involved in June 1999. However, the DPRK and Russia concluded border negotiations that had been delayed for nine years and were finally signed in Moscow in February 2000.

Sluggish economic cooperation and trade relations between North Korea and Russia continued in 1999, 2000, and 2001. The slow trade between the two nations was attributed to the constraints in the trade environment, such as the unsettled North Korean debt payment to Russia in the amount of US\$ 4.6 billion, chronic shortage of foreign currency on both sides, frequent nonfulfillment of contracts by North Korean trading companies, and an increase in railway transportation costs. The two nations held three meetings of the Trade, Economy, Science and Technology Cooperation Subcommittee in Moscow and finally signed a protocol on June 11, 2000. Russian policy toward North Korea during the Yeltsin administration was to take a pro-South Korea stance while keeping North Korea in limbo. However, the policy under Vladimir Putin began to change when Russian Foreign Ministers Yevgeny Primakov and later Igor Ivanov re-evaluated Russian policy toward the DPRK. Thus, Putin decided to develop an equidistant relationship or “parallel relationship” with the Seoul and Pyongyang regimes. While recognizing economic ties with South Korea in terms of trade volumes and more political contacts, Russia aimed to increase its influence in the Korean reconciliation process by stepping up its economic and diplomatic relations with North Korea. North Korea’s policy goal has been to provide security for Kim Jong Il’s regime after the collapse of the Soviet Union and demise of communism in Eastern European countries. Until the 1990s, the DPRK depended on economic and military assistance from the former Soviet Union and China. Then, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and establishment of diplomatic relations between China and

South Korea, the North began to seek a new strategy to ensure its own security by producing a nuclear arsenal and missile program and initiated a dialogue with the United States. However, the diplomatic dialogue and negotiations with Washington could not compensate for the dramatically decreased economic aid from the former Soviet Union. The North Korean economy was on the verge of collapse by 2000. In response, Kim Jong Il decided to become a more active member of the international community, to attempt to normalize relations with the United States, and to improve relations with the South to obtain international economic aid and prevent a military attack. *See also* FOREIGN RELATIONS.

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**SATELLITES.** *See* MISSILES.

**SIDE-JOB WORK TEAMS.** *See* AUGUST THIRD CONSUMER GOODS PRODUCTION CAMPAIGN.

**SO YUN-SOK (1928–).** Full member of the Politburo (q.v.). Born in South Pyongan Province, he graduated from Mangyongdae Revolutionary School (q.v.) and Kim Il Sung University. He became responsible secretary of the Party Committee in South Hwanghae Province in 1970, first deputy chief of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee's (KWP CC) Organization and Guidance Department (qq.v.) in 1973, and responsible secretary of the Party Committee in Pyongyang in 1978. So was made an associate member of the Politburo in 1980, a full member of the Politburo in 1982, responsible secretary of the KWP chapter in Pyongyang (q.v.) again in 1985, and responsible secretary of the Party Committee in South Pyongan Province in 1986. So was an ardent supporter of Kim Jong Il's (q.v.) succession to his father's leadership in the 1970s and, thus, was promoted to various higher positions in the KWP and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea government. He was number 10 in the ranking of the Politburo members and served as the responsible secretary of the KWP's South Pyongan provincial committee and also,

concurrently, as the chairman of the Provincial People's Committee until his retirement in August 1998.

**SOCIALISM OF OUR OWN STYLE.** Based on the *Juche* ideology (q.v.), the slogan “Socialism of Our Own Style” is classified as a variation of Stalinist socialism, which represents the particular aspects of North Korean society involving ideology, politics, economics, and culture. This slogan first appeared in an article entitled “The Great *Juche* Idea Is the Foundation of Socialism of Our Own Style” in the December 1990 edition of *Kulloja* (the worker), the theoretical journal of the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) (q.v.). In May 1991 Kim Jong Il (q.v.) explained the slogan in a speech delivered to the members of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC) (q.v.) under the title, “Socialism of Our Own Style Based on the Masses Is Always Victorious and Invincible.” In this address he clarified the essence of “Socialism of Our Own Style,” stating that “today the imperialists and counter-revolutionaries are viciously attempting to eradicate socialism, but socialism of our own style has steadily trodden its path without wavering even a bit.”

North Korea had used earlier a variety of similar expressions, including “a life of our own style,” which Kim Jong Il first used in a speech made at a session of the KWP CC in December 1978 under the title “Let Us Take a Big Turn in Socialist Construction by Enhancing the Party's Capacity for Struggles.” This indicates that North Korea wanted to ascribe the origin of “Socialism of Our Own Style” to Kim Jong Il. Thus, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea stepped up its efforts to advance “Socialism of Our Own Style” in all spheres after May 1993, and these initiatives are taking root today with the rise of a “Speedy General March of Socialism of Our Own Style” as a popular drive patterned after the *Chollima* Movement (q.v.) of the 1950s and 1960s and the Speed War Campaign of the 1970s and 1980s.

**SOCIALIST EDUCATION.** The North Korean constitution (q.v.) in Article 43 stipulates, “The state shall put the principles of socialist education into practice and raise the new generation to be steadfast revolutionaries who will fight for the society and people, to be people of a new communist type who are knowledgeable, morally sound

and physically healthy.” Based on these principles, North Korea’s school curricula attach primary importance to implanting in the minds of the students the revolutionary spirit and knowledge of Kim Il Sung’s (q.v.) career related to his revolutionary struggles. According to Kim Il Sung, who wrote *Theses on Socialist Education* in 1977, “political and ideological education is the most important part of socialist education.” In socialist education, Kim asserted, “the main emphasis should be on the ideological education and the main effort should be made in arming people with communist ideas.” Thus, “the content and method of socialist education should be geared to making people into revolutionaries and workers,” Kim stressed, “and all conditions and means of education should remold their thinking.” Kim’s speeches on the theme of education (q.v.) are collected in the book *On Socialist Pedagogy* (Pyongyang, 1979), which stressed the political and ideological content of education throughout North Korea. According to this book, the socialist state should not only organize and conduct comprehensive educational programs, eliminating the need for private educational institutions, but also should “run education on the principle of educating all members of society continuously.” *Juche* (q.v.) (self-reliance) is a central theme of North Korea’s educational policy. “Establishing *Juche* in education is a fundamental principle to which we must always adhere in educational work,” stressed Kim Jong Il (q.v.), the successor to his father’s leadership, in a speech entitled “Let Us Improve Education Work in Order To Produce Able Cadres of the Nation” (talk to the faculty of Kim Il Sung University, June 17, 1966). This way “students can be trained to be genuine revolutionaries capable of contributing to the Korean revolution, and our education can be a genuine education serving the revolutionary cause of the working class.” The younger Kim pointed out as early as 1966 that in many instances *Juche* was disregarded in university education, which made him tell the educators that “[w]ithout establishing *Juche*, it would be impossible for the educational sector to fulfill its mission and task.” People must learn the ideology of *Juche* from cradle to grave to survive in North Korean society.

**SOCIALIST (NATIONAL) HOLIDAY.** North Korea has adopted a number of special holidays involving important events in the party



and government history or the birthdays of leaders. The following seven dates are national holidays: Birthday of Kim Il Sung (April 15), Birthday of Kim Jong Il (February 16), May Day (May 1), Liberation Day (August 15), Anniversary of the Founding of the Government (September 9), Anniversary of the Founding of the Korean Workers' Party (October 10), Constitution Day (December 27).

**SOUTH KOREA, RELATIONS WITH.** *See* DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA POLICY OF KIM DAE-JUNG; NORTH-SOUTH KOREA RELATIONS.

**SOVIET UNION.** *See* RUSSIA.

**SUNSHINE POLICY.** *See* DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA POLICY OF KIM DAE-JUNG.

**SUPREME PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY (SPA).** The SPA is the North Korean version of a parliament. The first session met on September 8, 1948, to adopt the People's Democratic Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). The Tenth SPA was elected on July 26, 1998, with 687 new members. The term of office is five years and the Ninth SPA expired in April 1995 as the election was held in April 1990. However, the Tenth SPA was delayed for three years due to the death of Kim Il Sung (q.v.) on July 8, 1994. The Tenth SPA adopted a new constitution (q.v.) on September 5, 1998, and elected Kim Jong Il (q.v.) as the chairman of the National Defense Commission (q.v.), which emerged as the most powerful organ in North Korea. It also elected the Presidium and its chairman, Kim Yong-nam (q.v.), who would serve as the nominal head of state to represent the DPRK abroad and receive foreign diplomats and visitors to the DPRK because Kim Jong Il is reclusive and not much interested in meeting the foreign visitors. The Presidium of the SPA consists of Chairman Kim Yong-nam (q.v.), a nominal head of the state, two vice chairmen (Yang Hyong-sop, Kim Yong-dae), secretary general (Kim Yun-hyuk), four honorary vice chairmen (Li Jong-ok, Pak Song-chol, Kim Yong-ju, Chon Mun-sop), and 11 members (Ryu Mi-yong, Kang Yong-sop, Li Gil-song, Li Chol-bong, Li Il-hwan, Sung Sang-sop, Chon Yon-ok, Yom Sun-gil, Pak Tae-ho, Li Gwang-ho,

Tae Hyong-chol). The SPA is similar to the Supreme Soviet of the former Soviet Union (q.v.) and the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China (q.v.) and functions as the rubber stamp of the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) Central Committee (q.v.) because it has no real power. Some scholars have labeled it as the propaganda machine of North Korea because the SPA is represented by a large number of local activists and heads of mass organizations. The SPA delegates function similarly to the National Assembly delegates of the Republic of Korea legislative body, but they do not have actual power to make the laws, only to transmit the laws made by the KWP. Thus, it simply functions as a transmission belt of the DPRK. *See also* Appendix 1 for the text of the Socialist Constitution of the DPRK.

**SURYONG (Leader), REVOLUTIONARY CONCEPT OF.** This is the essence of the theory to rationalize the monolithic control system developed by Kim Jong Il (q.v.). In a statement to the cadres of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC) (q.v.) on July 15, 1986, under the title "About Some Questions in Teaching the *Juche* Ideology (q.v.)," Kim said the terms direct the people to the "best view required to be held by the working class about the status and the role of the *Suryong* (leader) in their struggles for revolution." Thus, the theory maintains that the masses are the masters of the revolution, but they cannot play the role of masters unless they are led by the *Suryong* (leader), and therefore, the masses are required to obey the instructions of the *Suryong* unconditionally. The theory is based on the assumption that all society is an organic body in which the *Suryong*, the Communist Party (the KWP), and the masses are closely inter-related. Among these three elements, the most important element is the *Suryong*, who serves as the brain to control the body in such a way as to bring about the unity of its movement. According to this theory, the *Suryong* creates the guiding ideology, reflecting the independent demands and interests of the masses, and guides their revolutionary struggles.

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**TAEAN SYSTEM.** The *Tae*an system was implemented in industrial plants—as its counterpart, the *Chongsan-ri* method (q.v.), was intro-

duced to restructure agricultural cooperatives—to provide for greater participation of industrial workers in their management. In the course of carrying out this administrative reorganization, three important themes were stressed: decentralization of administrative power from the central government to the county (*kun*) government, which had now become the basic-level government; establishment of a collective leadership system by setting up a factory party committee, along with the management committee; and sustained emphasis on forceful implementation of the mass-line policy in the administrative management of the industrial plants and the agricultural cooperatives.

**TANGUN'S TOMB.** On October 11, 1994, North Korea dedicated the “reconstructed tomb of Tangun,” the legendary founder of the first Korean dynasty. In October 1993, the Academy of Social Sciences (q.v.) of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) claimed that it had excavated the remains of Tangun and his wife, who were born 5,011 years before, in Kangdong County near Pyongyang (q.v.). That announcement was followed shortly by Pyongyang's construction of a mammoth tomb in the county to house their alleged remains. Thus, the DPRK takes advantage of the Tangun tomb not only to claim the sole legitimacy of its state on the Korean Peninsula, but also to worship the late leader Kim Il Sung (q.v.) as the founder of Socialist *Choson* (Korea).

**TEAM-WORK SYSTEM.** Until the end of the 1950s each factory in North Korea had been under the management of one top official, which was known as the one-man management system. However, in the early 1960s, North Korea began to replace the one-man management system with a collective management system. The Taean Work System, according to North Korean accounts, was proposed by Kim Il Sung (q.v.) because he found serious defects in the traditional management system at factories. So he ordered remedies of the defects. Kim's directives came a few weeks after his 10-day visit to an electrical appliance plant in Taean County in Nampo City.

The team work system calls for the establishment of a committee at every factory consisting of members of the Korean Workers' Party (q.v.) there, and the committee is given the responsibility of improving the factory's operations.

**TEN-POINT GUIDING PRINCIPLE FOR ALL-KOREA UNITY.**

North Korea announced on April 7, 1993, the Ten-Point Guiding Principle for All-Korea Unity, in the name of Kim Il Sung (q.v.) and in the form of a proposal directed to Koreans in South Korea and abroad. This principle was a repeat of its decade-old call to carry out its strategy to bring about the reunification (q.v.) of the two Koreas. The 10 points are as follows:

1. Establishment of a neutral, unified government in a confederate form for the coexistence of two different systems
2. National unity based on national sentiment and the national spirit of self-determination
3. National unity designed to promote coexistence and coprosperity
4. Suspension of competition likely to precipitate national disintegration
5. Removal of all worries about the threat of a southward or northward invasion
6. Respect for nationalism to guarantee the freedom to raise any opinions regarding unification and the release of all North Korean agents and North Korean sympathizers
7. Protection of inter-Korean contacts, exchanges, and dialogues; removal of all obstacles hindering inter-Korean exchanges and permitting an equal opportunity for all walks of life to engage in dialogues
8. Promotion of inter-Korean contacts, exchanges, and dialogues
9. Solidarity among all Koreans in the north, south, and abroad; collaboration and cooperation among all sorts of organizations for patriotic activities
10. Reverence for those who have contributed to unity

**TEN-POINT PROGRAM OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE FATHERLAND.**

On May 5, 1936, Kim Il Sung (q.v.) established the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland in Wusung County of Jilin Province in China and drafted the ten-point program to fight Japanese imperialism. This organization was also known as the Anti-Japanese National United Front during the anti-Japanese war in the 1930s and 1940s. Kim drafted the

ten-point program as well as the declaration and rules of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland. The ten-point program is as follows:

1. To mobilize the entire Korean nation and realize a broad-based anti-Japanese united front in order to overthrow the piratical Japanese imperialist rule and establish a genuine people's government in Korea
2. To defeat Japan and overthrow its puppet state, Manchukuo, by the Korean residents in Manchuria through a close alliance between the Korean and Chinese people, and to effect full autonomy for the Korean people residing in Chinese territory
3. To disarm the Japanese armed forces, gendarmes, police, and their agents and organize a revolutionary army truly fighting for the independence of Korea
4. To confiscate all enterprises, railways, banks, shipping, farms, and irrigation systems owned by Japan and Japanese and all property and estates owned by pro-Japanese traitors to raise funds for the independence movement and to use part of these funds for the relief of the poor
5. To cancel all loans made to people by Japan and its agents and abolish all taxes and monopoly systems; to improve the living conditions of the masses and promote the smooth development of national industries, agriculture, and commerce
6. To win the freedom of the press, publications, assembly, and association; to oppose terrorist rule and the fostering of feudal ideas by the Japanese imperialists; and to release all political prisoners
7. To abolish the caste system which divides the *ryangban* (nobles) and the common people and other inequalities; to ensure equality based on humanity irrespective of sex, nationality, or religion; to improve the social position of women and respect their personalities
8. To abolish slave labor and slavish education; to oppose forced military service and military training of young people; to educate people in our national language, and to endorse free compulsory education

9. To enforce an eight-hour day, improve working conditions, and raise wages; to formulate labor laws; to enforce state insurance laws for the workers; and to extend state relief to the unemployed
10. To form a close alliance with nations and states that treat the Koreans as equals and to maintain comradely relations of friendship with states and nations that express goodwill and maintain neutrality toward our national-liberation movement

**TEN-POINT REUNIFICATION PROGRAM.** Known as the “Ten-Point Program of Great Unity of the Whole Nation for Reunification of the Country,” this program was presented at the April 1993 session of the Supreme People’s Assembly (SPA). This program urged an “end to the national division.” It was reported that President Kim Il Sung personally worked out the program on April 6, 1993. It was presented to the fifth session of the Ninth SPA of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, which was adopted unanimously.

The 10-point program is as follows:

1. A unified state, independent, peaceful, and neutral, should be founded through the great unity of the whole nation.
2. Unity should be based on patriotism and the spirit of national independence.
3. Unity should be achieved on the principle of promoting coexistence, coprosperity, and common interests and subordinating everything to the cause of national reunification.
4. All manners of political disputes that foment division and confrontation between fellow countrymen should be stopped and unity be achieved.
5. They should dispel fears of invasion from the south and from the north, put an end to prevail-over-communism and communism altogether, and believe in and unite with each other.
6. They should set store by democracy and join hands on the road to national reunification, not rejecting each other for the difference in “isms” and principles.
7. They should protect the material and spiritual wealth of individual persons and organizations and encourage their effective use for the promotion of great national unity.

8. The whole nation should understand, trust, and unite with one another through contacts, travels, and dialogues.
9. The whole nation in the north and the south and overseas should strengthen solidarity with one another on the way to national reunification.
10. Those who have contributed to the great unity of the nation and to the cause of national reunification should be highly estimated.

**TEN PRINCIPLES FOR MONOLITHIC LEADERSHIP.** North Korea has continued to emphasize Kim Il Sung's (q.v.) authoritarian rule, referring to the Ten Principles for Monolithic Leadership developed by Kim Jong Il (q.v.) in February 1974 and presented to the masses as an action program to make them loyal to Kim Il Sung. They are more important to North Koreans than the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) constitution (q.v.) in their daily lives. The Ten Principles have been used as a yardstick to measure the degree of one's loyalty and faithfulness to the leader and the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) (q.v.). If a person violates the principles, he or she will be taken political prisoner. These principles were designed to enable Kim Jong Il to succeed his father without any opposition within the KWP. When they were presented, the KWP Central Committee (q.v.) endorsed them so that the dynastic succession might be achieved peacefully.

**THEORY OF THE SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIC BODY.** Based on the assumption that the physical lives of human beings are limited, but their sociopolitical lives are boundless, the theory of the sociopolitical organic body argues that individuals can win their immortal sociopolitical lives only when they belong to a sociopolitical organization. North Korea had used such terms as *political life* and *sociopolitical life* since the beginning of the 1970s, before the appearance of the theory. The term *sociopolitical organic body* was first mentioned in a speech made by Kim Jong Il (q.v.) before a group of senior cadres of the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) Central Committee (q.v.) on July 15, 1986, under the title, "On Some Problems of Education in the *Juche* Idea (q.v.)," according to North Korean records. The theory is designed to legitimize the North Korean ruling system with the *Suryong* (leader) (q.v.) at the top or at the center. It demands

that the masses unite around the *Suryong* and form a society as a body armed with a single ideology under the guidance of the KWP.

**THREE CHARTERS FOR THE REUNIFICATION OF THE FATHERLAND.** North Korea began to use the slogan “Three Charters for the Reunification of the Fatherland” in an editorial carried jointly in the organs of the Korean Workers’ Party, the Korean People’s Army, and the Kim Il Sung Socialist Youth League (q.v.) on January 1, 1996. The editorial stressed that the three charters consist of the Three-Point Principle for Reunification, the scenario establishing the Koryo Confederate Republic, and the Ten-Point Guiding Principle for All-Korea Unity (q.v.).

**THREE REVOLUTIONS.** The Ideological, Technological, and Cultural Revolutions. The Cultural Revolution, according to Kim Il Sung (q.v.), was meant to step up ideological indoctrination by initiating a new education program. The indoctrination was designed to eradicate the remnants of traditional ideas from the thought and consciousness of the working masses. The traditional ideas included certain feudalistic and capitalistic notions derived from the ideas of individualism, liberalism, and conservatism. The Cultural Revolution was, therefore, designed to increase the political and ideological consciousness of the working people so that they might be transformed into dedicated, selfless, and patriotic members of a socialist society. “At the present stage of socialist construction, the fundamental task before us is to realize the Cultural Revolution in order to advance the technological transformation of the people’s economy in terms of socialist productivity, and to consolidate further the material and productive basis of socialism,” Kim stressed.

What Kim Il Sung attempted to achieve in the 1957–59 period was the ideological transformation of his people; this came before the technological transformation of the workers and the intelligentsia. To pay the bills for the industrialization program, the North Korean leadership demanded that the population in general, and the peasant masses in particular, make sacrifices for a better future. Instead of providing material incentives or investing in the agrarian sector, Kim Il Sung attempted to arouse the enthusiasm and creativity of the working masses by means of ideological and political stimulation. He



expounded the thesis that the Cultural Revolution should precede the Technological Revolution: “Unless we realize the Cultural Revolution,” Kim stressed, “we won’t be able to carry out successfully the Technological Revolution in our people’s economy.”

Within the general framework of the Cultural Revolution, the North Korean government devoted itself to improving the intellectual and technical level of the workers, strengthening public health and medical welfare, and developing the cultural activities of the working class. To comply with the Korean Workers’ Party’s (KWP) (q.v.) call to carry out the Cultural Revolution, the party’s propaganda cadres stepped up their activities in November 1958, immediately following Kim’s speech, “On the Education of Communism,” to the KWP’s activists. It was important to educate the working masses with the spirit of “socialist patriotism” and “proletarian internationalism,” according to Kim’s speech, because they needed to learn to love their working place and their own village and town, and to cultivate their love for public and state interest, rather than being selfish and indifferent to the government’s call for socialist industrialization. The working masses could show their love for the country only by participating in the implementation of the mass-line policy of the *Chollima* movement (q.v.), which was currently elevated to a development strategy.

The Technological Revolution, on the other hand, was designed in the late 1950s primarily to modernize agricultural productivity by introducing irrigation, electrification, and mechanization programs. By the end of 1956, about 80 percent of the North Korean peasantry had already been collectivized, and in 1958, a total collectivization was carried out at the same time that the people’s communes were created in China (q.v.) under the banner of the Great Leap Forward. By providing material incentives for the work team movement, which was launched in 1958, the North Korean leadership attempted to stimulate the working masses to increase productivity. A work team was organized in each production unit to encourage socialist competition for increased production. All members took part in the production competition. North Korea launched in 1973 a nationwide movement to remodel its society ideologically, technologically, and culturally in order to eradicate the remnants of the traditional society. Kim Jong Il (q.v.), the eldest son of President Kim Il Sung, was placed in control of the three revolutions in 1973. “Three revolution teams” composed of 25 to 50 college students were sent to every corner of the country

to start the revolutionary change in a backward society. The members of the three revolution teams were converted to faithful followers of Kim Jong Il, thus laying the foundation for the political power of the younger Kim. *See also* SOCIALIST EDUCATION.

**TRADE.** The collapse of the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries, coupled with the economic management system based on the principle of *Juche* (self-reliance) (q.v.) economy, caused the economic crisis. In the past, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were the major trade partners. North Korea's trade with foreign countries increased from US\$ 390 million in 1965 to US\$ 1.91 billion in 1975 and to US\$ 3.1 billion in 1985, which was the peak in North Korea's foreign trade since it began. Foreign trade later dropped and reached US\$ 2.17 billion in 1997. The share of trade in Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which topped 29.4 percent in 1975, declined to 20.5 percent in 1985, to 12.6 percent in 1992, and to a meager 10.0 percent in 1994. North Korea has increased its trade with capitalist countries since the early 1990s as the result of the collapse of the Soviet bloc countries on which its foreign trade depended heavily. In 1997, according to a survey by the Korea Trade and Investment Promotion Agency (KOTRA) in Seoul, trade with China (q.v.) was US\$ 656.3 million, or 30.1 percent of its total trade, while its trade with Japan (q.v.) totaled US\$ 489.3 million, which represented 22.5 percent of the total. North Korea's share of trade with Hong Kong was 5.2 percent, with India 3.9 percent, with Russia (q.v.) 3.9 percent, with Germany and Yemen 4.0 percent each, and with France 2.0 percent. North Korea's economic relations with South Korea (q.v.) began in 1989, and the trade volume between the two Koreas in 1991 registered US\$ 111.3 million, which doubled to US\$ 252.2 million in 1996, and US\$ 308 million in 1997. During the 1991–97 period, North Korea had a trade surplus of US\$ 144.24 million each year, totaling US\$ 1 billion according to the Ministry of Unification in South Korea. However, the scale of Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK)–Republic of Korea (ROK) trade during 1998 decreased rapidly, but joint manufacturing trade increased by 27.1 percent. The Ministry of Unification announced on February 3, 1999, that the number of companies which participate in DPRK-ROK trade

decreased by 14.5 percent, but that of companies engaged in joint manufacturing—where the ROK supplies the technology and capital and the DPRK supplies the facilities and labor—increased from 48 to 61 percent. Moreover, in 1988, the import of North Korean products to South Korea decreased for the first time in a decade of North-South trade by 52.2 percent; thus, North Korea reported a trade deficit of US\$ 37.4 million in 1998. South Korean imports from the north totaled US\$ 92.3 million, while exports to the north totalled US\$ 129.7 million in 1998. South Korea's import from the north in 1998 decreased by 52.2 percent, while South Korea's export to the north increased by 12.5 percent, compared with that of the trade volume in 1997. The total volume of North-South Korean trade in 1998 was US\$ 222 million, which was a decrease of US\$ 308 million (28.0 percent) over that of 1997.

### **TUMEN RIVER AREA DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (TRADP).**

This program has emerged as Northeast Asia's predominant inter-governmental economic cooperation effort. It was launched in 1991 and was coordinated by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and China, Russia, North Korea, South Korea (q.v.), and Mongolia participated. The objective of this program was to foster cooperation and economic development in Northeast Asia, a region more often defined by its stagnating economies, border conflicts, and international politics, than regional cooperation and economic growth. The TRADP would capitalize on the region's beneficial geographic location with deep sea ports, access to trans-Siberian railways and East Asian markets, and combined Japanese and Korean know-how with low-cost Chinese and North Korean labor to exploit and process the natural resources of Mongolia and the Russian far east. However, the ambitious goals of the TRADP were crippled by the end of the decade because of animosity between the countries, the problems of converting planned economies, core-periphery governance conflicts, a historically driven heightened importance of borders, and anemic supranational support. Thus the TRADP members dropped a multilateral framework for a "concerted unilateralism" approach in 1995. In the fall of 1995 the Democratic People's Republic of Korea government asked for international assistance, for the first time in its history admitting its economic difficulties.

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**UNCONDITIONALISM, PRINCIPLE OF.** This principle concerns the attitude of how to follow Kim Il Sung's or Kim Jong Il's (q.v.) instructions. This is one of the teachings emphasized by the *Juche* ideology (q.v.), North Korea's ruling philosophy. *Juche* states that the instructions of the *Suryong* (leader) (q.v.) must be obeyed based on the principle of unconditionalism and absolutism. Sometimes North Korea uses this term also for emphasizing the importance of Korean Workers' Party (q.v.) policies.

**UNITED FRONT TACTICS.** *United Front* is a term frequently used by communists and refers to tactics designed to rally all social organizations around the cause of their struggle, enabling them to annihilate their enemies one after another. These tactics are employed usually in the early stage of the revolution, when the communist capability is weaker than the opposing forces'. North Korea has applied these tactics to undermine the south and to rally pro-North Korean elements in South Korea. The *North Korean Dictionary of Political Terminology* (Pyongyang: Social Science Publishing House, October 1, 1970) defines the concept of the *United Front* as follows: "The United Front refers to a political coalition of various political parties and social organizations as well as of individuals, formed for the purpose of opposing common enemies. This theory originated from Great Leader Kim Il Sung (q.v.). These tactics aim at isolating counter-revolutionary forces and nurturing auxiliary forces to assist the main revolutionary forces. These tactics are carried out in various forms depending on the characteristics of each revolutionary stage, the existing capabilities of the class and on whether the revolution is to be carried out nationwide or worldwide. But the emphasis should be placed on the principle that the coalition must be formed in the infrastructure before expanding to the superstructure, and on a limited scale before expanding it to a full scale." But Pyongyang (q.v.) began recently to use such slogans as the "United Front from the Upper Class" and the "United Front from the Lower Class," indicating that the United Front tactics in the early stage of revolution can be applied not only to the lower class but also to the upper class. Of course, there was the "United Front from Above" and the "United Front from Be-

low” in the lexicon of Chinese revolutionary tactics. North Korea operates two major organizations to enforce these United Front tactics: the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland (DFRF) and the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland (CPRF) (q.v.).

**UNITED NATIONS.** U.N. organizations were actively involved in Korean affairs as early as 1947 when the U.N. General Assembly created the U.N. Temporary Commission on Korea, consisting of representatives from Australia, Canada, China (q.v.), El Salvador, France, India, the Philippines, Syria, and the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, for the purpose of fulfilling the program outlined in the U.N. resolution adopted on November 14, 1947, in order to establish a unified government through general election. After carrying out the May 10, 1948, general election only in South Korea (q.v.), the U.N. General Assembly, under a U.S. (q.v.) proposal, adopted a resolution on December 12, 1948, to replace the U.N. Temporary Commission on Korea with a new U.N. Commission on Korea, and authorized it to travel, consult, and observe throughout Korea (q.v.) for the purpose of fulfilling the original aims of the U.N. resolution of November 14, 1947. When the Korean War broke out on June 25, 1950, the U.N. Security Council condemned North Korea as an aggressor and initiated a collective security action in support of South Korea. The U.N. Command (UNC) was set up with the participation of 16 U.N. member states, including Australia, Great Britain, France, Greece, New Zealand, Turkey, and the United States, as well as other nations, and provided military forces. American General Douglas MacArthur was named supreme commander of the U.N. forces in Korea. The South Korean government placed its defense forces under the UNC to fight the North Korean troops with other forces of the United Nations. Armistice negotiations began at Kaesong on July 10, 1951, after a seesaw game of offensive and defensive strategy to take control of the territory, but the talks dragged on until August 23, when the communists suspended negotiation. Truce talks resumed at Panmunjom (q.v.) on October 25, 1951, but many contending issues prevented any progress toward an armistice. The Korean armistice was finally signed on July 27, 1953, after many months of foot dragging between the negotiators of North Korea and the United Nations. The armistice

agreement was signed by American General William K. Harrison, representing the UNC; General Nam Il, representing North Korea; and General Peng Te-huai, representing the “volunteers” of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army. However, South Korea refused to sign the armistice agreement. Panmunjom, where the truce was signed, was designated as a neutral zone where the Neutral Nations Armistice Commission and the Military Armistice Commission (MAC) (q.v.) established their headquarters. The Neutral Nations Armistice Supervisory Commission was composed of those U.N. member nations that did not take part in the Korean War and supervised observance of the terms of the armistice by the former belligerents. The MAC was composed of the representatives of North Korea, China, and the UNC to deal with any problems that might occur between the two former enemies. Meanwhile, the U.N. Commission for Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK), which was created by the General Assembly of the United Nations in October 1950 to replace the U.N. Commission of Korea, was replaced two months later by the United Nations Korea Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA). It was established to be engaged in long-term reconstruction projects at the end of the Korean War. However, it provided only US\$ 150 million for that purpose until June 1960 when it was withdrawn from Korea. The U.N. agencies had been active in South Korea, but North Korea did not accept the authority of the United Nations until it became a member along with South Korea in 1991. Since then, U.N. agencies like the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) moved into North Korea to become active in carrying out social and economic development.

**UNITED STATES, RELATIONS WITH.** North Korea has perceived the United States as the number-one enemy of its security because the United States led the United Nations (q.v.) forces to repel the Korean Peoples’ Army (KPA) (q.v.) that started the Korean War (1950–53) (q.v.) and occupied most of South Korea (q.v.), except the Pusan perimeter in June–August 1950. North Korea’s hostility toward the United States intensified during the height of the Cold War in the 1950s and 1960s. However, on May 12, 1972, the first noncommunist Americans (Harrison Salisbury and John Lee of the *New York Times*) arrived at Pyongyang (q.v.) airport. They were the first to set

foot on North Korean soil since the end of the Japanese regime in 1945; indeed, the first since long before the outbreak of World War II. Even then, the Americans were portrayed as aggressive “imperialists” in the history books of North Korea.

However, in the early 1970s, North Korea began to approach Washington when U.S. diplomacy brought about detente with the Soviet Union (q.v.) and a normalization of relations with the People’s Republic of China (q.v.), two communist allies of North Korea. In 1974 the Supreme People’s Assembly (SPA) (q.v.) sent an official letter to the U.S. Congress to demand direct negotiations with the United States to replace the armistice (q.v.) agreement with a peace treaty, which was then known as a peace offensive. The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) now found a more favorable climate than had existed in the past for pursuing its strategy of mobilizing international support for its position. The Sino-Soviet conflict resulted in the detente and normalization of relations between the United States and China, yielding a strategic triangle. The rapprochement between Washington and Beijing facilitated Pyongyang’s drive to win diplomatic recognition. So did the opening of a dialogue between north and south and South Korea’s attempt to establish diplomatic relations with communist states and agreement to the admission of the two Koreas to the United Nations. On January 10, 1984, North Korea proposed three-party talks involving North and South Korea and the United States. The intention of this proposal was to have a dialogue between North Korea and the United States, while South Korea would attend as an observer; thus, Washington and Seoul rejected the proposal. However, North Korea continued its efforts to open a dialogue and establish relations with the United States in the 1980s and, when Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev adopted the policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika* in 1985, North Korea intensified its efforts. To adapt to the changing international environment, North Korea had to approach the United States to improve relations between Pyongyang and Washington and proposed high-level talks, but Washington was not ready to open a dialogue. Still, somewhat later, Washington did respond to Pyongyang’s demand that the United States should have a dialogue with North Korea; thus, high-level talks opened in January 1992 in New York City, reversing the American position that it would not have any high-level

talks unless North Korea abandoned its nuclear development program. The United States was thus persuaded by Chinese influence to have a dialogue with North Korea and, moreover, the two Koreas had already adopted a Joint Declaration of Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula in December 1991 after several talks between the prime ministers of the two Koreas. North Korea was represented by Kim Yong-sun (q.v.), director of the International Affairs Department of Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (KWP CC), while the United States representative was Deputy Secretary of State Arnold Kanter, the highest officials to meet for bilateral talks. It was an occasion for the United States to deliver a message to North Korea to halt nuclear development.

However, in March 1993, North Korea announced its decision to withdraw from the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) (q.v.) and carry out an independent course of nuclear diplomacy. Thus, the United States and North Korea began negotiations in June 1993 to resolve the nuclear issues, reaching an agreement in October 1994 known as the Agreed Framework (q.v.). Subsequently, the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) was set up with the participation of the United States, South Korea, and Japan (q.v.) to coordinate and manage the construction of two light-water reactors in North Korea, the cost of which is estimated at US\$ 4 billion. However, the conservative mood in the U.S. Congress reverted to a hard-line policy toward North Korea, calling on the Clinton administration to conduct "a zero-based review" of its North Korea policy. North Korea is adamant about the U.S. policy, which has not executed the Agreed Framework in which the United States was to recognize the DPRK and establish diplomatic relations, as well as lift the economic sanctions that had been imposed on North Korea since the Korean War. Therefore, the issue of nuclear development impeded any further progress. In April 1994 Pyongyang declared in that it would withdraw from the Military Armistice Commission on the Korean Peninsula, claiming that the existing armistice agreement should be replaced by a peace treaty between the DPRK and the United States. In April 1996 North Korea also declared that it would abandon its duty to maintain the Military Demarcation Line and the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ). Such diplomatic maneuvers were designed to counter the proposal for four-party peace talks presented by Washington and



Seoul in April 1997, which would involve North and South Korea, China, and the United States and would settle a lasting peace on the Korean Peninsula.

When North Korea launched a missile (q.v.) on August 31, 1998, and increased suspicions that it was resuming its nuclear development program, the hostility toward the DPRK increased in the U.S. Congress. The Republican members of Congress criticized the Bill Clinton Administration's "butter-for-guns" approach to North Korea. Thus, Congress voted on September 17, 1998, to shelve the US\$ 35 million in funds needed to supply 500,000 tons of crude oil to North Korea, calling on the administration to conduct "a zero-based review" of its relations with the DPRK. However, by agreeing to set up two subcommittees on the peace regime and tension reduction at the four-party peace talks in October 1998 at Geneva, North Korea attempted to ease the criticism of the Republican-led Congress, which was directed at the administration's engagement policy toward North Korea. Concerned with the U.S. Congress' vote against funding for North Korea, Pyongyang harshly criticized the development and threatened to scrap the 1994 Agreed Framework. The KWP Central Committee's (q.v.) official daily, *Rodong Shinmun*, warned on September 19, 1998, that North Korea would take counter-measures if Washington did not comply with the agreement and delayed the crude oil shipments. On October 2, and again on October 10, 1998, *Rodong Shinmun* stressed, "If the United States is to scrap the 1994 agreement, we have no intention of deterring it. The fate of the agreement depends completely on the behavior of the U.S. hard-liners." Since then, North Korea has behaved reasonably, agreeing at the four party peace talks in October 1998 and January 1999 at Geneva to set up the two subcommittees for the reduction of tensions and establishment of a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula. The Clinton administration took such measures to improve relations with North Korea as providing food aid and energy assistance. Moreover it initiated an engagement policy toward the DPRK in 1998 when the Kim Dae-jung (q.v.) government of South Korea adopted the Sunshine Policy, or engagement policy, toward North Korea on the occasion of the presidential inauguration in February 1998. President Clinton appointed former Defense Secretary William Perry to review the current status of Korean problems and the possibility of building a peace

structure on the Korean Peninsula. The United States would accept a policy for normalization of diplomatic relations between Washington and Pyongyang only under certain conditions: that the DPRK abandon the development of ballistic missiles; that it continue to abide by the Agreed Framework of October 1994; and that it reduce tension along the DMZ by reducing the arms build up. In response to the changing international environment in general and, more specifically, to American policy toward the Korean Peninsula, North Korea has moved away from its own self-imposed isolation to a more open diplomacy, establishing diplomatic relations with Italy in January and Australia in May 2000, and with all the members of the European Union in 2000. North Korea took part in the Asian Regional Forum (ARF) of ASEAN, which is a forum of 22 nations, including the United States, China, and South Korea. North Korea was thus approaching the United States to establish diplomatic relations. In the process, the Clinton administration invited Vice Marshal Jo Myong-rok, the number two leader and vice chair of the DPRK National Defense Commission (q.v.), to visit the White House on October 10, 2000. He formally presented to President Clinton a letter of invitation from Kim Jong Il (q.v.) to pay a visit to Pyongyang. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright took a trip to Pyongyang on October 25–26, 2000, to explore the possibility of Clinton's visit to North Korea. It was speculated that Clinton would visit Pyongyang before or after his visit to Vietnam, which was scheduled in December 2000. Meanwhile, the experts of the U.S. Department of State and DPRK on non-proliferation prepared the agreement and signing of the Nonproliferation Treaty before the Clinton visit to Pyongyang. However, the negotiations never materialized, although there was a report of progress; the Clinton administration announced President Clinton would not visit North Korea due to the lack of time for the nonproliferation agreement. The new administration of George W. Bush, which was inaugurated in January 2001, made a commitment to continue the Clinton administration's North Korea policy. However, it would emphasize the reciprocity and hard-line policy based on the military strength of United States. North Korea perceives that it would have been much better to negotiate and settle the diplomatic relations with the Clinton administration than the Bush administration, as it is likely to take a hard-line policy toward North Korea as

Republican administrations have done in the past. Soon after the inauguration of the Bush administration, it shelved the U.S. engagement policy toward DPRK that the Clinton administration initiated in the 1990s. The Bush administration withdrew the position of Korean Issue Policy Coordinator and let U.S. Assistant Secretary of State James Kelley assume the ambassadorial post to deal with the four-party peace talks. In mid-March 2001, when Republic of Korea (ROK) President Kim Dae-jung visited Washington, President Bush expressed his policy adjustment by saying that the DPRK is mainly a threatening state. He thought that the United States could not trust the DPRK because of its covert policy making and suspicious actions. The United States could not be certain if the DPRK would observe international agreements it has signed. President Bush was unhappy with Clinton's and Kim Dae-jung's DPRK policy because he thought it was too tolerant without producing any mutual benefits. The United States was also opposed to supplying electricity by the ROK to the DPRK, arguing that doing so would undermine the U.S. position in renegotiating the Agreed Framework of October 1994. In response to the Bush administration's policy toward the DPRK, *Rodong Shinmun* stated on April 29, 2001, "Recently, the Bush administration's hegemonic and hostile policy toward the DPRK . . . renders the situation more dangerous." Thus, North Korea's hopes that better relations with the south would bring a breakthrough in normalizing relations with the United States have been dashed since President Bush took office in January 2001. "If the United States is really interested in disarmament on the Korean Peninsula, first of all, it should pull its aggression troops out of South Korea," the official paper stated. Since then, North Korea has returned to making hostile comments against the United States.

President George Bush invited North Korea on June 6, 2001, to resume the U.S.-DPRK talks on missiles, conventional forces, and the 1994 Agreed Framework, but *Rodong Shinmun* rejected Bush's offer. The newspaper stressed that the DPRK "has no intention to respond to the U.S. proposal for the resumption of dialogue while allowing its sovereignty to be infringed upon." A spokesman for the DPRK said on August 8, 2001, "We can never accept the agenda items unilaterally raised by the United States that are part of its intention to disarm and stifle the North." Labeling the U.S. policy an "anachronistic

mode of thinking,” the DPRK spokesman said that his government would come to the negotiating table only when the Bush administration is in its last period.” North Korea claimed that the U.S. call for the DPRK’s conventional disarmament is an intervention in its internal affairs. However, the terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington on September 11, 2001, brought about changes in U.S. defense and foreign policy. The United States needed a coalition of nations to combat international terrorism and extended an olive branch to North Korea when U.S. ambassador to Seoul, Thomas Hubbard, on October 17, 2001, welcomed the DPRK’s recent criticism of terrorism and said that he wanted the DPRK to join the international coalition to fight terrorism. President Bush pressed the DPRK on October 19, 2001, to accept his invitation to meet with U.S. representatives. Bush said at a news conference with ROK President Kim Dae-jung in Shanghai, China, “My administration wishes to begin a dialogue with the government of Kim Jong Il. Yet, he has refused to accept our invitation. I would hope that he would accept not only our invitation, but seize the opportunity to bring more peaceful relations to the Korean Peninsula. This is a moment in history where he can prove his worth.” But, the DPRK made a new call on October 19, 2001, for the United States to remove its troops from the ROK, blaming the United States for the half-century long division of the Korean Peninsula. Moreover, on October 24, 2001, the DPRK denounced President Bush’s speech on DPRK-U.S. relations before his departure to attend the Asia Pacific Economic Forum (APEC) in Shanghai, China. The DPRK reiterated that the Bush administration must resume a stance similar to that of the Clinton administration. Bush gave a strong warning on October 17, 2001, that the DPRK should not take advantage of the U.S. preoccupation with terrorism and threaten the ROK. In the speech, Bush also expressed disappointment in DPRK leader Kim Jong Il for not rising to the occasion of reconciliatory exchange and being “so suspicious, so secretive.” The DPRK Foreign Ministry spokesman said via state-run Radio Pyongyang, “such speech of our leader being suspicious and secretive was an imprudent remark.” Nonetheless, the official Korea Central News Agency (KCNA) reported on November 3, 2001, that the DPRK had decided to sign the 1999 International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism. A

DPRK Foreign Ministry spokesman said it decided to ratify the treaty to show “we have made every possible effort to combat worldwide terrorism.” The DPRK also decided to sign a 1979 international convention against hostage taking, all of which might further enhance the DPRK-U.S. dialogue and rapprochement. *See also* NORTH-SOUTH KOREA RELATIONS.

– V –

**VINALON.** Vinalon is a synthetic fiber developed in North Korea and made from limestone and anthracite, which has played an important role in meeting the demand for textiles. In 1956 North Korea built a vinalon factory (February 8 Vinalon Factory) with a 50,000-ton annual output capacity in Hamhung, South Hamgyong Province. In 1983 it launched a project with Soviet aid to build a new vinalon factory with a 100,000-ton production capacity in Sunchon, some 50 kilometers north of Pyongyang, but the actual construction began in 1986. Pyongyang boasted that the factory, when completed, would have an annual capacity of producing 100,000 tons of vinalon, one million tons of carbide, and 900,000 tons of nitrogenous fertilizers, among other things, thus contributing to alleviating completely the shortage of fibers. North Korea in 1989 announced that the first-stage of construction was completed with an output capacity of 50,000 tons of vinalon, but the North Korean media has since made no further reports about the project.

– W –

**WORK SQUADS.** The work squad management system for farms originated in an instruction given by Kim Il Sung (q.v.) when he visited Pochon Cooperative Farm in 1965. Under the system established the next year, the 150-man work team was broken down into squads with 25 members each to enhance the farmers’ collective responsibility and increase their productivity. But the system has not paid off because of excessive output assignments and the few incentives given to the squads. In an effort to make the work squad system more

effective, in 1996 North Korea started to allow the squads to keep or dispose of a portion of their wares produced in excess of assignments to them, according to an article carried in *Chosen Shinbo*, organ of the pro-North Korean *Chosen Soren* in Japan, on October 24 of that year. In the past, comparable rights were given to the larger work teams. The number of members of a squad was reduced to seven or eight and their output assignments were realigned. *See also* AGRICULTURE; FARMERS' MARKETS.

**WORK TEAMS.** The work teams were organized in the industrial plants and agricultural cooperatives in 1958. The work teams in the industrial plants usually consisted of 20 to 25 members; those in educational, cultural, and public health institutions often had 50 members. They were organized with only 11,097 managers and technicians leading about 1,368 teams. However, the campaign to organize work teams spread rapidly, reaching more than 3,242 villages within a year. By March 1959, there were more than 8,620 teams with approximately 178,406 members, and the work team organizations were able to penetrate into every village. The work team was organized not only in industrial plants, but in all other institutions as well. By December 1963, when the organization had grown to 17,057 teams with a membership of 586,408, the breakdown of its membership was as follows: 213,376 workers and clerical personnel, 232,636 members of agricultural cooperatives, and 140,396 students. Thus, the work team organization succeeded in recruiting more than one million members by July 1965, which continued to grow by several million throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

– Y –

**YANG HYONG-SOP (1925–).** Associate member of the Politburo (q.v.) and vice chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) (q.v.). Born in South Hamgyong Province, he studied in the Soviet Union (q.v.) and later graduated from Kim Il Sung University. He became a secretary to the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (q.v.) and associate member of the Politburo in 1970, a full member of the Politburo in 1974, chairman of the State In-

spection Committee in 1975, president of the Academy of Sciences (q.v.) in 1980, and chairman of the SPA (q.v.) in 1983. He was demoted to associate member of the Politburo in 1990 and demoted to vice chairman of the SPA Presidium in September 1998.

**YEAR-END OUTPUT ASSESSMENT AT FARMS.** North Korean farmers working on cooperative farms are given year-end dividends according to the amount of crops they harvested, while those at state-run farms are paid salaries like laborers and office workers. This pay system on cooperative farms is partly responsible for the wide gap between rural and urban areas and between workers and farmers. Year-end dividends are given to farmers after an evaluation of their harvest. A North Korean dictionary, published by the Academy of Social Sciences in 1992, states: “The year-end assessment is to evaluate production and financial records, determine farmers’ crop ratings, and distribute some portion of the crops to the farmers.”

For crop assessment and distribution, every cooperative farm holds an annual meeting in November. Crop ratings are determined according to their harvests as compared with grain production assignments to work teams (q.v.), each consisting usually of 150 farmers. If a work team consisting of several work squads produces grain in excess of the assigned goal, its members are given a bonus. If it fails to meet the target, it is required to make up for the loss with basic payments in grain to its members. In the assessments, the surplus equals the total grain output calculated in North Korean currency after deducting the production costs and various funds, including reserves for farming equipment and the sociocultural funds. Education is said to run as high as or more than 50 percent of output. *See also* AGRICULTURE.

**YON HYONG-MUK (1931-).** Member of the National Defense Commission (NDC) (q.v.), associate member of the Politburo (q.v.), and responsible secretary of the Jagan Province Party Committee. Born in North Hamgyong Province, he graduated from Kim Il Sung University and then studied engineering in Prague. He became a deputy chief of the Korean Workers’ Party Central Committee’s (KWP CC) (q.v.) Heavy Industry Department in 1960, a KWP CC secretary in 1971, chief of the KWP CC’s Heavy Industry Department in 1972,

and full member of the Politburo in 1974. He then rose to first deputy premier and chairman of the Metal and Machine Industry Commission in 1985, and premier in 1988. Yon was demoted to associate Politburo member in December 1992, but was appointed responsible secretary for the Jagang Province Party Committee. He was named member of the NDC in September 1998.

**YUN KI-BOK (1926–?).** Chairman of the Economic Policy Committee. Born in South Hamgyong Province, he graduated from a junior medical college in Manchuria and studied in the Soviet Union (q.v.). He became minister of general education in 1962, finance minister in 1967, and chairman of the State Planning Commission in 1969. He served as an adviser to the North Korean delegation to the Red Cross talks with South Korea (q.v.) in the early 1970s. Yun became an associate member of the Politburo and a Korean Workers' Party Central Committee (qq.v.) secretary in 1980, chairman of the People's Committee in Pyongyang (q.v.) in 1983, and chairman of the Economic Policy Committee under the umbrella of the Central People's Committee (q.v.) in 1988.



# Appendix 1

## Socialist Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

(September 5, 1998)

(The Socialist Constitution of the DPRK was adopted on September 5, 1998, by the first session of the Tenth Supreme People's Assembly.)

Preface

Chapter 1. Politics

Chapter 2. Economy

Chapter 3. Culture

Chapter 4. National Defense

Chapter 5. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

Chapter 6. The Structure of State

Chapter 7. National Emblem, Flag, National Anthem and Capital

### **Preface**

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a socialist fatherland of *Juche*, which embodies the idea of and guidance by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung is the founder of the DPRK and the socialist Korea.

Comrade Kim Il Sung founded the immortal *Juche* idea, organized and guided an anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle under its banner, created revolutionary tradition, attained the historical cause of the national liberation, and founded the DPRK, built up a solid basis of construction of a sovereign and independent state in the fields of politics, economy, culture and military, and founded the DPRK.

Comrade Kim Il Sung put forward an independent revolutionary line, wisely guided the social revolution and construction at various levels, strengthened and developed the Republic into a people-centered socialist country and a socialist state of independence, self-sustenance, and self-defense.

Comrade Kim Il Sung clarified the fundamental principle of state building and activities, established the most superior state social system and political method, and social management system and method, and provided a firm basis for the prosperous and powerful socialist fatherland and the continuation of the task of completing the *Juche* revolutionary cause.

Comrade Kim Il Sung regarded believing in the people as in heaven as his motto, was always with the people, devoted his whole life to them, took care of and guided them with a noble politics of benevolence, and turned the whole society into one big and united family.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung is the sun of the nation and the lodestar of the reunification of the fatherland. Comrade Kim Il Sung set the reunification of the country as the nation's supreme task, and devoted all his work and endeavors entirely to its realization.

Comrade Kim Il Sung, while turning the Republic into a mighty fortress for national reunification, indicated fundamental principles and methods for national reunification, developed the national reunification movement into a pan-national movement, and opened up a way for that cause, to be attained by the united strength of the entire nation.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung made clear the fundamental idea of the Republic's external policy, expanded and developed diplomatic relations on this basis, and heightened the international prestige of the Republic. Comrade Kim Il Sung, as a veteran world political leader, hewed out a new era of independence, vigorously worked for the reinforcement and development of the socialist movement and the non-aligned movement, and for world peace and friendship between peoples, and made an immortal contribution to mankind's independent cause.

Comrade Kim Il Sung was a genius ideological theoretician and a genius art leader, an ever-victorious, iron-willed brilliant commander, a great revolutionary and politician, and a great human being. Comrade Kim Il Sung's great idea and achievements in leadership are the eternal treasures of the nation and a fundamental guarantee for the prosperity and efflorescence of the DPRK.

The DPRK and the entire Korean people will uphold the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung as the eternal President of the Republic, defend and carry forward his ideas and exploits, and complete the *Juche* revolution under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea.

The DPRK Socialist Constitution is a Kim Il Sung constitution which legally embodies Comrade Kim Il Sung's *Juche* state construction ideology and achievements.

## **Chapter 1 Politics**

### **Article 1**

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is an independent socialist state representing the interests of all the Korean people.

### **Article 2**

The DPRK is a revolutionary state, which has inherited brilliant traditions formed during the glorious revolutionary struggle against the imperialist aggressors in the struggle to achieve the liberation of the homeland and the freedom and wellbeing of the people.

### **Article 3**

The DPRK is guided in its activities by the *Juche* idea, a world outlook centered on people, a revolutionary ideology for achieving the independence of the masses of people.

### **Article 4**

The sovereignty of the DPRK resides in the workers, peasants, working intellectuals, and all other working people.

The working people exercise power through their representative organs—the Supreme People's Assembly and local people's assemblies at all levels.

### **Article 5**

All the State organs in the DPRK are formed and function on the principle of democratic centralism.

**Article 6**

The organs of State power at all levels, from the county People's Assembly to the SPA, are elected on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

**Article 7**

Deputies to the organs of State power at all levels have close ties with their constituents and are accountable to them for their work. The electors may recall the deputies they have elected if the latter are not to be trusted.

**Article 8**

The social system of the DPRK is a people-centered system under which the working people are masters of everything, and everything in society serves the working people.

The State shall defend and protect the interests of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals who have been freed from exploitation and oppression and become masters of the State and society.

**Article 9**

The DPRK shall strive to achieve the complete victory of socialism in the northern half of Korea by strengthening the people's power and vigorously performing the three revolutions—ideological, cultural, and technical—and reunify the country on the principle of independence, peaceful reunification, and great national unity.

**Article 10**

The DPRK bases itself on the political and ideological unity of the entire people based on the worker-peasant alliance in which the working class plays a leading role.

The State strengthens the ideological revolution and revolutionizes and working-classizes all the social members, and binds the whole society in a united group, linked up with comradeship.

**Article 11**

The DPRK shall conduct all activities under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea.

**Article 12**

The State shall adhere to the class line, strengthen the dictatorship of people's democracy and firmly defend the people's power and socialist system against all subversive acts of hostile elements at home and abroad.

**Article 13**

The State shall implement the mass line and apply the Chongsan-ri spirit and Chongsan-ri method to all its activities, the spirit and method by which superiors assist their subordinates, mix with the masses to find

solutions to problems, and rouse them to conscious enthusiasm preferably through political work with people.

**Article 14**

The State shall powerfully conduct the Three-Revolution Red Flag Movement and other mass movements and accelerate the building of socialism to the maximum.

**Article 15**

The DPRK shall champion the democratic, national rights of Koreans overseas and their rights recognized by the international law.

**Article 16**

The DPRK shall guarantee the legal rights and interests of foreigners in its region.

**Article 17**

Independence, peace, and solidarity are the basic ideals of the foreign policy and the principles of external activities of the DPRK.

The State shall establish diplomatic as well as political, economic and cultural relations with all friendly countries, on principles of complete equality, independence, mutual respect, noninterference in each other's affairs, and mutual benefit.

The State shall promote unity with the world public, defending peoples who oppose all forms of aggression and interference and fight for their countries' independence and national and class emancipation.

**Article 18**

The law of the DPRK reflects the wishes and interests of the working people and is a basic instrument for State administration.

Respect for the law and its strict adherence and execution is the duty of all institutions, enterprises, organizations, and citizens.

The State shall perfect the system of socialist law and promote the socialist law-abiding life.

## **Chapter 2 Economy**

**Article 19**

The DPRK relies on the socialist production relations and on the foundation of an independent national economy.

**Article 20**

In the DPRK, the means of production are owned only by the State and social cooperative organizations.

**Article 21**

The property of the State belongs to the entire people. There is no limit to the property that the State can own. Only the State possesses all the natural resources, railways, airports, transportation, communication organs, and major factories, enterprises, ports, and banks.

The State shall guarantee giving priority to the growth of its property, which plays a leading role in the development of the national economy.

**Article 22**

The property of social cooperative organizations belongs to the collective property of working people within the organizations concerned.

Social cooperative organizations can possess such property as land, agricultural machinery, ships, medium-small sized factories and enterprises.

The State shall protect the property of social cooperative organizations.

**Article 23**

The State shall enhance the ideological consciousness and the technical and cultural level of the peasants, increase the role of the property of the entire people in leading the cooperative property so as to combine the two forms of property systematically, shall consolidate and develop the socialist cooperative economic system by improving the guidance and management of the cooperative economy, and gradually transform the property of cooperative organizations into the property of the people as a whole based on the voluntary will of all their members.

**Article 24**

Private property is confined to property meeting the simple and individual aims of the citizen.

Private property consists of socialist distributions of the result of labor and additional benefits of the State and society.

The products of individual sideline activities including those from the kitchen gardens of cooperative farmers and income from other legal economic activities shall also belong to private property.

The State shall protect private property and guarantee its legal inheritance.

**Article 25**

The DPRK regards the steady improvement of the material and cultural standards of the people as the supreme principle of its activities.

The constantly increasing material wealth of society in our country, where taxes have been abolished, is used entirely for promoting the well-being of the working people.

The State shall provide all working people with every condition for obtaining food, clothing, and housing.

**Article 26**

The independent national economy of the DPRK is a solid foundation for the people's happy socialist life and for the prosperity of the fatherland.

The State, holding fast to the line of building an independent national economy, shall accelerate *Juche*-orientation, modernization, and scientific sophistication of the national economy, develop the national economy into a highly developed *Juche*-oriented one, and strive to build a solid material and technical foundation commensurate with a complete socialist society.

**Article 27**

The technical revolution is vital to the development of the socialist economy.

The State shall perform all economic activities by giving top priority to solving the problem of technical development, push vigorously ahead with a mass technical revolution movement by accelerating scientific and technical development and the technical innovation of the national economy, free the working masses from backbreaking labor, and narrow down the differences between physical and mental labor.

**Article 28**

The State shall accelerate the technical revolution in the rural areas in order to eliminate differences between urban and rural areas and class distinctions between the working class and the peasantry, industrialize and modernize agriculture, and strengthen the guidance and assistance to rural areas by enhancing the role of the county.

The State shall undertake, at its own expense, the building of production facilities for the cooperative farms and modern houses in the countryside.

**Article 29**

Socialism and Communism are built by the creative labor of the working masses.

In the DPRK, labor is an independent and creative work of the working masses, who have been freed from exploitation and suppression.

The State renders the labor of our working people, who do not worry about unemployment, more joyful and worthwhile, so that they willingly work with enthusiasm and creativity for society, organizations, and for themselves.

**Article 30**

The daily working hours of the working masses are eight hours.

The State will decide to shorten the daily working hours depending on the difficulty and special conditions of labor.

The State shall organize labor effectively, strengthen labor rules, and fully utilize labor's working hours.

**Article 31**

In the DPRK, the minimum working age is 16 years old.

The State shall prohibit child labor under the stipulated working age.

**Article 32**

The State shall firmly adhere to the principle of properly combining political guidance with economic and technical guidance, the unified guidance of the State with the creativity of each unit, monolithic leadership with democracy, and political and moral incentives with material incentives in the guidance and management of the socialist economy.

**Article 33**

The State shall guide and manage the national economy according to the Taean Work System, which is a socialist economic management form whereby the economy is operated and managed in a scientific and rational way, depending on the collective power of the producing masses, and according to the agricultural guidance system, whereby agricultural management is conducted by industrial methods.

The State shall introduce a cost accounting system in the economic management according to the demand of the Taean work system and utilize such economic levers as prime costs, prices, and profits.

**Article 34**

The national economy of the DPRK is a planned economy.

The State shall balance the proportion of accumulation and consumption properly, accelerate economic construction, continue to raise people's living standard, and formulate and implement national economic development plans in order to strengthen the national defense capability.

The State shall formulate unified and detailed plans and guarantee a high-rate production growth and a balanced development of the national economy.

**Article 35**

The DPRK shall compile and implement the State budget along with the national economic development plan.

The State will intensify campaigns for increased production and expanded economy, carry out financial regulations strictly, increase the State's savings, and expand and develop socialist property.



**Article 36**

In the DPRK, the State and social cooperative organizations shall conduct foreign trade activities.

The State shall develop foreign trade on the principles of complete equality and mutual benefit.

**Article 37**

The State shall encourage institutions, enterprises, or associations of the DPRK to establish and operate equity and contractual joint venture enterprises with corporations or individuals of foreign countries within a special economic zone.

**Article 38**

The State shall pursue a tariff policy with the aim of protecting the independent national economy.

**Chapter 3 Culture****Article 39**

Socialist culture, which is flourishing and developing in the DPRK, contributes to the improvement of the creative ability of the working people and to meeting their sound cultural and aesthetic demands.

**Article 40**

The DPRK shall, by carrying out a thorough Cultural Revolution, train the working people to be builders of socialism and communism equipped with a profound knowledge of nature and society and a high level of culture and technology, thus making the whole of society intellectual.

**Article 41**

The DPRK shall develop a truly popular, revolutionary culture, which serves the socialist working people.

In building a socialist national culture, the State shall oppose the cultural infiltration of imperialism and any tendency to return to the past, protect its national cultural heritage, and develop it in keeping with the existing socialist situation.

**Article 42**

The State shall eliminate the way of life inherited from the outmoded society and establish a new socialist way of life in every sphere.

**Article 43**

The State shall put the principles of socialist education into practice and raise the new generation to be steadfast revolutionaries who will fight

for society and the people, to be people of a new communist type who are knowledgeable, morally sound, and physically healthy.

**Article 44**

The State shall give precedence to public education and the training of cadres for the nation and combine general education with technological education, and education with productive labor.

**Article 45**

The State shall develop universal compulsory 11-year education, which includes a compulsory 1-year preschool education at a high level in accordance with the trend of modern science and technology and the practical requirements of socialist construction.

**Article 46**

The State shall train competent technicians and experts by enhancing the regular educational system, as well as different forms of study while working, and by improving the scientific and theoretical levels of technical education and education in social science and basic science.

**Article 47**

The State shall provide education to all pupils and students free of charge and grant allowances to students of universities and colleges.

**Article 48**

The State shall strengthen social education and provide the working people with all available conditions for study.

**Article 49**

The State shall maintain all children of preschool age in crèches and kindergartens at State and public expense.

**Article 50**

The State shall establish *Juche* in scientific research, introduce advanced science and technology in every possible way, open up new areas of science and technology, and raise the country's science and technology to the world level.

**Article 51**

The State shall draw up a proper plan for scientific research work and consolidate creative cooperation between scientists, specialists and producer masses.

**Article 52**

The State shall develop a *Juche*-oriented, revolutionary literature and art, national in form and socialist in content.

The State shall encourage creative workers and artists to produce works of high ideological and artistic value and enlist the working masses widely in literary and artistic activity.

**Article 53**

The State shall provide sufficient modern cultural facilities to meet the demands of the people who want to improve themselves continually, both mentally and physically, so that the working people may enjoy a socialist, cultured, aesthetic life to their hearts' content.

**Article 54**

The State shall safeguard our language from all attempts to obliterate it and shall develop it to meet present-day needs.

**Article 55**

The State shall popularize physical culture and make it a habit of people's lives to make people fully prepared for labor and national defense and develop physical technique conforming to the actual situation of our country and trends in the development of modern physical technique.

**Article 56**

The State shall consolidate and develop the system of universal free medical service and consolidate the section doctor system and the system of preventive medicine to protect people's lives and improve working people's health.

**Article 57**

The State shall adopt measures to protect the environment in preference to production, preserve and promote the natural environment, and prevent environmental pollution so as to provide the people with a hygienic environment and working conditions.

## **Chapter 4 National Defense**

**Article 58**

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea rests on the people's nationwide defense system.

**Article 59**

The mission of the armed forces of the DPRK is to safeguard the interests of the working people, to defend the socialist system and the gains of the revolution from aggression, and to protect the freedom, independence, and peace of the country.

**Article 60**

The State shall implement the line of self-reliant defense, the import of which is to arm the entire people, fortify the country, train the army into a cadre army and modernize the army on the basis of equipping the army and the people politically and ideologically.

**Article 61**

The State shall strengthen military and mass discipline in the army and promote the display of the noble traditional trait of unity between officers and men and unity between the army and the people.

**Chapter 5 Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens**

**Article 62**

The terms for becoming a citizen of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are defined by the Law on Nationality.

A citizen is under the protection of the DPRK regardless of domicile.

**Article 63**

In the DPRK the rights and duties of citizens are based on the collectivist principle "one for all and all for one."

**Article 64**

The State shall effectively guarantee genuine democratic rights and liberties as well as the material and cultural well-being of its citizens.

In the DPRK the rights and freedom of citizens shall be amplified with the consolidation and development of the social system.

**Article 65**

Citizens enjoy equal rights in all spheres of State and public activities.

**Article 66**

All citizens who have reached the age of 17 have the right to elect and to be elected, irrespective of sex, race, occupation, length of residence, property status, education, party affiliation, political views, or religion.

Citizens serving in the armed forces also have the right to elect and to be elected. A person who has been disenfranchised by a court decision and a person legally certified insane do not have the right to elect or to be elected.

**Article 67**

Citizens are guaranteed freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of demonstration, and of association.

The State shall guarantee conditions for the free activity of democratic political parties and social organizations.

**Article 68**

Citizens have freedom of religious beliefs. This right is granted by approving the construction of religious buildings and the holding of religious ceremonies.

No one may use religion as a pretext for drawing in foreign forces or for harming the State and social order.

**Article 69**

Citizens are entitled to submit complaints and petitions.

Complaints and petitions shall be investigated and dealt with according to procedure and within the period fixed by law.

**Article 70**

Citizens have the right to work.

All able-bodied citizens choose occupations in accordance with their wishes and skills and are provided with stable jobs and working conditions.

Citizens work according to their abilities and are paid in accordance with the quantity and quality of their work.

**Article 71**

Citizens have the right to relaxation. This right is ensured by the establishment of the working hours, the provision of holidays, paid leave, accommodation at health resorts and holiday homes at State expense and by a growing network of cultural facilities.

**Article 72**

Citizens are entitled to free medical care, and all persons who are no longer able to work because of old age, illness, or a physical disability, the old, and children who have no means of support are entitled to material assistance. This right is ensured by free medical care, an expanding network of hospitals, sanatoria and other medical institutions, State social insurance, and other social security systems.

**Article 73**

Citizens have the right to education. This right is ensured by an advanced educational system and by the educational measures enacted by the State for the benefit of the people.

**Article 74**

Citizens are free to engage in scientific, literary and artistic pursuits.

The State shall grant benefits to inventors and innovators.

Copyright and patent rights shall be protected by law.

**Article 75**

The citizens shall have freedom to reside in and travel to any place.

**Article 76**

Revolutionary fighters, the families of revolutionary and patriotic martyrs, the families of soldiers of the People's Army, and the disabled enjoy the special protection of the State and society.

**Article 77**

Women are accorded an equal social status and rights with men.

The State shall afford special protection to mothers and children by providing maternity leave, reduced working hours for mothers with many children, a wide network of maternity hospitals, crèches and kindergartens, and other measures.

The State shall provide all conditions for women to play a full role in society.

**Article 78**

Marriages and the family shall be protected by the State.

The State pays great attention to consolidating the family, the basic unit of social life.

**Article 79**

Citizens are guaranteed inviolability of the person and the home and privacy of correspondence.

No citizens can be placed under control or be arrested, nor can their homes be searched, without a legal warrant.

**Article 80**

The DPRK shall grant the right of asylum to foreign nationals persecuted for struggling for peace and democracy, national independence and socialism, or the freedom of scientific and cultural pursuit.

**Article 81**

Citizens shall firmly safeguard the political and ideological unity and solidarity of the people.

Citizens must value organizations and collectives and must demonstrate the spirit of devoting themselves to work for the society and the people.

**Article 82**

Citizens shall strictly observe the laws of the State and the socialist standards of life and defend their honor and dignity as citizens of the DPRK.

**Article 83**

Work is the noble duty and honor of a citizen.

Citizens shall willingly and conscientiously participate in work and strictly observe labor discipline and the working hours.

**Article 84**

Citizens shall take good care of State and communal property, combat all forms of misappropriation and waste, and manage the nation's economy diligently as the masters.

The property of the State and the social cooperative organization is inviolable.

**Article 85**

Citizens shall constantly increase their revolutionary vigilance and devotedly fight for the security of the State.

**Article 86**

National defense is the supreme duty and honor of citizens.

Citizens shall defend the country and serve in the army as required by law.

**Chapter 6 The Structure of the State**

(Paragraph I) The Supreme People's Assembly

**Article 87**

The Supreme People's Assembly is the highest organ of State power in the DPRK.

**Article 88**

The SPA exercises legislative power.

When the SPA is not in session, the SPA Presidium also can exercise legislative power.

**Article 89**

The SPA is composed of deputies elected on the principle of universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

**Article 90**

The SPA is elected for a term of five years.

A new election is held before the term expires according to the decision of the SPA Presidium.

The term is extended if an election is not held due to unavoidable circumstances.

## **Article 91**

The SPA has the authority to:

1. Amend and supplement the constitution
2. Adopt, amend, and supplement departmental laws
3. Approve major departmental laws adopted by the SPA Presidium in the intervals between the sessions of the SPA
4. Establish the basic principles of the State's domestic and foreign policies
5. Elect or transfer the chairman of the DPRK National Defense Commission
6. Elect or remove the president of the SPA Presidium
7. Elect or transfer the first vice chairman, vice chairmen and members of the National Defense Commission according to the recommendation of the chairman of the DPRK National Defense Commission
8. Elect or transfer the vice presidents, honorary vice presidents, secretaries, and members of the SPA Presidium
9. Elect or transfer the premier of the cabinet
10. Appoint the vice premiers of the cabinet, chairmen of commissions, ministers and other members of the cabinet, according to the recommendation of the premier of the cabinet
11. Appoint or remove the prosecutor general
12. Elect or transfer the chief justice
13. Elect or transfer the chairmen, vice chairmen, and members of the committees of the SPA
14. Examine and approve the State plan for the development of the national economy and a report on its fulfillment
15. Examine and approve a report on the State budget and on its implementation
16. Receive a report on the work of the cabinet and national institutions and adopt measures, if necessary
17. Decide on the ratification or abrogation of treaties submitted to the SPA.

## **Article 92**

The SPA holds regular and extraordinary sessions.

Regular sessions are convened once or twice a year by the SPA Presidium. Extraordinary sessions are convened when the SPA Presidium deems them necessary or at the request of a minimum of one-third of the total number of deputies.



**Article 93**

The SPA requires a quorum of at least two-thirds of the total number of deputies in order to meet.

**Article 94**

The SPA elects its chairman and vice chairmen.

The chairman presides over the sessions.

**Article 95**

An item on the agenda to be deliberated on by the SPA is submitted to the SPA Presidium, cabinet, and SPA committees.

**Article 96**

Each of the first sessions of the SPA elects a Credentials Committee and, on hearing the committee's report, adopts a decision confirming the credentials of deputies.

**Article 97**

The SPA adopts laws and decisions.

Laws and decisions of the SPA are adopted when more than half of the deputies attending signify approval by a show of hands.

The constitution is amended and supplemented with the approval of more than two-thirds of the total number of deputies to the SPA.

**Article 98**

The SPA sets up committees, such as the legislation committee and the budget committee.

The SPA committees consist of its chairman, vice chairmen, and members.

The SPA committees assist in the work of the SPA; they plan or deliberate on the State policy and bills and take measures for their implementation.

When the SPA is not in session, committees operate under the guidance of the SPA Presidium.

**Article 99**

Deputies to the SPA are guaranteed inviolability as such.

No deputy to the SPA can be arrested or punished without the consent of the SPA or, when it is not in session, without the consent of the SPA Presidium, except for a flagrant offense.

(Paragraph II) The National Defense Commission

**Article 100**

The National Defense Commission is the highest military leading organ of State power and an organ for general control over national defense.

**Article 101**

The NDC consists of its chairman, first vice chairman, vice chairmen, and members.

The term of the NDC chairman is the same as that of the SPA.

**Article 102**

The chairman of the NDC directs and commands all the armed forces and guides defense affairs as a whole.

**Article 103**

The NDC has the duties and authority to:

1. Guide the armed forces and guide the State in defense building as a whole
2. Set up or abolish a national institution in the defense sector
3. Appoint or remove major military cadres
4. Set up military titles and confer the military rank of general and higher ranks
5. Proclaim a state of war and orders for mobilization.

**Article 104**

The NDC issues decisions and orders.

**Article 105**

The NDC is accountable to the SPA.

(Paragraph III) The SPA Presidium

**Article 106**

The SPA Presidium is the highest organ of power in the intervals between sessions of the SPA.

**Article 107**

The SPA Presidium consists of its chairman, vice chairman, secretaries, and members.

**Article 108**

The SPA Presidium may appoint some honorary vice chairmen.

The honorary vice chairmen may be those from among SPA deputies who have participated in State construction works for a long time and made a noticeable contribution.

**Article 109**

The term of the SPA Presidium is the same as that of the SPA.

The SPA Presidium continuously fulfills its duty after its term expires until a new SPA Presidium is elected.

**Article 110**

The SPA Presidium has the duties and authority to:

1. Convene sessions of the SPA
2. Examine and adopt new departmental bills and regulations, raised when the SPA is in recess, and examine and adopt drafts of amendments and supplements to departmental bills and regulations in force, and receive approval from the next SPA session on important departmental bills which will be adopted and implemented
3. Examine and approve the State plan for the development of the national economy, the State budget, and its adjusted plan raised when the SPA is in recess due to unavoidable circumstances
4. Interpret the constitution, departmental laws, and regulations in force
5. Supervise the observance of laws of State organs and adopt measures
6. Abolish State organs' decisions which violate the constitution, SPA's laws and decisions, NDC's decisions and orders, and the SPA Presidium's decrees, decisions and directions and suspend the implementation of unwarranted decisions by a local people's assembly
7. Do work for an SPA deputy election and organize an election for deputies in a local people's assembly
8. Do work with SPA deputies
9. Do work with SPA departmental committees
10. Form or abolish commissions and ministries of the cabinet
11. Appoint or remove vice premiers, chairman, and cabinet and ministry members upon a proposal by the premier when the SPA is in recess
12. Appoint or remove members of departmental committees of the SPA Presidium
13. Elect or transfer judges of the Central Court and people's assessors
14. Ratify or abrogate treaties concluded with other countries
15. Decide on and publish the appointment or recall of diplomatic envoys accredited to foreign countries
16. Institute a decoration, a medal, an honorary title and a diplomatic rank, and grant a decoration, a medal, and an honorary title
17. Exercise the right to grant general amnesties or special pardons
18. Institute and reorganize an administration unit and district.

**Article 111**

The president of the SPA Presidium organizes and guides the work of the presidium.

The president of the SPA Presidium represents the State and receives credentials and letters of recall of diplomatic representatives accredited by a foreign state.

**Article 112**

The SPA Presidium convenes a plenary meeting and an executive meeting.

The plenary meeting consists of all the members and the executive meeting of the president, vice presidents, and secretary.

**Article 113**

The SPA Presidium's plenary meeting deliberates on and adopts important issues for the Presidium to implement its duties and authority.

The executive meeting deliberates on and adopts issues, which are entrusted to it by the plenary meeting.

**Article 114**

The SPA Presidium issues decrees, decisions, and directions.

**Article 115**

The SPA Presidium may set up its assistant departmental committees.

**Article 116**

The SPA Presidium is accountable to the SPA.

(Paragraph IV) Cabinet

**Article 117**

The cabinet is the administrative and executive body of the highest organ of State power and a general state management organ.

**Article 118**

The cabinet consists of the premier, vice premiers, chairmen of commissions, ministers, and some other necessary members.

The cabinet's term is the same as that of the SPA.

**Article 119**

The cabinet has duties and authority to:

1. Adopt measures to execute state policy
2. Institute, amend, and supplement regulations concerning state management based on the constitution and departmental laws
3. Guide the work of the cabinet commissions, ministries, direct organs of the cabinet, and local people's committees

4. Set up and remove direct organs of the cabinet, main administrative economic organizations, and enterprises, and adopt measures to improve the State management structure
5. Draft the State plan for the development of the national economy and adopt measures to put it into effect
6. Compile the State budget and adopt measures to implement it
7. Organize and exercise works in the fields of industry, agriculture, construction, transportation, communications, commerce, trade, land management, city management, education, science, culture, health, physical training, labor administration, environmental protection, tourism, and others
8. Adopt measures to strengthen the monetary and banking system
9. Do inspection and control work to establish a State management order
10. Adopt measures to maintain social order, protect State and social cooperation body's possession and interests, and to guarantee citizens' rights
11. Conclude treaties with foreign countries and conduct external activities
12. Abolish decisions and directions by economic administrative organs that run counter to the cabinet's decisions or directions.

#### **Article 120**

The premier of the cabinet organizes and guides the work of the cabinet. The premier represents the government of the DPRK.

#### **Article 121**

The cabinet convenes a plenary meeting and an executive meeting.

The plenary meeting consists of all the cabinet members and the executive meeting of the premier, vice premier, and other cabinet members whom the premier nominates.

#### **Article 122**

The cabinet plenary meeting deliberates on and adopts new and important issues in economic administrative work.

#### **Article 123**

The cabinet adopts decisions and directions.

#### **Article 124**

The cabinet may set up nonpermanent departmental committees that assist in its works.

**Article 125**

The cabinet is accountable to the SPA, and to the SPA Presidium when the SPA is in recess.

**Article 126**

The newly elected premier of the cabinet makes an oath in the SPA, representing cabinet members.

**Article 127**

The cabinet commission and ministries are departmental executive organs, and departmental management organs.

**Article 128**

The cabinet commissions and ministries grasp, guide, and manage the work in charge, under the guidance of the cabinet.

**Article 129**

The cabinet commissions and ministries manage committee assemblies and cadres assemblies. Commission and ministry committee assemblies and cadres assemblies deliberate on and adopt measures to exercise cabinet decisions, and directions and other important issues.

**Article 130**

The cabinet commissions and ministries issue directions.

(Paragraph V) Local People's Assembly

**Article 131**

Provincial (or municipality directly under the central authority), municipal (district), and county local people's assemblies are local sovereign power organs.

**Article 132**

The LPA consists of deputies elected on the principle of universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

**Article 133**

The term of provincial (or municipality directly under the central authority), municipal (district), and county local people's assemblies are four years.

A new election of the LPA is held according to a decision of a Local People's Committee (LPC) at the corresponding level before the LPA's term expires.

**Article 134**

The LPA has the duties and authority to:

1. Deliberate on and approve a report on local plans for the development of the national economy and their implementation
2. Deliberate on and approve a report on a local budget and its execution
3. Adopt measures to exercise State laws in the area concerned
4. Elect or recall the chairman, vice chairmen, secretary of the people's committee at the corresponding level
5. Elect or recall judges of a court and people's assessors
6. Abolish unwarranted decisions and directions adopted by a people's committee, and a lower people's assembly.

### **Article 135**

The LPA convenes a regular assembly and an extraordinary assembly.

The regular assembly is convened once or twice in a year by an LPC at the corresponding level.

The extraordinary assembly is held when the people's committee at the corresponding level deems it necessary or at the request of a minimum of one-third of the total number of deputies.

### **Article 136**

The LPA forms a quorum when the two-third of the deputies participate in it.

### **Article 137**

The LPA elects its chairman.

### **Article 138**

The LPA issues its decisions.

(Paragraph VI) Local People's Committee

### **Article 139**

Provincial (or municipality directly under the central authority), municipal (district), and county local people's committees are local sovereign power organs when the corresponding LPAs are in recess, and are administrative executive organs of local sovereignty.

### **Article 140**

The LPC consists of its chairman, vice chairmen, secretaries, and members.

The term of LPC is the same as that of the LPA.

### **Article 141**

The LPC has the duties and authorities to:

1. Convene a people's assembly
2. Do preparatory work for the election of a local assembly
3. Do work with deputies of a people's assembly
4. Exercise laws, decrees, decisions, and directions of the people's assembly at the corresponding level, upper people's assemblies, people's committees, and the cabinet, cabinet commissions, and ministries
5. Organize and exercise all the administrative work in the area concerned
6. Draft a local plan for the development of the national economy and adopt measures to put it into effect
7. Compile a local budget and adopt measures to put it into effect
8. Adopt measures to maintain social order in the area concerned, protect the property and interests of the State and social cooperative organizations, and to guarantee citizens' rights
9. Do inspection and control work to establish order in state management in the area concerned
10. Guide the lower people's committees in its work
11. Abolish unwarranted decisions and direction adopted by a lower people's committee, and suspend implementation of unwarranted decisions made by a lower people's committee.

### **Article 142**

The LPC convenes a plenary meeting and an executive meeting.

The plenary meeting consists of all the LPC members, and the executive meeting of the chairman, vice chairmen, and secretary.

### **Article 143**

The plenary meeting deliberates on and adopts important issues for the LPC to implement its duties and authority.

### **Article 144**

The LPC issues decisions and directions.

### **Article 145**

The LPC may set up nonpermanent departmental committees to assist in its works.



**Article 146**

The LPC is accountable to the LPA at the correspondent level.  
The LPC is subordinate to the upper people's committees and the cabinet.

(Paragraph VII) Public Procurators Office and Court

**Article 147**

Justice is administered by the Central Court, the court of the province (or municipality directly under the central authority), municipal and county courts and the Special Court.

**Article 148**

The term of office of the president of the Central Court is the same as that of the SPA.

**Article 149**

The Central Procurators' Office appoints and recalls a public procurator.

**Article 150**

The functions of the Public Procurators' Office are to:

1. Ensure the strict observance of laws by institutions, enterprises, organizations, and by citizens
2. Ensure that decisions and directives of State bodies conform to the constitution, the SPA's laws and decisions, the NDC's decisions and orders, the SPA Presidium's decrees, decisions, and directions, and the cabinet's decisions
3. Expose and institute legal proceedings against criminals and offenders in order to protect the State power of the DPRK, the socialist system, the property of the State and social, cooperative organizations and personal rights as guaranteed by the constitution, and the people's lives and property.

**Article 151**

Investigation and prosecution are conducted under the unified direction of the Central Public Procurators' Office, and all Public Procurators Offices are subordinate to their higher offices and the Central Procurators' Office.

**Article 152**

The Central Procurators' Office is accountable to the SPA, and to the SPA Presidium when the SPA is in recess.

**Article 153**

Justice is administered by the Central Court, Provincial (or municipality directly under the central authority) Court, People's Court, or Special Court.

Verdicts are delivered in the name of the DPRK.

**Article 154**

The term of director of the Central Court is the same as that of the SPA. The term of judges of the Central Court, Provincial (or municipality directly under the central authority) Court, People's Court, and that of the people's assessors are the same as that of the people's assembly at the corresponding level.

**Article 155**

The Central Court appoints and removes the director and judges of the Special Court.

People's assessors of the Special Court are elected by soldiers of the unit concerned or by employees at their meetings.

**Article 156**

The court has the duties to:

1. Protect through judicial procedure the State power and the socialist system established in the DPRK, the property of the State and social, cooperative organizations, personal rights as guaranteed by the constitution, and the lives and property of citizens
2. Ensure that all institutions, enterprises, organizations and citizens abide strictly by State laws and staunchly combat class enemies and all law-breakers
3. Give judgments and findings with regard to property and conduct notary work.

**Article 157**

A trial is conducted by a court, which consists of one judge and two people's assessors. In a special case, the court may consist of three judges.

**Article 158**

Court cases are heard in public and the accused is guaranteed the right of defense.

Hearings may be closed to the public as stipulated by law.

**Article 159**

Judicial proceedings are conducted in the Korean language.

Foreign citizens may use their own language during court proceedings.

**Article 160**

In administering justice, the court is independent, and judicial proceedings are carried out in strict accordance with the law.

**Article 161**

The Central Court is the supreme court of the DPRK.

The Central Court supervises trial activities of all courts.

**Article 162**

The Central Court is accountable to the SPA, and to the SPA Presidium when the SPA is in recess.

**Chapter 7 National Emblem, Flag, National Anthem, and Capital**

**Article 163**

The national emblem of the DPRK bears the design of a grand hydroelectric power station under Mt. Paektu, the sacred mountain of the revolution, and the beaming light of a five-pointed red star, with ears of rice forming an oval frame, bound with a red ribbon bearing the inscription "The Democratic People's Republic of Korea."

**Article 164**

The national flag of the DPRK consists of a central red panel, bordered both above and below by a narrow white stripe and a broad blue stripe.

The central red panel bears a five-pointed red star within a white circle near the hoise.

The ratio of the width to its length is 1:2.

**Article 165**

The national anthem of the DPRK is the Patriotic Song.

**Article 166**

The capital of the DPRK is Pyongyang.



## Appendix 2

# Armistice Agreement

Korean Armistice Agreement between the Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command, on the one hand, and the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army and the Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers, on the other hand, Concerning a Military Armistice in Korea, together with Annex and Supplementary Agreement. July 27, 1953.

[Excerpt]

### **Preamble**

The undersigned, the Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command, on the one hand, and the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army and the Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers, on the other hand, in the interest of stopping the Korean conflict, with its great toll of suffering and bloodshed on both sides, and with the objective of establishing an armistice which will insure a complete cessation of hostilities and of all acts of armed force in Korea until a final peaceful settlement is achieved, do individually, collectively, and mutually agree to accept and to be bound and governed by the conditions and terms of armistice set forth in the following Articles and Paragraphs, which said conditions and terms are intended to be purely military in character and to pertain solely to the belligerents in Korea.

#### Article 1 Military Demarcation Line and Demilitarized Zone

A Military Demarcation Line shall be fixed and both sides shall withdraw two (2) kilometers from this line so as to establish a Demilitarized Zone between the opposing forces to prevent the occurrence of incidents which might lead to a resumption of hostilities.

- The Military Demarcation Line is located as indicated on the attached map.
- The Demilitarized Zone is defined by a northern and a southern boundary as indicated on the attached map.
- Neither side shall execute any hostile act within, from, or against the Demilitarized Zone.
- No person, military or civilian, shall be permitted to cross the Military Demarcation Line unless specifically authorized to do so by the military Armistice Commission.
- Civil administration and relief in that part of the Demilitarized Zone which is south of the Military Demarcation Line shall be the responsibility of the Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command; and civil administration and relief in that part of the Demilitarized Zone which is north of the Military Demarcation Line shall be the joint responsibility of the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army and the Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers. The number of persons, military or civilian, from each side who are permitted to enter the Demilitarized Zone for the conduct of civil administration and relief shall be as determined by the respective Commanders, but in no case shall the total number authorized by either side exceed one thousand (1,000) persons at any one time. The number of civil police and the arms to be carried by them shall be as prescribed by the Military Armistice Commission. Other personnel shall not carry arms unless specifically authorized to do so by the Military Armistice Commission.

## Article II Concrete Arrangements for Cease Fire and Armistice

### *General*

A. The Commanders of the opposing sides shall order and enforce a complete cessation of all hostilities in Korea by all armed forces under their control, including all units and personnel of the ground, naval, and air forces, effective twelve (12) hours after this Armistice Agreement is signed. (See Paragraph 63 hereof for effective date and hour of the remaining provisions of this Armistice Agreement.)

### B. Military Armistice Commission

## Composition

A Military Armistice Commission is hereby established.

The Military Armistice Commission shall be composed of ten (10) senior officers, five (5) of whom shall be appointed by the Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command, and five (5) of whom shall be appointed jointly by the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army and the Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers. Of the ten (10) members, three (3) from each side shall be of general or flag rank. The two (2) remaining members on each side may be major generals, brigadier generals, colonels, or their equivalents.

## Functions and Authority

24. The general mission of the Military Armistice Commission shall be to supervise the implementation of this Armistice Agreement and to settle through negotiations any violations of this Armistice Agreement.

The Military Armistice Commission shall:

Locate its headquarters in the vicinity of Panmunjom (37°57'29"N, 126°40'00"E). The Military Armistice Commission may relocate its headquarters at another point within the Demilitarized Zone by agreement of the senior members of both sides on the Commission.

Operate as a joint organization without a chairman.

Adopt such rules of procedure as it may, from time to time, deem necessary.





### Appendix 3

## North–South Joint Declaration of June 15, 2000

True to the noble will of all the fellow countrymen for the peaceful reunification of the country, Chairman Kim Jong Il of the National Defense Commission of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and President Kim Dae-jung of the Republic of Korea had a historic meeting and summit in Pyongyang from June 13 to 15, 2000.

The heads of the north and the south, considering that the recent meeting and summit—the first of their kind in history of the division—are events of weighty importance in promoting mutual understanding, developing inter-Korean relations, and achieving peaceful reunification, declare as follows:

1. The north and the south agreed to solve the question of the country’s reunification independently by the concerted efforts of the Korean nation responsible for it.
2. The north and the south, recognizing that a proposal for federation of lower stage advanced by the north side and a proposal for confederation put forth by the south side for the reunification of the country have elements in common, agreed to work for the reunification in this direction in the future.
3. The north and the south agreed to settle humanitarian issues, including the exchange of visiting groups of separated families and relatives and the issue of unconverted long-term prisoners, as early as possible on the occasion of August 15 this year.
4. The north and the south agreed to promote the balanced development of the national economy through economic cooperation and build mutual confidence by activating cooperation and exchanges in all fields, social, cultural, athletic, public health, environmental and so on.
5. The north and the south agreed to hold dialogues between the authorities as soon as possible to implement the above-mentioned agreed-upon points in the near future.

President Kim Dae-jung cordially invited Chairman Kim Jong Il of the DPRK National Defense Commission to visit Seoul and Chairman Kim Jong Il agreed to visit Seoul at an appropriate time in the future.

June 15, 2000

*Kim Jong Il, Chairman of the National Defense Commission, DPRK*

*Kim Dae-jung, President of the Republic of Korea*

## **Appendix 4**

### **U.S.-DPRK Joint Declaration**

As the special envoy of Chairman Kim Jong Il of the DPRK National Defense Commission, the first vice chairman, Vice Marshal Jo Myong-rok, visited the United States of America from October 9–12, 2000.

During his visit, Special Envoy Jo Myong-rok delivered a letter from National Defense Commission Chairman Kim Jong Il, as well as his views on U.S.-DPRK relations, directly to U.S. President William Clinton. Special Envoy Jo Myong-rok and his party also met with senior officials of the U.S. administration, including his host Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and Secretary of Defense William Cohen, for an extensive exchange of views on issues of common concern. They reviewed in depth the new opportunities that have opened up for improving the full range of relations between the United States of America and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The meetings proceeded in a serious, constructive, and businesslike atmosphere, allowing each side to gain a better understanding of the other's concerns.

Recognizing the changed circumstances on the entire Korean Peninsula created by the historic inter-Korean summit, the United States and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have decided to take steps to fundamentally improve their bilateral relations in the interests of enhancing peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region. In this regard, the two sides agreed there are a variety of available means, including four-party talks, to reduce tension on the Korean Peninsula and formally end the Korean War by replacing the 1953 Armistice Agreement with permanent peace arrangements.

Recognizing that improving ties is a natural goal in relations among states and that better relations would benefit both nations in the twenty-first

century, while helping ensure peace and security on the Korean Peninsula and in the Asia-Pacific region, the U.S. and the DPRK sides stated that they are prepared to undertake a new direction in their relations. As a crucial first step, the two sides stated that neither government would have hostile intent toward the other and confirmed the commitment of both governments to make every effort in the future to build a new relationship free from past enmity.

Building on the principles laid out in the June 11, 1993, U.S.-DPRK Joint Statement and reaffirmed in the October 21, 1994, Agreed Framework, the two sides agreed to work to remove mistrust, build mutual confidence, and maintain an atmosphere in which they can deal constructively with issues of central concern. In this regard, the two sides reaffirmed that their relations should be based on the principles of respect for each other's sovereignty and noninterference in each other's internal affairs, and noted the value of regular diplomatic contacts, bilaterally and in broader fora.

The two sides agreed to work together to develop mutually beneficial economic cooperation and exchanges. To explore the possibilities for trade and commerce that will benefit the peoples of both countries and contribute to an environment conducive to greater economic cooperation throughout Northeast Asia, the two sides discussed an exchange of visits by economic and trade experts at an early date.

The two sides agreed that resolution of the missile issue would make an essential contribution to a fundamentally improved relationship between them and to peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region. To further the efforts to build new relations, the DPRK informed the United States that it will not launch long-range missiles of any kind while talks on the missile issue continue.

Pledging to redouble their commitment and their efforts to fulfill their respective obligations in their entirety under the Agreed Framework, the United States and the DPRK strongly affirmed its importance to achieving peace and security on a nuclear-weapons-free Korean Peninsula. To this end, the two sides agreed on the desirability of greater transparency in carrying out their respective obligations under the Agreed Frame-

work. In this regard, they noted the value of the access, which removed U.S. concerns about the underground site at Kurnchang-ri.

The two sides noted that in recent years they have begun to work cooperatively in areas of common humanitarian concern. The DPRK side expressed appreciation for significant U.S. contributions to its humanitarian needs in areas of food and medical assistance. The U.S. side expressed appreciation for DPRK cooperation in recovering the remains of U.S. servicemen still missing from the Korean War, and both sides agreed to work for rapid progress for the fullest possible accounting. The two sides will continue to meet to discuss these and other humanitarian issues.

As set forth in their Joint Statement of October 6, 2000, the two sides agreed to support and encourage international efforts against terrorism.

Special Envoy Jo Myong-rok explained to the U.S. side developments in the inter-Korean dialogue in recent months, including the results of the historic north-south summit. The U.S. side expressed its firm commitment to assist in all appropriate ways the continued progress and success of ongoing north-south dialogue and initiatives for reconciliation and greater cooperation, including increased security dialogue.

Special Envoy Jo Myong-rok expressed his appreciation to President Clinton and the American people for their warm hospitality during the visit.

It was agreed that Secretary of State Madeline Albright will visit the DPRK in the near future to convey the views of U.S. President William Clinton directly to Chairman Kim Jong Il of the DPRK National Defense Commission and to prepare for a possible visit by the president of the United States.



## Bibliography

Scholars and policy analysts conducting research on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) have stressed the paucity of information. This bibliography will provide primary source information for anyone conducting research on the cultural, social, economic, and political development of North Korea. However, interest in North Korea emerged only after the Korean War (1950–53) and did not last long. The Western image of North Korea, especially the American image, was so tarnished due largely to the atrocities of the Korean War that there have been no serious studies published in the 1950s and 1960s. Fortunately, more academic studies have been published as of the 1970s. Meanwhile, Soviet specialists on Korea started publishing numerous monographs and scholarly books on the Korean Peninsula even before the American and Western scholars showed any interest.

The beginning of the Korean War in 1950 increased the publication of English literature on the Korean people and society. But, the literature on the Korean War dealt mainly with the origins and history of the Korean War and strategy and tactics of the warfare. As the North Koreans achieved a high rate of economic growth in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the agencies of the United States government, including the Central Intelligence Agency and the Defense Intelligence Agency, began to collect information on North Korea. The Joint Publication Research Service (JPRS) and the Korea section of the Foreign Broadcasting Information Service (FBIS), in addition to North Korean publications in English, were the primary source for the scholars and analysts who conducted research on the economic, social, and political development of North Korea in the 1960s.

The purpose of this bibliography is to guide further reading and research on North Korea. I have drawn mostly on the English-language materials from the Online Computer Library Center (OCLC), which

contains more than 7,000 titles in English, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and other European languages. However, the titles entered in the OCLC are sometimes duplicated and a certain title may be listed more than three times. Therefore, out of 7,326 entries listed in the OCLC as of August 1999, I have selected only 490 items for this bibliography and, thus, excluded the pamphlets, short research reports, and bachelor's honor's theses or master's theses, which are listed in the OCLC and less than the size of monograph. However, I have listed all the Ph.D. dissertations written on some aspect of North Korea. Moon-Jae Park of OCLC, Inc., converted the OCLC bibliography into a traditional bibliography for which I acknowledge his contribution.

The organization of this bibliography is as follows:

- Bibliographies and Korean studies guides
- Periodicals and serial publications
- Documents and primary sources
- References and dictionaries
- General
- Culture
- Economy
- History and foreign relations
- Politics and law
- U.S. policy and unification
- Education and science
- Ph.D. dissertations on North Korea
- Internet Web sites on North Korea

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## About the Author

Dr. Ilpyong J. Kim is professor of political science emeritus at the University of Connecticut, Storrs, and currently serves as president of the International Council on Korean Studies (ICKS). He was a Fulbright professor of international relations at the University of Tokyo in 1976–1977 and at Seoul National University in 1991–1992. He was president of the New England Conference of the Association for Asian Studies in 1979–1980 and also the chairman of the Columbia University Faculty Seminar on Modern Korea in 1985–1987. He was visiting professor at Columbia University and visiting research scholar at Harvard University’s Fairbank Center for East Asian Research. He has lectured at Brown, Indiana, Princeton, Wesleyan, and Yale Universities, and he has also lectured on U.S. foreign policy at American cultural centers in Japan, Korea, and Southeast Asia under the auspices of the United States Information Agency of the State Department. He has participated in the Scholar-Diplomat Program at the State Department and the research seminars organized by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research of the State Department in the 1970s.

Dr. Kim received his Ph.D. degree from Columbia University in political science and was a Republic of Korea Army officer during the Korean War, for which he was awarded the United States Bronze Star Medal. He has worked as a senior research associate at the East-West Center in Honolulu, Hawaii, in the early 1960s and has taught at various universities in the United States for the past 35 years. He has authored or edited over 15 books and contributed more than three dozen articles to academic and professional journals and composed volumes, including the article “South Korea’s Transition to Democracy” in *Encyclopedia of Democracy*. Dr. Kim has also served as editor of the five-volume series *China in the New Era*, of which *Chinese Politics from Mao to Deng*; *Chinese Defense and Foreign Policy*; *Chinese Economic*

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