JSIS 469A/569A North Korean Society Professor Sorensen March 11, 2019

Study Sheet for Final (In Class Friday March 22nd, 2:30-4:20)

The final will be the same format the length as the midterm. Be sure to bring a blue (or green) book. I don't care which size you use, but plan to write in pen. The total points are 50, and you will have 1 hour and 50 minutes to complete the exam.

The exam will be divided into three parts:

- I. Short answer/definition (20 points): You will be given a choice of 10-12 term which you must define in a short paragraph. Of the terms listed, choose five (4 points each). In grading these terms I give two points for a precise definition, an additional point for modest elaboration, and the final point for some statement showing how this term helps one understand North Korean society.
- II. Descriptive Essay (15 points): You will be given the choice of a couple of essay topics that will allow you to describe an episode of North Korean history, or a North Korean institution. You can follow readings and lectures. To get an 'A' however you need to cite specific readings to back up your comments.
- III. Interpretive Essay (15 points): You will be given the choice from a couple of essay topics to write a short essay arguing for a specific interpretation for a North Korean phenomenon such as Kim family leadership, famine, or why the DPRK was established in the first place. In this kind of essay you should give an opinion and argue for it using lectures and specific readings to back up your interpretation.

I will give a few examples of possible terms and essays below. However, you should also consult the post PowerPoint lectures. In general any term listed in the PowerPoint lectures is fair game for short answer definition, and anything described there is fair game for a descriptive essay. To get a clue for interpretive essays, look at the study questions for each week.

The final will focus on the second half of the course (February 7th through March 14th on the syllabus, though of course because of the snow the February 7th lecture took place the following week). The final is not cumulative. By this I mean that I will not ask short-answer definition questions or descriptive essays based on the material from before the midterm. You should, however, be prepared to make connections in your interpretive essays between material at the beginning of the course and the end. As with the midterm, you should remember *who said what* in your readings.

The issues we have been discussing in the second half of the class include:

- (1) The causes, course, and subjectivity of famine in North Korea (Chong-ae Yu, Sandra Fahy, Lankov), and the way that North Korea changed as a result of the famine (basically marketization from below).
- (2) The succession from Kim Jong II to Kim Jong Un. Know Kim Jong II's wives, children, and grandchildren as related to questions of succession (Lankov and Gause cover this if it is not in your notes).
- (3) Kim Jong Un's apparatus of power. Here be able to contrast the most powerful institutions under Kim Jong II (1998-2011) as compared to Kim Jong Un (2011-17). (Party, National Defense Commission, Central Military Commission, Organization and Guidance Department, Military, etc. People's Economy, Second Economy, Royal Economy)
- (4) The North Korean nuclear issue over the years including both US and South Korea policy initiatives toward North Korea since 1994.
- (5) How "marketization from below" works, and how North Korea (especially economically) has changed in the past 10 years.

(6)

Short Answer Terms: (you should note in your answers the time period for which these concepts are relevant and how they might be useful to tell the story of the Kim family)

Monolithic ideology

Chuch'e (1990s on), Neo-Chuch'e

KWP Organization and Guidance

Department

KWP Propaganda and Agitation Department

KWP Central Military Commission

National Military Commission

Military First Policy (선군정책)

July 1 (2002) Measures to Improve Socialist

Economic Management

General marketplaces (ch'onghap sijang)

Public Distribution System (PDS 보급제도)

Arduous March (고난의 행군)

KWP Offices 38, and 39 (Kim Jong Un

Personal Secretariat/Royal Economy)

Ssŏbich'a (Service vehicles)

Field Responsibility System (포전담당제)

Organizational Life 조직생활

Mutual Criticism Meetings 생활총화

Social Safety Department 사회안전부

State Security Department 국가보안부

Second Economic Command (Party

Economy)

Jang Songtaek

Kim Yŏjŏng

Kim Sŏlsong

Kim Kyŏnghŭi

August 3rd payment

August 3rd enterprise

"managed marketization"

Pseudo state enterprises

Sample Descriptive Questions (also check the study questions):

- Be prepared to give an outline description of the main institutions of the DPRK
 government and party and their relationship to each other in the 1998 constitution. This
 would include the Supreme People's Assembly, the Presidium, the Cabinet, the KWP
 Central Committee, the Politburo, Party Chairman, National Military Commission, and
 Party Central Military Commission.
- Be prepared to list the main differences between the 1972 Socialist Constitution and the 1998 Constitution (role of President, Central People's Committee, State Council, and National Defense Commission, and whether Kim Jong Un's innovations since 2011 have blurred these distinctions.
- Be prepared to compare the process by which Kim Jong II became ruler with that of Kim Jong Un (considering genealogy, timing, and institutions through which he rose). Do you think making this comparison is illuminating for understanding the Kim Jong Un regime?
- Be prepared to discuss the changes in the distribution of power and the institutions through which this power has been exercised since the 1990s in North Korea including when Kim Jong Un came to power, how that changed the system, and the degree to which the KWP has (or has not) been a major autonomous power in the DPRK.
- Be prepared to discuss the causes of the famine in North Korea including the role of their agricultural model, agriculture's relationship with industry, the weather, the relationship with the Soviet Union, the DPRK's relationship with the rest of the world (including financial), and possible policies that exacerbated the famine. What were the state responses to the famine, and what was the role of foreign aid in ameliorating the famine.
- Be prepared to discuss the death rate during the North Korean famine including differences in estimates, geographic unevenness of the death rate, and reasons for "missing" people in the 2008 census
- Discuss how North Koreans were (and were not) able to communicate about the famine, and how this limitation on communication influenced how people responded to the famine.
- What was the DPRK governmental response to the famine, and how did that affect how people responded to the famine?
- Be prepared to discuss the meaning size and significance of the First, Second, and Royal Economies in North Korea. Use the official definitions here, and don't consider the marketized economy (gray economy) the second economy in this sense. Why is change so difficult in centrally planned economies such as North Korea's?
- Be prepared to discuss the rise and fall of KWP institutional integrity and power from the 1980s to the present.
- Be prepared to discuss the relationship of the KWP with the KPA (Korean People's Army) from the 1980s to the present.

- What is Gause's view of an inner core, and outer ring of leadership in the Kim Jong Un regime, and how is it defined. How does Gause account for the purges since Kim Jong Un came to power?
- How does Gause account for the demise of Jang Song-taek? What does this tell us about the stability (or not) of the present DPRK system.
- How would you account for the fact that most market traders in North Korea are women, and most North Korean refugees in South Korea are women, too?
- Be prepared to discuss North Korea's nuclear program including US and South Korean policy responses (Agreed Framework, Sunshine Policy, Six Party Talks, Strategic Patience) up to and including the Trump-Kim summit on February 28, 2019.
- Be prepared to discuss the recent changes in North Korean society outlined by Tudor and Pearson.

Sample Interpretive Questions (also check the study questions):

- How do you account for the policy response (or lack of policy response) to the North Korean famine by the North Korean state? Be sure to consider external as well as internal policy.
- How would you interpret the implementation and then reversal of the July 2002 Economic Measures? What is the difference between China's "socialist market economy" and the DPRK's "managed marketization"?
- How does the DPRK leadership stay in power while the DPRK economy performs so badly?
- Discuss gift giving in the Kim Jong Un regime, how it is done, and the significance of this for the stability of the regime. Would UN sanctions have any effect on this gift-giving economy?
- What is Gause's definition of a "House of Cards". Does he prove that Kim Jong Un's North Korea is really a house of cards?
- Is Kim Jong Un's policy (economic and nuclear) significantly different from Kim Jong Il's, or are they both essentially the same?
- Considering the changes in North Korea outlined in Tudor and Pearson's book do you think there is potential for radical change in North Korea?
- Considering North Korea and China's preference for step by step trust building and nuclearization, do you think that the Trump administration's preference for complete denuclearization in exchange for sanctions relief is viable? What are the advantages and disadvantages of the two positions?