

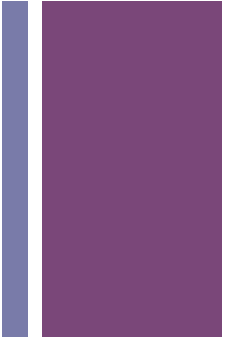


## North Korean House of Cards

North Korean Society  
February 15, 2018  
Professor Sorensen

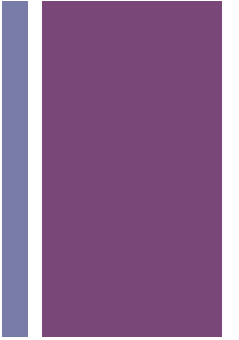


# House of Cards



- Gause--"a structure, situation, or institution that is insubstantial, shaky, or in constant danger of collapse"
- Does this apply to North Korea?
  - Pundits have been predicting collapse since the early 1990s, yet North Korea keeps perking along
- Gause's approach is "Kreminology"
  - Focuses on leadership dynamics rather than daily life
  - Hypothesis: North Korea is going through a transition not just of the Supreme leaders, but also the wider apparatus of power that supports him
    - Chain of command can be manipulated for personal gain
    - Perhaps that is why there are periodic purges?
    - Regime lacks its former "vigorous mandate"

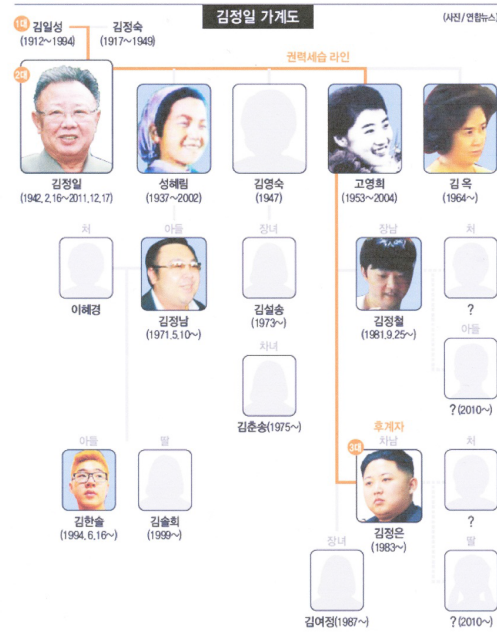
# + Kim Jong Il's Death



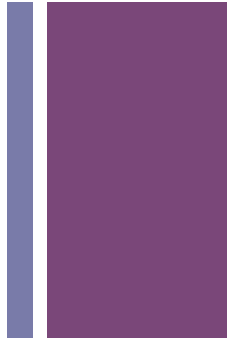
- December 2011
- Succeeded by second son of Kim Jong Il's third wife
  - Within six months Kim Jong Un acquired all the titles:
    - Supreme Commander 최고 사령관 (2011.12.29)
    - First Secretary of the KWP 로동당 1비서 (2012.4.11)
    - First Chairman of the National Defense Commission (최고인민회의) 국방위원회 1위원장 (2012.4.13)
- Three phases
  - Stabilizing the succession (purges and retirements) 2011-12
  - Create personal power base (Military First, Strong and Powerful Nation—선군 강성대국) 2013-14
  - Assume full responsibilities as Supreme Leader (from 2015)

# + Genealogy of Kim Jong Un

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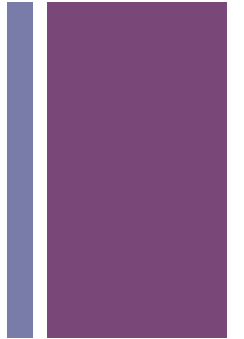
# + Genealogy



- Kim Jong Il
  - Sŏng Hye-rim—movie star who had to divorce her husband to become Kim Jong Il's consort, and kept secret from Kim Il Sung
    - Kim Chŏng-nam (deceased)—heir apparent in the 1990s
  - Kim Yŏng-suk (only wife recognized by Kim Il Sung)
    - Kim Sŏl-song
    - Kim Ch'un-song
  - Ko Yŏng-hŭi—Mansudae Art Troop dancer, of Zainichi origin (this family not publicly known until 2009 or so)
    - Kim Chŏng-ch'ŏl
    - Kim Chŏng-ŭn
    - Kim Yŏ-jŏng
  - Kim Ok
    - No children
  
- Kim Kyŏnghŭi + Chang Song-t'aek
  - Chang Kŭm-song (committed suicide in 2006 in Paris at age 29, reportedly because her family had nixed her boyfriend for having unsuitable family background)



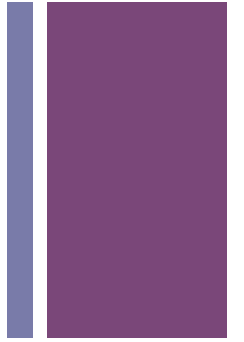
# Eldest Son Kim Jong Nam (1971-2017)



- Mother Song Hyerim
  - She was a married actress with a daughter who had to divorce her husband for KJI, so Kim Jong Il feared his father's disapproval and kept it secret
  - Jong Nam born in 1971, but around 1973 Kim Jong Il took up with Kim Yong-suk and Jong Nam and his mother lived alone most of the time he was growing up (initially tutored at home rather than sent to school)
    - His mother frequently visited Moscow for medical treatment (died there in 2002)
  - At first Kim Jong Il was a doting father, but after Kim Yongsuk he became involved with Ko Yŏnghŭi (another actress)
  - In 1980 Jong Nam was send abroad to boarding school (about the time Kim Yŏnghŭi had Kim Jong Chul)—spoke Russian, English, and French well
    - Attended at first Soviet, but later Swiss schools (Geneva and Moscow)
    - Cousins Li Illam (aka Yi Hanyŏng—assassinated in South Korea in 1997 after publishing a tell-all book) and Li Namok, and aunt Song Hye-rang all defected



# Jong Nam Heir Apparent (?) 1998-2001



- Had returned to DPRK in the early 1990s, and was elected to SPA
  - Reportedly given responsible posts in the army, Kim Kyŏnghŭi tutored him and she and Chang Sŏngt'aek favored his succession
- April 2001 Kim Jong Nam was caught trying to enter Tokyo on a forged Dominican Republic passport
  - Under questioning he said he, his two female companions and a young boy wanted to visit Tokyo Disneyland
  - This along with his mother's secret relationship, the defecting relatives, and Jong Nam's drinking and womanizing seems to have ended his succession chances
  - Second issue was that Ko Yŏnghŭi had the ear of Kim Jong Il, and her supporters promoted her cause
- After this Jong Nam spent a lot of time abroad, eventually ending up in Macao from 2003

# + Why was he assassinated?

- Jong Nam is said to have accepted his father's succession decision
  - He was interested in art and culture, and later said he had never wanted succession
  - Once Kim Jong Un succeeded to rule, however, he reportedly cut off Jong Nam's allowance, so while Jong Nam lived OK and had a taste for luxury, he was not highly supported
  - Didn't have supporters in DPRK, and China was not protecting him (contrary to rumor)
- According to Japanese journalist Gomi Yoji, Jong Nam later said he had not wanted to succeed his father
  - He explained his loss of favor on the basis of his cosmopolitanism and advocating of opening and reform
  - 五味洋治、父金正日と私：金正男独占告白 (2016) Chichi Kim Jon'iru to watashi: Kimu Jon'namu dokusen kokuhaku (Father Kim Jong Il and I: Kim Jongnam's Exclusive Confessions) "I expect the leadership of Kim Jong Un to fail. He's too young and inexperienced. And anyway without reform North Korea will collapse." (paraphrase)
  - Lèse-majesté? (crime of violating the majesty or dignity of a reigning sovereign)



# + Funeral of Kim Jong Il

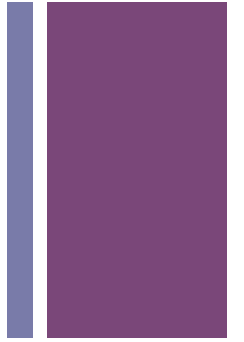


- Kim Jong Un and Ri Yŏngho (Director Military Staff)
- Chang Sŏngt'aek (security and economy) and Kim Yŏngch'un (KPA logistics and training)
- Kim Kinam (KWP Agitprop) and Kim Chŏnggak (KPA General Political Bureau)
- Ch'oe Taebok (SPA Chair, technology) and U Tongch'ŭk (secret police)

# + Kim Jong Un (1984-- )

- First reports by Fujimoto Kenji 藤本健二 Kim family sushi chef 1988-2001 “I was Kim Jong-il’s Cook” (published 2003)
  - His Japanese language books are not in the UW library, but a Korean translation called 북한의 후계자 왜 김정은 인가 is in the library
- Kim Jung Un’s mother was Ko Yŏnghŭi (Japanese Korean), and Kim Jong Un went to school in Bern, Switzerland from 1996-2000—he learned German and English, but was reputedly not so competent in those languages
- Then he graduated from Kim Tae and military academy, and from 2002 or so began to assist his father
  - Initially known as successor within the military, but later also among the people who began to call him “Comrade General”
  - Married in 2009 to Ri Solju and his appointment as successor became known the same year
  - Designated heir in KJI’s “will” of August 10, 2011

# + Rings of leadership



## ■ Inner core

- Six persons from the military and party plus two close Kim family members (Kim Kyōnghŭi and Chang Sōngt'aek)

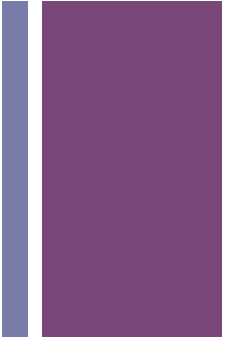
## ■ Outer ring—KWP Central Military Commission

- Reinvigorated in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Party Delegates Conference in 2010
  - N.B. Gause (and others) call Party Delegates Conference 당대표회 “Party Conference” to distinguish it from Party Congress 당대회 (others translate it as Party Cell Conference)
- Succession ratified in 4<sup>th</sup> Party Delegates Conference in April 2012 when Kim Jong Un was named KWP First Secretary, and Kim Jong Il “Eternal General Secretary”

# + T'ae Yŏngho's opinion

- “Power rankings have no meaning in North Korea. Even though you can say Prime Minister Pak Pongju’s authority ranking is third or fourth he can neither appoint nor remove cabinet members. North Korean authority is determined by who holds the right to assign personnel, hand out rewards, or punish people in the relevant organizations and their sub-organizations. The Central Party’s Organization Department undersecretary responsible for central organizations is the one who holds this right for cabinet members. In the end what moves North Korea is its Central Party Organization and Guidance Department, and the Organization and Guidance Department by controlling each organization’s party committee controls the entire body of organizations.” (*T'ae Yŏngho chŭngŏn*, Chap. 5)
- Ch'oe Ryonghae is currently head of the Organization and Guidance Department

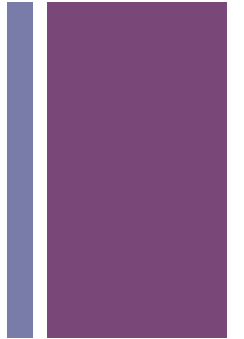
# + PURGES SINCE 2011



- All four of the military figures accompanying KJI's hearse
  - U Tong-ch'ük (Secret Police)--disappeared in early 2012 (stroke or suicide?)
  - Kim Yǒngch'un (KPA logistics and training)—replaced April 2012
  - Ri Yǒngho (Military Chief of Staff)—July 16, 2012 relieved of duties, and possibly killed in July 20<sup>th</sup> firefight (though other reports put him under house arrest)
  - Kim Chǒnggak (KPA Politburo)—replaced November 2012
- Chang Sǒngt'aek
  - December 8, 2013 was publicly expelled from KWP, and executed on December 13<sup>th</sup>



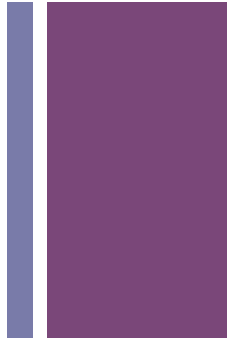
# What's going on?



- Kim Jong Un replacing powerful men who had been close to his father with other men who will be close to himself
  - 4<sup>th</sup> Party Delegates Conference used to pull Kim Jong Il's men out and put Kim Jong Un's men in in April 2012
- 2013 replaced some of the 2012 replacements
  - This reflects the power of the KWP apparatus in the military through the Political Bureau of the military
- Kim Kyōnghŭi (Kim Jong Il's younger sister) raised to great prominence
  - Her husband was the "control tower" early in the regime
- Ch'oe Ryonghae elevated to reassert party control over the military
  - ups and downs in hierarchy 2012-2014 perhaps because association with Jang Songtaek
  - 2<sup>nd</sup> son reportedly married Kim Yojong (KJU's younger sister) in 2015
- Is persistent corruption an issue behind the purges?



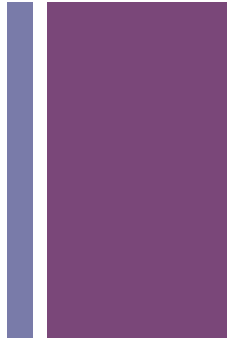
# WHAT'S NEW?



- Kim Jong Il gradually accumulated power over more than twenty years before actually taking over
  - Kim Jong Un was groomed for two years at most
- Kim Jong Il was the eldest son of the senior wife
  - Kim Jong Un is the younger son of the third wife
- Kim Jong Il waited for three years of mourning before assuming the highest titles
  - Kim Il Sung made “eternal president” 영원한 주석 in 1998 Constitution, so Kim Jong Il ruled as General Secretary of the KWP 당총비서 and Chairman of the National Defense Commission 국방위원회 위원장
  - In 2012 Kim Jong Il was made “eternal chairman” of the National Defense Commission 영원한 국방위원장, so Kim Jong Un became Supreme Commander 인민군 최고사령관 First Secretary of the KWP 로동당 제1비서 and First Chairman of the NDC 국방위원회 제1위원장 within six months of his father’s death



# Similarities and Differences to Kim Jong Il



- Importance behind the scenes of Kim Jong Un's sister Kim Yŏjŏng and his half sister Kim Sŏl Song
  - Kim Jong Il's sister Kim Kyonghŭi had also been an important behind-the-scenes power
- Compared to Kim Jong Il who freed the military from a degree of party supervision Kim Jong Un seems to be reasserting Party control
  - Central Military Commission (a party committee 당 중앙군사위원회) becoming important
  - Don't confuse with the National Military Commission (최고인민회의) 국방위원 that's nominally associated with the SPA and was the supreme power for Kim Jong Il



# + Demise of Jang Song-taek

- Jang Song Thaek = Chang Sŏngt'aek = 장성택
- Palace politics (cf. Gause p47)
  - 2001 Kim Jong Nam—Kim Jong Il's eldest son by his first wife—was disgraced when he was caught in Japan in 2001
    - His mother Sŏng Hyerim died in 2002 in Moscow
    - She had been estranged from Kim Jong Il for some time, and thus was not able to protect Kim Jong Nam with the ear of his father
    - Kim Kyŏnghŭi and Chang Sŏngt'aek are said to have favored Kim Jong Nam's succession
  - 2002 a campaign to exalt Ko Yŏnghŭi, KJI's third wife, was begun by enemies of Chang Sŏngt'aek in the KWP Organization and Guidance Department
    - Initially Kim Jong Chul was the beneficiary
    - Ko died in 2004 and Kim Jong Il raised Chang's profile as a counterweight
    - Chang built a patronage network and hard currency operation
  - 2012 failure to secure Kim family funds in China?
    - Infidelity to Kim Kyŏnghŭi revealed

# + T'ae Yŏngho's view

- Kim Jong Un feels insecurity because his birth mother was not Kim Jong Il's official wife (Kim Yŏngsuk was Jong Il's wife recognized by Kim Il Sung)
  - Ko Yŏnghŭi of zainichi origin, and from Mansudae Art Troop, and never seen publicly with Kim Jong Il until after Kim Il Sung died
  - Kim felt his family had been discriminated against by Kim Kyŏnghŭi and Jang Song Thaek and had been prevented from being recognized by Kim Il Sung
- Jang Song Thaek even though he was helping Kim Jong Un's succession didn't sever his ties with Kim Jong Nam (whom he had supported in the past) and was having money sent to him
  - Issue of the Namp'o Sea Products Base
    - Jang Song Thaek raised capital in China to build apartments in P'yŏngyang, and was paying the Chinese back with sea product exports
    - Military asked for Sea Products Base to improve nutrition for which KJU said yes, but this would make it impossible to pay back Chinese loans
    - Attempts to "reverse" this order led to factional infighting and purges

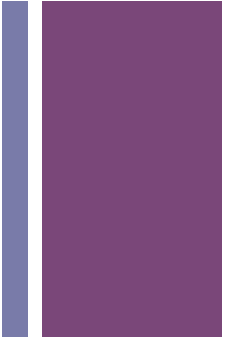
# + Purge and Aftermath

- Chang overreached in controlling military seafood farms, and his subordinates were arrested
- Chang himself publicly arrested December 8, 2013 and executed three days later
- Unusual
  - Not only a Kim family member, but also done publicly—something not seen since the 1950s
  - Clearly designed to intimidate potential alternative power centers
- End of regent structure but otherwise little change





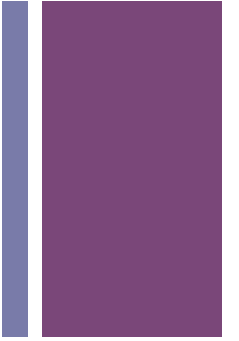
# Continued purges?



- Hyŏn Yong-ch'ŏl—chief beneficiary of the purges of Ri Ryŏnghae also purged
  - Reportedly executed by anti-aircraft fire for not carrying out orders and sleeping during a Kim Jong Un appearance April 2015
- Ch'oe Yŏnghae (who replaced Yi Yŏngho)
  - Disappeared from public sight November 2015 but reappeared 2016
- Kim Won-hong (who replaced U Tong-ch'ŭk) dismissed for corruption February 2017
- Kim Chŏngnam (older half brother)
  - Assassinated February 14, 2017



# Conclusion on power (Gause p116)



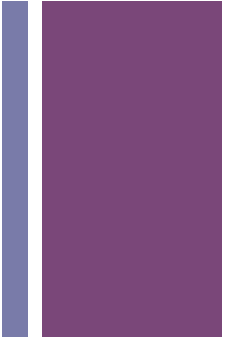
- May 2016 7<sup>th</sup> Party Congress(first since 1980) consolidated Kim Jong Un's power
  - Kim Jong Un named Party Chairman (당 위원장)
  - KJU praised DPRK's January 2016 nuclear test and missile launch (3 more to come in next 18 months)
  - New KWP Central Committee elected
- Kim Jong Un has built his own command network
- He uses his sisters as part of his personal secretariat
- Power and influence around Kim Jong Un seems to follow party channels (rather than the military)

# + Power (continued)

- While party and military have been reshuffled, the government (SPA on down) has been stable
  - Kim Yōng-nam 87 still head honcho there, Kim Kinam and Ch'oe Taebok also not purged (accompanied KJI's hearse)
- Most important question:
  - Do the purges indicate the success of Kim Jong Un in establishing his own personal rule, or are they symptoms of his inability to fully secure loyal rule?
- 5<sup>th</sup> Party Delegates Conference December 2017
  - Kim Jong Un “The rapid development of the DPRK’s nuclear force is now exerting big influence on the world political structure and strategic environment. Nobody can deny the entity of the DPRK which rapidly emerged as a strategic state capable of posing a substantial nuclear threat to the US.”
  - Ch'oe Ryong Hae delivered second speech (Vice Chair of State Affairs Commission)



# Apparatus of Power



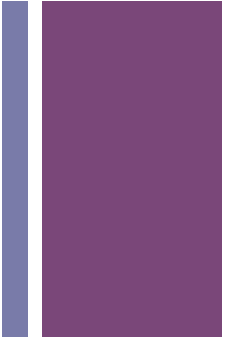
- The Suryöng system
  - Title was chosen by Kim Il Sung in 1949 and only applies to the supreme ruler
  - The system requires one man to be the final authority in ideology, law, administration, and regulations
  - Conceived as the “brain of the body” of the monolithic system 유일사상제
  - Kim Jong Il had to do “military first” however to consolidate his power, and he sidelined the party after 1995 or so
    - Note Gause’s reference to December 1996 Kimdae speech p125
    - KJI’s 1997 elevation to Party General Secretary was done outside Party bylaws making him a General Secretary (executive) rather than a Central Committee Chair
  - Kim Jong Il began reviving the Party for succession purposes in 2010
    - Coup by Organization and Guidance Department?

# + Decision-Making

- North Korea media depict KJU as a decision maker in both civilian and military contexts
  - Originally at succession KJU did strategic and JST did operational (control tower)
- Now KJU does both strategic and operational decisions
  - Strategic by Kim in Tuesday and Friday meetings
  - Tuesday domestic and social issues—Pak Pongju (Premier since 2013) seems actively engaged (this is new)
  - Friday military and security matters (and foreign policy) with Kim Kyŏnghŭi organizing (because of poor health has not been seen recently)
- Politburo active, but not decision-making body
- National Defense Commission?
  - 1998 Constitution “the highest guiding organ of the military and the managing organ of military matters” but under KJU less important and seems to have been replaced by the KWP Central Military Commission—renamed National State Commission 2016

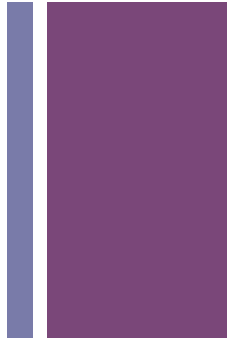


# + Leadership style



- Kim Jong Il
  - Solitary and introverted
  - Micromanager who ruled through informal channels that circumvented the direct chain of command
- Kim Jong Un
  - More outgoing and social personality
  - Gives public speeches
  - Makes spontaneous decisions and is quick to anger? (i.e. execution of Hyŏn Yong-ch'ŏl)
  - May be moving, since removal of Jang, from using formal state structures to informal personal networks à la KJI

# + Personal Secretariat



- Kim Jong Il (Chŏnju Kim)
  - From 1974 ran from the Organization and Guidance Department of the KWP
  - Three lines of information—from Party, from Government, from Security Apparatus
  - Third Floor of KWP P'yŏngyang Party Headquarters—special operations
- Kim Jong Un
  - Personal Secretariat—manages KJU's schedule, communications and protection
    - 3<sup>rd</sup> floor Kim family economy (offices 38 and 39)—Office 6 is the Secretariat
    - Half sister Kim Sŏlsong 김설송 important senior member
    - Younger full sister Kim Yŏjŏng 김여정 Vice Chair of Party Central Committee
      - also important in Secretariat ( her husband works in Office 39, see below)
  - KWP Central Committee Secretariat (in role as First Secretary) (SOCC in Gause)—manages the control tower functions 조선로동당 중앙위원회 제일비서

# + Kim Jong Chul (older brother)

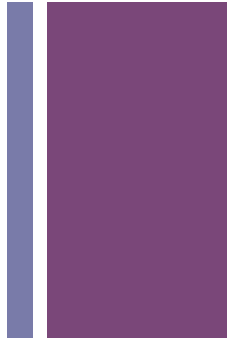
- Has no title, but is treated like royalty
- Seems to have no thirst for power, but is devoted to playing guitar (something he is quite good at)
- He can travel
- “I suppose there are many persons who think that Kim Jong Chul helps Kim Jong Un, but if that’s so there has to be a specific position and title. The Kim Jong Chul that I met is a person crazed by guitar, and he is simply the son of Kim Jong Il and the older brother of Kim Jong Un.” T’ae Yŏngho 2018:398

- Kim Jong Chul at Eric Clapton concert in London’s Royal Albert Hall in 2015





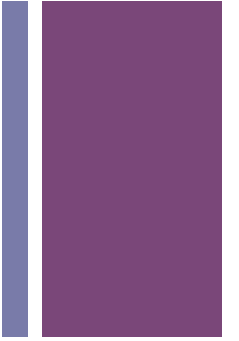
# Second Economy Command 제2경제위원회



- Second Economy Command (제2경제위원회)
  - In the 1970s KIS removed munitions industries from the People's Economy run by the Cabinet and National Planning Committee and puts it under the control of the Second Economy Command (cf chart on p177) under supervision of the KWP Machine Industries Department (Munitions Industry Department)
    - In 1970s munitions industries removed from People's Economy and remanded to Royal Economy
    - Several 100,000 workers (Korea Defense Institute 2016)
- Established by 5<sup>th</sup> Party Congress in 1970 to oversee defense industry (though structure began to be put in place in 1966 during the Second Party Delegates Conference)
  - Artillery, aviation, naval, missiles, strategic weapons, military communications and logistics
  - Controls arms import and export (Iran, Cuba, Sudan, Algeria, Pakistan, Syria, Libya, Egypt, UAE)
  - Controls 150 trading companies



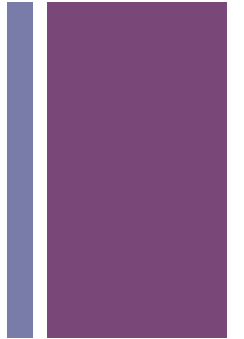
# 2<sup>nd</sup> Economy Command 제2경제위원회 (2)



- Headquartered in Kangdong NE of P'yŏngyang
  - Concentration of defense industry in Chagang Province
- Under control of National Defense Commission and Central Military Commission [not directly by the military itself except for uniforms and equipment]
  - Includes weapons manufacturers, farms, ranches, and marine harvesting businesses, as well as foreign exchange earners
  - Includes defense research institutes (제2자연과학원 Second Academy of Natural Science)
  - However, civilian production facilities are designed to be converted into military production if the Second Economy fails

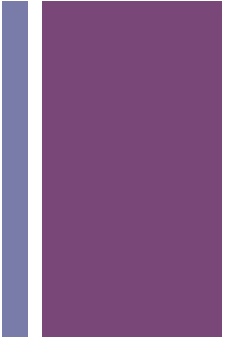


# Palace Economy (Offices 39 and 38)



- Originally 3% tax on the economy paid to the Presidential Office (주석자금)
- Offices 38 and 39 on the 3<sup>rd</sup> floor of KWP Central Headquarters in P'yŏngyang and under Kim family personal control
  - Office 39 has separate banking facilities for earned foreign exchange (Taesŏng Bank—later Korea Daesong Bank)—ostensibly to finance Party activities
    - Kumgang Guidance Bureau—precious metals trade and refineries
    - Daehung Guidance Bureau—trading agriculture, seafood and local products (exporting mushrooms and medicinal herbs for gas and fuel)
    - Kyonghung Guidance Bureau—foreign currency shops and restaurants with ties to China (Macau)
  - Office 38 in 1981 created to secure South Korean investment and manage funds through Koryŏ Bank
    - Kwangmyongsong General Corporation—trade for food and high tech and to supply Kim family
- Office 39 finances extensive gifting economy to reward North Korean personnel (“to alleve rent-seeking behavior”) processed through Kim’s personal secretariat (some 20,000 people need to be gifted)

# + Gift Giving



- Used to reward Kim family loyalists
  - P'yŏngyang Changgwang kŏri housing for Party and government officials
  - Ponghwa Medical Center (Pot'onggang District)
  - High officials may receive automobiles, watches, color televisions, fancy alcohol
  - High officials get regular deliveries of rice, sugar, meat, fish, liquor, beer, cigarettes, vegetables, eggs, soy beans and soap
- Collection hubs maintained in North Korean embassies (Vienna, Kwangzhou, Macau)
- North Korea companies operating abroad may be part of the People's Economy, Royal Economy, or Military Economy

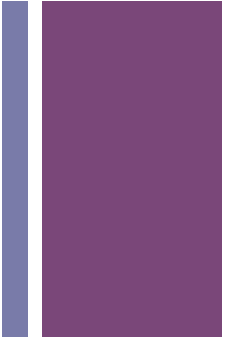


# + High Class Residences in P'yŏngyang (Changgwang-gŏri, Pot'ong-gang)





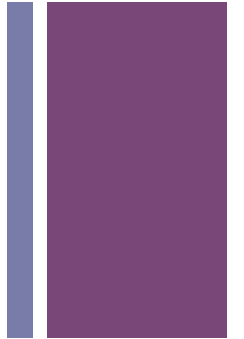
# + Weapons Sales



- Done by the numerous companies controlled by the Second Economy Command
  - Companies are generally geographically specialized
    - Some specialize in former Soviet Union
    - Some South Asia or Middle East
  - Many of these companies have been targeted by US sanctions and have been restructured accordingly
    - Office 99 responsible for weapons acquisition and trade since 1981
- Strongly linked to the Kim family secretariat
  - Office 39 the front office for sales
  - After sanctions of Banco Delta Asia in Macau in 2005, the Palace Economy was separated from weapons sales to protect the gift economy



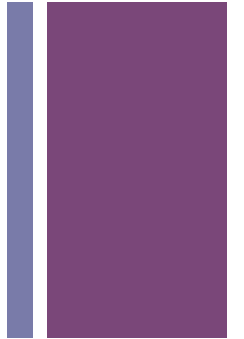
# Chang Sŏngt'aek and the Second Economy



- Chang was rehabilitated and put in charge of Second Economy in early 1995 as Kim Jong Il took full control
  - Started getting control of foreign exchange through Organization and Guidance Department of KWP
  - Chang was rebuffed by Pak Pongju (Prime Minister of Gov't) in 2005, but acquired direct access to the Palace Economy following Kim Jong Il's stroke in 2008
- 2010 Chang reportedly getting important in Palace Economy (offices 38-9)
  - Moving foreign exchange operations into the Organization and Guidance Department that he controlled (Korea Daepung International Investment Group)
  - Korea Daepung dissolved in 2013
- Did Chang's purge raise the profile and independence of the KWP Organization and Guidance Department?



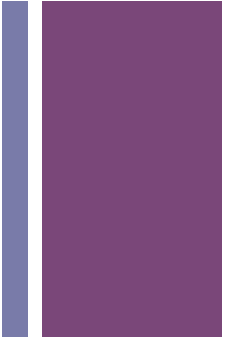
# Kim Jong Il's Will



- Copies smuggled out of DPRK in 2012 by defectors
  - N.B. for a father to leave “remaining instructions” 유언 遺言 is traditional
  - Dictated to daughter Kim Sŏl-song with Kim Kyŏnghŭi as executor
  - Makes Kim Jong Un sole proprietor of Kim family funds
    - Kim Jong Un administered these funds with advice from Kim Kyŏnghŭi and Kim Sŏlsong
    - Kim Jong Nam's allowance cut off
- Power of Jang Songtaek an issue from the beginning
  - Reportedly sent to China to get Kim family funds released by the Chinese
  - Failed with reports he had made a deal with the Chinese
  - Jang was investigated, his mistresses were revealed to his wife



# Organization and Guidance Department

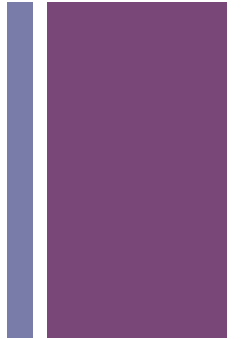


- Central Committee of KWP has more than 30 departments, among which this is the most important for maintaining Kim family control
  - August 2013 Ten Principles Revised to include veneration for KIS and KJI, uplift the Party (not mentioned in the 1974 version), and that DPRK and KWP will be “kept alive by the Paektu bloodline” with socialism and communism no longer mentioned
  - Important in surveillance to protect the regime, but not an independent entity
    - Gause’s Guard Command (see Unit 963 below)
    - Kim Jong Un’s Personal Secretariat (see slide 23)

# + Kim Family Security Guards

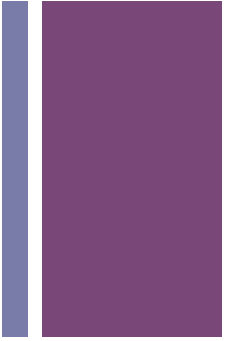
- “Praetorian Guard” (in Gause includes Unit 963 and the State Security Department, but I distinguish the two making only the first the Praetorian Guard)
  - Name comes from hand-picked unit of Imperial Roman Army providing close protection security details to the Emperor that also served as secret police—now used for any country’s units specially selected to protect an emperor-like figure
- DPRK Unit 963 (Gause’s Guard Command 호위사령부)
  - Part of Organization and Guidance Department Office 80 중앙당조직부 80호실 (Unit 963 for when Kim goes out, Unit 974 inside buildings)
  - Purges in this unit have been severe since Kim Jong Un has taken over
  - Analysts differ on whether these forces are part of KPA or not, and their exact bureaucratic status has changed over time even though the supreme leader has always had personal control over them

# + State Security Department



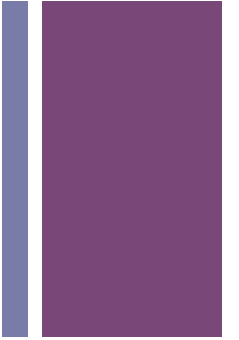
- State Security Department 국가안전보위부
  - Autonomous agency reporting directly to the Supreme Leader spun off from the Ministry of People's Security in 2012
  - Secret Police that ferrets out spies and anti-system elements
    - Active in northeast China, Hong Kong, and Macau
  - Runs political prisoner camps (kwalliso)
  - (In addition the regular army and other groups also have their own security police)
- Head of State Security Department a dangerous positions
  - U Tong-ch'ük 2011-1 (purged)
  - Kim Wŏn-hong (2012-7) (purged)

# + Political Prisoner Camps



- Formally known as kwalliso (management offices) given a number under the State Security Department, but informally also called:
  - 특별독재대상구역 areas subject to special dictatorship
  - 정치범 집단 수용소 political criminal concentration camps
  - 유배소, 종파굴, 이주구역 places of banishment, faction caves, removal areas
  - In total thought to cover 120,000 people
- Whole villages organized as penitentiaries, with some having solitary prisoners while others have entire families
  - Solitary prisoners have sentences of 10 years or less
  - May contain whole families that have been carted away (see *Aquariums of P'yongyang*), and so the camps may contain schools for the children
  - Prisoners are addressed roughly 이놈, 이새끼, 이년
  - Food conditions are extremely bad

# + Ministry of People's Security

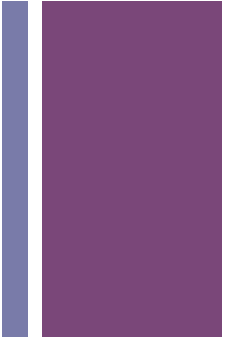


- Ministry of People's Security 인민 보안부
  - National law enforcement agency
  - Under the State Affairs Commission (National Defense Commission until 2016)
  - Also operates a prison system, monitors the PDS, and provides bodyguards to important persons
    - Has local jails for local crimes 감옥, detention camps for detaining suspects while the police obtain evidence (구류장), collection centers where those convicted of minor crimes can work off their sentences 집결소, and penitentiaries where people work off long-term crimes (kyohwaso 교화소)
  - Political cases have been handed to the State Security Department since the death of Kim Jong Il



# + Penitentiaries (Kyohwaso)

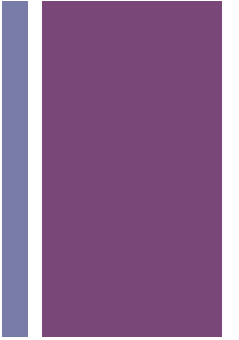
- Can be regular prisons surrounded by barbed wire and guard towers
- Can be simply remote villages surrounded by barbed wire
- Beatings and torture are common, and people are poorly fed so they tend to look like walking skeletons



+ Yodŏk in 2004 (ordinary prisoners) (eating paech'u on right)



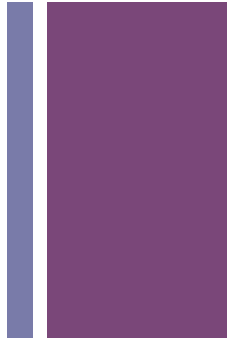
# + Interior Security Forces



- 조선인민내부군 Korean People's Interior Security Forces
  - Seems to be part of the Korea People's Army, though Gause contends that the Ministry of State Security runs it
  - Has departments in all jurisdictions (provinces, counties, cities, etc.)
- Military Security Command
  - Seems to be part of the the Korea People's Army, though Gause puts it part of Ministry of State Security
    - Reported directly to KJI, though, not to the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces under the National Defense Council
    - Has risen in status under KJU, and may be under Central Military Command Now
  - Roles to seek out corruption, disloyalty, or coup threats
  - Some finger it as responsible for the fall of Jang Songtaek



# Trends in Interior Security under KJU

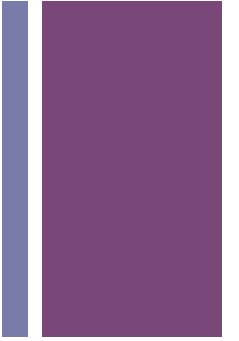


- KWP Organization and Guidance Department and Ministry of State Security seem to be increasing in power and influence
- Guard Command (Unit 963) and Ministry of Peoples Security (National Police) seem to be losing power and influence
- Is corruption and provincial and local discipline waning? Not a lot of evidence that this is the case, though some suggestive stories.
  - 2013 supposed stability of succession shattered by purge of Jang Songtaek with rivalry with Ch'oe Ryonghae—this ended the “regent structure” of 2011-3
    - Was Kim personally involved or was Jang brought down by others?
    - Gause argues it was the Kim family, if not KJU himself

# + Two Views (Gause p. 281-2)

- May 30<sup>th</sup> 2014 Measures a “charm offense” of a “regime desperate to reach out to the international community for its long-term survival”?
  - These were announcements about the “field management system” 포전 담당제 that some have interpreted as de facto decollectivization
    - Subteams of 3-5 people instead of 25-30 (this goes back to 2004, however, and was not new in 2014), though its implementation seems to have accelerated under KJI and agriculture has slightly improved (information from Institute for Far Eastern Studies (South Korean North Korea think tank))
- “ruthless regime that is doubling down on security measure that harken back to the 1950s and 1970s when the leadership went through periods of consolidation.”
  - Ongoing executions and investigations

# + Gause's Interpretation



- Two views not incompatible
  - Transition with Supreme Leader
  - Transition in wider apparatus of power that support him
  - Kim Jong Un is in ultimate control, but “the leadership system as a whole is made up of many critical nodes” that can be manipulated for personal gain
    - This systemic flaw may lead to constant reshuffling
- Gause sees the leader's personal secretariat, palace economy, and internal security apparatus as most important
  - Purge of Jang gave KJU uncontested control of hard currency operations that he could use to ensure loyalty through the royal economy
- Role of the rest of the Kim family?