

# The DPRK System 1953 to 1968

North Korean Society  
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January 10, 2017

# “Socialist Transformation” 1954-60

- 1953.8.4-6 Sixth Plenum of KWP
  - First mention of **Collectivization of Agriculture**
  - Emphasis on mining and exporting raw materials
  - “priority development of heavy industry with simultaneous development in agriculture and industry”
- 1954.6 male economic mobilization order
- 1954.11 Plenum of Central Committee
  - Agricultural collectivization to move to mass scale, Ch’oe Ch’ang-ik (Yanan) dismissed from office
- Collectivization allowed movement of “excess labor” into industry which grew rapidly
- 1954 publication of “Chosŏnŏ Ch’ ŏlchabŏp” (distinct North Korean spelling and grammar)

# Rural Collectivization

- 1953.8-1954.11—Type I Coops:
  - Private ownership of land, collective use of draft animals, pooling of labor
- 1954.11-1956.12—Type II Coops:
  - Private ownership of land, collective use of land and tools, 20% of income due to land, 80% to labor
- 1957.1-1958.8 Type III Coops:
  - de facto collective ownership of land, collective labor, work point distribution (로동일)

# Co-operativization of Remaining Businesses

- 1954—60% of former private businesses still existed, but with  $\frac{1}{4}$  of 1945 productivity
  - Food processing, paper making, metal working
  - $\frac{3}{4}$  turned into industrial cooperatives, with the rest state enterprises
- 1956 saengsan p' anmae 생산판매
  - Emphasis on production but able to sell your products as a form of socialist organization to get rid of merchants
- By 1958 only state and cooperative sectors remains
  - private productive sector totally abolished, everybody organized into work teams 작업반, everybody dependent on PDS 배급제
- More than half of state investment to industry
- 93% of industrial investment in heavy industry



# 1955 KIS Juche Speech

- “On Eliminating Dogmatism and Formalism and Establishing Juche in Ideological Work”
  - Presidium of KWP Central Committee session
  - Attack on influence of Soviet Koreans
- In retrospect Armstrong see this as touchstone of policy of self-reliance, although at the time it was an attack on KIS’s rivals
  - In my view self-reliance was not crystallized as a policy until 1966

# Mass Mobilization Campaigns

- 1956—grumbling about standard of living and emphasis on heavy industry
- 1956.12 Ch' ŏllima Movement
  - Began in Kangsŏn steel mill in Hwanghae-do with beginning “on-the-spot guidance” 현지지도 of KIS
  - Frank talk about SU and need for home production
  - Nationwide campaign of “intensive guidance” 집체적 지도 of Central Committee
- Problem—enthusiasm doesn't last forever, and quality suffers

# Ch'ollima Monument P'yongyang



# KWP 1956 Organization

- 1956.3.23-9 Third Party Congress
- Central Committee (71)
  - Chair: Kim Il Sung
  - 5 Vice Chairs (Ch'oe Yong-gŏn + 4)
- Standing Committee (11)
- Organization Committee added (6)
- Departments

# More Purges

- 1956.2.14-25 Soviet 20<sup>th</sup> Party Congress
  - Khrushchev starts destalinization with “Secret Speec”
  - Keywords, “personality cult” and “socialist legality”
- KIS summoned to Moscow for 6 wks of “reform”
- 1956.8 Soviet and Yanan factions planned an “**August incident**” in the KWP Central Committee
  - Pak Ch’ang-ok (Soviet) complained about “one man rule”, over-emphasis on heavy industry, cronyism in appointments
  - Failed—and plotters fled to China and Soviet Union or were executed
  - Lankov: “**Failure of Destalinization**” (personality cult, socialist legality)

# Acceptance of Separation

- 1956.9 Soviet-Chinese delegation to P' yŏngyang to stop purges
  - Temporary reinstatements, but purge resumed in 1957-8 with more Soviet and Yanan Koreans fleeing or being arrested
- 2<sup>nd</sup> Supreme People's Assembly
  - 1957.8.29 "elections"
  - South Korean symbolic representatives removed
  - New 21-member Presidium had important symbolic status and was dominated by Kim's croneys (Ch'oe Yong-gŏn head)



# 1<sup>st</sup> Party Delegates Conference

- 1958.3.3-6 Climax of “anti-sectarian struggle” from below with “intensive guidance” from above beginning 1957 and continuing until Party Delegates Conf
  - Indoctrination meetings every evening for 6 months for cadres leading up to it
  - New Five-year plan that confirmed the orthodoxy of emphasizing heavy industry as correct
  - Many speeches criticizing “factionalism”
  - Criticism of conniving with foreigners



# Completing Transition to Socialism

- 1958 Chinese troops leave DPRK
- party committees instituted in all levels of military
  - Capitalism = to each according to his property
  - Socialism = to each according to his work
  - Communism = to each according to his need
- 1959.12 KIS gives the order to improve business systems and methods in accordance with the new environment brought to completion by the socialist reorganization of relations of production
- 1959 Agreement to repatriate Korean-Japanese

# Ch' ŏngsalli Method

- 청산리 방법, 청산리 교시 (정신)
- 1960.2 Cooperative farm near Namp' o with “on-the-spot guidance” of KIS
- Ch' ŏngsalli method and Ch' ŏngsalli spirit
  - “A communist leadership ideology and leadership system for guidance of the masses that shaped up and developed chuch'e thought and our party's traditional revolutionary mass line in according with socialist construction's new reality”
  - both used together, but the spirit is the ideological component
    - Attain party and state guidance under the principle of complete responsibility for all of the country's livelihood and the people's life
    - Attain party and state guidance under the principle of binding together the *ture* of the party to bring about communist society by educating and transforming all the members of society
    - In guidance for revolution and construction adhere fast to the principle of firmly transforming all tasks into the tasks of the masses of people themselves

# Taeon Work Method

- 대안의 사업체제
- 1961.12 on the spot guidance at Taeon electric machine plant near Namp'o
  - Concentrated guidance of the factory party committee
  - Politics leads the way
  - Higher levels help the lower
- Alternative to autocratic management style of capitalism

# Administrative Reorganization

- 1952—rural township (면) abolished and “workers district” 로동자구 created
  - anywhere 400 or more wage workers live and are 65% of the population—mostly in mining and forestry areas
- 1961—counties 군 increased from 98 to 168, and villages 리 reduced to 3,658 from 11,200
  - Each ri a cooperative farm 협동농장, and each county has about 22 ri

# Fourth Party Congress

- 1961.9.11-18
- Chairman Kim Il Sung, 5 VCs
- Political Committee revived (11)
- Inspection Committee 검열위원회 (party discipline)
- Central Committee 85 members
- **KIS triumphal speech**
  - Complete collectivization, solve grain problem, 52% labor in industry, 4,958 Ch'ŏllima work teams with 125,028 workers
  - New Seven Year Economic Plan 1961-1967—"priority to heavy industry and simultaneously developing agriculture and light industry"
  - Use literature to mold the people into revolutionaries devoid of bourgeois traits
  - Emphasized peaceful reunification, victory of party over 'factionalism', and socialist solidarity

# Troubles with the Soviet Union

- 1961 Mutual Defense Treaty with Russia, Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with Russia and China
- Sino-Soviet dispute from 1959 in which DPRK tilted toward China
  - 1962 Cuban missile crisis Soviets backed down, peaceful coexistence, leadership of C. movement
  - **1962-5 Soviet aid stops**
  - 1963 Korean accusations of Soviet historical distortion
  - 1964 Soviet ridicule of DPRK economics
- Fall of Khrushchev in 1964 provided opportunity to patch things up and Kosygin visits in 1965



# Militarization

- Kapsan faction generals supreme
- 1962.12 4.5 CC Plenum “arms on the one hand, hammer and sickle on the other”—military spending 30%+ of budget
  1. Arm the entire populace
  2. Fortify the entire country
  3. Train every soldier to become a cadre
  4. Modernize military weapons and equipment
- Buzo “**equal emphasis policy**” (**pyŏngjin**) p67
- Party Military Affairs Committee formed coordinate to Political Committee



# Troubles with China

- 1965 KIS & KJI visit Indonesia
  - KIS gets honorary degree
- Cultural Revolution from 1966
  - Wall posters denouncing KIS from 1967
  - Called “revisionist and disciple of Khrushchev”  
materialistic and devoid of revolutionary fervor
- Sino-Korean territorial dispute
  - By this time Eastern European diplomats report the atmosphere had changed and they were no longer allowed free access to talk with North Koreans (Martin 125-6)

# Distinct Identity

- 1966.5.14 KIS “For maintaining national characteristics in Korean language”
  - “We have to change the expression ‘standard language’ to something else. Since if you say ‘standard language’ in the end you incorrectly understand Seoul speech to be standard there is no need to say it right out. It is right that we who are building socialism use another term rather than call the language we have developed on the basis of the speech of our revolutionary capital, P’yŏngyang, as ‘standard language’. ‘Cultured language’ [munhwaŏ] isn’t that great a term, but it is better that we change and use it.”
  - Purify the language by getting rid of difficult Chinese, Russian, English and Japanese terms
- 1966.8 “Declaration of Independence”
  - *Rodong Sinmun*: “Let’s Embrace Self-Determination” 자주성을 옹호하자

# Economic Troubles

- Ambitious 7 year economic plan difficult
- No Soviet aid; guns not butter
  - Mechanization of agriculture required more tractors and fertilizer than were available
  - Bottlenecks developed
  - 1964 allowed agricultural markets and stopped publishing economic statistics
  - 1966 moved from work team method to work subteam contract method 분조도급제
- Plan extended 3 years to 1970

# 2<sup>nd</sup> Party Delegates Conference

- 1966.10.5-12
  - **Kapsan faction strengthened even more**
  - Announced extension of 7-year plan
  - DPRK announced more independent international line
  - Solidarity with Vietnam (to which ROK had sent troops)
- KIS takes title of General Secretary 총비서 for the first time
  - Had been both Premier and KWP Chair since 1949
  - Indicates continued centralization and bureaucratization of the KWP under Kim's executive control

# Evidence about 1966 from 2013

- Romanian and East German Documents translated in 2013 show
  - In 2<sup>nd</sup> Party Delegates Conference in 1966 KWP Central Committee members challenged the pyŏngjin line of 1962 and KIS personality cult and elevation of Kim Yŏngju to OGD
  - Challenge from the Kapsan Operations Committee with impeccable revolutionary credentials from the 1930s (Pak Kŭmch'ŏl leader)

# Monolithic ideology

- Pak Kŭmch'ŏl etc. purged May 1967
- December 16, 1967 KIS Speech "Let Us Embody the Revolutionary Spirit of Independence, Self-Sustenance, and Self-Defense More Thoroughly in all Branches of State Activity"
  - 10-point platform 공화국10대정강
  - Apply Juche to all fields of governance



# Relations with South

- 1965 ROK normalization with Japan, and ROK troops to Vietnam
- US bombing of DRVN
- Liaison Bureau for guerilla operations with South shook up in 1967
  - 1968 commando raid of 31 on Blue House (got within 500m)
  - 1968 capture of the USS *Pueblo*
  - KIS worried about formation of a military clique



# Shot up Tree in 1968 Raid

