

The DPRK in the Korean War

North Korean Society
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1948 DPRK Constitution

- Universal suffrage from 20, but “pro-Japanese” and others excluded
- Many civil rights guaranteed that were never particularly implemented
- Supreme People’s Assembly 최고인민회의 highest organ of state
 - Elected every four years
- Presidium of SPA 상임위원회 supervises cabinet
- Cabinet “highest executive organ of power” runs ministries (including army) and supervises People’s Committees [how selected is not specified]
- Local Government run by local elected People’s Committees
- Courts appointed by SPA
- Capital designated as Seoul

SPA Meetings

- First SPA ('elected' 1948.8)
 - 572 representative (360 from south)
 - Met 13 times between 1948.9 and 1957.3
 - Kim Tubong head of Presidium
 - Kim Il Sung Premier
- Second SPA 1957.9-1962.10
 - No seats for the south, met 10 times
 - Ch'oe Yong-gŏn head of Presidium
 - Kim Il Sung organizes cabinet

KWP 1948

- All Party Congress—meets irregularly
- Central Committee (43)—*Chair and 2*VCs
- *Political Committee (5)
- Standing Committee (13)
- Central Headquarters--6 departments

KWP Organization

- Formed in 1949 when the NKWP and the SKWP merged
- Mobilizes society through affiliated mass organizations
 - Conceived as “drive reins” to implement party policy rather than grass roots organizations that compete to influence state policy
- Party Congress 당대회 (supposed to be ‘elected’ every 5 years)
“highest organ” 1946, 1948, **1956, 1961**, 1970, 1980, 2016
 - In reality Congresses are carefully scripted, and the Central Committee 당중앙위원회—c. 130-150 persons—meets more regularly
 - The Political Committee 정치위원회 the main center of power
 - Buzo p30 thinks high turnover of Central Committee members between Congresses is a sign of control of Central Committee by higher ups
 - Buzo p33 thinks the fact that policies cannot reliably be attributed to specific Politburo members shows lack of autonomous political authority
 - Party (Delegates) Conference 당대표자대회 1958, 1966, 2010, 2012 is second to Party Congress in authority

Party Congresses and Party Chairs

- 1946—Kim Tubong Chair, Kim Il Sung and Chu Yŏng-ha (O Ki-sŏp faction) Vice Chairs
- 1948—Kim Tubong Chair, Kim Il Sung and Hŏ Ka-i Vice Chairs
 - 1949—Kim Il Sung Chair, Pak Hŏn-yŏng and Hŏ Ka-i Vice Chairs 1st Joint Plenum
 - 1953—both Pak and Hŏ replaced at 6th Plenum with 5 Vice Chairs
- 1956—Kim Il Sung Chair, 5 Vice Chairs
- 1961—Kim Il Sung Chair, 5 Vice Chairs

KPA (조선인민군)

- P'yŏngyang Military Academy under Kim Ch'aek founded in October 1945 for military police
 - New Kapsan-based police forces began absorbing Yanan returnees in small numbers
 - 1946 Chinese PLA families hid in North Korea during strategic retreat
 - 1948.2.8 KPA organization announced
- Soviet forces withdrew in 1948 leaving their equipment + equipment captured from Japanese
 - 60,000 strong KPA grew by 1950 to 200,000 reinforced by some 40,000 returnees from Chinese Civil War and 10,000 trained in the USSR
- Kim visited Stalin in 1949 but did not get “permission” to invade the south
 - 1949 infiltrated armed guerilla bands south of DMZ to join remnants of 1948 Sunch'ŏn-Yŏsu rebellion

DPRK Economy

- 1949—90% of industry socialized, 50% of trade socialized, 95% agriculture small
- Two year economic plan_T
 - problems of the private sector:
 - regime rationed labor, controlled prices and supply of raw materials
 - workers at state-run enterprises had ration privileges that workers in private enterprises could not get, and workers needed permission to transfer to private enterprises, so private enterprises found workers difficult to find
 - when raw materials were allocated to private enterprises, the state required delivery of a certain amount of finished good at state-set prices

Start of Korean War

- 1949 Kim, Stalin, and Mao consulted on war
 - Kim always took initiative but needed Stalin's permission
 - Stalin refused to support before April 1950, but Pak Hŏn-yŏng promised a 200,000 person uprising in South
 - April 1950 Kim visit to Moscow, May to Beijing—got OK of Stalin and Mao
 - Original NK plan revised by Russians as a “counterattack” plan (>Yu Song-jo)
- 1950.4.14 NSC 68—military policy of containment—not accepted by Truman at this time
- Fighting began around 4:00 AM June 25, 1950 on Ongjin Peninsula—whose decision?
 - Goncharov, Lewis, and Xie—Kim Il Sung's decision
 - Cumings—civil war was already under way, maybe ROK attacked first and NK retaliated with no “D-day” in mind
 - I.F. Stone hypothesis that US provoked war in order to protect Taiwan from PRC invasion

US and UN Intervene

- 1950.6.26 UNCOK report blamed the war on North Korea, said to cease hostilities and return to 38th parallel
- 1950.6.25—UN Security Council Resolution 82 condemned NK invasion
- 1950.6.27 Resolution 83 urged military assistance to South Korea by UN member nations
 - (N.B. because of the UN sponsored elections of May, 1948 the ROK was the only legitimate government recognized by the UN in Korea)
 - Why was the Russian ambassador absent?
 - Although the USSR was boycotting the Security Council because the UN had refused to seat the PRC, Jacob Malik, the USSR Ambassador to the UN was still in New York (due to leave July 6th)
 - Did Stalin *want* the US to be bogged down in Asia?
- 1950.6.27 Truman ordered US help to ROK and changed mind on NSC 68 which he signed 1950.9.30

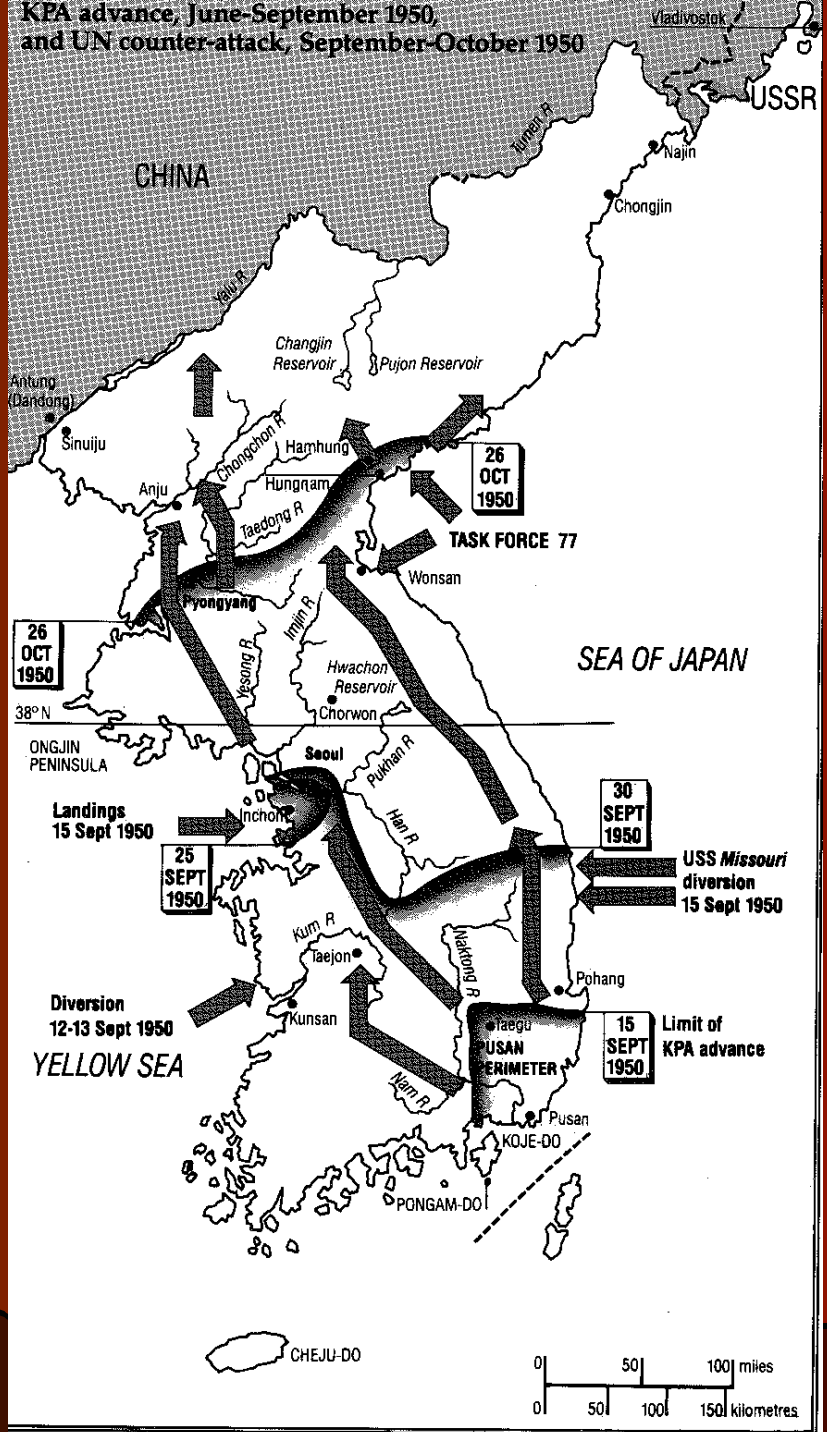
UN Command Created

- 1950.7.7 Security Council Resolution 84 created unified UN Command under the USA
 - British troops arrived in August
- US blamed Russia, but Russia (after having equipped the North Koreans) kept clear of involvement (except for air force on Manchurian border)
- By July 27 both the PRC and Russia expressed diplomatic support of DPRK
- US 7th Fleet sent to patrol Taiwan strait
 - This prevented a planned PRC invasion of Taiwan and delayed PRC occupation of Tibet until 1954

Progress of Korean War

- North Korean troops better equipped and better led
 - Particularly tanks and artillery better than ROK
 - Better leadership at mid-officer level because of experienced Yanan troops from China 1949-50 (100,000?) plus numbers trained in Russia 1948-9
- US Advisors to ROK forces (KMAC) had since 1948 been helping form a light counter-insurgency force
 - 241 men
- Seoul fell in 3 days, most of South Korea occupied by September except for Pusan perimeter
 - Pusan & Taegu never occupied, P'ohang and Masan briefly overrun
- Interrogations of Southerners in occupied Seoul (Kim Kyu-sik chŏnhyang) and attempts at land reform in occupied rural areas

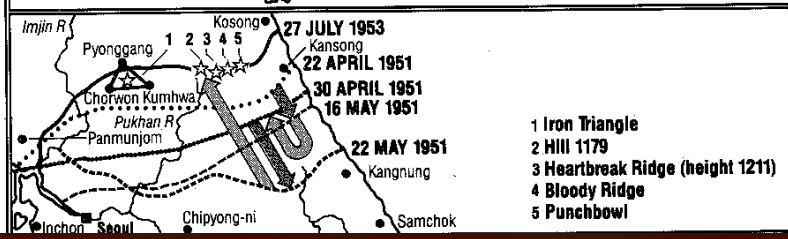
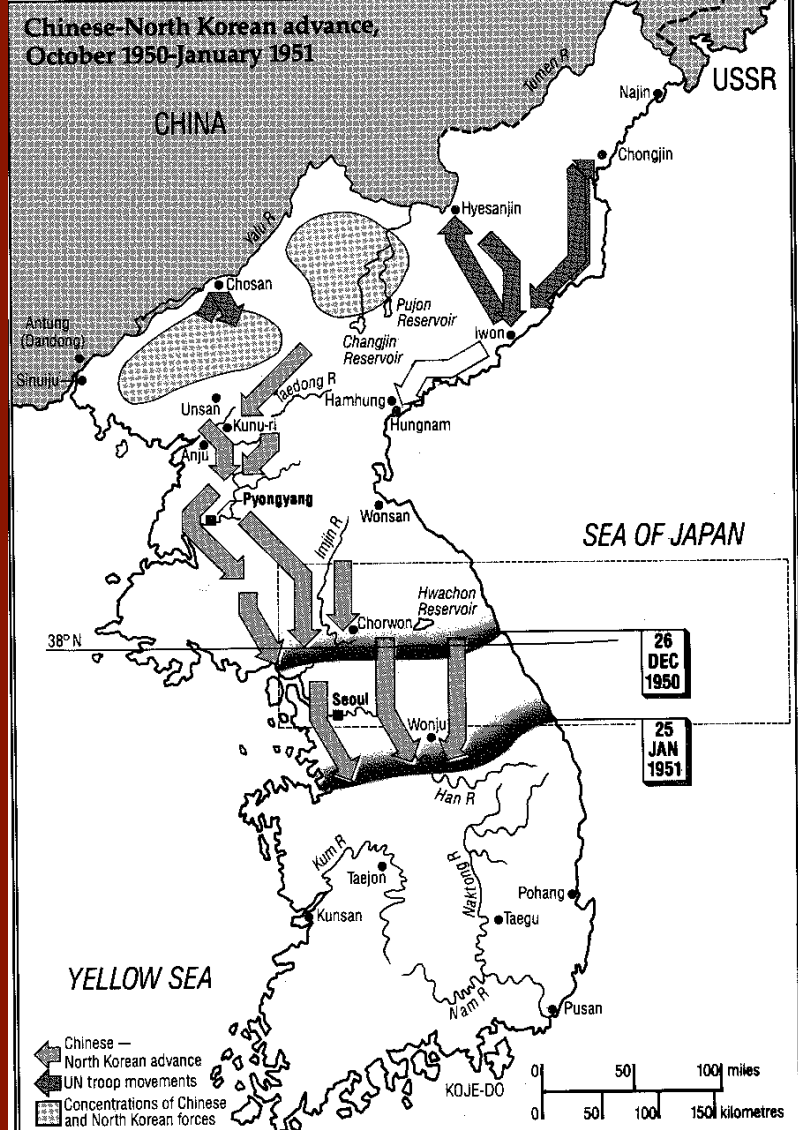
KPA advance, June-September 1950,
and UN counter-attack, September-October 1950



Across the 38th parallel

- 1950.9.15-19 Inch' ŏn landing cut off main NK forces and forced them to retreat
- 1950.9.19-29 battle for for Seoul
- October 1 UN and ROK troop cross 38th parallel
 - October 19th P'yŏngyang fell and Chinese troops started infiltrating into North Korea
- November 25th Battle of Ch' ŏngch' ŏn River, 27th Battle of Chosin (Changjin) Reservoir
 - UN retreat, Seoul fell January 4, 1951 to Suwŏn, Wŏnju, Samch'ŏk line
- Seoul retaken March 7, 1951
 - Stalemate near current DMZ until Armistice of July 27, 1953

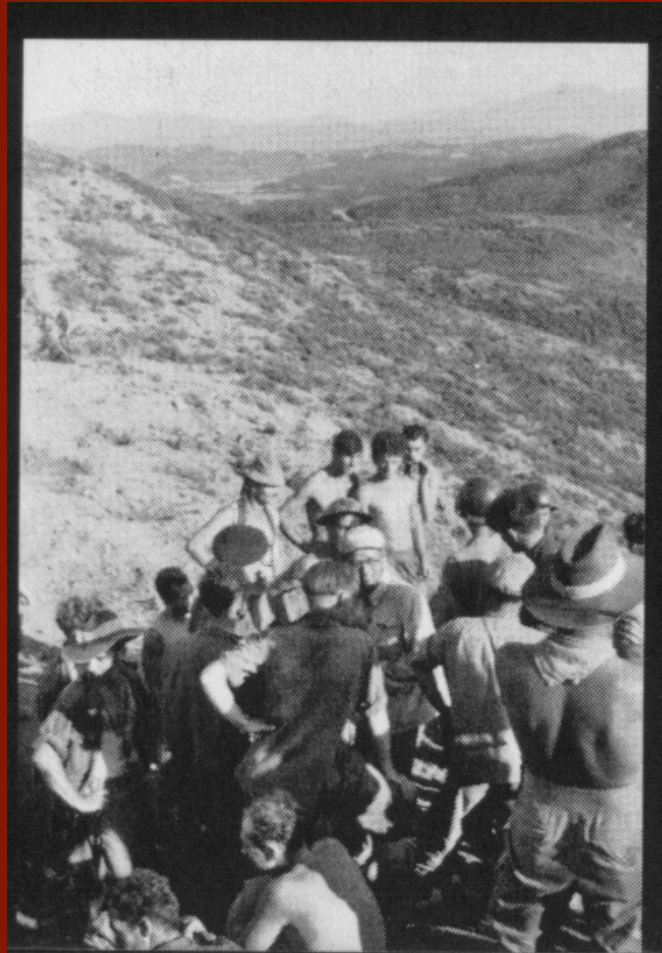
**Chinese-North Korean advance,
October 1950-January 1951**



To a Truce

- Stalemate since summer of 1951
- 1952.11 Eisenhower elected president promising to end Korean War
 - Visited Korea late 1952 and threatened to use nuclear weapons (in China) to end the war
- 1953.3.5 Stalin dies and Soviet support weakens so China decides to compromise on prisoner's issue
- 1953.7.27 armistice with current DMZ at P'anmunjŏm (板門店=널문가게)
 - UN, PRC, DPRK (ROK refused to participate)

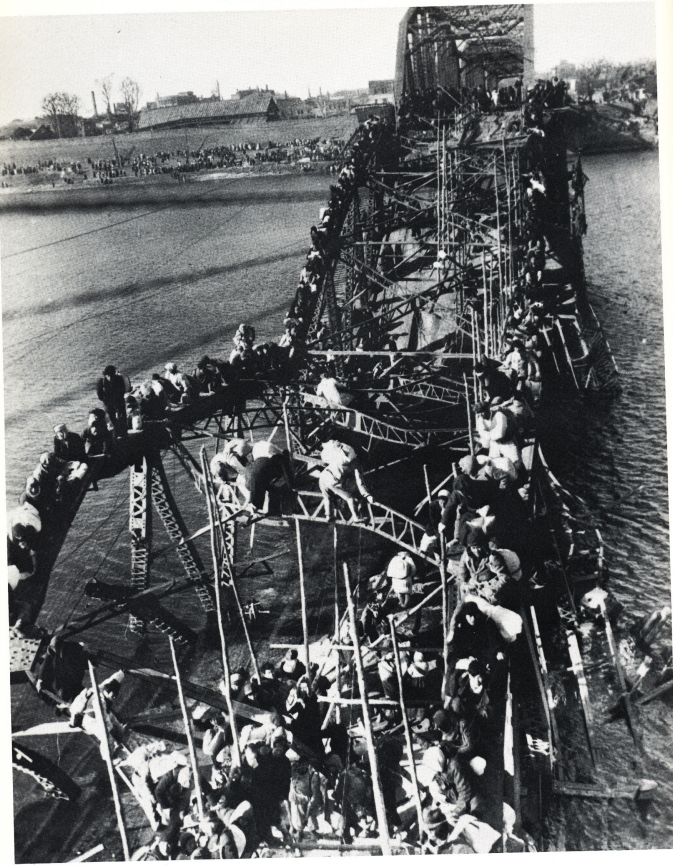
Allied troops meet PVC troops at front lines



Korean War Casualties

- Military (killed only)
 - South Korea 227,000
 - North Korea 214,000-400,000 est.
 - USA 34,000 (not 54,000)
 - Allies 3,500
 - PRC 132,000
- Civilian deaths estimated around 1.5 million with 500,000 in south (min.)

P'yŏngyang in the Korean War



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Korean War Issues

- Who is responsible?
- Why no uprising in south?
 - Successful land reform by June 25th, 1950
 - Large scale executions of leftists at beginning of war—진실와해를 위한 과거사 정리 위원회 set up 2005 thinks maybe 100,000 국민보도연맹 executed at beginning of war
- NK arrest and execution of ROK figures, chŏnhyang, forced conscriptions, civilians marched north, killings during retreat
- Civilian casualties and use of napalm by USAF not only in North Korea, but also in south
- Should UN have crossed the 38th parallel? Did it cause Chinese intervention? Dismissal of MacArthur.
- Threat of nuclear strike by Eisenhower to get armistice in 1953

Problems for DPRK

- Cities destroyed by bombing—little housing or industry left
- Many KWP party members cooperated with UN or joined Pacification Corps (ch' iandae 治安隊), old Chosŏn Democratic Party types welcomed UN forces
 - After the war who could the KWP trust?
- Large-scale flight south combined with casualties and military conscription made for acute labor shortages—especially in agriculture
- Economic crisis and breakdown of order
- DPRK had to accept divided country

KIS' s Political Response

- DPRK run by Military Affairs Committee set up by SPA and headed by KIS
 - after UN crossed 38th parallel the PLA controlled the war in the north
- 1950.10.21 Political Committee decides that a party structure must be planted in the armed forces—cells
 - 1950.12 3rd Central Committee Plenum (Kangkye) disciplined 500,000 KWP members
 - Mu Chǒng (Yanan) purged (but not executed) for failing to defend P'yǒngyang
- 1951.11.2 4th Central Committee Plenum
 - Attacked Hǒ Ka-i (Soviet) for restrictive party membership rules [and possibly for supporting the domestic faction] and expelled him
 - KIS insisted on admitting many poor peasants into the party→mass party rather than vanguard party

Purge of Southerners

- During occupation of south Pak Hŏn-yŏng's loyalists had busily rebuilt the southern party
- Even after the retreat back north they established Kŭmsŏng Political Institute for training guerillas
- Tried coup ? in P' yŏngyang in early 1953 and were put on trail for treason, conspiracy with America etc.—10 executed
 - 1953.2 most writers associated with the SKLP purged as Han Sŏrya, early Kim cult writer, took control of artistic matters (Kim Namch'ŏn, Yi T'aejun, Im Hwa, etc. purged)
 - Pak Hŏn-yŏng arrested but not tried at this time

Purges Continue

- 1953.8.4-6 Sixth Plenum of KWP
 - Purges of southern domestic communists for “high treason” (conspiracy with Americans)
 - 40 days of national political education preceded this
 - First mention of Collectivization of Agriculture
- 1955.12 Pak Hŏn-yŏng tried and executed for conspiracy with Americans
- Why?
 - Simply factionalism?
 - Regionalism?
 - Coup attempt?
 - Opposition to armistice leaving SK capitalist?