

The Rise of Kim Jong Il



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Party Center



- In 1974 references to the “party center” 당중앙 began to appear in the DPRK media
 - ✦ Outsiders didn’t initially know who or what this was
 - ✦ Eventually people figured out it was a person, and gradually it became clear it was Kim Il Sung’s eldest son Kim Jong Il (Kim Chŏng-il)
- In retrospect we now know:
 - ✦ 1972.10 KJI had been appointed to the KWP Central Committee
 - ✦ 1973.7 KJI had been appointed KWP Propaganda and Agitation Department Deputy Head 선전선동부 부부장
 - According to T’ae Yŏngho, department deputy heads even though outranked by ministers and department heads are quite powerful because they have the responsibility to directly carry out Kim Jong Il’s orders
 - ✦ 1973.9 KJI had been appointed to the KWP CC Secretariat (responsible for organization and propaganda), appointed Organization and Guidance Department Head 조직지도부 부장 and given main responsibility for the Three Revolutions Work Team Movement 3대혁명소조운동

Three Revolutions Work Team Movement



- 1972 Constitution mentions it, 1973.2.10 announced as advance guard of the 3 revolutions
- Three kinds of teams of 20-50 persons:
 - ✦ Ideology Teams 사상혁명소조
 - ✦ Technology Teams 기술혁명소조
 - ✦ Cultural Teams 문화혁명소조
- Team members
 - ✦ Unmarried youngsters (청년, 젊은이)
 - ✦ party members, workers in economic administration, university students and teachers, technicians and scientists in factories and business
 - ✦ Over the next decade some 46,000 persons

Kim Jong Il Personally Directed it



- Sent teams to every production, administration, cultural, and education institution to work alongside local party committees
- With justification of carrying through Party policy attacked cadres:
 - ✦ Ideological revolution to fight conservatism 보수주의, empiricism 경험주의, approximatism 요령주의, institutionalism 기관 본위주의
- **Not incidentally it created a program that KJI could take credit for, *and* created tens of thousands of young people whose careers depended on KJI**

Establishing Family Rule



- Ten Principles for the Establishment of a Monolithic Ideological System 당의 유일사상체계확립의 10대 원칙
 - Originally proposed by Kim Yŏngju in 1967 in the wake of the purges in the Kapsan faction
 - Made official by Kim Jong-il in 1974
 - ✦ 1. We must give our all in the struggle to unify the entire society with the revolutionary ideology of the Great Leader Kim Il-sung
 - ✦ 2. We must honor the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il-sung with all our loyalty
 - ✦ 3. We must make absolute the authority of the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung
 - ✦ 4. We must make the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il-sung's ideology our faith and make his instructions our creed

Ten Principles (cont)



- ✦ 5. We must adhere strictly to the principle of unconditional obedience in carrying out the Great Leader Comrad Kim Il-sung's instructions
- ✦ 6. We must strengthen the entire party's ideology and willpower and revolutionary unit, centering on the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il-sung
- ✦ 7. We must learn from the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il-sung and adopt the communist look, revolutionary work methods and people-oriented work style
- ✦ 8. We must value the political life we were given by the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, and loyally replay his great political trust and thoughtfulness with heightened political awareness and skill
- ✦ 9. We must establish strong organizational regulations so that the entire party, nation, and military move as one under the one and only leadership of the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung
- ✦ 10. We must pass down the great achievement of the revolution by the Great Leader comrade Kim Il Sung from generation to generation, inheriting and completing it to the end.

Kim Jong Il Named Successor



- 1974.2.11-13 5th KWP Congress CC 8th Plenum Kim Jong Il named as successor to Kim Il Sung
 - ✦ Also appointed to Party CC Politburo
 - ✦ From this time “Party Center” began to be used and later “Dear Leader” 친애하는 지도자 (great leader 위대한 령도자 after KIS died)
 - ✦ However, this decision was not publicly announced until the 6th Party Congress in 1980
- How did KJI get to this point?
 - ✦ **It was not necessarily preordained by his father from the start**

KJI' s Birth



- Born in 1942 to KIS and Kim Chŏng-suk, a fellow guerilla fighter in a training camp near Khabarovsk where KIS was 1941-1945
- Returned to North Korea with his mother in November 1945
- Official story: KIS returned to a secret guerilla camp on Paektu-san in 1942, and KJI was born there in a cabin
- Was raised as “Party royalty”
 - ✦ Went to Man’gyŏngdae Revolutionary Academy for a while, was in China during the Korean War, but otherwise he went to the premier schools in P’yŏngyang graduating from Namsan Higher Middle School in 1960, and entering Kim Tae that same year
 - ✦ N.B. Namsan Higher Middle included an 11th & 12th grade which was two years beyond the educational level made compulsory for most people (similar to pre-War Japanese system)

Man'gyöngdae—Birthplace of Kim Il Sung



Mangyŏngdae Revolutionary Academy



Kim Il Sung's subsequent remarriage



- Kim Il-sŏng 1912-1994
 - + Kim Chŏng-suk (died 1949.9 in childbirth)
 - ✦ Chŏng-il 1942-2011 (Yura)
 - ✦ Shura 1944-1948
 - ✦ Kyŏnghŭi 1946 (currently Chair of KWP CC, Politburo member, General of People's Army, No. 12 Representative in SPA—though not seen publicly much since 2013 and said to be gravely ill)
 - + Kim Sŏng-ae 1924—during Korean War when KJI was in China
 - ✦ Kyŏngjin 1952 (daughter)
 - ✦ P' yŏng-il 1954 (currently Ambassador to Czech Republic)
 - ✦ Yŏng-il 1955-2000
- Thus KJI had to deal with step mother and brothers

While at University



- In 1959 accompanied his father to Soviet Union (planned the trip)
- **Kimdae Political Economy Department 1960-64**
 - N.B. could have gone to Moscow State University (many DPRK elites did, like Kim Yŏng-nam—Chair of SPA Presidium—or Hwang Chang-yŏp) but KJI decided to remain near his father
 - Kim Tae Political Economy Department was where aspiring Party and state elites studied
 - Amid the partying KJI started accompanying his father on “on-the-spot guidance” trips
- **Joined KWP around 1962**

Organization and Guidance Department



- 1964.6 KJI group leader (chidowŏn) in Party Organization and Guidance Department
 - Department head since 1960 Kim Yŏng-ju (Kim Il Sung's younger brother)
 - ✦ Born 1920—entered Soviet Union in 1941 (later than Kim Il Sung)
 - ✦ 1945-52 Moscow State University
 - ✦ 1952 Moscow Higher Party School
 - ✦ 1954 Organization and Guidance Department
 - 1954 지도원 group leader
 - 1957 부부장 deputy department head
 - 1960 부장 department head
 - ✦ 1961 KWP Central Committee (4th PC), 1966 Secretariat, 1969 Politburo
 - ✦ Also active in Supreme People's Assembly
- 1964.12.8 KJI Political Committee meeting at Korea Theatrical Movie Studio? [Sakai] KIS “On Creating Revolutionary Literature and Art”
1964.11.10

KJI Activities in the 1960s



- 1966 Active in Presidential Guard management
- 1967 Section Head 과장 in Propaganda and Agitation Department 선전선동부
 - ✦ 1970 부부장 Deputy Head
- 1967.5.4-8 KJI credited in 1980s with uncovering a plot in the 15th Plenum of CC
- Following 1966-69 shake-up KJI helped intensify the personality cult of his father
 - ✦ Modeled in some respects on China's Cultural Revolution (1966-76) that had been launched by Mao Ze-dong in order for him to reacquire power after being sidelined because of the failures of the Great Leap Forward, but in China local activities had a considerable amount of spontaneity and autonomy compared to North Korea
 - ✦ Korean version tightly controlled by KJI

Deterioration of KWP



- After 1972 (new Constitution), the party CC started meeting less frequently, and the SPA and Central People's Committee took more central roles
- Second 7-year plan (1978-84) launched without extensive CC discussion
- KIS extensive activity in the non-aligned movement

The Kim Family Narrative at the Center



- **1967.2 Paektusan Creation Group** 백두산창작단
 - ✦ Formed on the suggestion of KJI to create revolutionary movies based on the anti-Japanese struggle of the revolutionary family
 - ✦ Designed to teach the masses monolithic ideology and chuch' e artistic thought through popular entertainment
 - ✦ “Five Guerilla Brothers” 1968 “Sea of Blood” 1969 and continued through the 1980s
 - ✦ Said to embody Ch' ōngsalli Spirit and Method, Taeon Work Method, and Speed Battle technology to get revolutionary results
- **1967.6.20 April 15th Literature Creation Group**
 - ✦ Formed to specialize in creating literature celebrating the KIS-KJI family line
 - ✦ To create “Suryōng-formed writing” used collective writing techniques, since no one person could be expected to capture by himself the glory of the Suryōng
 - ✦ Main work “Ineradicable History” from “The Year 1932” (1972) through “Bloody Road” (1988) that focused on the life of Kim Il Sung and his anti-Japanese guerillas

Revolutionary Opera



- 1972 P' yŏngyang Art Theater produced “Speak, Forest” and “Song of Kūmgang Mountain”
 - ✦ Before 1972 P' yŏngyang Art Troop had produced traditional *kagŭk* (a *p'ansori* type performance with each role played by a different artist)
 - ✦ Revolutionary Operas were said to be transformations of works written by Kim Il Sung in the 1930s in Manchurian liberated areas
- Chinese Model Dramas (Revolutionary Opera) created by Jiang Qing 1966-69
 - ✦ 樣板戲 Red Lantern, Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy—and ballet—Red Detachment of Women—modifications of Beijing Opera style
- Five main NK works display hybridization of performance genres
 - ✦ “Sea of Blood”, “Flower Girl”, “Speak, Forest!”, “True Daughter of the Party”, “Song of the Diamond Mountains”
 - ✦ Purpose: “To deeply and realistically form scenes that show the noble morality and clarity of the Suryŏng’ s leadership”

Sin Sangok and Ch'oe Ŭnhŭi



- Sin Sangok best-known South Korean movie director of the 1970s
- Ch'oe Ŭnhŭi was his muse and the biggest female star in the South Korean movie industry
- In 1978 Ch'oe was kidnapped from Hong Kong to North Korea with Shin coming 6 months later
 - They were reintroduced in 1983 and the two were changed with revitalizing the North Korean movie industry
 - “An Emissary of No Return” (1984), Love, Love, My Love (1984), “Runaway” (1984), “Salt” (1985), “The Tale of Shim Chong” (1985), “Pulgasari” (1985)
- 1986 Shin and Ch'oe were able to defect in Vienna

Capture the Red Flag Movement



- 1975.11 CC 5th Congress 11th Plenum
- 붉은기 쟁취 운동 Aspect of the 3 Revolution Work Team Movement that was long-lasting
- After a test in Hamnam it went nationwide in 1977
- In schools “Loyalty registers” are kept to record success in this movement
- Spread to all work units except government agencies and publishers
- Receiving the “Red Flag of the 3 Revolutions” was an honor for any work team and they often received these on 4.15 (KIS’ s birthday), 2.16 (KJI’ s birthday), 9.9 (DPRK’ s birthday), or 10.10 (KWP’ s birthday)

Deterioration of KWP



- Under 1972 Constitution KWP Central Committee started to meet less frequently as important issues were discussed in the Central People's Committee and even the SPA
- Second 7-year plan (1978-84) adopted without extensive KWP CC discussion
- Aging party and politburo members were not replaced as they died or retired
- 1974 9th Plenum when KJI appointed heir seems to have been a turning point—and to have met some opposition

6th Party Congress



- 1980.10.10-14—5 hour KIS victory speech confirming Ch' öllima, Ch' öngsalli, Tae-an, 3 Revolution Team Movement
 - ✦ KIS personally reiterated importance of Manchurian guerilla methods
 - ✦ **Elections publicly confirmed KJI as successor though not officially announced as such—still known as Party Center**
 - Titles: Politburo Standing Committee, Secretariat, KWP Central Military Committee member
 - ✦ in the politburo (youngest member)—second youngest O Kŭng-nyŏl (“O Kuk-yol”) a partisan orphan educated at Man' gyŏngdae Revolutionary Academy & Kimdae, and personal friend of Kim Jong Il

The Propaganda Apparatus Kicks In



- After 1981 KJI publically announced on-the-spot guidance tours
- KJI' s speeches and writings published
- He is given higher and higher honors
 - ✦ 1982—7th rank in SPA
 - ✦ 1990—first Vice-Chair of National Defense Commission
 - ✦ 1991—Supreme Commander of the Peoples Army
 - ✦ 1993—Presiding Chair of the National Defense Commission
- By the 1980s Kim Il Sung was in semi-retirement, and no longer tended to day-to-day governance