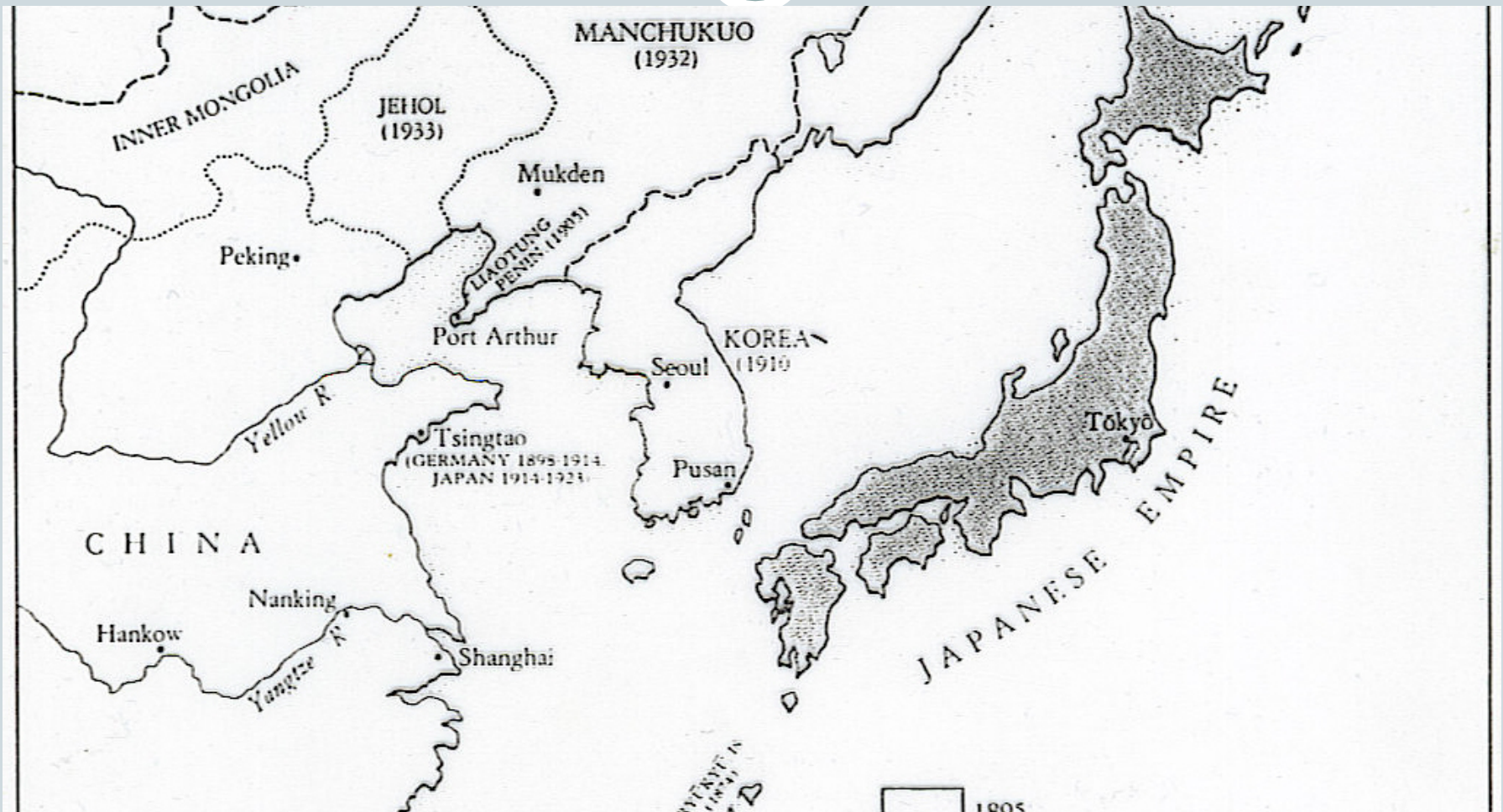


The Establishment of the DPRK



**NORTH KOREAN SOCIETY
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Japanese Empire in 1942



The End of WWII



- **Soviet-Japan Neutrality Pact 1941-1945**
 - ✦ Soviet consulate in Seoul with Anatoly Shabshin and his wife running things
- **Potsdam Agreement—USSR to enter war against Japan 90 days after VE Day (May 8, 1945)**
 - ✦ USSR attacks NE Korea (in order to secure Manchuria) on August 8, 1945
 - ✦ August 6, 1945 A-bomb of Hiroshima, August 9, 1945 A-bomb of Nagasaki, Japan surrender August 15, 1945
 - ✦ August 10th in Pentagon Dean Rusk proposed division at the 38th parallel as “a temporary military expediency”—Russia accepted

Allied Occupation Troops Arrive



- Russia occupied most of Korea north of the 38th parallel by August 27, 1945
 - ✦ August 25, 1945 Russians declared Korean liberated with their fate in their own hands
- Nearest US troops in Okinawa didn't land until September 8th 1945
 - ✦ command of General John R. Hodge
 - ✦ US set up military government (USAMGIK) announcing everything in the southern zone under US control

**NORTH AND SOUTH
KOREA
1972**



Korea at the time of liberation



- Governor General Abe Nobuyuki (阿部信行) and Superintendent Endo Ryusaku (遠藤柳作) running things
- No organized political parties of any kind due to colonial suppression
 - ✦ Abe and Endo found out about impending surrender from Tokyo on August 10th
 - ✦ Asked conservative Song Chin-u to form government on August 12th (he refused)
 - ✦ Contacted leftist Lyuh Woon-hyung (려운형 = Yŏ Unhyŏng) who on August 14th accepted with conditions

Korean People's Republic



- Lyuh Woon-hyung organized CPKI on August 15 with local people's committees organizing nation-wide
- Korean People's Republic founded September 5th 1945
 - ✦ Left wanted a *fait accompli* before US arrived
 - ✦ KPR was not recognized by US which landed on September 8th, and set up USAMGIK which ruled using colonial bureaucracy
 - ✦ By contrast, the People's Committees of KPR were used by the Russians as a civilian local government
 - ✦ At first the Soviets cooperated with Seoul, but after the US refused to recognize the KPR the Soviets in October organized the Five Provinces Administrative Bureau 북조선오도행정국 guided by the Soviet Civil Authority (in the background)

US troops arrive in Korea



Where was everybody on August 15th, 1945?



- Conservatives in Korea were tainted by cooperation with Japanese authorities, and leftist Lyuh Woon-hyung given power by Japanese
- Pak Hŏn-yŏng came to Seoul 1945.8.17 to organize a Korean Communist Party in cooperation with Anatoly Shabshin in the Soviet consulate in Seoul
- Kim Il Sung in Russia (returned to Korea 1945.9.17)
 - Introduced by Russians to people of P'yŏngyang 1945.10.14
- Syngman Rhee in US (returned to Korea 1945.10.16)
 - Introduced by Americans to the people of Seoul 1945.10.20
- Provisional Government (Kim Ku, etc.) in Zhongqing (Kim Ku returned 1945.11.23, 8 more on 1945.12.2)
- Park Chung Hee in Manchuria (Japanese Army → Kwangbokkun, returned 1946.5.8)
- Mu Chong, Kim Tubong, etc. in Yanan until 1946

North Korea in August 1945



- In August 1945 the Soviets had directly set up People's Committees in the Northeast (Ch'ŏngjin)—but elsewhere PCs were more spontaneous and independent at first
- Soviet Red Army commander Chistiakov (Lebedev political officer, Romanenko day-to-day) kept order
 - ✦ No Korean troops initially participated in occupation of North Korea
 - ✦ Kim Il Sung and 88 partisans brought to Wŏnsan September 19, 1945 [some say he was met by Ignatiev, but other sources deny it]
 - ✦ Soviets accepted local P'yŏngyang People's Committee but added 15 communists to it
 - ✦ Cho Man-sik the head (Christian socialist)
- Soviet Civil Administration set up in October, 1945 under Soviet political commissioners Romanenko, Shtykov, and Ignatiev
 - ✦ This was behind-the-scenes, so People's Committees were the public face

Who were the initial NK players?



- Those who had cooperated with the Japanese administration and police were unpopular and lacked legitimacy
- P'yŏngyang Christians dominated the city
 - led by the Nationalist Cho Man-sik who founded the Chosŏn Minjudang in 1945.11
 - Christians mostly urban middle-class
- Rural landowners (about 30% of farmers owned their land, 5% were landlords who did not personally farm)
- Ch'ŏndogyo religion in cooperation with peasant tenant farmers tended to be left-wing (Red Peasant Union movement)
- Worker/proletarians in P'yŏngyang and Hamhŭng, and local leftists organized by communists
- Soviet Koreans and others working with the Russians like the Kapsan faction

Who were the communists?



- Domestic communists (Pak Hŏn-yŏng) centered in Seoul
 - Buzo→doctrinaire, urban, proletarian-based ideology
- Former guerillas (Kim Il Sung & “Kapsan faction”)
 - Buzo→young, limited education, highly disciplined and tightly knit, but not well-known in Korea (c. 200 persons)
- Yanan Koreans (Ch’ oe Ch’ ang-ik, Mu Chŏng)
 - Older, better educated, more sophisticated about communism than Kapsan group—organized Sinmindang Feb 1946
- Soviet Koreans (Hŏ Ka-i)
 - Occupied the bureaucracy of the Soviet Civil Administration and acted as interpreters (c. 200 persons)

Political Events in North



- 1945.10 North Korean Branch of KCP organized
 - ✦ (DPRK calls founding of KWP)—Pak Hŏn-yŏng overall head, but KIS North Korea Branch Head
 - ✦ Kim Il Sung introduced to P'yŏngyang 1945.10.14 & praised Soviet liberation (Romanenko his mentor initially)
- 1945.11 Five Provinces Administrative Bureau Announced
- 1945.12 Collapse of Moscow Accords and arrest of Cho Man-sik
- 1946.2 North Korean Provisional People's Committee (Kim Il Sung chairman) 북조선임시인민위원회
 - ✦ 1946.3 land reform
 - ✦ 1946.5. 25% tax-in-kind
 - ✦ 1946.10 nationalization of large-scale industry (90% had been Japanese-owned)
- 1946.8 Pukhan nodongdang (North Korean Workers Party) organized
 - ✦ Merger of KCP and Sinmindang combined with absorption of youth movement of labor unions—Kim Tubong chair, KIS vice-chair

Hierarchical and market relations cut across solidary ties however

- Richer farmers and landlords didn't use labor exchange because they could hire labor
- Some workers were laborers for rich families, or even live-in servants (mōsǔm) or ex-slaves (tǔnani)
 - Whole families might have service obligations to local yangban families (such as carrying funeral biers and bridal palanquins)
- Lineage and family relations were patriarchal and hierarchical
- Political system hierarchical and top-down
- Marketing allowed people to operate to a degree as autonomous individuals and/or families

“Eliminating Feudal Remnants”



- Arrest “collaborators” with Japanese and “national traitors”
- Break non-collective ties
 - 1946 Land reform broke landlord-tenant relations
 - Land reform combined with the 25% tax-in-kind announced in the fall greatly weakened market relations
 - ✦ Large amount of agricultural surpluses and supplies now managed by the state rather than markets, and rations given to workers in state enterprises—beginning of PDS
 - Set up People’s Committees to replace old administration
 - Reduce educational inequality that reinforced hierarchy
- Create collective organizational structure
 - Party, collective institutions, mass organizations

North Korean Workers Party



- Formed August 1946 by merger of New People's Party into North Korean Communist Party
 - 90,000 members of NPP merged into 276,000 members of NKCP = 366,000 members (some 10% of adult population)
 - 1948 750,000 of whom 374,000 poor peasants (about half)
 - Dues of 1 to 3% of income
- Inje County KWP 80% poor peasant by 1948, 10% middle peasants, 5% workers, and 5% samuwŏn (25% women), but most leaders were samuwŏn

Rapid Expansion of KWP



- Led to unprepared members, and class-inappropriate members
- Periodic purges of the membership rolls to weed out inappropriate members
 - December 1946-February 1947 purge of class-inappropriate members (many had, in fact, fled south)
- Party did not extend down to the village level until shortly before the village elections of February 24-5, 1947 (this was after the National People's Assembly was chosen and met on February 2, 1947)

Party Cell (sep'o) established at all workplaces



- Workplaces with 5 or more party members had cell
 - Chair linked cell to higher levels and with adjacent cells
- How admitted?
 - Submit application with class background and political history—connection to colonial regime disqualified one
 - Poor peasants needed one recommendation, while those with an iffy background needed two or more
- Cell activities?
 - Twice weekly study groups, everybody with notebook (think of Hwang Chang-yŏp's descriptions)

Terms of address



- Traditionally sibling terminology had been used among people of the same age/status, and aunt/uncle, grandmother/grandfather for older people, but this distinguishes male and female, older and younger
 - Hyǒng, ǒnni, nuna, tongsaeng, ajumǒni, ajǒssi, harabǒji
- New terminology (comrade: tongmu/tongji)
 - Tongmu (among people of same age/status), sometimes with name or position added if the person is one of authority
 - But kinship terminology continued to also be used
 - Tongji (for someone high up in the Party)
- N.B. basis for identity changing, but it is not really egalitarian

Political Events in South



- 1946.1 US tried to create ‘moderate coalition’ with Lyuh Woon-hyung and Kim Kyu-sik
- 1946.10 RR and printer’s strike & Taegu uprising
 - Leadership of southern communists fled to Haeju in north—were now dependent on the Puk-nodang
- 1946.11 Pak Hŏn-yŏng announces formation of Namnodang—led by its Presidium located in North Korea
- 1946.11 Groups of young refugees from North Korea began to organize for political purposes in South
- 1946.12 Korean Interim Legislative Assembly (half elected)
- 1947.7 Negotiations with Russians broke down, moderate coalition in shambles
- 1947.9 “Korea Problem” referred to UN

Political Events in North



- 1946.11.3 People's Committee "elections"
 - ✦ One candidate per constituency and separate boxes for 'yes' and 'no'
 - ✦ 99.6% participation, 97% "popular front"
- 1947.2 People's Assembly of North Korea "election"
 - ✦ PCs created as permanent structure with Kim Tubong head, KIS in charge of People's Committee (Peoples Assembly met 5 times 1947-8)
 - ✦ Mass organizations controlled by the authorities
 - Youth organization, unions, women's union
 - ✦ KWP—a "popular front" party led by the communists was the only effective political party (Ch'ōndogyo Youth Party also)
 - ✦ Soviet Civil Administration and Red Army in the background

Separate Governments



- 1947.11 Draft DPRK Constitution discussed in 3rd NK People's Assembly Session
- 1947.11.14 UN Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCOK) set up
- 1948.2.8 4th NK People's Assembly founded KPA
- 1948.4.3 Cheju uprising and “All-Nation People's Conference” in P'yŏngyang
- 1948.5.10 UN supervised elections in South
 - 75% participation—38% unaffiliated, 37% conservative, 25% splinter
- 1948.8.15 ROK established with presidential system
- 1948.8.25 Northern ‘elections’ (southern ‘delegates’ met in Haeju 8.22-24)
- 1948.10 Yŏsu-Sunch'ŏn Rebellion

DPRK Established



- 2nd KWP Congress 1948.3
 - ✦ North Korean domestic communists loyal to Seoul were purged (O Ki-sŏp) with help of Soviets (Hŏ Ka-i)
 - ✦ Domestics vulnerable because of former Japanese pressure
- 1948.9.2 DPRK met to approve constitution, DPRK from 9.9
 - ✦ SPA with Presidium 최고인민위원회&상임위원회
 - ✦ Cabinet under nominal supervision of Presidium
 - Kim Il Sŏng Premier
 - ✦ People's committees under control of cabinet
 - ✦ Everything supervised and directed by Central Committee of KWP
 - ✦ Capital: Seoul

Merger of Puk-Namnodang



- **1949.6.24**
 - Two central committees of the NKWP and SKWP merged with Kim Il Sung as chair, and Pak Hŏn-yŏng as vice-chair
- **Kim finally begins to be in control**
 - Chairman of united KWP
 - Premier of the DPRK

“Lines” on establishment of DPRK



- “Preconceived formula for Sovietization” “alien to the people and country of North Korea” Suh Dae-sook (1975)
- “north Korea went through the ‘normal’ process [revolution] that we might expect from the residual effects of Japanese colonial rule” (Bruce Cumings) *Origins* I: 382 (1981)
- “In re-establishing government in North Korea after the Japanese surrender, the Soviet Union assembled and gave power to a Communist oligarchy comprising elements of the pre-1945 Korean Communist Movement and a cadre of Soviet citizens of Korean heritage.” Adrian Buzo *Guerilla Dynasty* p12 (1999)
- “What emerged in North Korea was a fusion of communist programs initiated from above and local conditions encountered through implementation on the ground” Armstrong *Revolution* 11 (2003)
- Question: Was Kim Il Sung the Soviet’s “hand-picked leader”?

Kim Il Sung as Leader



- **Strengths**

- Guerilla credentials, disciplined leader of men, had Soviet backing, worked well with Russians and Chinese (spoke good Chinese and passable Russian), had strategic sense
- Kapsan Faction had monopoly on force (apart from Soviets)

- **Weaknesses**

- Young (33), lacked personal networks within Korea, lacked Korean education (even in Marxism)

Building the KIS Power Base



- Soviet support + united front tactics (+ assassination or arrest if necessary)
- Used and absorbed Yanan group, destroyed nationalists
- Absorbed large number of poor peasants (Kim's supporters) into the NKWP (as opposed to limiting Party to workers or committed Marxists)
- Used Soviet faction to purge NK domestics
- Southern domestic communists preoccupied with revolution in south and so poorly established in north
 - ✦ Separate NKWP (KIS), SKWP (Pak Hŏn-yŏng)
 - ✦ Pak worked under hostile conditions in south, then in exile in north and as ROK set up lost prestige