

THE HEYDAY OF KIM IL SUNGISM

Modern Korean Society

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MOBILIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

- ‘mobilizational development’ is based on a simple input-output conception of development
 - If you want more output, put in more input by mobilizing labor and resources to the max
- Idea that collectivization of agriculture will use labor more efficiently and thus allow “movement of excess labor into industry”
 - Rapid industrialization in the 1960s with movement of labor from the countryside to the city
 - 93% of investment put into heavy industry

MASS MOBILIZATION CAMPAIGNS

- 1956.12 Ch'öllima (Thousand League Horse) Movement
 - Began in Kangsön Steel Mill in Hwanghae-do
 - Kim Il Sung “on the spot guidance” 현지지도
 - Frank talk about dangers of dependence on Soviet Union and the need for domestic production
 - Expanded to nationwide campaign of “intensive guidance” 집체적 지도 by the KWP Central Committee
 - Theory—proper leadership can whip up enthusiasm and spur production
 - Speed battles 속도전 to increase production, but enthusiasm eventually lagged and quality suffered

CH'ŏNGSALLI METHOD

- 청산리 방법, 청산리 교시 (정신)
- Began 1960 in cooperative farm near Namp'o with “on the spot guidance” of Kim Il Sung
- Ch'ŏngsalli method, 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

TAEAN WORK METHOD

- 대안의 사업체제
- 1961.12 on the spot guidance at Taean electric machine plant near Namp'o
 - Concentrated guidance of the factory party committee
 - Politics leads the way
 - Higher levels help the lower
- Claimed to be an alternative to “autocratic management style of capitalism”

MASS ORGANIZATIONS

- Every adult North Korea belongs to one of five mass organizations 근로 대중 조직
 - Centralized nationwide networks with headquarters in P'yŏngyang and branches in each administrative level
 - Korean Workers' Party, the Youth Union, the Trade Union, the Farmers' Union and the Women's Union
 - Each cell has two indoctrination session (강연이나 학습) and a mutual criticism session each week
 - Regular meetings with reports and discussions
 - Mutual criticism 생활총화 (meeting for summing up one's life)
- Co-production as a concept for understanding agency in such a situation

GENERAL ANALYSIS

- Permanent mobilization of the people through the party and state
- Party is the “head” that makes decisions
- Mass organizations are “transmission belts” for the direction and guidance of the leader (cf Smith 118, etc.)
- Citizens have the responsibility to be organized and pay attention to the leader
- Sometimes called a “partisan state” because KIS and his partisans most powerful, but also because their model of state organization seems based on a fighting partisan model

Acute Labor Shortages

- 1968.11.16 KIS speech to Central Committee
 - “most of our workers do not work for money, nor do they need any material incentive. They demand nothing more than the state’s guarantee of their livelihood, and they work conscientiously. We must not put material incentives first. We must give priority to political incentives.” SDS p242
- Discharged soldiers sometimes assigned to cooperatives to alleviate labor shortage
- By 1969, however, 7 year plan completed

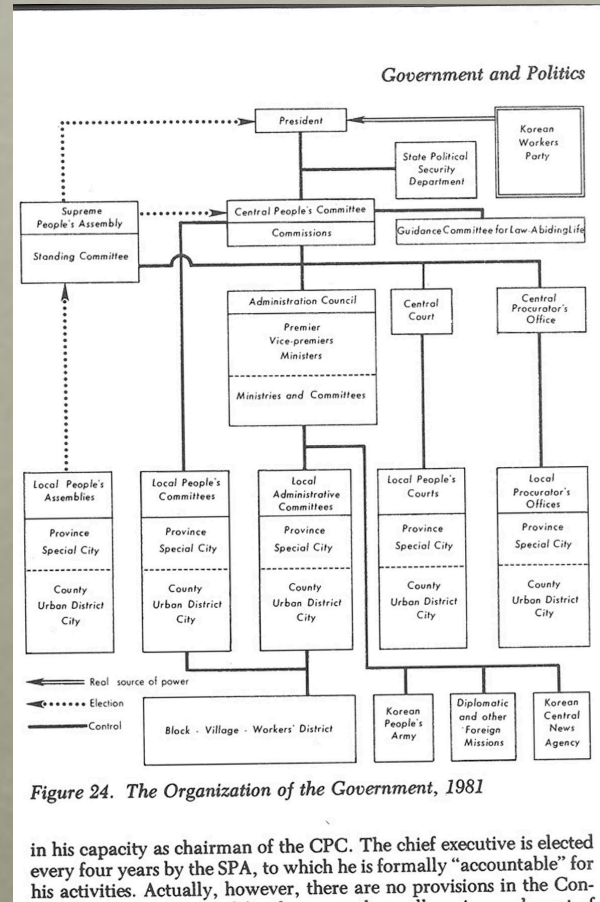
Content of 1972 Socialist Constitution

- DPRK defined as “independent socialist state” guided by “chuch’ e*” and “democratic centralism”
 - *the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of our country
- Ch’ ŏngsalli Spirit, Ch’ ŏllima Movement, Tae’an Work Method, state-led central planning all mentioned
- Means of production owned by state or cooperatives, but people have personal property (including produce of private plots)
- Chuch’ e in literature and science will transform socialist man

Government Structure

- SPA ‘elected’ every 4 years with elected Presidium (Standing Committee)
 - ‘elects’ pres, vp,
 - On rec of pres ‘elects’ Central People’s Committee, Premier of President’s Council, VC of Nat’l Defense Commission
- President (chusŏk)
 - Guides CPC, Administration Council
 - Ratifies or abrogates treaties

GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE



More structure

- SPA “highest organ of state”
- CPC “highest leadership organ of state”
 - Draws up domestic and foreign policies
 - Directs work of peoples assemblies and committees and administration
 - Directs judicial, prosecutorial, and military issues
 - Appoints and removes cabinet
- Administrative council = cabinet
- Local people’s committees
- Courts and Procurator’s Office
- Capital P’ yŏngyang

KWP Organization from 1970

- Party Congress 당대회
 - Party Delegates Conference 당대표회
- Central Committee 중앙위원회
 - Political Committee 정치위원회 → 정치국
 - Secretariat 비서국
 - Organization and Guidance Department 조직지도부
 - Propaganda and Agitation Department 선전선동부
 - Military Affairs Committee 군사위원회
 - Inspection Committee 검열위원회
 - Auditing Committee 감사위원회
- 5-15 Person Party Cells in administration and production units most basic level

SUCCESSSES

- Strong military created
- Basic necessities provided cheaply through the Public Distribution System 보급제, and luxuries commensurate with rank in nomenklatura
- Rapid urbanization with multistory apartment blocks in major cities providing accommodation according to rank
- Proliferation of welfare services
 - Free education through 10th grade and elimination of illiteracy
 - Comprehensive medical system

FAILURES

- Persistent shortages of food and consumer goods
 - Everything rationed
 - Rank in nomenklatura determined access to foreign and luxury goods
- Intractable bottlenecks in industry hindered production
- Dependence on cheap raw materials from Soviet Union
- Difficulties in upgrading technology and efficiency
- Inability to pay foreign debts led to default in 1980s

REASONS FOR FAILURES

- Shortages of goods
 - State pricing system did not take into account supply and demand
 - Military took 1/3 of budget from late 1960s (guns but no butter)
- Production inefficiency
 - Centralized allocation of capital, resources, and labor provided few incentives for management efficiency
 - Lack of market prevented adjustments of misallocations
 - Tsean Work Method led to political interference in management and much worker time devoted to ideological indoctrination
 - Labor a fixed quantity assigned to each workplace by the state so no incentive to invest to save labor
 - Emphasis on increasing output by increasing inputs (mobilizational model) rather than on increasing efficiency