



University of Azuay

Faculty of Legal Sciences

School of International Studies

*Walking along the Elastic Rope: Analyzing the Two-Level
Game Theory in the Kim IL-Sung Dynasty (1948-2013)*

Graduation work prior to obtaining a Bachelor of
International Studies degree with a major in Bilingual
Foreign Trade

Author: Pablo Jimbo Ullauri

Director: Ana María Bustos Cordero

Cuenca - Ecuador

2015

DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to my dear parents

Mario and Italia

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank God and my parents who have been my strength, my unconditional support and my motivation to achieve my goals with this thesis project. Also, I thank my siblings, Tamara A. Trowsell Ph.D. and my thesis director Ana Maria Bustos Cordero who through their professionalism, responsibility and efficiency have enabled this work yo have relevant results.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	vii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1: THE IMPACT OF THE KOREAN WAR AND HISTORY OF THE KIM IL-SUNG DYNASTY.....	2
1.1 The Korean War: its impact and consequences	2
1.1.2 History of the Korean War	2
1.1.3 Impact and Consequences of the Korean War	6
1.2 Period of Kim IL-Sung from 1953-1994	7
1.2.1 Introduction.....	7
1.2.2 The 8 Stages of Growth in North Korea 1953-1994.....	7
1.2.3 The destabilization of 1990.....	15
1.3 Period of Kim Jong-Il from 1994 to 2011	16
1.3.1 The destabilization of the regime of Kim Jong-Il from 1994 to 2011	16
1.4 Period of Kim-Jong-Un from 2011 to 2014	21
1.4.1 Ingenious tactics established by Kim-Jong-Un from 2011 to 2014.....	22
1.5 Conclusion	25
INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER 2 AND 3: INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CONTROL METHODS	26
CHAPTER 2: ANALYZING THE STRATEGIES TO MAINTAIN POWER WITHIN THE COUNTRY.....	33
Introduction	33
2.1 Collective brainwashing.....	33

2.1.1 The indoctrination of the people	33
2.1.2 Methods leading to the veneration of the policies of the Leader	34
2.1.3 Effective techniques of subjugation.....	36
2.2 Foundations of Education in North Korea and the generation of American Hatred.....	37
2.2.1 Elimination of the intervention of Japanese cultural	37
2.2.2 The blocks in education to build the ideal society	38
2.2.3 Strategies to win over the people through education.....	38
2.2.4 Implementation of oppressive principles in education	40
2.2.5 North Korean Constitution precepts to hate American imperialism	41
2.3 The <i>Juche</i> and <i>Songun</i> ideologies.....	42
2.3.1 The Purpose of <i>Juche</i>	42
2.3.2 Implementation of <i>Juche</i> in various areas.....	44
2.3.3 <i>Songun</i>	45
2.4 The role of the military in the regime.....	46
2.4.1 Reasons why citizens long to be part of the military	47
2.4.2 Fighting capacity	48
2.4.3 The inequality of the people and the military.....	48
2.5 The <i>Kimilsungja</i>	49
2.5.1 Origin, meaning, and benefits of the <i>Kimilsungja</i>	50
2.6 Detention camps	51
2.6.1 Types of concentration camps	51
2.7 Intolerance of foreign cultures and ideologies	54
2.7.1 The rejection of anything foreign	55
2.8 Conclusion.....	57
CHAPTER 3: CHALLENGES IN THE EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT AND IMPLEMENTED STRATEGIES.....	58
Introduction	58

3.1 Nuclear weapons in Korea	58
3.1.1 Direct threat from North Korea.....	58
3.1.2 The indirect threat of North Korea	60
3.2 The end of negotiations with South Korea.....	61
3.2.1 Reasons leading to an imbalance of relations with South Korea	62
3.3 The subject of International Organizations	66
3.3.1 The rejection of the aid from the World Food Program (WFP).....	66
3.3.2 Threats toward the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)	68
3.4 The reproach of human rights.....	69
3.4.1 Methods of torture and murder employed by the North Korean government of citizens and foreigners.....	69
3.4.2 Capital punishment.....	71
3.4.3 Social inequality	72
3.4.4 Ban on Freedom of Expression and Circulation	73
3.4.5 Kidnapping.....	74
3.5 Conclusion.....	75
CONCLUSIONS.....	76

ABSTRACT

North Korea is the most hostile and isolated country in the world. Silence and lack of freedom are the essential components in order for the government to distort the citizen's rights. Therefore, the regime throughout its two-level game has accomplished to maintain not just absolute control of its people, but it has also dominated capitalist nations in order to eradicate any interference with their regulations.

INTRODUCTION

Whether it is international negotiations, economic, political and cultural agreements between nations, or simply choosing a tourist destination, North Korea is not taken into account in any of these respects. Similarly, most people around the world do not know the real situation of abuse and domination that the North Korean people experience daily, in addition to the manipulation and blackmail International Organizations and States face by this government.

After the Second World War in 1945, due to the particular interests of the hegemonic nations like the US and the USSR at the time, the Korean territory was divided into independent countries. Thus, in the North a government was established under the socialist parameters of the USSR and in the South instituted under US capitalist principles.

Kim Il-Sung was elected as representative of the government of the Northern Territory in 1945. Since his election, this leader has been revered by the people of North Korea for his actions in defending the territory against US and South Korean intervention.

From 1948 until today, North Korea has had three rulers in the Kim Dynasty under which the management of political power has been passed from father to son. During these three periods, the government has implemented absolutist and despotic policies among which is a lack of human rights for nationals and foreigners alike. Today, North Korea is the most isolated nation in the world.

This thesis attempts to analyze, reflect, and determine how the Kim Dynasty has managed to remain in power for 66 years despite the regime, on several occasions, facing collapse due to its radical policies and regulations.

In the conclusion of this investigation, I will apply the two-level game theory to explain how North Korea has managed to maintain control, essentially through its cunning yet hostile tactics, both domestically and abroad allowing this nation to resurge as the only "communist" country today.

CHAPTER 1: THE IMPACT OF THE KOREAN WAR AND HISTORY OF THE KIM IL-SUNG DYNASTY

1.1 The Korean War: its impact and consequences

In 1910, when Japan annexed Korea after winning the war against China and Russia, North Korea was a nation subjugated by Japanese imperialism, where despite the tyranny and domination of several Japanese aristocrats of the time new liberal and independent ways of governing were investigated. Despite the intentions of the Japanese empire, the Korean People's Army commanded by Kim-Il Sung, who had always defended the territory, continually opposed the implementation of these imperialist ideas.

After World War II, the world was divided into two antagonistic blocs, socialism led by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (URSS) and capitalism, led by the United States. Both hegemonic groups were interested in Korea and wanted to apply their own ideology and rule of government; thus creating a war that ended in territorial, political, and diplomatic separation, North and South Korea.

From this division, the norms and ideology in the North became severe and imposing to the point where hatred of the oppressor nations was a duty of society while in the South life was supposedly based on freedom and independence brought about by capitalism.

1.1.2 History of the Korean War

After World War II, in 1945, Korea ousted Japanese imperialism through constant struggle by the Soviet army and Chinese and Korean forces. It was at this time that the Korean territory was in the hands of the two great powers and their political ideologies, the USA and the USSR. Their intention was to create a Joint Soviet-American territory and thus achieve the unification of the entire Korean territory through the establishment of a provisional democratic government.

After the Potsdam Conference in July 1945 in Moscow, the 38th parallel, with the northern territory occupied by the socialist forces and the southern territory established

by the US forces, was created. On August 12th of that year, 100,000 Soviet soldiers arrived in Korea to create a provisional government in Pyongyang (FMM Educación, 2006). In 1945, the US military did not meet the guidelines of the Soviet-American agreement but implemented its own ideological conception in the South, creating essentially a slave colony. The society that lived in this territory had no economic benefits; rather they strongly obstructed industrial development at a national level together with the support of the reactionary forces and old Japanese agents.

Kim-II Sung was elected President of the Provisional Government of the Korean territory, including the 38th parallel in 1946. President Kim-II Sung saw the need for a legislative assembly to represent the entire Korean people as well as perform democratic elections. The idea of this election was that people from both the South and the North could decide in an equal and fair manner, thus creating a stable and united nation. However, because of corruption, tyranny, and terror used by capitalist leaders, elections were held separately between the two territories, where many people voted by force (Biong, 1972, p. 31).

Given the situation, the General Assembly of the UN intervened to implement fair elections between both territories without interference from representatives of the North and South, in order to establish an efficient legislative body. In these elections, "99% of North Korea and 77% of South Korea participated and as a result, 572 officials were elected to the Supreme People's Assembly in both the North and the South" (Biong, 1972, p. 38).

In 1948 the first elections took place in Pyongyang, where Kim II-Sung was established as the Prime Minister of the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In the South, Syngman Rhee was the representative of South Korea, where he implemented his government and capitalist ideology immediately. Similarly, the 38th parallel became "an impregnable border 250 km long and 4 meters wide, consisting of barbed wire, tank traps, trenches, walls, moats, artillery, and land mines" (Demick, 2009, p. 58).

It should be noted that the ideal solution would have been for the antagonistic blocs to never have influenced the Korean territory, thus leaving Korea as a consolidated territory without apposing and challenging regulations.

Although there were free and democratic elections in North Korea in 1947, the first proletarian dictatorship was established. The People's Committee of North Korea was responsible for generating a transition to socialism through alliances with workers, rural communities, and members of the Working Party for the purpose of creating a dominant, socialist economy. Thus, in 1949, the state controlled 80.2% of national production and 19.8% of private industry, thereby forming the basis for an effective Republic (FMM Educación, 2006).

Due to the constant aggression, intolerance, hostility between the two territories, and the cutting of financial aid by the Truman Administration¹ to the South Korean territory, the Southern army only had 65,000 soldiers and little artillery while the Northern army, commanded by Chinese general Chai Ung Chai and jointly supported by the Soviets, had 90,000 soldiers, armored cars, and a large artillery force (Demick, 2009, p. 46). In addition to the above factors, what influenced Prime Minister Kim Sung-Il to cross the 38th parallel and unite the Korean territory was the geostrategic status Asia had obtained after Mao and the Chinese Communist forces triumphed on October 1, 1949, in the Chinese Communist Revolution (Biong, 1972, p. 69).

On June 25, 1950, in order to reunify the country, Kim Il-Sung, together with Soviet and Chinese support headed south in large tanks. Despite the looming border existing at the 38th parallel, Kim Il-Sung took the South Korean capital Seoul and consistently descended to take over the leading southern territories, freeing those regions obfuscated by the slave imperialism, which left a clearly reduced area around the city of Pusan. The North Korean people were also key in the armed struggle against the South, as many peasants, workers, students, and youth began to worship the dogmatic Kim Il-Sung, and therefore gave support and even several times applauded his self-sacrifice for the army (Biong, 1972, p. 88).

¹ The Truman Administration: Harry S. Truman was the thirty-third President of the United States. His administration was marked by overseeing the war, moderating expenses, the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6, 1945, and barbaric acts of terrorism. (EcuRed)

The reaction from US imperialism against the North Korean attack was immediate; the United States requested legislation before the Security Council of the UN, in order for an army to counter attacks from the North. Consequently, the situation was turned on its head, as 40,000 Americans, under General Douglas MacArthur, landed troops on the territory of Inchon to eradicate the North Korean threat (FMM Educación, 2006). The UN organized an alliance with fifteen countries to recover Seoul.

On January 4, 1951 China actively supported North Korea to recover the South Korean territory. However, General MacArthur raised the idea of an atomic bombing of all Korean territory, an idea that could have led to a nuclear confrontation with the USSR. Although the UN constantly passed resolutions to pacify both sides, in March 1951 the North and South took possession of their respective territories (FMM Educación, 2006).

The USSR did not want to be involved in the conflict, thus they raised the idea that there be two political systems within the same territory, since neither side had achieved victory. Thus negotiations began between the territories which were marred by accusations between the parties. North Korea blamed the United States for initiating a repressive war, while the US accused the North Koreans of brainwashing their prisoners to oppose the dogmatic principles of the South. Thus, after two and a half years of conflict, the Armistice Agreement of Panmunjom, where a line of demarcation around the 38th parallel would be drawn, was established and signed; Korea was officially divided into North and South Korea (Demick, 2009, p. 57).

It should be noted that this armistice did not mean the end of the Korean War, but represented a limitation of violence between the North and South, as well as a promotion of peace and security among the territories. North Korea signed the agreement, despite the South Korean territory having military bases and approximately 48,000 American soldiers in their territory. To prevent any outside interference, the North Korean government has progressively implemented fear through suppressive tactics and the creation of nuclear weapons (FMM Educación, 2006). The agreement was not signed by South Korea, but by the UN, the KPA, and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, which could lead to a war between the two territories at any time.

1.1.3 Impact and Consequences of the Korean War

After the war, it was estimated that approximately 3 million people died fighting for an independent and effective political regime, thereby satisfying the non-reunification interests of China and the US.

Two million North Koreans died fighting civilians to achieve the interests of their leader, Kim Il-Sung, while 400,000 South Korean civilians and 40,000 American soldiers died for a unified Korean territory (Biong, 1972, p. 41).

Once Korea was separated, each of the territories had to establish their own foundations necessary for economic revival since the war left strong structural, economic, political, and social havoc. In North Korea, essential foundations were implemented to improve the living conditions of the society. During the war, the American attacks against North Korea were so severe that napalm bombs destroyed several villages, factories, media outlets, and approximately 75% of Pyongyang (El Pais, 2011).

For this reason, in 1953, the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea North focused on achieving its primary objective, which was, "the Rehabilitation and Development of the popular economy" through the principle of *Juche*.² It should be noted that this government was mainly oriented towards development to encourage heavy industry, to consistently boost light industry, and escape poverty by giving the people food, clothing, and social security but all the while promoting hatred in its people, especially towards the US and other imperialist nations.

In order to defend against American attacks and implement terror in the world, North Korea developed a nuclear program with the support of the Soviet Union. Because of these radical, socialist-oriented policies employed by Kim Il-Sung to enhance his State, poverty increased.

² The idea of *Juche* is to build an independent national economy as quickly as possible, in the spirit of self-reliance. It also prohibits accepting foreign aid and adopting foreign cultures (Biong, 1972, p. 43)

With the territorial division of Korea, North Korean ideology, policy development, and national organization, implemented by Kim Il-Sung, changed radically. All of these applications were aimed at the implementation of Communism through the rejection of the existing capitalist ideology in the South, which was sponsored by the United States. The radical policies and the subjugation of the people led to an economic slowdown and an auto-isolation imposed on North Korea.

1.2 Period of Kim IL-Sung from 1953-1994

1.2.1 Introduction

After the Korean War, Kim Il-Sung continued to be the leader of the North Korean homeland. As the new prime minister of North Korea, he was responsible for promoting patriotism and reverence for his person and rehabilitate the national economy through the construction of socialist principles; thereby surpassing the growth of their southern counterpart and eventually establishing communist principles in that nation. Kim Il-Sung focused on eight stages: first, the overall progress of national economy; second, the Triennial Plan; third, the Five-Year Plan; fourth, the Seven-Year Plan; fifth, establishing principles and cultural guidelines; sixth, implementing the *Dean System*; seventh, creating the new North Korean socialist constitution; and eighth, establishing methods of control and subjugation over the nation.

1.2.2 The 8 Stages of Growth in North Korea 1953-1994

The following steps were designed to restore the economy of North Korea and gradually establish communist principles.

The steps to achieve this goal were:

1. In the first stage, a general advance of the national economy was planned over a period of six months to a year to help grow the economy. During this stage the government began to focus on each of the tactics for the development of a strong economy at a time when the territory was totally devastated by war. That is why preference for the creation of heavy industry was given, because this

communist country had a vast amount of mineral resources, which when converted into intermediate products effectively served the development of light industry and agriculture, which was considered a cornerstone to improve the standard of living of the society and meet basic needs (Biong, 1972, p. 41).

Although the anti-partisan "imperialists," or enemies of North Korea as defined by President Kim Il-Sung, launched constant attacks against the plan to rebuild the economy, the Party, the Government, and the North Korean people constantly fought to defend the plan of leader Kim Il-Sung who after nine months successfully achieved his goals. Thousands of houses were rebuilt and factories and cities were repaired efficiently. At this stage, several companies producing ceramics were built throughout the country as companies focused on large-scale light industry and textile factories. Also, prices of commodities such as milk, rice, and clothing went down insomuch that the people began to see the fruits of the government's labors (Biong, 1972, p. 46).

The North Korean leader was able to show the people what they had been able to achieve in order for the people to feel pride in their country; and in turn hate US imperialism which sought to overthrow the government of Kim Il-Sung.

2. The second stage was based on the Triennial Plan which was essentially to rule out any trace of economic distortion introduced by Japanese imperialism. Similarly, the primary objective of this phase was to achieve efficient development and establish the foundations for heavy industry, without neglecting light industry and agriculture; this would thereby promote communist industrialization and meet the needs of the North Korean people, to the point that in fiscal year 1956 production increased 260% compared to 1953 (Biong, 1972, p. 47).

Also, the government was trying to increase production and consumer goods such as articles of daily use because "the Triennial Plan projected an increase, in terms of labor productivity, of 76% in industry and 74% in construction" (Biong, 1972, p. 48). This development in productivity was in large part due to the female labor force who worked eight hours a day in different heavy or light

industry factories. At the time, there was no male labor during this period because 20% of working age men were members of the North Korean Army (Reinoso, 2008).

With women being a fundamental pillar for economic reconstruction, production of heavy industry increased by 310%. Metal mining and metallurgy grew by 51.7%, while consumer goods, textiles (such as yarns, fabrics, leather, and footwear), food, and pharmaceuticals increased 170%, 48.3% more than in 1953 (Biong, 1972, p. 48).

With the rapid advance of both heavy and light industry and agriculture, the society received new benefits granted by the State, which led the people to continue to believe in the mechanisms established by Kim Il- Sung.

One of the benefits provided by the government in 1955, because of the country's prosperity, was the cultivation of 37,000 *zongbos*³ (Biong, 1972, p. 49). This was done by farmers who left their own crops and moved to the cities to grow larger plots; as a reward, they could keep their crops and thus feed their families.

In addition, the Party granted modest homes for the country's citizens. Likewise, through state capital investments, *zongbos* increased to 90,000 in order for farmers to continue to cultivate the lands. Consequently, the number of agricultural machines greatly increased, promoting the agricultural production industry. Also, agricultural cooperatives in 1956 increased to 14,651 (Biong, 1972, p. 49).

In the same year, the price of everyday items decreased by 40%, while employee wages increased by 35% (Biong, 1972, p. 51).

During this time, economic and cultural levels of the North Korean population significantly improved as the national income increased by 160% compared to

³ *Zongbos* is a Korean word meaning hectares of fertile land.

1953, thus fulfilling national goals (Biong, 1972, p. 56). During this second stage, various socialist tactics were incorporated into North Korean society which maintained a focus on domination of the people. These tactics went largely unnoticed as the population focused solely on the economic and social benefits that were being granted.

3. The third stage was based on establishing a five-year plan with the support of the Third Congress of the Labor Party. This stage established a legitimate socialist foundation by which all economic, cultural, political, and social sectors of North Korea would be supported. Kim Il-Sung stated that only through this political agenda would socio-economic sources of exploitation be eradicated and effective productive forces be established for sound development in the life of Korea's inhabitants (Biong, 1972, p. 61).

To achieve this goal, North Korea needed a strong alliance with the peasant masses through the Leninist principle of voluntariness, inciting them with certain benefits to support socialist and communist agendas implemented by the government, thus transforming the agricultural sector which was an urgent matter for the State. With the implementation of this Plan, the government implemented in the farmers a sense of superiority in being part of such a large project set forth by the *Great Leader* Kim Il-Sung (Biong, 1972, p. 55).

Because of this plan, the life of the peasants began to improve; first, because the industry and agriculture sectors were consolidating an efficient worker-peasant alliance; and second, the land ceased to be in the hands of land owners and was given to the workers themselves. Thus the people were convinced the Leader's policies protected the interests of the citizens.

Hence, the government of Kim Il-Sung finally managed socialist revolution, "the Party always remained faithful to the Marxist-Leninist class policy of relying on the rural poor; to strengthen its alliance with the middle-class and restrict and gradually reshape the upper-class" (Biong, 1972, p. 53). This was achieved by transforming all private farms that were focused on small-scale production into socialist collective farms owned by the State. As a result, production rates

remained high and any traces of capitalism or economic oppression were eliminated (Biong, 1972, p. 73).

Within the parameters of the North Korean land reform it was established that farmers and landowners could neither buy nor sell land to a third party, and were also banned from hiring farmers to cultivate their lands. The government achieved this goal through the handling and application of inflexible rules and the collectivization of agriculture. Thus, in each county that was in favor of this policy, a number of cooperatives which received great help from the government and the Party to grow significantly in the long term were established. Some of the help that was given came in the form of chemical fertilizers, building materials, agricultural machinery, seeds, and food. Taxes in chemical species declined greatly, resulting in an increase from 10% to 50% of total production in cooperative farms (Biong, 1972, p. 54).

4. The fourth stage was characterized with continued progress by North Korea for twenty years. Kim Il-Sung, together with members of his government, created the Seven-Year Plan consisting of forging a focused essential foundation in the technical revolution, i.e., that this socialist state possess a modern industry.

The intention of this was to keep people allied with the government's absolutist ideology. Kim Il-Sung eradicated forced labor and in turn gave workers greater comforts such as tools and new equipment thereby generating an image of progress and prosperity in the country.

5. In the fifth stage, in order to strengthen each of the cooperatives, the Party gave classes to the cooperative leaders on proper farming techniques. Consequently, the state in 1955 began to strongly support this movement, to the point of providing twelve billion *won* (five million dollars), as its main objective was to effectively consolidate cooperatives and continue to grow (Biong, 1972, p. 56). Consequently, the worker-farmer alliance was significantly strengthened; in 1956, over 50% of farms were part of the cooperative system created by the State where oppression and poverty that "imperialism" left managed to be eradicated under the guidance of a strong and effective socialist agenda.

For people who were engaged in trade and industry, the State used an effective strategy which basically consisted of creating cooperatives focused on the ideals of socialism. Each of the workers earned their living working for the country, and especially for the *Great Leader*. This was a momentous event because the socialist foundations were established both in the countryside and in the cities, effectively using productive forces that led to significant development in the country. North Korea experienced a growth of 50%, 3.5 times more than in 1953, in industrial production. In 1960, the agricultural sector also increased 10 fold since the number of tractors increased by 4 fold (Biong, 1972, p. 64).

By Kim Il-Sung effectively fulfilling each of the objectives related to the reconstruction of the country, the *Great Leader* began implementing technical innovations focused primarily on agriculture to increasingly improve living standards. Electrification, irrigation, and mechanization were key factors that allowed North Korea to finally disassociate itself from imperialist ties and begin to establish the ideology of self-reliance. It should be noted that by the year 1960, 92% of rural areas were hooked up to the electrical grid; which was used not only for public lighting but also for food production, water pumping, and manufacturing. These industries essentially grew substantially (Biong, 1972, p. 57). Despite all the economic and technological development that was achieved, suspicious promises and plans were made and carried out by the government to gradually impose its ideals coated with coercion and domination.

6. The sixth stage was to increasingly strengthen the socialist system through the *Dean System*, a push for economic control by abolishing the differences between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and by removing all traces of individuality and private centralization. The *Chongsanri method* was also implemented which focused on citizen participation and collaboration as a fundamental pillar of the system in order for the regime to maintain absolute control of all sectors within the economy.

The government, with this ingenious act, attempted to rule out any trace of capitalist exploitation, despotism, and selfishness. The idea was to completely change the people's paradigm through political, material, and moral motivations thereby helping the people feel as if they are owners of what they are producing for society as a whole, making full use of their creativity and talent for productive development.

7. The seventh step came about after each of the objectives, in 1953, were fulfilled. After achieving economic, political, and social stability the Leader created a new constitution; thereby consolidating 27 years of socialist practice. The Constitution, ratified on December 27, 1972, solidified the reconstruction of the country and led to the creation of a set of rules to achieve new, long term goals for the configuration of socialism in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

In the new constitution there was no separation of powers; the only power was the dictatorship of the proletariat according to Article 10. Likewise, the Presidency of the Republic was granted to Kim Il-Sung, who "exercises state power and gives orders as supreme commander of all armed forces and President of the National Defense Commission" (Demick, 2009, p. 61). A Popular Central Committee was also created, headed by the North Korean President-elect, to ensure compliance with the laws of the State and to be responsible for coercing the people under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea. Clearly, during this new period, the people began to visualize the contradictions of the communist government and the new constitution because the power was now in the hands of the State and not the people, as the Ruler had stated in previous years.

8. The eighth stage established methods of control and subjugation to the nation. The provisions of the North Korean Political Statute were fulfilled with, "a descendant cooperation that allows the upper body to constantly monitor the body immediately below, and ensure that it acts in accordance with the directives of the Party and government" (National Autonomous University of Mexico, 1999). This was an aspect of controlling and restraining the freedom of

North Korea, where fear and terror were already notorious and instituted in the life of people living in the country.

Another method of submission was that the Workers Party did not allow artwork other than the image of Kim Il-Sung in order to ensure that all people had pictures of the president and his son, Kim Jong-Il, who was Secretary General of the Workers Party. These images were distributed free of charge together with a cloth used for cleaning by the housewives. Inspectors from the Police Public Standards would check said cleaning on a weekly basis (Demick, 2009, p. 66). This policy, contained in the Constitution, was designed to, "intensify political propaganda to awaken and stimulate the enthusiasm" of the North Korean people (National Autonomous University of Mexico, 1999).

Similarly, in 1986, in order to maintain socialism safe from any type of domestic or foreign extortion, the government implemented a "neighborhood watch group" or *inminban*⁴ (Demick, 2009, p. 71). The *inminban* were those who effectively safeguarded state security, informing the government about unlawful acts and gross comments against the regime. This surveillance system was considered larger than the German Stasi since, it was an extensive network of spies with an informant for every 50 people (Demick, 2009, p. 71).

Another practice of oppression over the people was through the *Kyuch'aldae*.⁵ This force sought out daily offenders on the street and even had the power to enter homes to verify that the households lived within the guidelines set forth by the government; otherwise it would be considered a violation of North Korean standards, generating serious consequences (Demick, 2009, p. 72).

The government, together with the people, achieved an effective transition to socialism, completely abolishing any trace of capitalism. However, in early 1990, the communist system in some countries began to crumble. In Germany, the Berlin Wall fell, the USSR was dissolved, and the Romanian dictator Nicolae

⁴ The *inminban* is a vigilante group formed by middle-aged women who have good judgement, as well as the capacity to classify a person as pleased, or not, with government policy.

⁵ The *Kyuch'aldae* are mobile police units

Ceausescu had been executed for his tyrannical ideals (Demick, 2009, p. 92). This was a clear sign that capitalism had won and communism had no future, let alone in a territory where the word capitalism was used to subdue the people.

1.2.3 The destabilization of 1990

All the achievements of the government during the sixties by the year 1990 had become very fragile. North Korea plummeted into poverty. For example, the basic salary per month in 1990 was ₩64, equivalent to \$28 (Biong, 1972, p. 67).

To rectify the situation, the President instituted a plan to cover all the basic needs of its people like food (three meals, kimchi or cabbage), clothing (two sets of clothes per year, shoes), and other items. Also, a new propaganda campaign was introduced stating that the people should eat only twice a day, with the first excuse being that the government of the *Great Leader* was storing this food up for the day that South Korea would be reunified with the North, and secondly that the United States had imposed a blockade on the entry of food in the country, consequently hunger became a patriotic duty (Demick, 2009, p. 85).

Finally, God, the President of the Republic, the *Great Leader*, Kim Il-Sung, died at age 82 on July 25, 1994. This was a great shock to the North Korean people. The whole nation wept inconsolably, hitting walls or pavements in the streets because they would never see their savior and liberator again. Taking advantage of this, a new duty within communist society was to venerate and mourn before the thirty-four thousand statues of the *Great Leader*, nationwide, to demonstrate due adoration for the former president (FMM Educación, 2006).

In conclusion, Kim Il-Sung created in North Korea an autonomous country, since its policies were established to deter citizens of the world, and thus fend for themselves. This situation led the people to have to deal with daily, excessive hunger and malnutrition. It is because of these circumstances that the North Korean society looked forward to receiving its new *Great Leader*, Kim Jong-Il as they thought that the situation in which North Korea was in would change dramatically upon his arrival.

1.3 Period of Kim Jong-II from 1994 to 2011

The "Twilight of God" in North Korea led to great despair, discouragement, and anguish among the people. Many families did not know what to do with their lives, to the point that many people committed suicide.

Although socialist foundations were strongly built in the nation and the people were submissive and indoctrinated with North Korean standards, starvation became a duty rather than a symbol of worship for the former president of the country. The change in president did not prevent deaths, malnutrition, and corruption by the government; former strategies to move the country forward, implemented by the *Great Leader*, were present in this new period as well, even increasing significantly in some aspects.

1.3.1 The destabilization of the regime of Kim Jong-II from 1994 to 2011

The destabilization of the regime of Kim Jong-II came about for the following reasons:

First, the North Korean government realized that it was in a capitalist world and no longer had the support of the Socialists for the effective development of its communist system. Increasingly, financial destabilization in the country was notorious with daily power cuts lasting minutes or hours, and as time passed, there was no electricity for days and weeks. Eventually the people had no drinking water as taps in houses and apartments went without electricity. Nevertheless, the people accepted each of these facts with humility and resignation out of respect for their leader. With regard to women and men who were employed in factories, they were dismissed because there was only light a few hours a day; thus, the factories could not stay open long enough to maintain a large workforce (Biong, 1972, p. 94).

The country fell into extremely hard times because of the massive funds spent on nuclear weapons. All of North Korean society was no longer receiving food vouchers, factories did not pay their employees for one year, and all the State run shops were empty. All these factors led to malnutrition in the country being more evident; however, a new propaganda campaign by the government began to be disseminated throughout

the country: if the people cried enough for the loss of Kim Il-Sung he supposedly would come back (Demick, 2009, p. 98).

Hunger and illness had become a patriotic duty that had to be fulfilled. However, during this new period, because of the crisis experienced by the North Korean nation, children and elderly constantly flocked to hospitals due to their poor diet. Experience in these health centers was awful; insufficient tools such as incubators and intensive care units to assist people was also lacking. Even if someone was suffering from a very serious disease like typhoid, and urgently needed to go to a hospital, chances are the person would receive little to no attention at all, and therefore the person would likely die (Demick, 2009, p. 95).

During this period there was no medicine. However, the government could not disappoint its people and they had to devise alternative methods to supplement the lack of medicine. Despite not enacting new laws, it was the obligation of each doctor to search for healing plants like dandelion, ginger, wild yam, etc. in the mountains during spring and autumn (Demick, 2009, p. 112). If they did not meet their quota collecting herbs, they had to continue collecting in order to preserve the health and welfare of the North Korean people.

The year 1995 was the worst year financially for North Korea; the GDP was only \$4.8 billion, compared to 1989 where it was \$16 billion (Demick, 2009, p. 116). Consequently, the pride of Kim Jong-Il was lowered. During this same year, Jong-Il authorized the humanitarian team of the United Nations to visit the communist country and deliver, jointly with the Public Distribution System, food rations and medicines to the people of North Korean.

At this time, the country had suffered severe flooding; causing damage estimated at \$15 million and affected a total of 5.2 million people. Equally, 96,348 households were subjected to severe damage (Demick, 2009, p. 146).

To conceal hunger and respect the teachings of the *Great Leader*, people replaced vegetables with wild herbs, rice for corn, and added to their diet husks, roots, and

leaves found on the streets or in the mountains; thus, disease and malnutrition cases intensified (Demick, 2009, p. 153).

Despite this situation, devotion and worship for the *Great Leader* increased to the point that the government decreed that the years would be counted from the birth of Kim Il-Sung in 1912, and not from the birth of Christ. Hence, 1996 was changed in North Korea to *Juche 84* (Demick, 2009, p. 82).

All of the people idolized the current president of the country but day after day many people died in this communist country; so, people began to devise survival strategies. These strategies included developing traps to catch animals or grinding the bark of pine trees to replace flour (Demick, 2009, p. 167). Many people created their own businesses without the government's knowledge. However, state control was growing and if anyone was discovered having a private business they could go to jail or be sentenced to death. Kim Jong-Il stated that these issues should be resolved by socialist solutions but hunger and despair exceeded the inexorable rules of communist North Korea. In some instances, poverty was so great that many people sought undigested grains in the feces of animals (Demick, 2009, p. 168).

Malnutrition became a chronic condition. People were constantly dying from eating food substitutes that the human digestive tract could not digest; thus life expectancy decreased and mortality increased by 20%. People were no longer likely to recover from illnesses; illnesses that began as a simple flu became pneumonia, diarrhea evolved into dysentery. Likewise, "2.5 million people, equivalent to 10% of the population, died in 1998" (Demick, 2009, p. 171). Additionally, during this period, there were no dogs; even cases of cannibalism, where parents killed their newborn children for nourishment, were recorded due to prolonged starvation (Demick, 2009, p. 171).

The people could not fight against the government and had no choice but to accept its will despite North Korea's dire economic situation. To cite one case, the government increased wages for miners, soldiers, scientists, and office workers, to promote North Korea as a paradise, but also increased the "cost of the subway to ₩2, rice went from ₩0.92 to ₩46, a kilo of pork went from ₩8 to ₩170, and corn increased from ₩0.68 to

₩24" (Reinoso, 2008), that is an increase of 20% in all commodity prices; thus, increasing the poverty rate of the North Korean people.

Consequently, people often began to see more *Kochebi*⁶ who meandered around the markets and streets in search of food; they no longer had a place to go or parents to feed them. Many children were orphaned because their parents often times died in the search for food or they stopped eating altogether so their children could survive. Many parents still living sent their children to orphanages so they could be provided meals. After a few years, these centers became known as homes for children with or without living parents (Demick, 2009, p. 204).

The North Korean government blamed the United States for their situation and they expressed this throughout society saying that North Korea was implementing policies adopted in the new century but the American government rejected an economic treaty that would have benefited them significantly. For this reason, the hatred of the American enemy continually increased among the members of society.

It is true that United States would not establish bilateral negotiations with North Korea, primarily because the communist nation would not dismantle its nuclear weapons in exchange for economic aid. The United States considered that the financial aid would be used to further expand its nuclear program and continue promoting terrorism within and outside of its borders, either by bombing planes or kidnapping and murdering innocent people.

Suppression began again in this period to ensure that the people continued to believe in the fidelity of the government. Each of these aspects, which are cited below, were normal for the North Korean people, due to the vile means that the totalitarian and tyrannical regime had implemented. Women could not wear makeup; men could not have their hair longer than 5 cm; they could not dance, drink alcohol, or listen to music; and everything had to be a symbol of respect and mourning for the *Great Leader* (Demick, 2009, p. 186).

⁶ The term *Kochebi* means orphaned children

Later on, the government began to reverse certain policies. As the standard of living of society began to decline, and government objections were evident, a standard issued by the president allowed families to grow vegetables during this period in the gardens of their homes so that they could later be sold (Demick, 2009, p. 112). This was a major change from that established in the five-year plan where the private sale of goods was prohibited.

Feeding a small proportion of the population, while the rest starved, is a great contradiction in a "communist" nation. According to Karl Marx and Engels, Equal Communism is, "the full equality of all producers, not just in the economic and socio-political sense, but also in the equality of all needs" (Marx y Engels, 1973). Thus, true communism was not achieved in North Korea because of the strong social stratification implemented by the President.

With respect to laws enacted in the Constitution, the State did not effectively control the health of its people, primarily due to the lack of medicines and medical instruments that were obsolete at that time. Replacement parts for essential equipment could not be produced because the factories were shut down. Furthermore, the country could not purchase products from companies of the former communist countries because of the pride of the ruler, as these companies had been privatized. Regardless, the country did not have the necessary revenue to purchase updated medical devices or much needed medicine.

Social differences at this time were increasingly apparent as the principles were no longer based on the equality of people. Criminals, party members, and government officials were becoming richer every day, while the workers in the country, honest employees who had spent years working in factories for 14 hours per day, were living in misery and poverty.

After the attack on the Twin Towers in New York City, Kim Jong-Il began to form political and economic agreements with other nations to effectively resurface the country and compel the people to maintain hope and loyalty to the regime. From then on, the North Korean government, through its nuclear weaponry, constantly threatened the entire international community. North Korea eventually became part of the Axis of

Evil, as labeled by the then president of the United States. Other members of the Axis of Evil included Iraq, Iran, and Syria.

In 2005, Kim Jong-Il took more drastic measures with regard to his relationship with the United States and the United Nations. The communist leader called for the immediate withdrawal of UN representatives for unknown reasons. First, the government wanted to return to its days of absolute control in the country. Also, the government wanted no more foreigners to remain in the country as their liberal ideology posed a threat to the regime's *Juche* philosophy. Finally, the North Korean state did not want its people to realize that the government contradicted its principles and philosophy by relying on outside help, thereby continuing to exercise its illogical policies in a world increasingly interconnected (Bulling, 2009).

Finally, on December 17, 2011, the president died at 69 years of age due to a heart attack. A national mourning was held for 12 days and, "all administrations, institutions, and companies in the country [conducted] remembrance services for the Leader, and to not do so would [was] punished severely; also, no foreign delegations were allowed to pay their respects" (El Pais, 2011). Consequently, once again, people wept uncontrollably because they were in a time of uncertainty, extreme poverty, and great political imbalance; where the contradictions of the regime were clearly visible and the people increasingly overwhelmed.

1.4 Period of Kim-Jong-Un from 2011 to 2014

In *Juche* 99 in North Korea, or 2011 for the rest of the world, this nation was once again in a state of crying, lack of control, and domination due to the death of the father of the nation, Kim Jong-Il. Malnutrition, unemployment, hostility, and submission to the provisions of the new leader were the factors that defined the North Korean society as one of the most repressed and isolated countries in the world. Therefore, Kim-Jong-Un was going to benefit the North Korean people, because supposedly he was responsible, honest, and heir to the dynasty. He was appointed Chairman of the Central Military Commission, one of the highest charges in the country.

1.4.1 Ingenious tactics established by Kim-Jong-Un from 2011 to 2014

The astute means applied during this period, and which allowed this regime to endure, were as follows:

1. In February 2011, in order to get several international concessions, North Korea negotiated an agreement with the United States, which consisted primarily of dismantling North Korea's nuclear program, stopping the testing of long-range missiles, and ceasing the enrichment of uranium, in return for "240,000 tons of food" (El Pais, 2011). Additionally, the agreement stipulated that the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) could monitor the compliance of the agreement.

The country intended to break from political and economic isolation to the point of forging economic agreements that significantly benefited the nation. However, the government's strategies only served to trick the world, as their only intention was to achieve the dream of the great father of the nation, Kim Il-Sung, by encouraging the construction and improvement of its nuclear program.

2. To continue implementing terror, the North Korean army led an attack on the Yellow Sea border against the South Korean territory as, "500 rounds of artillery were released by [North Korea], insomuch that South Korea immediately responded to these attacks with the release of dozens of K-9 self-propelled howitzer shells" (El Comercio, 2014).

The communist nation always acted defensively to protect against any imperialist attack focused on destroying its homeland. North Korea asserted that the United States wanted to establish a conflict with China, because US troops, "flew B-2 stealth bombers over South Korea in the annual joint military exercises held with the South" (Cidob, 2013). Therefore, the North Korean government immediately placed missiles aimed at South Korean bases.

By these acts, it was easy to see that North Korea was only interested in promoting its own agenda; North Korea even possesses a ballistic missile

warhead. China, as its main ally, established talks with the president to stop any attempt to impose upon other countries. For this reason, the UN issued resolution 2087, which imposed sanctions on North Korea for violating said stipulated clause (FMM Educación, 2006).

3. Despite the sanctions established by the UN, the economy of North Korean has prevailed, as exports between 2012 and 2013 have increased significantly. In 2012, North Korean exports were \$3,077,333 and in 2013 they were \$3,627,459, an increase of \$550,126. This has created a certain level of balance in the nation (Trade Map).

Also, the country has been able to build some apartment buildings, libraries, and recreational spaces. North Korea has also improved production of rice and grains, industry, mining, marketing of various products with South Korea, and few exports to China of mineral fuels, iron, steel, nuclear reactors, clothing, fish, seeds, etc. (RT, 2014).

Kim Jong-Un has also sought methods to overcome the sanctions imposed by international organizations, including reversing some aspects of the *Juche* doctrine. North Korea has several foreign investors as well, although they cannot invest directly in the nation, transactions can be made using banks from third party countries. Also the country has agreed to tourism because of the yuan, euros, and dollars that have entered into the country; although these currencies may only be used by foreigners (RT, 2014).

4. The apparent economic welfare of North Korea is also due to corruption that is present in all the techniques established by Kim Jong-Un, even in the acquisition of food. Since there isn't enough food for all citizens, people who have good contacts within the Workers Party, police, and military, can get enough food for their families, despite the claims by the government of being communist, egalitarian, and just. (National Autonomous University of Mexico, 1999).

Despite the supposedly fair government showing disinterest in feeding its people, Kim Jong-Un is very eager to buy luxury items for himself and his relatives, as evidenced in his gift to his wife of a Dior wallet, valued at €1,300. (El Comercio, 2014).

5. Inhumanity has also been a key factor to prevent dissident positions, and it is for this reason that the North Korean leader executed his uncle, Jang Sung-taek. In 2013, Sung-taek, together with some allies in the army, attempted a coup to overthrow the regime (El País, 2013).

In order to continue to maintain control of the population, to the point that there is no disbelief of *Juche* ideology, the government has introduced many repressive practices such as torture, executions, mandatory haircuts similar to the one worn by Kim Jong-Un, forced abortions, etc. Consequently, the people have no ability to claim their civil rights (Demick, 2009, p. 250).

6. A treaty established between the two Koreas, which has allowed the people to continue worshipping Kim Jong-Un, permitted for some North Koreans to visit relatives on the border of *Panmujom*, located in the North Korean territory. Several people were chosen, based on a drawing, to reunite with some of their closest relatives after 80 years (El País, 2013). Because of concessions like this, people have returned to trust their *Great Leader*, even South Korea and other nations have begun to warm up to negotiations with the North Korean regime.

Also, in order for the people to continue trusting the regime, the government of North Korea has continued to use propaganda due to the great contradictions that have existed. It was established that the new leader came directly from heaven, and that he would cease famine in the country. Kim Jong-Un has allowed the creation of new policies such as undertaking new agricultural and industrial reforms that have pushed the communist state out of poverty. Also, within their psychological tactics, the government has agreed that women can wear miniskirts and high heels daily (Demick, 2009, p. 247).

Today, North Korea has an uncertain and unstable future where oppression, internal corruption, and the obtaining of international royalties are fundamental factors to the current regime. The first president of the regime did not care if he oppressed the entire population of his country, or the population of the world, or if he started a third world war using nuclear weapons to eradicate capitalist ideology; as he believed said ideology could infiltrate and corrupt the North Korean society.

1.5 Conclusion

Since the North Korean territory was delimited, each period of the Kim dynasty has walked along a proverbial “elastic cord.” Kim Il-Sung sought and implemented effective tactics to bring the nation out of poverty, with the support of the USSR; however, in early 1990, the communist system in the world began to collapse. Under the rule of Kim Jong-Il, economic and political destabilization was experienced. However, through insightful strategies pursued by Kim Jong-Il and Kim Jong-Un, North Korea has remained at present within its despotic parameters. Because of this, this absolutist government, at the national level, has used suppressive strategies on its people, in order to ensure national sovereignty; and internationally, has resigned to threaten Western countries and international organizations that, according to the North Korean government, are plotting to overthrow the communist regime.

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER 2 AND 3: INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CONTROL METHODS

The second and third chapters are an analysis of each of the strategies employed by the North Korean regime to dominate its people and pressure the international community.

The totalitarian regime, in place since 1948, has used its dominance to control the entire nation with its regulations and ideals. However, if the regime's policies are not fulfilled by the people, or if there is any opposition to them, it uses physical force or coercion to achieve their goals. As a result of the domination implemented at the domestic level, the regime will resort to manipulation, coercion, or coercive diplomacy in the international arena, in order for their doctrines to effectively prevail. Thus, imposition and control are evident at the internal and external levels.

The tactics used during the three periods of the Kim dynasty to maintain control, both nationally and internationally, are as follows:

Internal Level

At the domestic level, North Korea is organized under the principles of the *Juche* ideology, and supposedly under certain elements of communism.

Communism is a political doctrine which has its emergence and development in society, in the late nineteenth century, which promotes the formation and establishment of a society in which there is no distinction between social classes, there is an egalitarian distribution of wealth in which the means of production are common property of all who integrate it. This leads to the idea that private ownership of the means of production does not exist, and the power is in the hands of the working class (Britannica).

However, the North Korean government does not meet the pillars of communist doctrine which advocates a social organization in which goods are common property, nor has it formed a proletariat dictatorship or promoted a classless society (Britannica).

It has only ensured its interests, and those of its allies, through covert, insightful strategies that have, on the surface, benefited its people, but really have oppressed the North Korean population.

The domestic plan, which has served to further the political agenda, has had a great number of benefits. The North Korean government has oppressed its people under inexorable rules; they represent the basis of the absolutist, North Korean society (University of Oregon, 2009). Through collective brainwashing that begins at birth and ends at death, the government has taught people how to behave in society and to hate the imperialist nations; thus, these people have had no choice but to adapt and be part of these rigorous policies.

In North Korea, there has been a voluntary partnership, without resistance, through the brainwashing of the population; this has led to domination by its Leader. This is known as “spurious hegemony” that, “is not monolithic ideological training, but a process of domination and control exercised by a group in power” (University of Oregon, 2009).

Another strategy that has been extremely important, which has been applied by Kim-II-Sung in the North Korean territory and has allowed him to dominate his people, is the official propaganda that has been implemented by the totalitarian regime through the educational principles that generate hatred for the United States, and adoration for the leader. This has allowed, “[t]he dominator to experience pleasure by having control over the situation and over the dominated life. He knows that a gesture or a word will have an effect on the other person and he controls that effect at will; thereby creating in people a totally oppressive paradigm in the XXI century, which has not led to any social or political development” (La Haine).

North Korea also has a process of obedience through traditional domination. Max Weber says that it is one that “is based on the belief in the sanctity of existing systems and stately powers forever held, as in the charismatic domination, which refers to exactly the qualities or extraordinary graces of command that the *Great Leader* Kim-II Sung possessed” (Weber, 1960).

The domestic scene of North Korea resembles the *Gramsci*⁷ doctrine which mentions that the realization of the hegemonic apparatus is, "a management tool of the state apparatus that occurs when a new ideological field is created, which determines reform of consciousness, new methods of knowledge, and therefore is a philosophical fact" (El Concepto de Hegemonia en Gramsci, 1978). The North Korean government has imposed on its people their own values and philosophical principles in this way to indoctrinate the people and suppress dissenting views.

Also, the Great Leader's policy, Kim-II-Sung can be compared with the *Gramscian* principles which set up that there are two superstructural levels. The first level can be defined as civil society, and the second is the political society or state. These two terms correspond to hegemony, where a dominant group, primarily the state, exercises power over civil society (Gramsci, 1971). Therefore, in the North Korean territory, people do not possess sufficient knowledge to assert their rights, and are subjected to constant attacks and heavy reprisals from supporters that comprise the communist dynasty.

On the other hand, the North Korean regime has also dominated internally through the principles established by the USSR in 1948 in this territory. Also, the North Korean regime's ability to control the region is due in part by the efforts of Stalin to destabilize the US intervention; an act that was admitted by the Security Council of the UN during the Cold War. These have been the main causes for Kim II-Sung to defend the communist precepts of social equality. Because of this, the North Korean society is supposedly based on all sectors. Thereby this society still has a challenging and intolerant attitude towards imperialist nations and the international community (History).

In relation to the tactics that have been employed by the totalitarian regime, which involved the application of physical force. These ones have been realized through detention camps and the Korean army. This coercion is defined as, "the application, threat, or reality of actions that may cause loss or damage to people or possessions. Coercion defines a realm of dominion" (Revista Criminalidad, 2010).

⁷ The Gramsci Doctrine believes that the "bourgeois society" based its dominant status in the collective consciousness, through the imposition of their own values and emblems; making them artificially general to a nation and imposing to the proletariat (El Concepto de Hegemonia en Gramsci, 1978).

External Level

With regard to the international level, once internal pressure is set, control should be attained on the external level, i.e. the domain is not administered only by a person or a specific group of people in a country, but "[is] intended for a community or a larger group of people to indirectly adopt a pattern of conduct" (Matteucci, 2007). Similarly, within this context, manipulation and coercion to achieve several benefits are applied, whether this is using nuclear weapons, suppressing trade relations with the South Korean territory, violating human rights, or endangering each of the international organizations.

Manipulation in the North Korean nation consisted of a veiled, winding, and abusive exercise of power that, " has been presented in any social relationship or field of human activity, where the ruling party has imposed on others, considering that they lack control, awareness and knowledge about the conditions of the situation in which they find themselves" (Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos).

In the external environment, the North Korean dynasty has been on the defensive and has maintained a hostile attitude for the following reasons: during the Cold War, the United States deployed missiles in South Korea; the Clinton Administration rescinded the Pyongyang-Washington agreement signed in 1994 which established the freezing of North Korean nuclear weapons in exchange for economic aid and oil shipments from the U.S. Clinton argued that he could not rely on such a totalitarian nation. Finally, in 2002, the Bush administration introduced the National Security doctrine, which gave Washington the right to launch a preventive war against North Korea. Seeing that, the United States accused North Korea of having developed a program of weapons production and uranium enrichment (Le Monde Diplomatique , 2004).

The purpose of the North Korean government has been to be recognized internationally, mainly through its nuclear weapons, proving to the world that it is a frightening country; thus increasingly manipulating the international community by stating that it could in fact elicit various guarantees that the internal inhuman paradigm could change completely, which is a utopia brought forth by an absolutist regime. Thus, the power that has been exercised by force "has its basis in violence and manipulation

through a deliberate and successful effort to influence the responses and actions of individuals or groups" (Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México, 1993).

The ideology founded by Kim Il-Sung in the external environment is also similar to the foundations of the Gramsci doctrine. This philosopher stated that, "the production and reproduction of social and political relations could not be obtained exclusively through coercion; they were given through multiple and complex forms, where ideologies were instrumental" (La Haine, 2001). For Gramsci, the state was the armored hegemony of coercion. The North Korean leaders have performed a series of deceptions before the international community, in order to obtain large royalties and effective international negotiations, shielding itself through its coercive practices.

Similarly, to press upon an International Organization, the North Korean regime has used coercive diplomacy, which is understood as, "the threat of force or a very limited increase in strength in order to persuade the opponent or a particular nation to cancel or undo the invasion in which it is committed to induce" (George, 1994). Consequently, the government has achieved this goal through threats by its military, and its nuclear weapons, against South Korea and the US, stating that it would trigger a world war if the two nations infringed upon its sovereignty.

North Korea possesses a vast nuclear arsenal and the second largest number of soldiers in Asia, because it employs the theory of hard power, which refers to "the ability of a State to define or change the behavior of other weaker nations by the threat of military intervention. . ." (Mora). Thus, the exercise of violence is an essential part of this state, to avoid any intervention or external attack; because, "without this essential element, this nation would disappear because it is necessary in achieving territorial control as the central authority and exercising other basic state functions" (George, 1994).

By analyzing each of these levels, it can be determined that the North Korean government has used the Two-level game theory, due to the following.

The Two-level game theory

North Korea has used the Two-level game theory in order for its strategies to prevail until today. According to Putnam (1988), the Two-level game theory is:

At the domestic level, groups pursue their interests pressuring the government to adopt policies which are favorable, and so the government gains power by building partnerships between these groups. On the other hand at the international level, a national government seeks to maximize its own ability to satisfy domestic pressures while minimizing external divergent positions (Putnam, 1988).

Therefore, the first level refers to, "domestic negotiations or confirmatory table" (CERIR, 2007); and the external level corresponds to the area were, "international negotiations take place between representatives of the executive branch of the countries involved" (CERIR, 2007).

The primary objective of the two-level game lies in, "the simultaneous interaction of domestic and international planes, and progresses in contemplation of domestic politics as a direct participant in international politics" (CERIR, 2007). This doctrine is also based on national leaders exerting great influence on the domestic application of international standards. In the international arena, diplomats from countries play a predominant role, negotiating agreements and treaties between the Presidents and Foreign Ministers, generating rights and obligations that benefit their nations based on their policy and domestic interests (Rourke, 2008).

At both levels, the mediator or "chief negotiator" participates. The mediator, according to Putnam (1988), is:

. . . represented by a member of the Executive Branch, and acts between the international negotiating table and domestic political tensions. This person embodies the interests of one or some sectors of society, consequently being biasedly lead in part, being understood as acting on behalf of private interests they represent (Putnam, 1988).

Accordingly, and using these two levels, the North Korean nation is still a force today, due to coercive or psychological strategies implemented effectively both internally and externally. Since the government of North Korea has managed to oppress its people, and based on its subjugating policies at the domestic level, the North Korean regime, in the external environment, has pressured and manipulated the international community to the point that it has completely prevented the intervention of the imperialist nations or international organizations; thus fulfilling the desires of the North Korean Leader.

CHAPTER 2: ANALYZING THE STRATEGIES TO MAINTAIN POWER WITHIN THE COUNTRY

Introduction

The previous chapter analyzed the measures taken in each of the periods of the Kim dynasty from 1948 to 2014, which led to the implementation of communist principles in the society. This chapter analyzes the tactics used by the Kim family to dominate the people of North Korea; Some of the tactics used by the government included: collective brainwashing, teaching American hatred, the implementation of the *Juche* and *Songun* ideologies, the hostility of the military towards the people, the *Kimilsungja*, detention camps, and intolerance of external ideologies. Through these strategies the Kim government has achieved its primary objective; mainly, that the people glorify the leaders of the country and accept any established policy placed upon them.

2.1 Collective brainwashing

In order to ensure that people complied with his dogmatic principles, Kim Il-Sung (1953-1994) employed hostile psychological strategies on each of the inhabitants of North Korea. Kim did this in order for the people to believe that the North Korean regime was extremely effective and only needed an effective leader to guide them. Government brainwashing tactics were based on the following points; first, indoctrination of children and people in general; second, methods leading to the veneration of the leader's policies; and third, effective restraint techniques.

2.1.1 The indoctrination of the people

The indoctrination of the people began in childhood, especially in daycares of factories, where children, together with their mothers, remained for 14 hours a day (Demick, 2009, p. 88). Children listened to stories of victory, sang songs dedicated to Kim Il-Sung, and watched patriotic videos of North Korea. Veneration of the leader of the country was the main goal and this goal would never go away.

Children who had a television in their homes saw cartoons made only in North Korea. The most popular program was "the Chipmunks," a story of struggle and the annihilation of enemies (RT, 2014).

With regard to young people and adults, they saw only the official government channel that only transmitted news praising the regime; this was a very effective tactic as the country was mainly influenced by these programs, having no contact with the outside world. The devotion to the North Korean regime was increasingly imposing.

After work, everyone had to go to mandatory training by members of the government. These classes focused on helping people feel unique and proud of their government. The trainers were responsible for implementing negative ideas of capitalism, to the point that negativity would turn into hatred. All workers who daily attended such instructions were molded according to the interests of Kim Il-Sung, to the point that the people could be regarded as true creations of the *Great Leader* (Demick, 2009, p. 126).

Meanwhile, there was also constant training of the working class on the use of modern machinery; this was done in order to enhance the knowledge and skills of the workers so the technical revolution would be successful and allow the nation to grow significantly. With the main purpose of encouraging people to work harder, the *Great Leader* gave houses specifically to teachers, scientists, and military members contributing to the economic development of the nation. Furthermore, he granted free sofas, televisions, and dinnerware to their families (RT, 2014); thus, control of the citizenry was covertly achieved.

In the end, the North Korean people, through this indoctrination, manifested happiness living in their country; stating that they are a big family which is protected under the tutelage of their leader (RT, 2014).

2.1.2 Methods leading to the veneration of the policies of the Leader

For the anniversary of the birth of the totalitarian leader, in 1972, a large statue on Mansudae Hill was built in the capital Pyongyang. Also, Workers Party badges, with the Leader's face, were worn by the Korean people on the left side of their chest as a

demonstration of adoration. Anyone who did not wear this badge was admonished by the Brigade for the Protection of Social Order, in addition to more hours of ideological training. If they did not comply with this mandate then they would be unable to receive daily food rations (Demick, 2009, p. 73).

The people of North Korea viewed these standards as normal; for the rest of the world, these tactics were abnormal that only served to increasingly oppress the North Korean people.

Brainwashing was so great that even the everyday conversations of people were "seasoned with aphorisms; for example loyalty and filial piety are supreme virtues of the revolutionary" (Demick, 2009, p. 126). The strategies were very effective for the regime due to the frequent insertion of these ideas by the Government.

On the birthday of the *Great Leader*, the people would gather into long lines at the Central Plaza to receive meat in their food package; the children also received a kilo of sweets (Demick, 2009, p. 93). These strategies became highly efficient tactics to keep the people worshiping and believing more and more in the revolutionary doctrine of Kim-II-Sung.

As already mentioned, Kim II-Sung was a very shrewd man who ordered the painting of murals of himself surrounded by many children with toys and bikes. These images expressed a friendly impression of the Leader, with him smiling and with rosy cheeks, that made him seem like a kind and loving person (Demick, 2009, p. 154). Gradually, the government gained the will of the people as their techniques and strategies were unique and ingenious, this compelled even some Christian cults to convert to the government's ideologies (NEWS, 2013).

Adoration of the president was so strong that some sailors, in order to calm the stormy waters while fishing, would chant the name of Kim II-Sung (Demick, 2009, p. 124).

Brainwashing of the farmers who harvested on cooperative farms was also common. The government would project motivating speeches, as well as place students with

flags and flowers, to cheer up and to encourage farmers to work hard in order to feed the entire nation. (Hodge, 2003).

2.1.3 Effective techniques of subjugation

Young people across North Korea, starting at 12 years old and regardless of sex, do volunteer work in the field; either by growing rice or fruit and harvesting them to supply the entire country. However, "only 18% of the land in North Korea is suitable for farming" (Reinoso, 2008). Thus, many times the total harvest, despite having the proper equipment, is not enough to feed the whole country. There also has been a shortage of chemical fertilizers; it is for this reason that all North Korean families send a weekly box of excrement to the farms, due to a lack of farm animals, for fertilization (Demick, 2009, p. 162). In order for the people not to realize they are being manipulated, members of the Workers Party granted a voucher for families who performed this work, which could be exchanged for food.

Government policies were increasingly unheard; a television cost three months' salary and those who could obtain one needed a special permit issued by the state. To strengthen the people, the government granted free, preprogrammed TVs for people who performed an extraordinary service to the government, such as the military or members of the Workers Party (Reinoso, 2008). Each of these uncommon events represented a way of demonstrating to the world the North Korean government's popularity to its people; through this, different countries would see that North Korea is a powerful and terrifying nation, capable of using any resource necessary to achieve their political agenda.

Brainwashing carried out by Kim Il-Sung on the people was very effective because each of his strategies and policies were implemented and welcomed by the whole society. The North Korean people became a totally submissive unit, based upon the work and likeness of the *Great Leader*. Thus, little by little, the president introduced and applied even more oppressive techniques in different aspects of North Korean life, for example in education.

2.2 Foundations of Education in North Korea and the generation of American Hatred

When Japan annexed Korea in 1910, North Korea was dominated by Japanese standards; these standards were similarly implemented by the president Kim Il-Sung. The primary objective of applying these stringent standards was to establish the foundations for an education based on the principles of communism all the while oppressing and indoctrinating the people to believe they lived in paradise. Hate of the imperialist nations was also encouraged in schools; children were expected to understand that these countries were the enemy and responsible for poverty. To achieve its goals, the regime established five aspects: first, the Japanese cultural intervention was eradicated; secondly, the three blocks are implemented in education to build the ideal society; thirdly, effective strategies were applied through education to win over the people; fourth, oppressive principles were established through education; and fifth, the teachings to hate imperialism were formed.

2.2.1 Elimination of the intervention of Japanese cultural

Oppression and domination during the Japanese colonial period sought to completely eliminate Korean culture through fascist standards. The people were not permitted to speak Korean, the official language, even in their homes; in doing so, they were subject to hefty fines or even imprisonment. Only 4.6% of the children were able to study because it was a privilege that only members of the noble and powerful families could access for 3 years (López, 2009).

Although there was not a single university in the country, the Japanese empire implemented its methodology in schools through the establishment of anticommunist principles and coercion. Punishment for failing to complete a task or not knowing a lesson was inhuman and often times corporal punishment was used.

In order to change this paradigm, president Kim Il-Sung began to establish standards and key principles which allowed the country to grow in a meaningful and efficient manner, destroying all trace of Japanese imperialist education. The *Great Leader* sought to, "suppress the slave labor and education; oppose the forced military service

and military education of youth and children; provide instruction, based on their own language and alphabet, and implement free compulsory education" (López, 2009). Through this, quality schools were created, books were given out that were written by the leader of the North Korean people, and scientific articles that would lead to coherent learning based on the North Korean culture were distributed.

2.2.2 The blocks in education to build the ideal society

To forge the North Korean culture itself, the regime instituted three blocks to form their ideal society. First, ideological education was based on establishing a new concept of society through a communist morality. The government achieved this goal through propaganda and the *Juche* philosophical principle. Subsequently, through scientific and technical education, the primary purpose was "to provide knowledge and expertise that is adapted to the needs of the development of science and technology in the country" (López, 2009). The third block was physical and aesthetic education. The intent was for students to get involved in sports that would lead to success in their professional lives. With respect to aesthetic education, this served to open the minds of citizens to independence and creativity when solving problems, without falling into monotony, corporal punishment, and uniformity (López, 2009).

2.2.3 Strategies to win over the people through education

Private, religious, and night schools were the basis for the new democratic and popular education system founded by North Korea. In 1945, the Korean Bureau of Education approved several measures that established the parameters required for quality teaching. At this time, a universal and compulsory law was established stating that any society could study regardless of gender, age, social status or place of origin. The number of schools, colleges, and technical institutes was increased to enroll 100% of the society and illiteracy in the country (López, 2009).

As schools were founded, study materials were needed for each subject. The government preferred that the experts in North Korea write books focused on the North Korean culture, instead of importing books from the South. The government also encouraged the construction of primary and secondary schools; for this reason 19% of public spending in 1946 was intended for popular education (Biong, 1972, p. 98).

The goal of the president was effectively on track, insomuch that the country prospered quickly. Schools were even built in rural areas with only 10 or 20 children (López, 2009). Kim Il-Sung issued a regulation which ordered that no child's school be farther than "4 km from his home." As a result, in 1949, there were 3861 elementary schools and 968 secondary schools" (López, 2009).

The president longed to change the paradigm of North Korea to the point of creating underground classrooms, and thus the hostility of that time period was not to children and young people. In 1952, there were approximately 2900 underground classrooms as 72% of schools were destroyed from almost constant bombings (López, 2009).

The Leader stated that education was very important in the country since children and young people would forge the meaningful and effective development of North Korea. For this reason, Kim Il-Sung created a special scholarship for all students; it covered 50% of the cost of textbooks and transport for students and also free food, shoes, clothes, and blankets for those students whose parents had died during the war were given out (López, 2009).

Kim Il-Sung also specified that "compulsory education is only real when it's free" (Demick, 2009, p. 153). In 1960, the president eliminated school fees and covered all costs of school supplies and extracurricular activities such as field trips and free access to local libraries; the top students received monthly economic subsidies from the government (Reinoso, 2008).

Continuous education within the country became a must, being more a tool of indoctrination by the government rather than a place of general learning. However, despite the government's intentions, and in order to get the support of society, larger classrooms were built, music programs were implemented, and modern equipment was installed for children and young people to develop their intellect in an effective manner. Also, part of the public budget was used on free sports centers, arts, and entertainment. Thus, the Technical Universal Compulsory Education was increased from 9 to 11 years, with the purpose of fostering strong, communist principles (López, 2009).

All of these projects by the government encouraged the people to increasingly adore their leader. In a thesis on education by Kim Il-Sung, he mentioned that, "education should be responsive to changing the dynamic realities of our country. All aspects of education, including its content and methods, should be improved and perfected according to the developing situation" (Demick, 2009, p. 162). For this reason, in 1980, he began to increase the use of educational tools, such as audiovisual material for teaching foreign languages and science education.

Education became a primary right within reach of all North Korean society. For this reason, Kim Chaek University, in 2006, set up an e-Library which consisted of books, magazines, scientific articles, movies, and digital music. The technological level also increased due to the implementation of the mechanism called *tele-training* in universities. This tool allowed students to record and listen to lectures given by teachers from anywhere in the country (López, 2009). With all these systems in place, the popularity and glorification of the *Great Leader* increased day by day, as he was the only person who cared about the interests and welfare of the North Korean society.

2.2.4 Implementation of oppressive principles in education

Since the 1980s, and especially in 2007, education became more oppressive. Because voluntary participation of the people in the country's development was important, no one could resist, since those who did resist would be victims of heavy retaliation by loyalists. The paradigm of socialist education, as explained by Kim Il-Sung, stated that "a political and solid ideological training is the necessary condition for success in science and technology education of the people" (Demick, 2009, p. 154).

In one of Kim-Il-Sung's speeches, he told his people, ". . . you should study with all the care in the world. Through studying we also oppose the plans that the Yankees have for Korea. From now on, studying is the best fight we can put up in battle of formation" (Demick, 2009, p. 152).

An instrument of subjugation that was used by the government, especially in a self-proclaimed communist country that expressed equitability with all people, existed in the discrimination against children with special disabilities; these children are not allowed

access to education or any other social services. North Korea admitted the discrimination against these people, to the point that they were taken to rural areas so as not to contaminate North Korea's image to foreigners who came to visit the capital, Pyongyang (López, 2009).

Constantly, several children, or young people whose parents had died, were prevented from studying and were forced to work in fields or factories to maintain domestic production (International Education, 2005).

The principle of compulsory education for all people has been like the rest of the rules and principles established in the country, i.e., it was a utopia which according to the interests of the president sometimes have been implemented and others simply not.

In 2012, in order to strengthen the socialist education in North Korea, the government added one more year to the universal compulsory education, i.e. 12 years. This new system was based on "a year of preschool, five of primary education, three in lower secondary education, and three years of junior secondary education" (Korean Central News Agency, 2012). In fact, the last three years imposed by the state were a disguise to force young people to fulfill their military service in the Young Red Guards.

2.2.5 North Korean Constitution precepts to hate American imperialism

Indoctrination became increasingly aggressive all the time. It was a duty of the people to worship the regime and hate the Yankee imperialist enemy. Whether students were learning mathematics, chemistry, science, etc., children and youth were strongly harassed with this philosophy; for example, a book featuring math problems would contain, "Three soldiers of the Korean People's Army killed thirty US soldiers; how many US soldiers were killed if the Korean soldiers killed the same number of enemy soldiers?" (Demick, 2009, p. 155). Another example is, "Eight boys and nine girls are singing hymns to the praise Kim Il-Sung. How many children are singing in total?" (Demick, 2009, p. 155).

Similarly, in books targeted to children and youth, such stories where the Americans had killed North Korean children because they had refused to clean their shoes are told.

Also in music lessons, children should sing the following "our enemies are the Yankee pigs, trying to seize our beautiful homeland. With guns I've made with my own hands, I'll shoot" (Demick, 2009, p. 156).

Even in books, stories were used as a way to brainwash the North Korean people; thus, the society worshiped the Father of the nation and hated the US and the imperialist nations. This control mechanism led children to believe the poverty and division of the country was caused by the United States.

In short, education in North Korea has been a concealed weapon in the struggle against imperialism and a strategy to overcome poverty, be completely independent and prosperous, and always be centered on *Juche* ideology. Unfortunately, due to political anomalies, these tactics only led to subjugation, social inequality, and the underdevelopment of the nation.

2.3 The *Juche* and *Songun* ideologies

Kim Il-Sung agreed with the ideology of Marx and Engels. Marxism is the emancipation of the working class and the struggle against imperialist bases, and which are the fundamental principles that encouraged the international communist movement. Also, the underdeveloped peoples have always been oppressed and humiliated by representatives of the ruling capitalist nations and the North Korean case was no exception. It is for this reason that the *Great Leader* went further and created his own philosophy known as *Juche*, which stated that the people are the protagonists of the revolution, the master of his destiny, and those who will collaborate in the growth of Korea North and rejection of world powers (Biong, 1972, p. 62).

2.3.1 The Purpose of *Juche*

Within this ideology, it states, "the masses in the revolution can succeed if armed with revolutionary ideas and come together as organized political forces" (Zong, 1982). Only then, the North Korean leader would achieve its main objective: to promote revolution with the full support of the people.

A complete socialist society was achieved through the support of the people and eliminating each of the existing classes in North Korea requiring not only the elimination of the exploiting classes and their private property, but also the elimination of the distinctions between city and countryside, i.e. abolishing class distinctions between workers and peasants. In doing so, the whole society became the working class; the proletariat supposedly being the representative of the territory who won the game against any trace of the bourgeois (Biong, 1972, p. 79).

Having achieved his objectives, the doctrine of Kim Il-Sung was effectively founded so that he maintained absolute control of all the people, eliminating any dissident group that could destabilize his policy. Kim's main principle was that "man is the master of the world, and that he decides everything, that is, he plays the decisive role in transforming the world and forging his own destiny" (Zong, 1982). With regard to this concept, the owner of the world was the *Great Leader* as he, through his policies, changed the North Korean territory into a place with rules aligned to his own interests.

Similarly, as man is a social being, possessing *zazusong* or the creative spirit or consciousness, he wants to "independently live and develop, he is motivated to overcome the restrictions of nature, opposing all forms of social subjugation, and bend everything to his will" (Zong, 1982). However, this notion, as well as other rules applied by the North Korean government, has been a hoax and a tactic that has only served to indoctrinate the people.

The government of North Korea established its model of an ideal society through the extermination of dependence and subservience to foreign powers, since the regime longed to remove itself from any force that prevented the development of its revolution.

The North Korean Leader felt that everything within its territory, and made from its own resources, was sufficient for North Korea to grow significantly. He also believed that the people, with their own hands, generated wealth for their nation and through their struggle they would transform the world.

Consequently, thanks to each of the principles implemented by the North Korean Leader, and the people were unaware of this, the North Korean lived under oppression.

Primarily, freedom of decision and thought completely disappeared as citizens acquired another vision of the world: to be patriotic, fight for Korean reunification, and glorify their leader.

Similarly, to ensure that his people maintain *Juche* philosophical foundations, the government was responsible for guiding and transforming the masses towards independent living, with progressive ideas of the working class, collectivism, and communism; in order to substantiate the ideological, cultural, and political, principles of self-sufficiency in the economy and self-reliance in national defense. To instill each of these foundations in the minds of the people, Kim Il-Sung made sure that his people had no admiration for the imperialist nations.

2.3.2 Implementation of *Juche* in various areas

Implementing the *Juche* ideology was necessary in order for the whole society to maintain revolutionary pride and national dignity, to feel that their nation is invincible, and to not feel inferior to others. The North Korean government increased and encouraged the development of a socialist indigenous culture, rejecting "all restorationist and nihilistic tendencies regarding the heritage of national culture" (Zong, 1982) Also, by establishing a hatred of Americans in the people and promoting a social conscience, the communist regime could achieve complete independence for North Korea.

Similarly, establishing *Juche* in politics meant that North Korea could safeguard the country, protecting the sovereignty and welfare of its people who controlled the state. Furthermore, the State could completely elude foreign interference by developing and implementing domestic policies that effectively substantiate the socialist revolution. Only then could they maintain an independent and fulfilling life nationally and equity in international relations.

Also, international alliances with communist movements within the different nations of the world were promoted to effectively combine internationalism and *zazusong* (Bulling, 2009). In order for North Korea to be organized under the parameters of the *Juche*

ideology, it needed to maintain a harmonious relationship with countries that respect its ". . . territorial integrity, sovereignty, non-aggression, and non-interference in internal affairs" (Zong, 1982).

Later, it was necessary to establish Juche in the national economy. Through a strong and independent economy, where the technical, material, and natural resources of the country are fully exploited, productive forces could be developed and living standards of society could be improved. Thus, it was important to remove any trace of interference and exploitation of the capitalist economy that impeded financial equity between nations. By using their own resources they covered every one of the needs of the people while at the same time, establishing multilateral relations with other socialist nations, in order to preserve necessary items like agricultural or heavy and light industry, thereby achieving effective economic development (Zong, 1982).

2.3.3 *Songun*

The fundamental principles that have motivated North Korea to use force as its essential weapon of defense has always been to protect foreign intervention and Yankee imperialism. The *Songun* became a fundamental pillar of this nation, because "its essence was to present the army as a pillar of the revolution and solve all problems arising in the revolution and construction on the principle of giving preference to military affairs" (Zong, 1982).

The North Korean leader stated that "Weapons are like our lives, weapons to weapons" (Bulling, 2009). Hence, Kim founded an association known as the Union to Defeat Imperialism, with the primary aim of intimidating the imperialist nations and preventing its principles from being inserted into internal affairs. For this reason, the Korean People's Revolutionary Army was formed, one that ensured sustainable, dignified, and effective development in the revolution and construction of the North's long-term homeland.

North Korea is currently one of the societies with the most military resources, as 30.3% of the Gross National Product is intended for the armed forces. This is done in order to be resistant to any hostility by imperialist nations (Demick, 2009, p. 87).

Defending North Korean soil is the duty and obligation of the people. In this respect, Article 60 of the North Korean Socialist Constitution states, ". . . on the basis of political and ideological education of the army and the people, the State materializes the military line of self-defense, whose main contents are: turning the army into an army of cadres, modernizing it, arming the people, and fortifying the whole country" (Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Korea, 1972).

Because the *Juche* ideology is effectively consolidated in the society, the North Korean government can overcome any threat, maintain a high level of control, and limit interaction with the outside world as North Korea is a nation founded on self-sufficiency. As with the *Songun*, North Korea will use its military weapons to defend themselves against foreign interference.

2.4 The role of the military in the regime

Today, the North Korean military absolutist regime occupies a very important place because they are considered the North Korean elite. Only people who have no fraudulent past, not of Japanese descent, or not from South Korea, can be part of the North Korean People's Army (Biong, 1972, p. 69). These people have earned the trust of the *Great Leader*, to the point that their body and mind are linked to the teachings of Kim Il-Sung, whose duty is to create effective strategies and standards to prevent imperialist extortion and forever defend the homeland.

Being a soldier in North Korea is a symbol of admiration and respect because everyone should follow their orders, as they are trusted by the president of the nation. Today the North Korean military is one of the largest in the world; it ranks second in Asia and fourth in the world (Hodge, 2003).

The military constantly remains on the defensive, always prepared for any imperialist attack. The North Korean Leader stated that North Korea did not beg for peace and tranquility with the imperialists; if necessary, the country would go to war to insure its safety (Zong, 1982).

2.4.1 Reasons why citizens long to be part of the military

Those who want to be part of the military of North Korea can gain favor through bribes, just as long as they have not been labeled traitors by the government. Such bribes include, "exuberant gifts such as European alcohol, high-end automobiles, or young women" (Bulling, 2009). However, in society dictated by Juche policy, these activities were considered illegitimate; nevertheless, because these gifts were intended for the North Korean leader such bribes brought no negative consequences. Due to the crisis in the country, young people who belonged to families of high government officials adopted these immoral and unconventional measures for their own welfare.

According to Demick (2009), people who have a high IQ long to be part of the military for the following reasons:

- The life of a soldier was favorable and lucrative as they earn exorbitant sums, in some cases helping North Koreans escape to China, or they allow families to have private businesses. (Demick, 2009, p. 83).
- Military benefits continue on even after completing active service. According to Article 76 of the North Korean Constitution, "the revolutionary fighters, the families of revolutionary and patriotic martyrs, the families of the members of the People's Army, and former military or honored wounded enjoy special protection by the state and society" (Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Korea, 1972).
- The privileges received by the military are plentiful; they have no restrictions by the government to purchase a vehicle or move freely within the North Korean regions. Also, if anyone had the chance to acquire a vehicle and had a military contact, through a good bribe, they could acquire a vehicle without a lot of "red tape," because the military is responsible for the paperwork in obtaining vehicle permits (El Diario de Corea del Norte, 2014).

However, if a member of the military failed in his duty, primarily entrusted by the President, he could be executed or expelled from the army. This action also brought shame on the whole family, as their social position was lowered to the bottom of the social pyramid (Demick, 2009, p. 117).

2.4.2 Fighting capacity

Likewise, in order to safeguard the country, as a national standard, a Rural Workers' Militia was formed,⁸ comprising of a total of four million people. Among this militia are men and women, married or otherwise, from ages 17 to 45. Those women who were not part of the Reserve Unit Military Training have an obligation to train at least 30 days a year (Reinoso, 2008).

Young people between 14 and 16 years old are also required to receive instruction four hours every Saturday, a total of 160 hours per year. These young men and women make up the Young Red Guards, comprising a total of 1.2 million young people around the country (Los Tiempos, 2011). Each of these people does not mind sacrificing his or her life in order to protect their nation; thus, they are a recipient of honor and admiration from the *Great Leader*.

To protect against foreign interference, the KPA operates a "network of military facilities scattered around the country that contain various weapons, the third largest reserve of chemical weapons in the world, and the world's largest special forces of 180,000 men" (Hodge, 2003).

2.4.3 The inequality of the people and the military

The North Korean military did not produce food for their compatriots; rather, they disseminated communist ideology, which was much appreciated within the regime (Torres, 2013). However, all this led to policies to maintain the independence and

⁸ The Rural Workers Militia is a paramilitary force that protects, through the use of arms or any means necessary, the national territory, satisfying the interests of the State (Bulling, 2009).

survival of the system through harsh and unfair rules that prevent full freedom of the people.

When an international organization, or imperialist country, gave food aid to North Korea, foods were distributed solely to the military, or members of the party of North Korean leader Kim Jong-II. To disguise this atrocity, “food” was handed out in markets and community stores in the form of plastic fruits, vegetables, and meat. (Demick, 2009, p. 79).

In contrast, despite the veneration of the military by much of the North Korean population, a small proportion of the people were against these social inequalities, where the military received large profits while the people suffered. Nevertheless, the people were aware that they could not generate a similar conflict to the *Prague Spring*,⁹ because any movement away from the *Juche* ideology of the *Great Leader* entailed serious consequences, to the point that the absolutist military regime would eradicate an entire family.

To confuse the world that North Korea is a poor country and a victim of external threats, the regime covertly invested exorbitant sums of money into the KPA and nuclear weapons. Because the military was a symbol of power among the international community, in 2014, no international organization or imperialist nation dared to intervene in domestic political, economic, or cultural affairs. That is why the regime has created fictional stories in order to continue subjecting and dominating the people of North Korea.

2.5 The *Kimilsungia*

The *Kimilsungia* was a strategy to promote acclaim for Kim Il-Sung by his people through the naming of a plant in his honor. The overall goal was to keep the people fully indoctrinated; thus festivals were established commemorating the origin of this plant.

⁹ The Prague Spring happened in Czechoslovakia in 1968. It was an attempt at political liberalization that was led by President Alexander Dubcek. Within its liberating reforms, Dubcek also gave the people freedom of expression, but members of the Warsaw Pact countries invaded Czechoslovakia to prevent the implementation of these reforms intended to redeem society of communist dictatorship (Centro Checo, 2008).

This flower was only planted on the birthday of the *Great Leader*, compelling the people to be more patriotic.

2.5.1 Origin, meaning, and benefits of the *Kimilsungia*

The origin of the *Kimilsungia* plant lays in the appreciation and admiration for Kim Il-Sung by the Prime Minister of Indonesia, Sukarno, who wanted to copy the North Korean communist independent model, i.e. its political and economic ideology. This admiration was due to the fact that the *Great Leader* led his people to the development of socialist industrialization rising from ruins and misery, fighting day after day against the imperialist forces (Open Doors, 2014).

North Korean leader Kim Il-Sung, observing how the Indonesian President praised him through donations of food, supplies, and gifts, and persuading several Asian countries to adopt the *Juche* political philosophy, considered Sukarno a political ally. In 1965, the North Korean President was invited to Jakarta, Indonesia. The arrival of Kim Il-Sung was declared a national holiday; the people had decorated the entire country in honor of his arrival, making him feel like a true God, due to warm cheers from the crowds (Xa Yimg, 2012).

Kim Il-Sung was received as an all-powerful and great person, effectively brainwashing not only his own people but those on an international level. Given the admiration and devotion of the Indonesian President, he gave to Kim a single orchid of its kind, created exclusively in the Indonesian President's floral garden, and stated: "Dear Prime Minister Kim Il-Sung, you are the sun that illuminates the era of independence and the loving father of the people, we want to give your name to this beautiful and rare flower" (Xa Yimg, 2012).

It said that the *Kimilsungia* is widespread, not only in Korea but in most nations; transmitting and symbolizing wisdom, love, justice and peace, like the sublime features and immortal exploits of President Kim Il Sung.

Through the teachings given about this plant, either in kindergartens, schools, universities, or in job training, the people believe that North Korea was the best territory

in which to live, not being dependent on any international organization or country for anything. This tactic has essentially led the people of North Korea to believe in the greatness of a simple flower.

It could be argued, to believe in the greatness of a flower, and Kim Il-Sung, was the only alternative that the society had to survive under the yoke of North Korean totalitarianism because if someone went against the regime, or even the North Korean philosophy, he would be the victim of serious consequences.

2.6 Detention camps

Under the statutes established in the North Korean constitution, according to Article 79, "citizens are guaranteed a right to personal inviolability and secrecy of correspondence. No citizen may be arrested or detained, nor can his home be registered if not required by law" (Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Korea, 1972). However, in order to keep North Korean society dominated under the rule of Kim Il-Sung, the government created several prisons and concentration camps for government dissidents.

2.6.1 Types of concentration camps

The most common concentration camps are:

1. First, if a person commits a crime on a smaller scale, such as missing work, he was sent to an *ajibkyulso*, a detention center controlled by the People's Safety Agency. People in these institutions have had to perform forced labor, such as paving roads, but without pay.

These infringements by the people have only encouraged more control and mistrust by the regime, which has led to building more prisons and detention camps.

2. Second, the most frequent prisons are called *Kwanliso*, a place of control and management. *Kwanliso* are the largest in North Korea, housing about 200,000

convicts; these are mainly intended for those who have corrupted society with imperialist ideals. Defectors from the Workers Party, Christian priests, Japanese contributors, descendants of private owners, and all carriers of impure blood must remain here until their death (Demick, 2009, p. 222).

Some of those in the *Kwanliso* have been convicted of "guilt by association." For any "crime" committed by a person, their family (children, wives, husbands, fathers and future generations) are punished severely in these detention centers. Over time, these centers have excessively increased, housing up to 50,000 prisoners at a time; victims of inhuman and strict security measures (Demick, 2009, p. 86).

Also in these centers, prisoners have undergone experimentation of liquid gas used in chemical weapons (The Guardian, 2004). The experimentation chambers are made of hermetic glass and measure 3.5 x 3 x 2.2 meters. Scientists have placed entire families within the chambers to watch them slowly die by inhaling poisonous gas, while the North Korean "scientists" note their observations (The Guardian, 2004).

Another practice has been medical experiments on prisoners carried out by inexperienced doctors. Surgical procedures were performed on prisoners, without anesthesia, in order to observe a prisoner's reactions (The Guardian, 2004).

Similarly, if a prisoner walks slowly, accidentally breaks a tool, or simply has been late to work in the coal mines, he is beaten unconscious with a wooden or iron stick. Sometimes the concentration camp guard will simply beat the prisoner to death (NBC News, 2003).

At night, the men sleep on a concrete floor; because there are few blankets, they sleep tight together to keep warm. There are 50 people per room; and due to exhaustion, they rarely talk to one another. (Demick, 2009, p. 224).

The domination of this country is so atrocious that they have achieved the submission of almost an entire population. According to Article 52 of the North Korean penal code, treason is regulated as, "any citizen of the Republic who flees to a foreign country, or seeks asylum in a foreign embassy, collaborates with institutions or citizens of a hostile country . . . he will be sentenced to death" (Demick, 2009, p. 221).

3. Third, in camps such as the *Kyohwaso*, or training centers, the main focus is "the rehabilitation of the derailed" (Demick, 2009, p. 220). This camp has housed up to 1,500 prisoners. The first thing the guards do when a person arrives is confiscate their belongings, to include bright colored clothes, in addition to weighing and measuring the prisoners. If a person weighs less than 38 kg they are immediately executed. Prisoners receive food once a day, consisting of leaves, peels, and cobs; in the best of circumstances, prisoners might receive a rice ball after they finish their set tasks (BBC, 2014).

As people are desperately hungry in this training center, they may eat worms or live snakes to fill their stomachs. There have even been some cases where children look for food in ponds of contaminated water (NBC News, 2003).

These oppression centers have been regarded as factories because in them different types of work is performed from wood and brick manufacturing to bicycle building. The treatment of the workers is so severe that they cannot rest a single minute during their workday, which begins at sunrise and ends at sunset. The workers can only rest when they go to sleep at night, when they eat, or when they receive ideology classes. (Demick, 2009, p. 224).

People who have been in these concentration camps are those who: have committed the crime of illegally crossing the border, have stolen food because of the existing famine in the country, were traders or smugglers, people who have been instructed in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and have become Christians or have maintained contact with priests, or have been classified by the government as a threat to the homeland and its status quo (Demick, 2009, p. 227).

Prisoners who are weak in any of these three centers are sent to another camp or are simply tortured or executed immediately. The bodies are cremated in the place where the prisoners cut wood, or are fed to the dogs. The family of the victim is informed only when they come to visit (CNN, 2014).

Foreigners entering North Korea are also imprisoned, mainly because the government says that these people want to overthrow the regime. Punishment for foreigners illegally entering North Korea is 15 years of forced labor in a detention center (Bulling, 2009). For this reason, American authorities, despite not having diplomatic relations with North Korea, have appealed to international authorities to grant special amnesty for their citizens. The imprisonment of foreign citizens has been an effective strategy for North Korea, in addition to imprisoning their own people.

In some specific cases, because of their good behavior and overall strength to withstand the abuse, some prisoners have been released as the government has ensured that they have fulfilled their punishment. Upon their release, the prisoner must declare the supremacy of the regime and profess how lucky he is to live in North Korea; in addition, he must promise to never commit any crime, nor deviate from the country's ideological principles.

Through the use of its detention centers, the North Korean regime ensures that its philosophical principles are fully abided by without resistance. Also, the camps function as a scare tactic for international submission, showing intolerance to any act of dissidence. However, in the end, North Korea has shown the world that its cruelty has no limits.

2.7 Intolerance of foreign cultures and ideologies

North Korea's *Juche* doctrine has dominated the people and has blocked political, economic, and diplomatic relations with the sole purpose of creating mistrust among nations that supposedly want to destroy the North Korean homeland and establish capitalism as the main ideology of the country. To ensure that *Juche* standards are maintained, North Korea's totalitarian government currently remains in a defensive status against any foreign intervention.

2.7.1 The rejection of anything foreign

Since 1953, the government has fought to maintain a sovereign homeland, isolating its people from the world, protecting its culture and North Korean traditions. For this reason, the North Koreans have no knowledge of foreign fashion; bands like the Beatles or Madonna; artists like Charlie Chaplin; technological advances such as an iPad, a robot, an electric car, or a smartphone; or medical advances to cure hepatitis, chemicals that dissolve fat and help you lose weight, or plastic casts that heal broken bones; or known transnational food chains such as McDonald's, KFC, Burger King, or Coca-Cola; thus, North Korea has disassociated itself from unnecessary problems and focused on wealth creation and cultivating nationalism (Bulling, 2009).

North Korea has eliminated most people perceived as having "impure blood," i.e. the anti-supporters of communism, Christians, or those who have Japanese or South Korean roots. In North Korea, these people have been stigmatized as being against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Today, North Korea, according to the International Organization Open Doors, has been listed as the first nation to persecute Christians worldwide, for Jesus is seen as a threat to the *Juche* ideology (Open Doors, 2014).

Currently, although there is no freedom of worship, according to the World Watch List, in North Korea there are 24.5 million people, 400,000 of which are underground Christians (Open Doors, 2014). Consequently, if anyone of these people was discovered carrying a Bible, or celebrating a religious holiday such as Christmas, which is regarded as a military provocation, they are executed immediately. The display of any religious acts is a violation of state regulations and an act of betrayal against the *Great Leader*. In North Korea, Kim Il-Sung is God, and in his territory there cannot be other gods. (Open Doors, 2014).

According to Article 68 of the Socialist Constitution of the Republic of Korea, "citizens have freedom of religious belief; this right is secured with permission to build buildings and ceremonies for religious purposes" (Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Korea, 1972). However, the contradictions within North Korea are obvious, since people are condemned to death if they are caught handing out bibles or holding

Mass. Likewise, in order to block any kind of external aid to the North Korean Christians, the regime has sent secret agents to kill South Korean missionaries who send religious items across the 38th parallel into North Korea (Libertad Digital, 2013).

Likewise, intolerance towards people from outside world powers is much higher, since most are against the radical policies of the North Korean government. Many people enter the country to record stories, take pictures, or film places that are banned to foreigners by the regime; the purpose of wanting to document these “forbidden” places is to show to the world the inner reality of North Korea (Libertad Digital, 2013). Currently, there are Americans who have been sentenced to forced labor who according to the North Korean government, attempted to overthrow the communist system.

The North Korean regime generates greater inconveniences to the US more than most countries. This is because Pyongyang has no diplomatic relations with Washington. In order to safeguard the security of their citizens abroad, the United States attempts to solve said inconveniences through the Swedish Embassy, which represents the interests of the American people in Pyongyang (Libertad Digital, 2013).

The Communist government completely rejects the capitalist ideology as, according to them, it turns people into egocentric and independent beings who seek only their own welfare and not that of society in general. According to Kim Il-Sung, people who follow the ideology of capitalism do not contribute effectively to national development, because employees who perform their work in different companies are only interested in working 8 hours per day, earning his monthly salary, and continuing on with his daily activities. The North Korean regime cannot accept this doctrine within their territory since they do not want their people to be individualistic minded and worry about their own prosperity; rather, they want the North Korean people to work synergistically; not only eight hours per day or for a fixed salary, which will make them more ambitious and less productive, but enough to effectively grow their homeland and be honored by the *Great Leader*.

Through these policies, North Korea has limited external ideologies from contaminating their society, which has allowed the communist regime to further progress under the cover of its own regulations.

2.8 Conclusion

North Korea has oppressed its people in a covert manner; through great strategies and tactics that have led all its citizens to adore and worship their leaders. Today, the North Korean regime is focused on suppressing any political, economic, or diplomatic relations with each of the imperialist nations, or organizations who want to overthrow and intervene in the communist system that has prevailed for many decades.

CHAPTER 3: CHALLENGES IN THE EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT AND IMPLEMENTED STRATEGIES

Introduction

As the North Korean government managed the stranglehold of its people by implementing oppressive policies, the *Great Leader* faced an increasingly interconnected world that promoted world peace and rejected nuclear weapons as well as International Organizations that ceaselessly brought to light any violation of human rights.

The strategies employed by the North Korean government to threaten the international community are outlined in the following section.

3.1 Nuclear weapons in Korea

The rulers of North Korea have oppressed their people through forced and psychological strategies. However, Kim Jong-Un has implemented a series of threats directed toward the imperialist nations that have not supported the plans implemented by his communist regime. The current regime in North Korea has attempted to manipulate the international community by first, testing intercontinental ballistic missiles; and second, providing uranium to known terrorist groups. Because of North Korea's hostile actions, they have been labeled by the US and its allies as part of the Axis of Evil; hence, the United States, Japan, and South Korea have applied more stringent protective measures against possible attacks from North Korea and adopted various measures geared toward economic strangulation of the communist regime.

3.1.1 Direct threat from North Korea

North Korea began implementing their violent practices more intensely in November 2002, mainly because the United States suspended oil shipments to this country after George W. Bush took power in that same year (Villanueva, 2011). For this reason, Kim Jong-Un immediately terminated the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Weapons signed

in 1994, and reactivated the *Yongbyon* nuclear plant, removing cameras and seals and expelled inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Another reason why Kim Jong-Un expelled the IAEA is because they could implement liberating ideas in the country or provide confidential information to foreign powers, triggering a possible collapse of the Kim dynasty. (Revista Española de Defensa, 2012).

In order not to destabilize his power, Kim Jong-Un created a preemptive war to defend against possible attacks and gain a strategic advantage over the impending conflict (Avellaneda, 2006). According to Bulling, a "preventive action occurs when a state is motivated to attack first, or otherwise suffers increasingly inferiority in their abilities regarding the opponent over time" (Bulling, 2009). It is for this reason that the North Korean government stated publicly that they possess nuclear weapons and would destroy any nation that interfered in its internal affairs; and, the only way to disarm this program was through economic aid and security conferred by the International Community.

Thus, the North Korean regime immediately put into operation a satellite which could carry nuclear warheads and hit targets at a distance of over 10,000 kilometers (Ria Novosti, 2013). In the period between 2006 and 2009, two underground nuclear tests were also conducted, representing an imminent danger to its people and the world. North Korea showed it was a nation worthy of respect and possessed enough nuclear material to defeat their enemies.

The North Korean regime's only mechanism for concessions from the great powers was its nuclear weapons. According to the North Korea, the United States has always longed to obtain the economic strangulation and the decline of the communist regime; apparently, the US was going to achieve this through sanctions introduced by the Security Council of the United Nations. The North Korean leader has stated that the UN has achieved the US's objective, including the participation of countries such as Germany, Australia, Spain, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Great Britain, Canada, Denmark, Norway, Russia, Singapore, and Turkey; which have pledged to prevent exports of weapons of mass destruction, radioactive materials, and vehicles to the North Korean territory (Avellaneda, 2006). Moreover, these nations have also seized the cargo of all North Korean ships in each of its ports and airports; in

certain cases, the vessels were transporting chemical weapons or illegal psychotropic substances.

The measures adopted by the UN have sought global security only; that is why Resolution 1718 in 2006, and 1874 in 2009, was issued. In these resolutions it states that the UN "condemned and punished the nuclear test, the People's Republic announcing that such a trial would bring universal condemnation of the international community, and it constituted a clear threat to international peace and security" (United Nations 2006).

However, these facts did not stop the destructive and dominant ideals of the president; because, according to the North Korean regime, they would prefer to live isolated from the world rather than submit to international standards contrary to his philosophy.

Because the leader of North Korea has managed to convince the world that it is a dangerous nation with a vast number of nuclear bombs, the country continues to experience extreme poverty; and it has led to a serious security dilemma between the world powers and North Korea.

3.1.2 The indirect threat of North Korea

Once North Korea had shown that it possessed sufficient nuclear material, the absolutist nation implemented an indirect threat to the world, leading to a possible nuclearization of major terrorist groups from countries like Pakistan, Libya, Syria, or Iran. (Real Instituto Elcano, 2012).

Great powers also were alarmed, because there was a risk that several nuclear devices were shipped out of the North Korean territory without being detected, including "a small amount of plutonium 239 suitable for nuclear bombs, which not only has a small footprint but is also slightly radioactive and does not emit a signal that can be discovered, which North Korea could then send to a terrorist group" (Bustelo, 2006).

North Korea having its own nuclear arsenal, which could be given even to terrorist groups, made Kim Jong-Un feel that he had enough nuclear material to also create a

nuclear bomb for himself which would be a powerful "deterrent and bargaining chip to obtain raw materials, energy, and food for his people" (Real Instituto Elcano, 2012). According to the *Great Leader*, if his ideology worked on the North Korean people it could work in each of the countries where these terrorist and insurgent groups were located.

However, the US and its allies implemented several programs that set security guarantees for their territories in the case of an attack by the communist nation. Similarly, all these factors made the powers reevaluate their strategies and establish more stringent practices to take control again.

This situation led to the complete, verifiable, and irreversible dismantlement of North Korean nuclear programs being essential conditions to obtain economic and energy aid and the lifting of all sanctions imposed by the UN (Revista Española de Defensa, 2012). Kim Jong-Un, however, did not accept the clauses imposed by its main enemy because his ideology and threat to the world would disappear.

North Korea manifested its power to the world through its use of nuclear weapons and constant intimidation of the international community. Thus, capitalist nations implemented several strategies to protect against hostile attacks from Kim Jong-Un, to include economic sanctions. For this reason, the North Korean territory even concluded any relationship he had with some countries, which objected to the philosophical principles of his absolutist doctrine.

3.2 The end of negotiations with South Korea

Political relations between North Korea and South have been unstable since 1950. Despite this, and in order to achieve Korean economic cooperation, several agreements effectively favoring the development of the two countries were implemented. However, North Korea being an intolerant and closed country, wanted to show the world that it was a powerful nation, thereby perpetuating the strained relations between North and South Korea.

3.2.1 Reasons leading to an imbalance of relations with South Korea

The reasons that led to the instability of relations with the South Korean nation were:

1. Since 1998, the North Koreans began to sell their few personal belongings to obtain money in order to acquire false passports to enable them to leave the famine and inhumanity of the North Korean nation. After acquiring fake passports, the defectors might have to also bribe North Korean police officers to cross the border and head for China, and then quietly travel by plane to South Korea (Demick, 2009, p. 304). South Korea has some regulations that benefit the North Koreans, for example Article III of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea or South Korea states, "the sole legitimate state on the Korean Peninsula . . . include[s] the North Koreans" (International Labor Organization, 1948). Even the South Korean Supreme Court, in 1996, recognized the right of every North Korean to be a citizen (Demick, 2009, p. 303).

This factor led to a destabilization of inter-Korean relations because Kim Jong-Un saw these policies as ruses employed by the South Korean government to overthrow the regime and the *Juche* philosophy, regardless of the fact that many residents voluntarily fled the North from the yoke of the Kim dynasty.

The number of North Koreans who entered South Korea has risen year after year. In 1998, 71 North Koreans applied for Korean citizenship; in 1999, 148 people; in 2000, 312; in 2001, 583; and in 2002 the number of people from North Korea doubled to 1139; until today the number of people each year has grown to 3000 (Demick, 2009, p. 304). The South Korean government has incorporated, according to *Han Nam* politics which states that the South Koreans and North Koreans are the same, more North Koreans to their territory (Demick, 2009, p. 305). However, for the absolutist government, this represented a propaganda act that the Southern government used to attract the people of the North.

Relations between the two territories are constantly weakened due to the continued implementation of the contradictory regulations of Kim Jong-Un, which were considered inconceivable by the *Great Leader*. In 2008, there were 15,057

North Korean refugees in South Korea. Upon entering the Southern territory, North Koreans receive training in the Hanawon Social Rehabilitation Center, inaugurated in 1999. This center was constructed due to the large number of North Koreans who defected to the South (Demick, 2009, p. 307).

In the Hanawon Social Rehabilitation Center the North Koreans were taught how to fend for themselves; that is, to go to a supermarket to buy their own food, to go to a mall to buy clothes, to discard their hatred towards the Americans, the process of democracy, and how the principles of human rights effectively worked worldwide (Demick, 2009, p. 307). Consequently, when they were fully redeemed from the doctrine of Kim Il-Sung, the Korean government gave them twenty thousand dollars, so they could start a new life in South Korea (Demick, 2009, p. 308).

The North Korean government immediately conducted a nuclear test, which threatened the government of the Republic of Korea not to continue using liberating regulations that only led to an imbalance in their relationships. Essentially, Kim Jong-Un threatened to start a war between the two Koreas if their policies were continued (El País, 2013).

2. The second reason that inter-Korean relations were destabilized was because South Korea had planned to sign a Free Trade Agreement with the United States. To the North Korean government, this was impossible because the two Koreas maintained a mutually beneficial agreement. If South Korea were to adopt American economic it could lead to the final collapse of the Kim dynasty.

This alliance also abolished the 95% tariffs on all products exchanged by both South Korea and the US (Revista Portes, 2010); for the North Korean leader, this represented an unrecognizable act, not worthy of his trust.

The South Korean government also implemented within the FTA negotiations with US products, products from the Kaesong Industrial Complex (KIC),¹⁰ which

¹⁰ The Kaesong Industrial Complex (KIC) was built in 2003 on the north-south border, and established in the North Korean territory, formed by a private initiative of the Korean nation,

would receive the benefit of the elimination of the 95% tariff rates (Revista Portes, 2010). However, North Korea objected to this negotiation, which stated that the products produced within the CIK should be marketed only in Korean territory, and not the enemy of the country, despite the products receiving greater benefits.

3. The third reason is that the standards of South Korean President Lee Myungbak were pragmatic. President Myungbak wanted to implement a plan known as Vision 3000, to increase the GDP per North Korean capita to \$3,000 a year in exchange for the denuclearization of its territory and incorporation of the US capitalist system. In doing so, the nation would have rapid economic growth, similar to former socialist bloc countries such as China, Vietnam, and Russia (Jean, 2009, p. 10). Sadly, this plan was rejected by the North Korean leader as it contradicted the *Juche* philosophy set forth by his grandfather so many years ago.

Lee Myungbak worked with North Korea to build strong diplomatic relations with the US and Japan, in order to become a participant of the global market, while also benefiting from the international community and the International Monetary Fund (Jean, 2009, p. 13). In retaliation to these policies, the North Korean military government killed a South Korean tourist at the Mount Kumgang resort, demonstrating the totalitarian government's power. Kim maintained this attitude to all those who would interfere with his affairs and internal policies (Revista Portes, 2010).

This policy was only trying to modernize North Korea, by reformulating its internal policies and external structure, eliminating their entire nuclear arsenal to achieve world peace, and changing the negative impressions by the international community. However, North Korea did not want to adopt these policies, insomuch that the inter-Korean tension increased significantly, to the point that the North Korean leader continued killing a large number of people in South Korea, including 46 sailors on the South Korean warship, *Cheonan* which

which sought to maintain stable political and economic relations with North Korea, encouraging and boosting equitable economic growth (Revista Portes, 2010).

was sunk by a torpedo manufactured in the absolutist country. Also, North Korea bombed the South Korean island of Yeonpyong, killing more people and increasing cooling relations between the two nations (Revista Portes, 2010).

4. The last reason is that the Kaesong Industrial Complex stopped working from the constant interference and hostile actions by South Korea. The South Korean government insulted the dignity of the North Korean territory in wanting this nation to incorporate doctrine contrary to *Juche* philosophy (El Mundo, 2013). The North Korean regime, because of pride, even rejected \$87 million dollars it received annually from the CIK.
5. For this reason, North Korea entered a state of war with South Korea adopting defensive strategies by closing Kaesong and sending home 53,000 workers from the complex. Even world-renowned South Korean companies like Samsung, Kia, LG, and Hyundai were affected with losses of up to \$900 million (El Mundo, 2013). Thus, inter-Korean trade relations were destabilized.

Due to the closure of these industrial areas, North Korea was able to establish psychological and political pressure, demonstrating its strong influence and unilateral power internationally. In retaliation, Kim Jong-Un issued a new policy that prohibited the sale of commodities such as rice, corn, soybeans, steel plates, etc. to not only South Korean, but also to China, which could export these products to South Korea (Revista Española de Defensa, 2012).

Despite various negotiations and agreements between South Korea and North Korea, the Kaesong complex was reopened but establishing as a fundamental pillar that it would not be used for political means. However, currently the distrust of both territories is immeasurable, due to the uncertainty of the actions that could be used at any time by the North Korean regime (Yonhap News Agency, 2013).

Finally, although North Korea is a country that has an ideology based on self-reliance, South Korea has established relationships with this nation for the purpose of mutual benefit, primarily because the North Korean territory requires

financial aid. However, because of the distrust of the imperialist nations to potentially bring down the communist system, and in order to continue expressing his absolute power to the world, Kim Jong-Un has suppressed political and trade ties, and avoiding even some resolutions of international organizations, especially with South Korea; threatening once again both his people and territory.

3.3 The subject of International Organizations

In order to achieve their goals of mass destruction and remain on the defensive against any attack or policy issued by adverse nations, North Korea has rejected the help of the Global Food Program (WFP), it has violated the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, and expelled the UN International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

3.3.1 The rejection of the aid from the World Food Program (WFP)

The absolutist regime accepted the entry of members from the World Food Program due to the extreme hunger in North Korea. It should be noted that the distribution of food should have been in conjunction with the Public Distribution System; however, most participants of this system were military and senior leaders working in government, accounting for only 5% of the North Korean population. These people were the most favored, receiving the best food for themselves and their families first and the scraps were sent to the people (Demick, 2009, p. 179). The WFP considered this to be deplorable, presenting this unacceptable situation before the UN.

In retaliation, upon hearing of this complaint, North Korean placed a ballistic missile aimed at the US and Japan. At the same time, Kim Jong-Un allowed his people to continue to starve by rejecting €10 million in economic support supplied by the WFP (Avellaneda, 2006). Because of the critical situation in North Korea, chronic diseases increased disproportionately among the people.

The North Korean government also rejected members of the World Food Program from giving humanitarian aid to North Korea, because it would interfere more and more in internal affairs of the nation; which would in turn convey the reality of North Korea to the

world (Avellaneda, 2006). However, starvation in this nation was constant, as the North Korean government reduced the daily subsidized food rations to 200 grams per person. Thus, one in four women between 15 and 49 years were malnourished due to lack of nutrients, and a third of children aged 4 to 10 years suffered from rickets, while a fifth was underweight (Amnesty International, 2012).

In order to maintain a strong position, members of the North Korean government continued placing plastic food markets so the world could see it was not missing anything and did not depend on any international body. Because of the fear that North Korea would alter world peace through their heinous threats, the WFP did not attempt to negotiate with the country; which led to 3.5 million people dying from the existing famine (Amnesty International, 2012).

Similarly, the United Nations, in order to promulgate peace in North Korea, issued decision 410 to stop the aggression of their forces and their military operations against the United Nations, who were only trying to restore peace in this region (United Nations, 1950). The Amendment also acknowledged that the North Korean people desperately needed relief supplies, materials, and help to rebuild its economy (United Nations, 1950). However, because of pride and suspicion, essential components in the nation of *Juche*, the restructuring of this country has not been satisfactory due to the rejection of foreign aid.

It should be noted that the purpose of the United Nations was only focused on instituting a plan for the relief and reconstruction of North Korea, both for the lasting peace in the region and the economic foundations required to establish a unified and independent nation (United Nations, 1950). However, the North Korean leader rejected the help of the UN, since this international organization wanted to intervene in his internal policies and wanted to promulgate the precepts of the United States, Japan, and South Korea.

The United Nations, in order to respect the sovereignty of North Korean territory, did not allow the International Committee of the Red Cross to research the number of dead, sick, and imprisoned that existed in North Korea. If the Commission were to enter North Korea, it would have "free access to people, places, and relevant documents deemed

necessary for the performance of their duties and to be allowed to question any person about the North Korean government” (United Nations, 1953).

Although the UN respected the sovereignty of the North Korean territory, the *Great Leader* distrusted the UN’s actions, because it was a draft resolution presented by the United States. Thus, the communist government vowed to increase its totalitarian tyranny, internationally and nationally.

3.3.2 Threats toward the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

The International Atomic Energy Agency(IAEA) has been unable to control the plans intended for the North Korean nuclear arsenal, mainly because the North Korean regime considered this international organization a tool of oppression by the United States; which is why in 2008, Kim Jong-Un expelled the IAEA officials who were monitoring the *Yongbyon* plant in the North Korean nation (ABC, 2008). The purpose of this plant was to reprocess uranium and produce plutonium, a material purely used in the production of atomic bombs.

Kim Jong-Un’s plans also included thousands of sealed fuel rods that were stored in different places in the country. In addition, North Korea used its nuclear programs "to deter a possible US attack or invasion, and complementing it with its conventional forces of more than one million soldiers, the largest artillery force in the world, and Scud and Nodong missiles” (Real Instituto Elcano, 2012). By expelling each of the members of the IAEA, the communist government managed to threaten another international organization.

The North Korean regime's applied political and diplomatic pressure to gain royalties and access to international bodies at their convenience; mostly through manipulation or blackmailing international organizations and violating its resolutions. This made North Korea a hostile nation, which is precisely the image Kim wanted to project to the world. Furthermore, as an absolutist regime, the government did not care about its violations of the human rights of its people and the world, only that their dignity and doctrine was respected.

3.4 The reproach of human rights

"Wherever injustice is committed is a threat to justice worldwide" (King, 1963). North Korea possesses the meanest authoritarian dictatorship on earth in the XXI century. The leaders of this country have abused their power, have used broad manipulation tactics internationally and nationally to the point that they have violated the fundamental rights of man. All of this has been done in order that for Kim Jong-Un's people to idolize him, as well as faithfully pursue the foundations of the national law. In the international arena, North Korea has remained on the defensive. Many cases of cruelty and inhumanity within North Korea have been exposed. Today, there are documented cases of human rights violations by the North Korean government, including: the torturing and killing of citizens and foreigners alike; the sentencing to death in ruthless conditions of men, women, and children; extreme social inequality; a ban on freedom of expression and movement; and finally forced disappearances.

3.4.1 Methods of torture and murder employed by the North Korean government of citizens and foreigners

A common case of violation of human rights has been torture and murder for various reasons to promote the control and discipline of the people, yet it has also worked as an interrogation method used by North Korean officials in order to obtain information, especially on political matters (Amnesty International, 2013). Many times, officials have led people to involuntarily incriminate themselves due to the intense pressure of the interrogation tactics.

Some of these methods are; cane torture - in this position, the chest is hit until the person vomits blood; motorcycle and aircraft torture - in these positions individuals "are forced to maintain extremely painful stress positions involving the excessive stretching of the arms to the point of exhaustion and subsequent collapse" (BBC, 2014). All these facts have prompted the international community to begin to crack down on the absolutist regime, in order to prevent these inhumane practices.

In contrast, North Korea has relied on its national sovereignty to do what is best for them (Amnesty International, 2013). That is why the North Korean government has not

yet allowed the Security Council of the UN to investigate these inhuman acts, because the regime of Kim Jong-Un's practice of torture continues to kill its inhabitants. In one case, a method used for questioning has "the detainees stay all day in their cell on their knees, with their head on the floor" (BBC, 2014). On several occasions, officials have broken sticks or rods on the heads of the accused to draw out any kind of confession.

Similarly, infanticide has been an essential component of torture applied by the government. In the case of a woman who gave birth to her son in a concentration camp, one of the guards heard the baby crying and began beating the mother immediately. "She begged him to let her keep the baby, but he kept hitting; with trembling hands, the mother was forced to immerse the face of her newborn in water until the crying stopped" (CNN, 2014).

One method in particular has been established by the North Korean leader in the various concentration camps to supposedly save on food; the North Korean guards trained their dogs by giving them food as a reward to attack children, some children were even buried alive (Demick, 2009, p. 171). This is an example of the cruelty imposed on too many North Korean inhabitants, regardless of age or sex. The only thing that interests the North Korean leader is the subordination of his people, and that the rest of the world knows that any intervention represents a hostile act that may lead to a war.

The UN presents crimes against humanity caused by North Korea to the International Criminal Court; so that at some point, peace and order in this country can be restored.

With reference to the torture of foreign nationals, the North Korean government has implemented these practices mainly on Americans; they claim that Americans entering their territory are spies and have therefore committed hostile acts (International Labor Organization, 1948). These people are taken to concentration camps where they are treated the same or worse than a North Korean prisoner, going several days without food, and not receiving their two daily rest periods (El País, 2014).

3.4.2 Capital punishment

Another form of violation of human rights, and a threat on the international community, has been public executions by members of the North Korean government. The *inminban* are those who announce public executions, to which all should attend. The most common cases of people being publically executed are those who perhaps stole copper wire or coal and then sold these materials on the black market to survive (Demick, 2009, p. 234). These acts are considered a betrayal to the North Korean social system.

Another thing that has bothered the current regime is inhabitants watching Korean and Chinese TV shows, purchased on the black market through DVDs, cassettes, or on memory cards (The Telegraph, 2014). To prevent foreign cultural contraband from entering North Korean territory, the Department of Inspection of Electric Waves makes surprise inspections at any time of the day. If a person is found in possession of such contraband then they are immediately notified of their execution date. From 2010 to 2013, 80 people had been executed, including members of the Workers Party (The Independent, 2014).

A new cause for capital punishment in North Korea occurs when members of the government of Kim Jong-Un discover people who access information from the outside world through Korean smartphones, using applications disguised as games; these acts have been considered a crime against the state.

Because the United Nations is not aware of all these events, it has not done anything to prevent the violation of the integrity of the people. Therefore, the North Korean government has gone against Article 5 of the Declaration of Human Rights, which states that "no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment" (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948).

Another example of the cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment found in North Korea is the tying of an accused to ". . . a wooden stake by their head, chest, and legs; and a firing squad begins to shoot until the head of the accused falls on their chest; the body curls up at the foot of the stake and the blood begins to drip like water" (Demick, 2009,

p. 234). The inhumanity and atrocity of these acts has clearly reflected the cruelty of the Kim dynasty.

3.4.3 Social inequality

The government has maintained its own social classification known as *songbun*, which classifies its people according to the degree of political reliability and loyalty to the North Korean regime, which is awarded by their parents, grandparents and cousins according to an assessment of a number of records. The North Korean government has developed a rigid caste system. At the top of the pyramid stands the North Korean leader and his family. Under the same three great classes are: the main class, the wavering, and hostile. Within this last class is the *Kisaeng* or female artists, they perform activities similar to Japanese geishas; fortune tellers, shamans or *mudang*; and those who are Buddhist, Catholic, pro-American, pro-Japanese, reactionary bureaucrats, family farmers, rich landowners, and also all the people who collaborated with South Korea during the Korean War (Demick, 2009, p. 44).

All persons belonging to the last position of the North Korean pyramid cannot live in the capital Pyongyang or in the best rural areas where land is more fertile. Within this class system, it is impossible to improve one's status; members of the Workers Party may be demoted to this class for misconduct. If a person commits a crime against the government, it is an irreparable offense insomuch that the North Korean regime will label that person, *beuhun*, or contaminated or impure blood (Demick, 2009, p. 45).

North Korea has violated Article 7 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that "all are equal before the law and are entitled, without any discrimination, to equal protection of the law; all are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination" (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948). In violating the human rights of its citizens, North Korea has been labeled a powerful, yet hostile nation. Although the International Community has issued some resolutions sanctioning North Korea for several years, they have not worked much to help the people.

3.4.4 Ban on Freedom of Expression and Circulation

Another case of a human rights violation is the prohibition on freedom of expression and movement of the North Korean people. According to a report issued in March 2014 by the French organization, *Reporters Without Borders*, North Korea ranks 178 of 179 countries, as the country with the least freedom of expression (*Reporteros Sin Fronteras*, 2014).

Freedom of conscience, thought, and religion has not been in existence in North Korea, since under the regime of Kim Il-Sung people were taught to worship the *Great Leader*. The only person who people should worship is Kim Il-Sung, his son, and grandson. Any opinions or information that goes against the principles or doctrine of the government will receive harsh and inhuman punishment (Demick, 2009, p. 112).

Article 19 of the Declaration of Human Rights of the UN states, "everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom not to be disturbed because of his opinions; to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media, regardless of borders" (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948). The North Korean nation violates this article because the media is controlled solely by the state; the only authoritative source of information. Access to an independent research source is considered an imminent offense to the homeland (Amnesty International, 2013).

In North Korea, phone calls, radio, and the Internet are supervised and monitored by members of the Workers Party. Any content that goes against government standards leads to citizens being punished. It is worth mentioning that only top government officials have access to the internet, the rest of the people, through the intranet, can only access news, documentaries, or media that the government has uploaded onto these pages (Amnesty International, 2012).

In 2009, the State sentenced two American journalists to 12 years hard labor for allegedly crossing the border without documentation (*Reporteros Sin Fronteras*, 2014). This is a clear violation of the rights of free international press.

With regard to freedom of movement, if a person wants to move from one city to another he or she needs special permission from the North Korean Border Police. Only top North Korean officials have the right to leave the territorial limits of North Korea. Again; this is a violation of the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 13 of this declaration states, "everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state, and everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return home" (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948).

Because North Korea is a "closed country," legal frameworks and international laws have been unable to function efficiently, thus they have not effectively guaranteed international human rights standards to their people.

The North Korean government has also maintained some control over the international community, prohibiting the movement of international humanitarian agencies to carry out inspections and see the reality of North Korea. Also, this nation is not a signatory country of the Rome Statute, the founding document of the International Criminal Court (ICC). This court cannot enter North Korean territory, or launch an investigation into the atrocities committed in this country; but, "must wait until it is required by the Security Council of the UN; an unrealistic option due to the foreseeable vetoing power of North Korea's ally, China" (Amnesty International, 2013).

3.4.5 Kidnapping

Another case of a human rights violation in North Korea is kidnapping carried out by members of the government. The regime has kidnapped several citizens from Japan, Thailand, Romania, and Lebanon. This is a cause for great international concern as the North Korean nation has violated the human rights of citizens of other sovereign states, as well as the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The North Korean government has even contradicted its own statute, since Article 17 of the Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea states, "the State is in solidarity with countries that defend its independence, provides them with active support, and endorses all they are struggling to achieve for the sovereignty of their

country and the fight against all forms of aggression and interference in its internal affairs” (Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Korea, 1972). After the armistice, seventeen Japanese, one Romanian, three French, three Italians, and two Dutch have been abducted with the purpose of learning their language and customs and teaching a special body of North Korean agents to use these individuals’ identities to infiltrate other nations (Abductions of Japanese Citizens by North Korea, 2008).

These facts have represented a violation of human dignity and fundamental freedoms. North Korea, having used such tactics, has obtained several concessions; such as the lifting of unilateral sanctions imposed upon them by Japan and the establishment of diplomatic relations with various countries (El País, 2014).

The inhuman measures used excessively in North Korea have served to control people domestically and international; the North Korean government has justified their behavior on the simple basis of promoting their national sovereignty and achieving their goals.

3.5 Conclusion

North Korea, in order to intimidate International Organizations and other nations, has used various strategies that have helped to prevent outside interference within the communist regime. By using nuclear weapons, supplying uranium to known terrorist nations, distorting and ignoring the human rights of its people and foreigners, North Korea has managed to manipulate and intimidate their enemies. This nation has continued to prevail, even until today, as a result of a despicable two-level game.

CONCLUSIONS

The North Korean economy has been deficient because 30.3% of its GDP goes toward the military. This is the body that ensures the security of the territory and avoids any foreign intervention. Likewise, the North Korean government uses part of its budget for nuclear weapons development; in order to prove to the world, and especially to the "imperialist" nations, that North Korea is a dominant country.

North Korea has stagnated as a primary and light economy. Due to the scarcity of resources, this country has not been able to develop into a secondary economy. Hence, this nation economically survives from a few exports from China, foreign investment, and the Kaesong Industrial Complex. North Korea annually receives \$ 87 billion.

It should be mentioned that the Juche ideology has to a misconception that autarky or self-sufficiency is ideal to flourish, even within a country that does not have hardly any technological resources.

The Juche ideology, created by Kim Il-Sung, has prevailed for three generations in an efficient way. The government has become a worship symbol for the entire North Korean population and has implemented a cunning strategy that has served to oppress and control the people without being noticed; this is because the people, since they were children, have been educated under the principles of this doctrine. The main principle of this philosophy is to love and respect the nation's Leader above all and even if they believe the government is wrong, they have no choice but to remain silent and to keep on venerating this ideology.

The pressure and control that the current government of North Korea exerts is frightening. These components have even prevented the society from having any form of political debate or organization against the government. Due to the Juche principles in politics, safeguards have been established in order to promote general welfare within North Korea. Any organized resistance movement could lead to a brutal repression of any particular person and/or his family.

To maintain the oppression of its people, the North Korean government uses three types of concentration camps: the *Ajibkyulso*, *Kwanliso* and *Kyohso*. These centers house those who have violated a constitutional norm or are of impure blood.

Freedom does not exist in North Korea. All citizens do not have freedom of religion because their only God is Kim Il-Sung. Phone calls, radio, and intranet are supervised and monitored by members of the Workers Party. Any content that goes against government standards leads to citizens being punished by inhumane methods. Also, the regime prevents its people, and foreign citizens, to move around from one city to another if they do not have an official permission granted by the North Korean border police.

In addition, North Korea fights to eradicate constant infiltration of foreign information within the territory. The Inspection Department of Electrical Waves often examines citizens' houses to prevent them from listening to external news or foreign programs. If North Koreans do this, the government will deny them their food vouchers or in extreme cases, they will be sentenced to death or publicly executed. In this scenario, the regime, in order to safeguard the country and prevent international invasion, has used its nuclear weapons. Also, it has carried out underground nuclear tests to thereby maintain international control and implement fear.

The North Korean government has classified hackers as corrupted individuals, not worthy of the nation. Also, most have been immediately eradicated through any hostile and inhumane method that the regime has seen fit to apply.

Human rights violations are immeasurable because of the large number of public executions, torture, and murders carried out by the North Korean government towards people who have issued dissenting opinions against the regime.

The North Korean regime has lasted for 66 years due to constant psychological manipulation, collective brainwashing, foreign culture eradication, and prohibition of external items. Internationally, through its nuclear arsenal, it has manipulated the international community and the imperialist nations. North Korea undergoes nuclear tests and threatens a third world war on a consistent basis.

Moreover, the government has violated various resolutions from the United Nations. It has prevented access by international organizations to the North Korean territory, citing national sovereignty principles as precedence. Thus, North Korea maintains a hostile attitude towards these organizations, hiding confidential information from them.

The North Korean government always safeguards the country's information, in order to avoid external interference. For this reason, it has been difficult to get real information about the North Korean nation. However, through Korean books and first-hand accounts from North Korean escapees, much of the speculation surrounding North Korea has been validated.

Bibliography

- International Labor Organization.* (1948, July 17). Retrieved November 10, 2014, from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/---ilo_aids/documents/legaldocument/wcms_117333.pdf
- Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Korea.* (1972, December 27). Retrieved February 25, 2014, from <http://pcpa.xenonsoft.es/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/CONSTITUCION-SOCIALISTA-DE-LA-REPUBLICA-POPULAR-DEMOCRATICA-DE-COREA.pdf>
- El Concepto de Hegemonia en Gramsci.* (1978, May 12). Retrieved April 14, 2014, from http://www.gramsci.org.ar/12/gruppi_heg_en_gramsci.htm
- Gateway to Korea.* (1999). Retrieved December 10, 2013, from <http://spanish.korea.net/AboutKorea/Korea-at-a-Glance/History>
- NBC News.* (2003, January 15). Retrieved October 15, 2014, from <http://www.nbcnews.com/id/3071468/#.VKxPySuG91Y>
- The Guardian.* (2004, February 01). Retrieved October 19, 2014, from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/feb/01/northkorea>
- International Education.* (2005, November 11). Retrieved May 08, 2014, from http://old.ei-ie.org/barometer/es/profiles_detail.php?country=dprk
- Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.* (2005, February 12). Retrieved January 19, 2015, from http://lib.ohchr.org/HRBodies/UPR/Documents/Session1/EC/CEDHU_ECU_UPR_S1_2008anx_SISTEMA%20PENITENCIARIO%20ECUATORIANO.pdf
- ABC.* (2008, September 25). Retrieved November 19, 2014, from <http://www.abc.es/20080925/internacional-asia/corea-norte-expulsa-inspectores-20080925.html>

- Centro Checo.* (2008, May 10). Retrieved March 11, 2015, from <http://madrid.czechcentres.cz/programa/event-details/la-primavera-de-praga-1968/>
- El Pais.* (2011, December 20). Retrieved March 25, 2014, from http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2011/12/19/actualidad/1324264541_238330.html
- El Pais.* (2011, December 20). Retrieved March 25, 2014, from http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2011/12/19/actualidad/1324264541_238330.html
- Los Tiempos.* (2011, November 15). Retrieved June 04, 2014, from http://www.lostiempos.com/media_pdf/2013/04/10/447884_pdf.pdf
- Universidad de las Americas.* (2011, September 13). Retrieved January 14, 2015, from <http://dspace.udla.edu.ec/handle/33000/82>
- Xa Yimg.* (2012, June 24). Retrieved May 17, 2014, from <https://xa.yimg.com/kq/groups/19326480/577169907/name/04.pdf>
- Cidob.* (2013, April 10). Retrieved March 17, 2014, from www.cidob.org/es/content/pdf/31367
- El Comercio.* (2013, November 09). Retrieved January 23, 2015, from <http://www.elcomercio.com.ec/actualidad/negocios/sigilo-bancario-de-personas-negado.html>.
- El Mundo.* (2013, September 16). Retrieved November 17, 2014, from <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2013/09/16/internacional/1379299838.html>
- El País.* (2013, February 12). Retrieved March 31, 2015, from http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2013/02/12/actualidad/1360641238_289084.html

El País. (2013, November 20). Retrieved March 29, 2014, from http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2011/12/21/actualidad/1324480068_275913.html

NEWS. (2013, June 21). Retrieved May 13, 2014, from <http://www.news.va/es/news/asiacorea-del-norte-los-campos-de-concentracion-se>

Revista Juridica. (2013). Retrieved January 19, 2015, from http://www.revistajuridicaonline.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=119&Itemid=65

Ria Novosti. (2013, February 13). Retrieved October 17, 2014, from http://sp.ria.ru/opinion_analysis/20130213/156392860.html

Yonhap News Agency. (2013, September 11). Retrieved January 12, 2015, from <http://spanish.yonhapnews.co.kr/npgm/4190000000.html?cid=ASP20130911001800883>

BBC. (2014, February 17). Retrieved November 24, 2014, from http://www.bbc.co.uk/mundo/noticias/2014/02/140217_internacional_corea_norte_onu_informe_ch

BBC. (2014, February 17). Retrieved May 15, 2014, from http://www.bbc.co.uk/mundo/noticias/2014/02/140217_internacional_corea_norte_onu_informe_ch.shtml

CNN. (2014, February 18). Retrieved May 15, 2014, from <http://mexico.cnn.com/mundo/2014/02/18/nos-obligaban-a-comer-pasto-y-tierra-exprisionero-de-corea-del-norte>

Corte Interamericana de Derechos Humanos. (2014, May 04). Retrieved January 26, 2015, from <http://www.corteidh.or.cr/>

- El Comercio.* (2014, March 26). Retrieved April 04, 2014, from http://www.elcomercio.com/mundo/CoreaNorte-CoreaSur-conflicto-MarAmarillo-disparos_0_1111688934.html.
- El Comercio.* (2014, February 16). Retrieved January 25, 2015, from <http://edicionimpresa.elcomercio.com/es/24163923041c0c86-2f16-4e0b-8264-73ced0a7b9cd>
- El Diario de Corea del Norte.* (2014, January 31). Retrieved June 18, 2014, from http://eldiariodecoreadelnorte.blogspot.com/2014_01_01_archive.html
- El País.* (2014, September 14). Retrieved November 24, 2014, from http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2014/09/14/actualidad/1410700275_836750.html
- InterNations.* (2014, October 15). Retrieved January 12, 2015, from <http://www.internations.org/expat-insider/2014/>
- Open Doors.* (2014). Retrieved June 21, 2014, from <https://www.opendoors.org/>
- Pew Research.* (2014, November 13). Retrieved January 14, 2014, from <http://www.pewforum.org/2014/11/13/religion-in-latin-america/>
- RT.* (2014, October 27). Retrieved December 15, 2014, from <http://actualidad.rt.com/programas/especial/view/144944-pueblo-mariscal-dias-corea-norte>
- RT.* (2014, October 27). Retrieved December 15, 2014, from <http://actualidad.rt.com/programas/especial/view/144944-pueblo-mariscal-dias-corea-norte>
- The Independent.* (2014, October 29). Retrieved November 25, 2014, from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/north-korean-officials-publicly->

executed-for-watching-south-korean-soap-operas-
9825170.html?origin=internalSearch

The Telegraph. (2014, October 29). Retrieved November 25, 2014, from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/northkorea/11194489/North-Korea-executes-members-of-Workers-Party-for-watching-South-Korean-soap-operas.html>

Abductions of Japanese Citizens by North Korea. (2008, October 25). Retrieved November 26, 2014, from <http://www.rachi.go.jp/es/ratimondai/other.html>

Amnesty International. (2012, August 13). Retrieved November 18, 2014, from <http://www.amnesty.org/en/node/31946>

Amnesty International. (2013, March 10). *Amnesty International Report 2013*. Retrieved November 24, 2014, from http://files.amnesty.org/air13/AmnestyInternational_AnnualReport2013_complete_es.pdf

Autonomous Technological Institute of Mexico. (1993). *Poder y autoridad*. Retrieved April 16, 2014, from http://biblioteca.itam.mx/estudios/estudio/letras34/textos2/sec_3.html

Avellaneda, M. B. (2006, February 15). *Crisis Nuclear de Corea del Norte*. Retrieved October 17, 2014, from <http://www.liceus.com/cgi-bin/ac/pu/Corea%20del%20Norte%20Final.pdf>

Biong, S. K. (1972). *Corea Moderna*. Ediciones de Cultura Popular S.A.

Britannica. (n.d.). Retrieved March 13, 2015, from <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/129104/communism>

Bulling, A. J. (2009, June 14). *Un Estado "En Guerra": Corea del Norte y el Mundo*. Retrieved April 24, 2014, from

http://www.csbsju.edu/Documents/Asian%20Studies/Revista%20Diplomatica%20no%20119_rev.pdf

Bustelo, P. (2006, February 22). *Dos años de crisis nuclear con Corea del Norte*. Retrieved October 18, 2014, from http://www.anuarioasiapacifico.es/pdf/2004/ASIA_CID_207_214.pdf

CERIR. (2007, October 24). *Centro de Estudios en Relaciones Internacionales de Rosario*. Retrieved April 23, 2014, from http://www.cerir.com.ar/admin/_cerir/archivos/cuadernos/0000099/CUPEA%20N%BA%2090.pdf

Complutensian University of Madrid. (2002). *Comunismo*. Retrieved March 04, 2014, from <http://pendientedemigracion.ucm.es/info/eurotheo/diccionario/C/comunismo.pdf>

Demick, B. (2009). *Querido Líder "Vivir en Corea del Norte"*. España: Turner.

EcuRed. (n.d.). Retrieved March 19, 2015, from http://www.ecured.cu/index.php/Harry_S._Truman

FMM Educación. (2006, December 12). Retrieved November 15, 2013, from www.fmmeduccion.com.ar/Historia/Notas/guerradecorea.pdf

(1994). En A. L. George, *The limits of coercive diplomacy* (pág. 8). New York.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. New York: International Publishers .

History. (n.d.). Retrieved May 20, 2015, from <http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history>

Hodge, H. T. (2003, October 15). *North Korea's Military Strategy*. Retrieved June 13, 2014, from

<http://strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/parameters/Articles/03spring/hodge.pdf>

Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México. (1993). Poder y autoridad. Retrieved April 16, 2014, from http://biblioteca.itam.mx/estudios/estudio/letras34/textos2/sec_3.html

Jean, S. J. (2009). *The Lee Myung-bak Government's North Korea Policy*. Seoul: Division of Planning and Coordination, KINU.

King, M. L. (1963, April 16). *Amnesty International*. Retrieved November 24, 2014, from http://files.amnesty.org/air13/AmnestyInternational_AnnualReport2013_complete_es.pdf

Korean Central News Agency. (2012, September 25). *ABC*. Retrieved May 07, 2014, from <http://www.abc.es/agencias/noticia.asp?noticia=125729>

La Haine. (n.d.). Retrieved March 20, 2015, from http://www.lahaine.org/pensamiento/sobre_dominacion.pdf

La Haine. (2001). *Gramsci, Lenin y la cuestión de la hegemonía*. Retrieved April 15, 2014, from <http://lahaine.org/pensamiento/buonicore.htm>

Le Monde Diplomatique . (2004). *El Atlas*. Valencia: Cybermonde S.L.

López, J. N. (2009, August). *La Educación en la RPD de Corea*. Retrieved May 03, 2014, from pcpa.xenonsoft.es/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/Educación-I-parte.pdf

Marx y Engels. (1973). *Manifiesto comunista*. Moscú: Progreso.

Matteucci, M. A. (2007). Retrieved April 17, 2014, from <http://blog.pucp.edu.pe/item/149382/la-coacci-n-y-la-coerci-n-cu-ndo-son-utilizadas-en-materia-tributaria>

Mora, F. O. (n.d.).x| *Codex*. Retrieved March 21, 2015, from http://codex.colmex.mx:8991/exlibris/aleph/a18_1/apache_media/5S69YM3G4AJLAPJE3A7LGH9B3J72F9.pdf

National Autonomous University of Mexico. (1999). Retrieved February 23, 2014, from [Constitución Socialista de la Republica Popular Democratica de Corea: biblio.juridicas.unam.mx/revista/pdf/DerechoComparado/55/el/el7.pdf](http://biblio.juridicas.unam.mx/revista/pdf/DerechoComparado/55/el/el7.pdf)

Putnam, R. D. (1988). *The logic of Two Level Games*. Massachusetts: World Peace Foundation and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Real Instituto Elcano. (2012, March 13). Retrieved October 16, 2014, from http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/rielcano/contenido?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/elcano/elcano_es/zonas_es/asia-pacifico/dt18-2003

Reinoso, J. (2008, October 20). *Corea del Norte: Viaje al País Secreto*. Retrieved December 10, 2013, from blogs.elpais.com/files/corea-del-norte-3032003

Reporteros Sin Fronteras. (2014, March 12). Retrieved November 26, 2014, from <http://www.rsf-es.org/news/rsf-publica-el-informe-enemigos-de-internet-2014/>

Revista Criminalidad. (2010, December). Retrieved April 23, 2014, from http://oasportal.policia.gov.co/imagenes_ponal/dijin/revista_criminalidad/vol52_2/06Violencia.pdf

Revista Española de Defensa. (2012, October 10). Retrieved October 16, 2014, from <http://www.defensa.gob.es/Galerias/documentacion/revistas/2012/red-288-corea.pdf>

Revista Portes. (2010, July 20). Retrieved November 11, 2014, from <http://www.portesasiapacifico.com.mx/revistas/epocaiii/numero8/2.pdf>

(2008). In J. T. Rourke, *International Politics on the World Stage* (p. 84). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Villanueva, F. J. (2011, August 26). *Centro Argentino de Estudios Internacionales*. Retrieved October 18, 2014, from http://www.caei.com.ar/sites/default/files/14_1.pdf

Weber, M. (1960). *Psicología del Poder*. Santiago de Chile: Andrés Bello.

Zong, K. I. (1982). *Sobre la Idea Zuche*. Pyongyang: Ediciones en Lenguas Extranjeras.