
The Figures of Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il

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The most important condition for the national task of unification is to understand North Korea as it is and analyze it based on the hard facts. This is all the more important considering the fact that communist system is basically a ruler-centered system and North Korea is the most peculiar country among the communist countries. In this sense, to understand the peculiar characteristics of the North Korean rulers is of utmost importance. More specifically in what ways are Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il different and similar?

Even though they are father and son, they cannot be the same. Our ancestors left a saying that "even the fingers that came to birth at the same time and place are all different in length." This seems to be the expression of the universal principle that all the things in this world cannot be the same. Though this sounds quite natural, there is room for different interpretation. For fingers are different in length because they reflect evolutionary factors and hereditary characteristics.

The same logic can be applied to the relationship between father and son. Hereditary elements would induce a similar look of a son after his father, but characters, values, ideas and hobbies cannot be identical because they are affected by different education, social environment, and course of life of their own. The case of two Kims can be analyzed in the same fashion.

Of course, it is not easy to compare how they are different and similar given the complex interactions between the hereditary and environmental factors. However, it is not a mission impossible. Their behaviors in official and unofficial activities and their attitudes towards problems created while implementing policy lines can provide clues for our work.

Characters, Dispositions and Hobbies

Character of Kim Il-sung

Kim Il-sung was a figure who knew how to enjoy life. He changed fashion in each season, enjoyed gourmet food and nice wine. His close associates praised him for handling women nicely. Since he was a dictator who would not have any constraint in enjoying those tastes, however, the comments of the aides cannot be considered as objective or precise.

Kim Il-sung's character is considered both valiant and scrupulous. He was faithful to his loyal followers while cruel to his political foes. He was also considered to have rather well-rounded attitude toward other people.

He aptly used his eloquence for political persuasion. One characteristic of his governing style was his "site direction" designed to mobilize and motivate the masses. Though this site direction was one well-staged, he made an effort to maintain an amiable mood with the masses. This kind of style must have played some role in achieving economic growth in early years of collectivization when he directed the economic plan as prime minister.

As a person he had a strong sense of pride, even a sense of superiority that led him to argue self-centered theory. He was greedy and persistent while being able to be flexible. He was very tenacious for political power, which must have added to his suspicious and conservative character.

He had his weight of character as a ruler and accumulated the loyalty of his followers. He was known to be leading a meeting when he fell to die. He probably handed over his supreme power to his son after his 80th birthday in 1992.

He did not hand over the position of president and general secretary in any formal way but roles were already transferred to his son when he died. It was the economic crisis that brought him forward to direct economic affairs. It seems that he spent all of his energy and time trying to cure the economic ills and his death must have been triggered during this endeavor. The fact that the last meeting he presided over, during which he fell, was held to examine and cope with the most urgent problems in such areas as electricity, steel, transportation, and food, supports this conjecture.

It is reported that one of his greatest merits was to treat well those who accomplished the tasks while his weak point was never to change negative impression for those who made a mistake. There are many examples disclosed by the North Korean authorities, which seem to be manufactured for the purpose of idolizing him. So all those episodes might not be true. But one behavior pattern that seems to be what really happened was the care and generosity he demonstrated toward his family and relatives. But some episodes not officially disclosed give the impression that he was worried about the possible misunderstanding from the masses about the special care for his family members. When his uncle Kim Hyung-rok died, he was late in paying a condolence visit in order to attend a government ceremony despite the exhortation of his aides. This episode seems to support the view that he was conscious of outsiders and aware of the sense of responsibility.

Of course, we have to think of the possibility that even this story was a part of the idolization scheme of Kim's family. Or it might have been simply to avoid the impression that he was an arbitrary dictator if he had acted otherwise. Given his absolute power, however, behaviour like this can be judged as evidence of moderation, especially for a dictator who did not hesitate to do contradictory things.

From the above analysis, we may infer that it has something to do with his character that he tried to provide formality even when he could not hold the Party Congress or Supreme People's Congress in time. This is a difference from his son.

It seems that Kim Il-sung was capable in political judgement and had his own sense on international affairs. But even these mer-

its could not be extended over the requirement of maintaining his political power. He seemed to be mature enough for his age and had a flexible and diverse character. But he was short of being rational and tended to be conservative, which is very different from the new generation.

Hobbies and Leisure Life of Kim Il-sung

Kim Il-sung liked drinking when he was young. In his best days (1960s), he drank a whole bottle of whisky and enjoyed cigarettes. He had health problems when he turned 60 in the middle of the 1970s. He had a kidney transplant in his 60s. The analysis of aides and doctors is that his being overweight strained his heart.

He also liked fishing and mountain hiking. He enjoyed these activities mostly while he was on his direction tour in local areas or while relaxing in villas. Kim Il-sung liked sliced raw fish, freshwater fish such as mandarine fish, meat, and especially dog meat.

It was in the middle of his 80s that he stopped drinking and smoking. He drank only on special occasions and stopped smoking completely. He did not enjoy sports that much except that he played table tennis with the young female guides in the villa according to Lieutenant General Cho Min-sung, who was an aide to former Commander of Guard Jeon Mun-sup. It is said that he enjoyed hunting, only in the hunting yard of the villa at that.

It was said that Kim Il-sung never drove a car or a boat in person or swam. It is reported that he had enjoyed taking photographs and watching movies with the girls called in from the villa or the special pleasure unit.

Kim Il-sung liked dark and gray colors and chose his suits in those colors. He wore neckties before 1960s. From late 1960s, that is, with the beginning of the indoctrination of Unitary Thought, he began to wear the "people's suit" without a necktie while taking care to wear suits that fit varying seasons.

Kim Il-sung wore suits and shoes in the same color and matched color of coat to that of his hat. After the 1980s when he transferred responsibility of the Party to his son, he began to wear neckties again and mostly tried to look magnificent.

His office or villa used carpet of his favorite color imported from Great Britain. Furniture and other office supplies were made of ebony, white sandalwood, and crystal imported from Indonesia and India. His villas located in hot springs and mineral spring resorts had facilities that supplied fresh air to the bed rooms. All of his personal belongings, general merchandise, and electric appliances are all famous high-end quality brands made in Germany, France, Japan, U.S.A., Hongkong, and Italy. Kim Il-sung is also notorious for his womanizing from his early days in power until his death. The two Kims, both father and son, liked U.S. made limousines. They liked black cars and this taste for black did not change. They also had Mercedes-Benz 600 series cars which were also black.

Character of Kim Jong-il

Kim Jong-il, who followed his father for 30 years, has many features very similar to his father. But quite naturally father and son have different characters. Kim Jong-il is very sensitive enough to think that inheritance of power from his father might not be legitimized. He learned from his father as an iron law that Pyongyang should be alert on division of the country, conscious of the U.S., and needed to avoid scorn of the socialist countries.

This led to Kim Jong-il's restraining of the self-promotion when he was designated as successor. His understanding that Seoul's evaluation of two Kims might lead to his fall or even to the collapse of the communist system was reflected in his instruction "Duty and Role of the Party Organs."

In this instruction he mentioned that U.S. was the international center that opposed him and Seoul was the blood ally of the U.S. He also built high rise buildings to disturb electric waves coming from the Russian and Hungarian embassies. He established a new system in dealing with secret documents, which included numerization of department and high ranking officials and new guidelines for the press and broadcasting system. Dissemination of instructions and directives were limited according to the strata, sector and audience. All these measures were designed to enhance the

level of secret management.

In personnel management, Kim Jong-il gives more importance to key officials than to the masses. He seems to think that the masses will follow the guidance of the party organs, and the grasp of key officials in the party and military organs will solve any problem. This attitude of his is contrasted with his father's attitude toward the masses. Kim Il-sung recognized the importance of the masses and provided separate policy lines for the masses to follow.

This style of Kim Jong-il is being reflected in his instructions that are provided in the process of implementing his personnel management policy. It is also reflected in the detailed investigation and the attempts to intervene even in the insignificant parts of the work. He demands that "Unitary Guidance System" be established in the areas of military, economy, society, and culture as well as in the party policy. This doctrine describes Kim Jong-il as the party center and demands that even the small things be reported to the party center and be implemented according to his directives.

It is well known now that even the insignificant issues, not to mention major works, cannot be implemented without the directives of Kim Jong-il. To be practical it is imperative that design and implementation are well coordinated at the right working level. But in the planning process various parts of the plan designed in different work levels can contradict each other, which might lead to rejection of the plan at the top. Several experiences of this kind led the officials to do nothing so that their work might not cause problems at the top. This do-nothing attitude is the reality of North Korea now. Diverse incentives that appeal to the need of the local or lower level unit need to be applied, which will lead to the rational decision making process. Kim Jong-il should know this, but does not dare to implement that principle.

Kim Jong-il has also mentioned "Great Projects" several times, which include the Triumphal Arch, Juche Tower, building of the 105 story Yuckyong Hotel, building of historical site of Samji Lake, Neunglado May 1st Stadium (capacity of 150,000 people), great slogans, large machinery, big building, big five revolutionary operas (Flower Selling Girl, Sea Of Blood, True Daughter Of The Party, Tell! Forest, The Song Of Mt. Kumgang), 12 series of Star of

Chosun, 21 series of Unknown Heros, 20 series of Nation and Destiny.

This grandiose project is not a reflection of Kim's greatness but an attempt to negate his opposite character and psychology. Everybody knows that glorification does not solve anything. Kim Jong-il also must know this. The real reason for this glorification is to maximize his image as a great leader. This is the origin of the "Broad Politics" and "Benevolent Politics."

The mass media of North Korea has praised Kim Jong-il using all kinds of rhetorical words such as "genius of art", "great hero with brilliant insight and wisdom", "genius leader with invincible strategy". Idolization of the leader who brought about starvation must have been enforced by none other than Kim Jong-il.

Kim Jong-il is generous to and respectful of the first generation revolutionaries and exempts them from purges. One reason is his belief that the halo effect of those old leaders can make up for his lack of charisma and prevent any possible political opposition. The so-called "Broad Politics" and "Benevolent Politics" represent this political strategy of his.

Hobby and Taste

Kim Jong-il is very peculiar in terms of hobby and taste. He has changed his hair style six times up to now. His first hair style was just normal, when he joined the party. The second style in early 1970s was a bob style like a sportsman. His short hair style was ordered to be followed by cadres of the party and the military. Long hair was his third choice and a clean haircut was his fourth. The fifth style was permanent wave, and his final choice now is of a natural style.

Kim Jong-il enjoys drinking. The story that only those who drink up whisky poured in a beer cup can enter the party place is not fabricated. Even those who cannot drink that much have to drink up to join the party and as a result there appear those who have gotten drunk, creating a commotion.

Kim Jong-il drinks a lot. He easily drinks up a bottle of Hennessy. He could not drink for a long time due to the prohibi-

tion of drinking by a doctor. The chief physician of Kim Jong-il has branded offering alcohol to Kim as an attempt to endanger his health, thus making nobody dare to offer Kim a drink. Kim is also a chain smoker but he does not inhale deeply. Sometimes smoking is prohibited but it is not well observed.

Kim's favorite foods are diverse, including deer muscle, sea lobster, seafood soup, and sliced raw fish. His favorite choices include trout soup, sliced raw carp, sliced raw yellowtail, and sliced raw dried flatfish. His hobbies are also diverse, including shooting, hunting, fishing, boating, playing with dogs, watching wide beasts, mountain hiking, watching soccer, movies, watching art performance, horse riding, golf, table tennis, and mah-jong.

Kim's daily schedule is quite irregular. He is a night owl type and wakes up late in the morning. Aides feel mysterious about his short sleep. On several occasions his aides were surprised to find out that after an all-night long party, when the party participants were all gone, he did not go to bed but to other events.

Kim Jong-il's favorite colors are similar to his father's taste, preferring medium tone colors. He is mostly dressed casually and seems to enjoy jumper style. A reddish gray jumper is his favourite. This style of jumpers was offered to cadres of the party when he was first made a successor as the general secretary of the Party. This tradition still continues. It was Kim Jong-il that recommended his father to wear neckties in the early 1980s. He also demanded that cadres of the party (foreign correspondents and officials ranking vice section chief and higher) to wear neckties and hats at that time.

He once wore a suit with a vest on his 50th birthday, but this was also of short duration. As was mentioned he usually enjoys jumper style. In the winter he wears knee-long anti-cold coat with outside pockets, and a hat made of black otter fur or mink fur. For shoes he wears gray toned ones in summer and black toned ones in winter. He wears high-heeled shoes probably to compensate for his short height. He uses office supplies and daily goods all made in foreign countries. The carpets, ornaments, desk, TV, VCR, audio product, glasses, fountain pen he uses are all foreign products. Not just him but his family also favors foreign products.

Leadership of Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il

Political Experience

How would people of North Korea would evaluate the senior Kim and junior Kim? Who is doing better? The North Korean people would raise the hand of father because he founded the existing system and had ruled for a long time. The halo effect of Kim Il-sung would obviously support this view. The leadership style of the senior Kim was such that he provided his own governing ideology, goals and methods based on that ideology, and gave detailed tasks through the party organs. He then moved around to check whether the tasks were being implemented properly.

Kim Il-sung gave the tasks through the party organs and established working-level policy to accomplish the tasks, and examined the outcomes through the site directions. He mixed compliments and criticism to made sure that all the areas and sectors of the system worked fine. In contrast, Kim Jong-il runs the party organs only through orders, focuses on directing mostly key officials, and checks the working of the system through undercover methods.

Kim Il-sung was eloquent and good at persuasion. He distinguished between the key officials and the masses and employed different methods, while trying to incorporate them at the higher level. In contrast, Kim Jong-il is short of being capable of rational utilization of the party organs by concentrating only on elite officials. Kim Il-sung adapted the governing style and the policy lines of China and old Soviet Union to the situation of North Korea, which resulted in a rather clear policy of the Party and political theory in each stage of development in North Korea. However, Kim Jong-il could not develop a new theory other than legitimizing his father's theories. Kim Jong-il is also eloquent, but he has not projected himself as a confident leader who is willing to talk to the masses directly and persuasively. Insufficiency in experience and quality of the son became too prominent in an environment in which comparisons get more compelling.

Economic Knowledge and Leadership

The social environment of North Korea was not different from that of South Korea before the socialist collectivization. It was after the completion of socialist remolding in 1958 that the socialist economic system was introduced in North Korea. Kim Il-sung established his regime according to the communist principles but could not build a socialist planned economy right away. There were no people with expertise on a socialist economic system and the industrial structure was underdeveloped under the colonial rule.

Kim Il-sung himself knew nothing about a socialist economic system, but he was able to introduce methods used in China or the Soviet Union and managed to build the basis of a new system. People's ignorance helped the creation of a favorable social environment to introduce a socialist system with the dissemination of the view that communism was something good. In contrast, Kim Jong-il took power when the ineffective socialist economic system began to decline. Models of Soviet Union or China did not help the economy recover. Furthermore *Juche* ideology, which emphasizes building of autarkic economy, made difficult a flexible adaptation to the changing environment. Even bureaucrats and the masses were already aware of the limits of the socialist planned economy, where insisting on the old methods could not provide much remedy.

Kim Il-sung was able to accumulate a lot of knowledge on a socialist economy from the experiences of the other socialist countries while he was endeavouring to build a socialist economy. In contrast, Kim Jong-il did not have an opportunity to learn practical lessons and accumulate experience on economic affairs. When he was given the responsibility of overall management of the Party, he was working in the areas of art and culture.

Kim Il-sung convened a total of nine Party Congresses and 77 Party Plenaries during 1945 to 1980 period through which he provided overall policy directions, tasks, and measure to achieve them.

The Party Assembly was convened 17 times during 1980 to 1990 period, which was held by initiatives of Kim Il-sung, not by his son. While 94 Party Plenaries were held during 1945 to 1990

period, 85 agendas related to economic affairs were discussed. About 40 agenda items on economy were put to the discussion while Kim Jong-il was in charge of the Party, most of which had been proposed by Kim Il-sung, leaving the economic role of Kim Jong-il relatively minor.

Kim Il-sung initiated the Chollima (a legendary horse that runs 400km a day) Movement as the main policy line of the Workers' Party to build the socialist planned economy. He provided the method of cooperative farming on the basis of his first hand experience in Chongsan Cooperative Farm in Kangso county. He also provided the guideline of factory management, named Work System of Daean, on the basis of his direct experience in Daean Electric Plant. He also presented theses on the problems of socialist agriculture through which he proposed the direction of agricultural development. In contrast, Kim Jong-il's works on economic areas are mostly designed to mobilize mass movement for economic development, which include "Speed War", "Combat of Seventy Days", "Three Revolutionary Team Movement", "Three Revolutionary Red Flag Movement", "Movement to Follow Hidden Heros", etc. The most important goal for Kim Jong-il, then, was to fortify the position of successor. His main concern was the strengthening of the existing power structure through eliminating "side branches (step brothers)", grasping power to control the Party and production of materials for idolizing his father.

It seems that most of the people in North Korea believe that it will take another fifty years for the son to reach the level of the father. This is because when the senior Kim was in charge of economy people were not starving and food rations were regular. Most of the people there believe that collapse of the economy came from the awkward handling of economic affairs by Kim Jong-il, rather than inefficiency of the socialist planned economy.

The ideal of the most of the North Korean people is very simple, that is, being able to eat until full. The reality is that people have grievances against two Kims. People of course know that the capitalist system cannot be installed overnight. But it is true that the need for reform and opening of the economy, as was done in China, is really being felt widely among the population. Kim Jong-

il and the Party know this. But they are in dilemma in that reform would threaten the existing system while stabilization of the existing system would not bring about economic recovery. The easiest way for Pyongyang to solve its economic problems is to initiate reform in a way that politics do not intervene in the economy, and open its economy to accept the capitalist market system.

The current economic crisis of South Korea might cause misunderstanding on the part of Pyongyang. The press reports from Pyongyang support this view. The press in Pyongyang reports as if foreign debt of Seoul is over 300 billion dollars, while speculating that complete economic colonization is being promoted by the sale of competitively weak domestic firms. They should know better than that. This kind of misunderstanding can create hurdles in improving inter-Korean relations. South Korea is North Korea's brethren with a advanced market system. If Pyongyang takes advantage of Seoul, it will be easily able to find a way out of the current economic turmoil. Pyongyang is not taking that road because it worries that such a move would lead to an expansion of democratic consciousness in North Korea and would in turn threaten the existing power structure.

Difference in the Career in the Military and Command Capability

According to the regulation of the North Korean military, the supreme titles of the commanders such as Grand Marshal, Marshal, Vice-Marshal are entitled only to those supreme military leaders who won at least one victory in both international and domestic war and who have built military force strong enough to defeat the existing enemy. However, Kim Jong-il was given the title of Marshal without participation in war and even without a military career.

The history of the Workers' Party says Kim Il-sung's anti-Japan movement lasted for 15 years from 1930 to 1945. But it hides the fact that he fled to East Siberia. However, Kim's anti-Japan guerilla activities did not began in 1932 but in 1934, in which he was recruited as a member of the combat unit. His anti-Japan activity in Manchu area supported by historical evidence is limited to his

fighting as a battalion commander under the command of Choo Bo-chung in 1936. Anti-Japan small unit under his command fled to Havarowsk in far east region of Soviet Union and entered North Korea with the liberation.

Though Kim Il-sung was defeated in the Korean War, he was given the title of "Grand Marshal" based on the claim that he won the war of national liberation. Both Kims did not receive professional military education. The fact that Kim Il-sung fought in the war might legitimize that title. However, Kim Jong-il is short of even becoming a colonel let alone Marshal. In short, there exists so great a gap in the military careers between father and son that comparison between them simply does not make any sense.

One might point out that Kim Jong-il received higher education while his father dropped out of middle school. But one must remember that the education level of middle school then was much higher than now. Furthermore, though Kim Jong-il finished university education, it was without much substance compared to other students of common origin. Kim Il-sung, though without professional military education, learned from the battlefield, and his position ranged from the lower level offices to the commander of the big war.

Today there are institutions named after Kim Il-sung. Kim Il-sung Military University and Kim Il-sung Political University teach military philosophy and strategic theory that were not necessarily created by Kim Il-sung himself. The same can be said with Kim Jong-il Political and Military University and Bongwha Political University. They train high level spies who are to be the core force for the "Revolution in the South Korea". They also teach intelligence theories adapted to the need of the North Korea, which means that they have nothing much to do with Kim Jong-il's capability on those subjects. Kim Jong-il's capability as a commander is hard to evaluate at this point, because it is the complex military organizations that actually conduct operations ordered by Kim Jong-il. When the complex institutions are involved in carrying out tasks, the individual capability of the top leader does not count that much. What counts in this case is the trust of the military leaders toward Kim Jong-il, but the highly developed surveillance mecha-

nism in dictatorship like North Korea renders the trust issue insignificant.

Kim Jong-il is in charge of highest positions in the diverse military organs; for example, he is a General Secretary of the Party, Chairman of the Military Committee of the Party's Central Commission, Chairman of the National Defense Commission, and Supreme Commander of the Military. At the same time the military organs are structured in a way that only the top leader can control them. There are seven mutually independent military organs: that is, Command of Guard, Pyongyang Defense Command, Pyongyang Garrison Command, General Command for Military Munitions under the Military Committee of the Central Commission of the Party, Border Guard under the Dept. of National Security, and Headquarters of Military Engineer Corps under the Dept. of Social Security. The overall control is coordinated through the Supreme Commander. There are other paramilitary organs such as the Local Army, Red Army of the Workers and Peasants (civil defense organization), and Red Youth Student Guard, which are also controlled by Kim Jong-il.

Kim Jong-il is paying extra attention to the military, for example, through frequent visits to the military units in order to secure its support in the midst of economic crisis, food shortages, and accompanying weakening of the political base.

Comparison of Personnel Management as a Ruler

Kim Il-sung made a great effort to acquire needed qualities as a ruler. He put emphasis on the role of the elites in the revolution and construction, considering management of the high ranking officials as the key to the success of the revolution.

Kim Il-sung's principle of selecting and training of elites includes 1) working class origin, 2) completion of needed education, 3) accumulation of experience, and 4) verification of qualities in the real situation. However, Kim Jong-il's principle prefers loyalty as the first qualification and then considers proven ideology and work experience as the second criterion. One unique feature of Kim Jong-il's principle is that he treats more warmly executive officials

and senior leaders who are proven to be loyal to him. He employs tactics in which he creates difficult situations for those executive officials and comes forward as a savior. This way he secures the loyalty of those high ranking officials.

Kim Il-sung also used this kind of tactic but with much less frequency of manipulation. Kim Jong-il has been testing loyalty of his followers in various ways. One of the methods is to expel them from their position and make them suffer from hard physical work and watch how they respond. He learned this method from his father but the senior Kim never gave a second chance if once expelled. But the junior Kim gave a second chance to the late Minister of People's Armed Forces Choi Kwang, former Commander of Guard Jeon Moon-sup, and the former Director of Political Affairs of Ministry of People's Armed Force Lee Yong-moo.

Kim Jong-il has shown a much more careful attitude in cutting off executive officials. Of course, Kim Jong-il also purged a lot of executives and discarded them for good. It is just that he made several exceptions compared to Kim Il-sung. High ranking officials recently purged include Secretary of Agriculture of the Workers' Party Seo Kwan-hee, head of the Workers' Party in Pyungnam Province Seo Yun-seok, Vice-Prime Minister of the State Administration Council Kim Dal-hyun, Kim Jeong-woo of External Economic Affairs Commission, general Lee Bong-won (who was Vice-Director of the Dept. of Organization under Politbureau of the Ministry of People's Armed Forces), First Secretary of Central Committee of Socialist Labor Youth. Those who Kim Jong-il degraded include head of the Party in Chagang Province Yeon Hyung-mook, head of the Party in Pyungbook Province, head of Dept. of Administration of the Workers' Party Kim Shi-hak, ambassador to Russia Son Seong-phil, and head of Intelligence Service of the Party Kwon Hee-kyung. He abolished the old administrative body (State Administration Council) and replaced it with the new cabinet system and appointed new cabinet members with professional expertise.

Difference in International Insight and Capability

Kim Il-sung formally ruled for forty-nine years. But in substance, the father ruled 30 years and the son 20 years, because responsibility for the Party was transferred to the son in 1974. During this period international relations of Pyongyang were limited to the Eastern Bloc countries. The Cold War was favorable to maintain and strengthen Kim Il-sung's foreign policy position. But Kim Jong-il had to face the collapse of the socialist system and the post Cold War era, which is very different from the international environment in his father's time. Kim Jong-il is well aware of that a new era is dawning and that this new era is going to be more difficult for his future.

How different are the insights of father and son that had to be utilized to deal with international affairs? It seems that there exists a big difference in terms of experience and practical knowledge between the father and son. Kim Il-sung had accumulated a lot of experience ranging from anti-Japan activities and exile in Soviet Union to establishing ties with Eastern socialist countries. He maintained relatively good relations with the leaders of the Soviet Union and China. He also made friends with the leaders of the third world countries.

Kim Il-sung did his best to maintain the socialist system in North Korea through foreign policy moves such as joining Non-Alliance Movement. But he had his limit in that he was not flexible enough to accept international standards and in that he kept insisting on Juche ideology. However, if he had been able to participate in the summit meeting between South and North Korea, and improve the relationships with South Korea, U.S., Japan, and other western countries, and if as a result reconciliation of Pyongyang and Seoul had been achieved, the situation would now have been quite different from as it is now.

So this new challenge seems to be left for Kim Jong-il to get over. Normalization of relations with the U.S. has become a matter of survival for Pyongyang. Kim Jong-il has to improve the relationship with Seoul based on the better relationship with U.S. and Japan. He will have to handle nicely four-party or six-party talks to

achieve that goal. Suspicion on the underground nuclear facility is another issue that need to be resolved. Development of weapons of mass destruction and suspicion on the sale of those weapons are the issues whose outcome may determine the future of Kim Jong-il.

Kim Jong-il might not have his father's experience and breadth, but considering the peculiarity of North Korea, the individual capability of the top leader might not count very much and in that point he might be able to handle new challenges. Still he has to respond to the charges of human rights abuse in North Korea raised by international human rights organizations and the UN human rights commission. He also has to forget about his expectation of China and Russia's supporting Pyongyang. They will not bring any real benefits to the future of North Korea. Kim Jong-il will be forced to accept sooner or later that only cooperation and interactions with Seoul, Pyongyang's brethren, are what is really needed for the revitalization of North Korea. **END**

ARTICLES

- 74 / A Quantitative Comparison of Current Socioeconomic Conditions in North and South Korea
... Nicholas Eberstadt
- 99 / Halting the Famine in North Korea
... Marcus Noland
- 108 / A Study on Labour Consciousness of the North Korean Residents
... Seung-chol Kim
- 124 / German Reunification from the Perspective of Integration Theory: From Functionalism to Neofunctionalism
... Jee-woong Jung
- 136 / A New Perspective and Strategy for National Integration: An Economic Approach
... Soon-won Chung