

## THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN KOREA DURING 1910-1948

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### **Abstract:**

*In Korean language, the word 'Korea' is a term that literally means 'half an island' which is, in fact, a peninsula surrounded by water on three sides. The Korean Peninsula extends around 620 miles from north to south and lies 142 miles from the Japanese island of Kyushu across the Korea Strait and the western coast of the Korean Peninsula is bordered by the Yellow Sea. The Korean peninsula was home to clans, tribes, kings and different dynasties throughout its long history and every civilization left its mark there. The distinguished location of Peninsula had attracted the major powers of that time like Russia and Japan.*

*In fact, Japan had occupied the Peninsula which forced its people to migrate to Russia which had become their main supporter in getting rid of Japanese control by spreading Soviet communism inside and outside Korea.*


*In this research, we will make every effort to shed light on how the Korean view of 'communism' which was the main ideology that helped them to get rid of the Japanese occupation and establish their independent state. The present research aims to elaborate the fact that to which extent of the impact of communism on the Korean people and the countries of East Asia was. Also, the study will bring out the dissemination of 'communist thought' which had aimed to curb the Western capitalist thought. Moreover, the present study will explain about the negative impact left by 'communism' on the Korean people because of the dictatorial leadership adopted by North Korea on the pattern of Soviet communism.*

**Key Words:**-North Korea, Muntaha Sabri, the Communist Movement, Kim Il Sung, The Roots of Communism in Korea

### **FIRST: THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION OF KOREA IN 1910 AND ITS IMPACT ON THE SPREAD OF COMMUNISM.**

The roots of the 'Communist Movement' <sup>(1)</sup> in the Korean peninsula <sup>(2)</sup> date back to 1895 when Japan defeated both China and Russia and annexed Korean lands forcefully <sup>(3)</sup> but the Korean Emperor named 'Gwangmu Gojong' refused to sign the document that was required to approve the transition under Japanese rule. There started armed resistance by some people which was suppressed by the Japanese army. This suppression led to the immigration of some Koreans to Manchuria where they were influenced by the principles of the Russian revolution that had spread there in 1905 <sup>(4)</sup>. Following all of those events, Korea was officially declared as a "part" of the Japanese Empire In 1910 and the Emperor Yinghe Sunjong was forced to surrender and abdicate the throne. Thus, Korea was no longer an independent country.<sup>(5)</sup>.

Following the Japanese occupation of Korea, Terauchi Masatake was appointed as a resident "general" i.e. ruler in Korea <sup>(6)</sup> and he held the position but his term of office was called the 'military term' because the number of soldiers and police had increased in leaps and bound. Japan allowed them to enter into the Korean peninsula to combat the resistance movement that had started to expand there <sup>(7)</sup>. Due to the harsh military policy of Japan, the Koreans began to migrate in a big number to Manchuria and take it as a base for resistance against the Japanese occupation or just to survive after losing their lands <sup>(8)</sup>. Russia opened its borders to the displaced and fleeing Koreans and they



were welcomed by the Bolsheviks <sup>(9)</sup> who sympathized with them because of their mutual hatred of Japan after the last war in 1905. So, the Bolsheviks welcomed the Koreans as they found an opportunity in them to spread ‘communism’ among them. On the other hand, the Koreans found the communist ideas, which call for equality and liberation from colonialism, a way to mobilize all former Korean immigrants and exiles. The majority of Koreans present in Russia before 1910 were not as enthusiastic about the liberation of Korea as those who came after the occupation. In fact, their main objective was the liberation of their country and not only enjoying stability away from their country <sup>(10)</sup>. It seems that the era of Japanese colonialism has played a more decisive role in the birth of a kind of Korean communism.

The period of Japanese occupation was called the ‘dark period’ by the Koreans because it was characterized by harsh political repression that led to the concentration of exiled Koreans in Manchuria on communist principles especially as Japan stifled the cultural and political life, banned newspapers, placed them under severe censorship and prevented gatherings except with security clearances from the Japanese police <sup>(11)</sup>. Therefore, the exiled Koreans, who had immigrated to Manchuria to escape from the Japanese, started to turn towards Russian communism which had spread more widely during World War I in Manchuria and Siberia. They began to be influenced by the communist ideas concerning the equality and thus they participated in that war on the side of Russia and some of them joined the Bolsheviks to mobilize the Koreans against Japan <sup>(12)</sup>.

Alexandra Kim is considered the first Korean to live in Russia due to Japanese oppression. She joined the Bolsheviks in 1916 and was sent by Vladimir Lenin <sup>(13)</sup> in 1917 to Siberia to mobilize Koreans against Russian counter-revolutionary forces as well as the allies of World War I. So, she became responsible for foreign affairs in the Far East Department of the Khabarovsk and met with the Korean independence fighters who formed the “Korean Liberation Corps” later known as the ‘Shanghai Faction’. Around 8000 Koreans joined the Russian Civil War on the side of the Red Forces in 1917 and were influenced by the ideas of communism which was hated by Japan. On January 22, 1918, a Korean section of the Russian Communist Party in Irkutsk was formed by the Korean Communist Nam Man Chun which was later known as the ‘Irkutsk Soviet Group’. <sup>(14)</sup>.

The first attempts to establish the ‘Korean Socialist Party’ began to appear on 22<sup>nd</sup> of June 1918 by the Korean Yi Tong Hui, who is considered the first Korean political figure, turned towards Soviet communism after his meeting with Alexandra Kim. He was influenced by her ideas that were calling for Korean liberation from Japan. Moreover, He was a former pioneer, worked in the Korean army and traveled a lot between Russia and Manchuria. A Bolshevik named Krebnov helped him. His second name was mentioned only in Arab and foreign sources. The two cooperated and worked closely on recruiting exiled Koreans in Russia and introducing them to communism. In addition, he was invited by Lenin for a personal conversation about cooperation between them <sup>(15)</sup>. He announced the establishment of “Communist Party of Korea” on 28<sup>th</sup> of June 1918 and New Korean Youth Corps was formed in November of the same year. Leninist ideas began to expand their secret influence inside and outside Korea after Koreans joined Russia in the war <sup>(16)</sup>. It was coincided with American President Woodrow Wilson’s call (1913-1921) for the rights of peoples to self-determination <sup>(17)</sup>.

Demonstrations broke out in Seoul on 01<sup>st</sup> March, 1919 with the aim to obtain international support especially after Japan used excessive force to end it and closed many missionaries and private schools. Those harsh measures adopted by Japan resulted in mass protests. However, the lack of interest of major countries in the Korean issue prompted Korean activists and intellectuals to search for a place other than their own country from where they can make their demands reach everywhere. Lenin was the first to welcome these Koreans and began to attract them with his ideas that rejected the oppression of nations <sup>(18)</sup>. Despite the fact that the Movement of March 1919 in Korea

contributed to develop the communist movement, the Korean communists moved their activities to China due to the Japanese suppression and restrictions imposed on them in their own country in addition to the geographical proximity and China's desire to support Korea against Japan. <sup>(19)</sup>.

Following the March Movement, the wide spread of communist ideology and thought in Korea had an impact on the Japanese colonial policy which witnessed positive political changes in the cultural field in the early twenties. The objective behind it was to calm down the situation. The Japanese agreed to allow Korean newspapers and magazines to be published including "Cho sun ilbo" and "Dong-Albo" newspapers. In fact, these newspapers contributed effectively to the publication of many articles calling for independence from the Japanese occupation <sup>(20)</sup>. This increasing awareness among Koreans for their liberation prompted the Japanese to re-impose strict censorship on newspapers for fear of protests and demonstrations. Now, the Chinese communists got an excuse to support the Korean revolutionary movement mainly in two aspects, public opinion and moral support. When the March 1 Movement erupted last year in Korea, the bad policy of Japan in Korea was lashed out at by Chinese magazine Weekly Reggio, founded by Dachuen Duxiu Lee (1949-1976), Xiangjiang Magazine, sponsored by Mao Zedong (1949-1976), <sup>(21)</sup> and Tianji Awakening Newspaper. These newspapers expressed great solidarity with the cause of the Korean people against Japanese occupation. Even Chen Duxiu himself wrote an article "to praise the heroic and indomitable spirit of the Korean people against the enemy." The second aspect of China's support for Korea is the establishment of non-governmental organizations such as the "Association of Mutual Assistance between China and Korea" to provide support for the dissenting Koreans. Since the winter of 1920, the Korean revolutionaries in China started calling for cooperation between China and Korea <sup>(22)</sup>. Late on, these organizations had a significant role in supporting the Chinese faction in Korea.

The 'Korean Liberation Movement' in March ignited the spark of resistance among the Koreans, although it was unsuccessful, but resulted in the formation of a 'provisional Korean government in exile' in Shanghai headed by Yitong Hui, who sent people to Korea to spread communist ideas. Kim Young Bum was part of the team. It had attracted Moscow's financial support with the training of the Koreans. In fact, he received an amount of 400,000 rubles for this purpose. The communist ideas got a fertile ground in Korea to be spread among the intellectual students who played a major role in spreading them within the Korean lands <sup>(23)</sup>. On January 10, 1921, he held a meeting with his followers in Shanghai and re-formed the Communist Party of Korea. It was the first truly open communist organization formed by Korean exiles whose aim was not only to expel the Japanese but also to establish a classless society in Korea. This group operated in Shanghai and later came to be known as the Shanghai faction <sup>(24)</sup>.

At this time, the Irkutsk organizations in Manchuria and Shanghai, China began to increase their efforts to send agents to Korea to spread their message and recruit more members. That task was daunting for a variety of reasons, including unavailability of a reliable income base except for donations from the Soviet Comintern <sup>(25)</sup>. Apart from that, the Japanese police in Korea started to practice a policy of strict surveillance and zero tolerance for any form of dissent. Consequently, many agents of both parties were arrested and detained until two members of the party from the Irkutsk group successfully entered the country (the researcher could not find their names) and began spreading communism on a large scale <sup>(26)</sup>.

The first conference of the Toilers of the Far East was held in Petrograd from 21 January to 2 February, 1922. It was decided in the conference that the Korean communism will be provided support. The conference was attended by the Irkutsk group which had enjoyed great power after the absence of the Shanghai group from it. Also, it was agreed in the conference that the Korean Communist Party would receive instructions from the



Asian bureau of the Russian Communist Party and the headquarter of the Communist Party of Korea shall be in Shanghai provided that committees are formed in the provinces and villages with the training of its military forces. Moreover, the party will be granted three hundred thousand yen <sup>(27)</sup>.


On the occasion of birthday of Karl Marx () on 9 November, 1924, the organization was renamed as 'Tuesday Society' in relation to the day of the meeting. Kim Young headed the organization and later became the secretary of the North Korean branch of the Communist Party. It included groups that had returned to Korea from China and Siberia and aimed at establishing the 'First Communist Party'<sup>(28)</sup>, especially with Joseph Stalin (1924-1953) assuming Soviet rule and his desire to transfer the Soviet system to North Korea <sup>(29)</sup>. Thus, since 1922, the communist movement began to appear openly in Korea after it was secret. The credit goes to Soviet and Chinese support on the one hand, and the activity of Korean intellectuals on the other hand, despite the continuous Japanese repression of it.

On the seventeenth of 1925, a Chinese restaurant in downtown Seoul hosted a banquet which was attended by some young Korean intellectuals. The apparent objective behind this banquet was a gathering of young journalists but it was just a cover for people whose goal was to establish a Communist Party. This gathering was the first official secret conference to form the Communist Party of Korea "Choson Kong Sandang". Kim Yong Bum of the 'Tuesday Association' gathered the leaders of the three groups in Seoul to organize a coalition. In the meeting, sub-organizations and sub-departments were established and members of the three parties filled the positions equally to a certain extent <sup>(30)</sup>. The meeting concluded on April 18 with the formation of the second Korean Communist Party headed by Pak Hoon Young <sup>(31)</sup> . However, this new alliance encountered the same problems that other parties had faced before. The Japanese arrested most of the members of the group that had founded the party in 1925 <sup>(32)</sup> particularly because those groups carried with them the old problems of the factions and their conflicting agenda among the higher ranks. These were two issues that stood in the way of the Korean communist movement <sup>(33)</sup>.

After the party was failed to achieve its objectives, the fugitive leaders established a number of communist offices outside the country including the Shanghai office in China which didn't function in a strong manner due to lack of support for it. Also, the office in Japan was closely monitored by the Japanese authorities, so it also faced the same fate as the Shanghai office. The exception was Manchurian office which was supported by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party as part of The Comintern. Thus, it was the most active when there were strikes in 1926 as around 200 people were imprisoned and 31 of them were killed. This office contributed to organize the Korean Communist Party again in 1926 but its leaders were soon arrested as well." The Koreans tried to reorganize it a third time in December 1926 but most of them were arrested <sup>(34)</sup>.

After the above mentioned organizations, a new Shinkan Howe United Front was formed on January 14, 1927 in cooperation with the Communists and had achieved some successes as the various Communist groups put aside their differences and "joined together". The success of the 'United Front' was restricted to unite the main communist parties that were to be rivals against their common enemy the Nationalists. Han Wei was one of the most influential communist leaders to emerge during this time. He set new goals for the Korean communists in the Shinkanhoe that were designed to put more emphasis on educating and inspiring peasants and factory workers. His leadership helped to create a few new labor unions and youth groups for peasants. <sup>(35)</sup>.

There was a fourth attempt to openly establish or organize the Communist Party of Korea in February 1928 but that attempt led to another wave of arrests in August 1928. Despite the fact that it was recognized by the Soviet Comintern in September of the same year, the lack of unity among its members caused its dissolution. Moreover, the Comintern



formally severed relations with the Communist Party in the same year due to the factional divisions and lack of progress. However, the alliance's efforts succeeded in implanting the idea of communism in the minds of a small percentage of the Korean people, especially in Seoul, while the exiled Communists continued to work outside Korea<sup>(36)</sup>. By the spring of 1930, 54,000 Korean schoolchildren had joined anti-Japanese movement. Their demands were to put an end to police interference in school activities, the release of arrested students, reinstatement of expelled students and reformation of the educational system. The students' pamphlets with slogans like "Down with Imperialism" and "Long live the Proletarian Revolution" indicate the leftist influence on the movement. However, the movement was crushed by the authorities as many students were arrested or expelled. After that, sporadic student strikes and protests took place but now the things had become more difficult due to the imposition of a stricter colonial policy.

In 1931, a person known as 'Kim Il Sung'<sup>(37)</sup> made a name for himself on the battlefields of Manchuria. In fact, not much is known about Kim's early life before this point. The combination of a paucity of knowledge and North Korean slander makes many details concerning his life unclear. It is known that he was the commander of the Northeast People's Revolutionary Army, that is, the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces, which was established in 1932 by the Korean Communist Youth League<sup>(38)</sup>.


With the imminent outbreak of the war, the Japanese government began to close all kinds of Korean organizations. They dissolved all agricultural and labor unions as there were a large number of organizations sponsored by China to control the activities of the population and direct them towards the war effort including the Korean Scout Association<sup>(39)</sup>. To counter the Korean's attraction towards China, the Japanese authorities in 1938 organized local youth leadership seminars and established training institutes for children. In fact, they made every effort possible to enroll Koreans in pro-Japanese mass organizations as there were similar associations nationwide for workers, farmers, tenants and fishermen.<sup>(40)</sup> Among the other organizations established by the colonial authorities were the "Korean Defense Society", the "Society for the Study of Politics that Deal with the Critical Situation" and the "Korean Association for the Assistance of the Imperial Rule" especially with the emerging signs of a new world war<sup>(41)</sup>.

#### **SECOND: THE EXPANSION OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT DURING WORLD WAR II (1939-1948).**

Japan had started to make changes in its policy towards Korean people during the World War II broke out in 1939<sup>(42)</sup>. The new Governor-General Minami Jiro (1936-1942) pledged to end discrimination and strengthen the reconciliation process between Japan and Korea under the slogans "Japan and Korea as one body" as well as "harmony between Japan and Korea". He requested all Koreans to enroll in 'Shinto Shrines'. In addition, in the same year, the Japanese increased their efforts to crush the guerrillas in Manchuria. They promised impunity to any guerrilla party that surrendered and they strengthened the command of their Manchurian armies. On the other hand, the Korean Communist Party in China called for uniting Korean youth and engaging in the war against the Japanese occupation<sup>(43)</sup>. In January 1941, the North Korean Youth Association was established in Tongyu, Shanxi Province, at the site of the Eighth Route Army Headquarter in the Taehang Mountains. Kim Muchung was the first president of that association<sup>(44)</sup>.

With the support of the Chinese Communist Party, the 'North Chinese Youth League' led by Kim Tu-bong<sup>(45)</sup> and his assistant Choe Chang-ik<sup>(46)</sup>, was changed in July 1942 to the 'Korean Independence League'. Also, the North China branch of the 'Volunteer Corps' was expanded and was reorganized into the 'Korean Volunteer Army' with Muchong as Commander-in-Chief and his assistants Buck Heo Sam and Pak Il Yunawape. In the same month, the Soviet Far East Front organized the Independent Infantry Brigade in the area located at east of Khabarovsk. The brigade commander was a member of Communist Party of China (CPC) named 'Zhou Baozhong'. According to "Russian records", Kim Il Sung





excelled in the army after he and his fighters joined the first battalion that was working under the brigade. He progressed well in studying the Russian language and received a lot of praise <sup>(47)</sup>.


The Cairo Declaration of 1943 <sup>(48)</sup> granted an “independent” status to North Korea after the war. So, the Shanghai Korean faction in China and the Moscow faction in Manchuria ordered the Korean revolutionaries in China and the Soviet Union to return to their motherland. The revolutionaries there had become more impulsive for liberation from Japan through joining the Soviet side and spreading communist thought as Stalin turned his attention to the Far East. The guerrilla teams in the northeast carried out reconnaissance missions in cooperation with the Soviet army as well as carried out tactical reconnaissance for the Soviet army. The well-trained soldiers of the 88<sup>th</sup> Brigade <sup>(49)</sup> performed well but due to Japan's refusal to accept unconditional surrender, the United States dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. After this incident, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan on 8<sup>th</sup> of the same month and the next day the Soviet forces entered northeastern China from three directions. On the same day, the United States dropped a second atomic bomb on Nagasaki. On 15<sup>th</sup> August, Japan announced its surrender <sup>(50)</sup>. With the surrender of Japan, Korea was prepared for communist thought.

After Japan had surrendered, the situation of the Korean communists changed dramatically in the south as their leader Pak Hun Young reorganized a central committee and became its secretary. His group had limited contact with the Soviet side in the north because the headquarters of the committee was in the south. In August 1945, the Constitutional Council of the Communist Party established a government of communists mainly headed by Pak Hyun-young, relying on the implementation of the decision concerning the immediate withdrawal of American and Soviet forces from Korea <sup>(51)</sup>. Also, the activity of nationalist movements re-emerged and it can be manifested in the establishment of popular committees headed by the moderate leftist Yoo Eunhyung in Seoul. However, the arrival of the Soviet and American occupation forces prevented the communist and nationalist Koreans from gaining control <sup>(52)</sup>.

By the time the Japanese colonial rule collapsed in 1945, Korea was divided between the United States of America and the Soviet Union according to the Potsdam Conference. There was no big communist organization or communist leaders of national importance in the northern part which was occupied by the Soviet Union but rather it included nationalists as the leading communists were active in the south. When the Soviet authorities tried to set up a friendly government, they had not many choices except for looking for ethnic communist cadres who had returned from China, Manchuria, Siberia and the Soviet Union. This meant that the entire North Korean elite during the early years of democratic Korean history consisted of people who had spent their previous lives in different places <sup>(53)</sup>.

In light of the above mentioned developments and the Soviet occupation of North Korea, a group of Korean communists re-established the ‘Korean Communist Party’ on September 11, 1945 and as soon as the declaration was made, the Soviet Union recognized it. Meanwhile, Kim Il-Sung, Choi Young-Gun <sup>(54)</sup> as well as other guerrillas, who had spent from 1941 to 1945 in the Soviet Union, returned to Korea. In order to make their administration more effective, the Soviets sent many Soviet Koreans to North Korea to provide the military authorities and the Korean Communists with interpreters and to train officials including Kim Il-sung <sup>(55)</sup>. Also, Mao Tsetung sent some prominent Koreans from the Yan'an faction in Shanghai to North Korea with the aim to gain a foothold there <sup>(56)</sup>.

On October 12, 1945, the Soviet administration allowed the establishment of political parties in North Korea following the above mentioned events. The decree concerning this was announced the next day. So, two political parties with non-communist orientations



were formed, namely the 'Korean Social Democratic Party' headed by Cho Man-sik<sup>57</sup> who was one of the most prominent political figures in Pyongyang. In fact, he was the man who had agreed to the request of the Soviet officers to take over the emergency government on the condition of obtaining autonomy as Soviets aimed to grant the presidency to a non-communist to prove that their policy in Korea is democratic and different from the Russian socialist revolution, especially when the communism was still weak in North Korea. The party was in the stage of organization and registration and thus was depended on intellectuals, the small and medium bourgeoisie and the clergy.

The other party was "Chundogyu Chongyu" which had no importance except for the name as it had no activities. However, both parties were placed under full control of the Soviet Communist Party, which in turn established the "North Korean Office of Communist Party" headed by Kim Yong Bum on October 13, 1945 but that office remained affiliated to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Korea in Seoul headed by Pak Hun Young (<sup>58</sup>). With the division of Korea and the beginning of the Soviet-American rivalry, Moscow decided to install Kim Il Sung in a leadership position as he had achieved many successes, especially in his raids on Japan. Moreover, he was familiar to some Soviet officers. Thus, he was promoted as a communist leader in the North. He started to gain control over the local communist movement and obtain the support of the Soviet Union (<sup>59</sup>).

By October 20-21, 1945, the number of Communists in North Korea reached more than 3,000 and the process to register the committed began in all five Northern provinces and district committees were formed in many regions. Also, an organizing bureau consisted of 14 members and a control committee consisted of three members were formed to lead the provincial committees of North Korea. In the meeting of representatives of the regional committees which was held with the participation of senior communists, the secretary of the South Pyongyang Provincial Committee was chosen as the first secretary of the Organization Office. Also, O Ki Sop was elected as the secretary of Hamgyeong Province and Kank was chosen as the second secretary of the Organization Office of the Central Committee for the Workers' Party of Korea in Seoul headed by Secretary Pak Hyun-yong, the chairman of the Korean Communist Party, which was officially registered with the US leadership along with other parties in South Korea. According to Pak's information, there were more than 2,000 communists in South Korea and six regional committees were formed (<sup>60</sup>).

Taking into consideration the development of the above mentioned events, the Moscow conference was held on December 17, 1945. The main objective of the conference was to discuss post-war settlements (<sup>61</sup>). This was better and more realistic in the previous twenty to thirty years that was agreed upon in Yalta previously (<sup>62</sup>). However, the period set for the independence was too long for most Koreans as they had expected immediate independence and the abolition of the planned trusteeship. That is why; mass demonstrations took place in which all major groups participated. The Koreans united in their opposition to the idea of trusteeship. On December 30, the Soviet Union ordered its loyal communists in the north to support the trusteeship which they did sincerely after changing their position (<sup>63</sup>). So, the Soviets overthrew the local nationalists who criticized the trusteeship and the Korean communists began to return to their country from exile or Prisons (<sup>64</sup>).

In early 1946, it became obvious that the Soviet interests required the creation of a Soviet regime in North Korea as they had planned to make the country a 'communist' one by establishing a government loyal to them. So, in early January 1946, the Korean Workers' Party formed a wide network of mass organizations such as the Democratic Youth League of North Korea and Socialist Patriotic Youth League as well as the "Korean Agricultural Workers Union" was established on January 31 of the same year. It is a labor union and a mass organization for agricultural workers and one of the most important



organizations that was established in the country in 1946 with the aim of educating the peasants and forming a union of Korean farmers to support the communist movement<sup>(65)</sup>. In February 1946, the Soviets established the 'Administrative Committee' for five states which was changed to the Transitional People's Committee of North Korea with the aim to transfer powers to local administrative bodies<sup>(66)</sup>.


In North Korea, four factions emerged among which the local (or secret) faction was the strongest in the early days of liberation (i.e., liberation from Japanese rule). This faction consisted of former underground communist who were in Korea before 1945 as they had never left the country. Several members of the local faction spent some time in Japanese military prisons as a consequence of their activities. O Ki-sub and Kim Yong-bum were among those who were associated with the old leadership of the Communist Party in Seoul led by Pak Hun-young who had gained a semi-mythical status among the Korean leftists. Pak became the leader of the party that had come into existence once again though for a while. Even the communist organizations in the Soviet-occupied north technically recognized 'the supreme authority' of the Central Committee of Pak Hoon. The headquarter of the Committee was in Seoul and the number of its members had reached 500<sup>(67)</sup>.

The guerrilla faction consisted of ex-Korean fighters who were active in Manchuria after it was occupied by Japan in 1931. Many ended up fleeing Manchuria as their armed resistance was suppressed. They moved to the Soviet Union where many, including Kim, were conscripted in the 'Red Army' and remained there until liberation. In the Soviet Union they received some additional military training and served for a few years in the 88<sup>th</sup> Independent Brigade as that unit of the Soviet Army consisted mostly of ex-Chinese and Korean guerrillas<sup>(68)</sup>. The brigade was commanded by Chupa Thong, a Chinese soldier and former "notable" guerrilla. Before 1945 they had no connections with the communist movement in Korea itself, and although they fought in units of Chinese Communist guerrillas, they remained unaware of the communist movement. Most of the fighters belonged to the peasant class and lacked any good education. Also, most of them were almost unknown outside their villages of origin. The prominent young guerrilla leader Kim Il Sung came to be seen as the supreme leader of this faction. The number of the members reached 130-140<sup>(69)</sup>.

As for the Yan'an faction is concerned, it consisted of Korean left-wing intellectuals who were born in Korea but they had immigrated to China in 1920s and 1930s and were closely linked to the Chinese Communist Party which was first led by Mochung, and then began to split under the leadership of Kim Tu Bong and Chang Ok to get the leadership<sup>(70)</sup>. When they returned to North Korea, they found that the Yan'an faction headed by Kim Tu-bong was divided into two groups but both played active roles in building the new government. The first group obtained important positions in North Korean government organizations, the military and the security sector. For instance, Muchong was appointed the director of the 'Second Security Cadre School' and Pak was appointed the director of the Interior Office. The second group played a "pivotal" role in organizing the Democratic Party which was established within the framework of return to the united front strategy<sup>(71)</sup>.

Also, the Yan'an faction established some Korean organizations in a specific manner. The 'Korean Independence Union' was the most prominent among these organizations. Most of the members were well-educated and well cultured. Their leader, Kim Tu-bong, was one of the most prominent Korean linguists of his generation. In their ideological outlook, they were quite similar to the members of the local faction. Despite the fact that their availability for a long time in exile had undermined their understanding of 'Korean reality' and made them more vulnerable to ideas and trends that spread from China, they became tougher and more practical-minded. In fact, Mochung and other people with Chinese experience formed the backbone of the North Korean army on the eve of the





Korean War. The political activity of the members of the Yan'an faction faced some obstacles because the excessive Chinese influence on Korea was not welcomed by the Soviets at that early stage. The number of their members had reached 15.<sup>(72)</sup>

The Soviet faction was led by Aleksey Ivanovich Ha Kai (1908-1953) <sup>(73)</sup> and it was distinguished from the guerrilla group (faction) which was also based in Russia and that is because its members had been in Russia for a generation or two and most of the Koreans who had come to Russia recently (1937) had been killed on the suspicion of being Japanese spies in one of the periodic purges during which Stalin wiped out the whole classes of people. Thus, the members of the Soviet faction had little knowledge of Korean life and little contact with the local communist movement in their own country either in Korea or Shanghai. However, they were well educated, had an understanding of life outside Korea as well as they were completely rooted in Soviet institutions as they had seen the Russian Revolution in 1917 and served in the Red Army after the liberation which they were not allowed to participate in. They worked as interpreters and power brokers and their number reached from 150 to 200 members <sup>(74)</sup>. It was obvious that the role of the former gangs was not very important in 1946 as most of them had neither the experience nor the education that was necessary to serve as high-ranking officials. So, they were initially pushed to the margins of political life and had to content themselves with relatively minor or secondary jobs. Also, the Yan'an faction had not a good number of members and so the control was initially in the hands of the Soviets.

Keeping in mind the purpose of bringing together all the North Korean parties, the United National Front was formed on July 22, 1946. It was a popular front led by the Communist Party of North Korea that brought together all the parties. During the first conference of the 'Workers' Party of Korea (WPK)' held on August 28-30, 1946, the Workers' Party of North Korea was adopted instead of the Workers' Party of Korea <sup>(75)</sup>. The party's symbol was a combination of hammer, sickle and brush representing workers, peasants and intellectuals. The Rodong Sinmun newspaper was the mouthpiece of the party <sup>(76)</sup>. Kim Tu bong, the leader of the People's Party, was elected president of the Communist Party of Korea while Kim I-Sung and Cho Neung were chosen as his deputies. At the time of establishment, the party was joined by 366,000 members who were organized in 12,000 party cells and had a following of intellectuals while the Communist Party included peasants and workers <sup>(77)</sup>.

The party operated a wide network of mass organizations including the 'Democratic Youth League of North Korea', the 'General Confederation of Trade Unions of North Korea', the Democratic Women's Federation of North Korea and the 'North Korean Federation of Peasant Associations'. The formation of those organizations had preceded the founding of the party in August 1946. Moreover, the party ran a cooperative society for consumers and two newspapers. The first newspaper was 'Rodraj Sinmon', a theoretical mass newspaper of the party, which was started during the first congress of the party and began to publish articles on the unification of two Koreas. The second newspaper was 'Kunroja' which was a theoretical magazine of the party <sup>(78)</sup>. The chief objectives were to create a unified All-Korea Communist Party and to ensure a leadership role for Kim Il-sung because Moscow declared him as an ideal person or so he was looked at in Moscow.

On December 15, 1946, General Terenty Shtykov <sup>(79)</sup>, who was then in charge of political operations in Korea, discussed the future formation of North Korea. So, the first constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of North Korea was added and sent to Moscow for approval in early 1947 <sup>(80)</sup>. On September, 9, 1947, the constitution was ratified and North Korea became an official country <sup>(81)</sup>.

The control of Kim Il Sung over the party increased throughout the country after his second conference which was held on March 27-30, 1948. In the conference, he presented his report to Congress stressing that North Korea is a democratic country. On

April 28, a special session of the Supreme People's Assembly was held. In September 1948, a session was held in the presence of 102 delegates out of 212 who approved the constitution proposed by Kim and his cadres. The establishment of the independent state of North Korea was formally approved in September, 1948. The legislative power was granted to Kim Tu Bong while Kim Il Sung was declared as head of the State <sup>(82)</sup>. In a letter sent to Kim Il Sung, Stalin ensured his support for him and his newly independent state and expressed his desire to establish relations between the two sides on the basis of mutual respect and cooperation in all areas. <sup>(83)</sup>

#### CONCLUSION:

We conclude from the present research that the Communism started to be seen in Korea since 1905 i.e. with the beginning of the Russian revolution. The reason that lies behind this is that the Koreans in Siberia and Manchuria were influenced by this ideology. In fact, they were forced to live in exile by Japan which had occupied their lands. The Japanese occupation in 1910 contributed to the entry of communism into Korea. The Soviet-Japanese conflict played its role as Soviet started to support Koreans in establishing 'Communist Parties' inside and outside Korea. However, the communist movement took on a new character with the end of 1938 and the beginning of 1939 which is the outbreak of World War II. In fact, this war was the real founder of "Communism" in North Korea.

However, the communist movement took on a new character with the end of 1938 and the beginning of 1939, which is the outbreak of World War II, which became the true founder of communism in North Korea. The Soviet Union took control of North Korea and supported the "Communist Movement" through the installation of Kim Il Sung as their leader. Kim was a communist who contributed to the merger of the four factions in 1946 and thus it ended with the establishment of the Workers' Party of Korea (WPK) in 1948 and the dream to establish 'North Korean state' came true because of the support provided by the Soviet as well as Chinese communists. The communist movement that had spread in Korea through Korean immigrants to Manchurian and Siberia had played a fundamental role in getting support for liberation movements and guerrilla warfare in Korea. The objective was to get 'independence' and it was achieved in 1948.

#### REFERENCE

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<sup>1</sup> This term refers to a set of ideas in political and societal organization and a system which is based on the abolition of individual ownership and the right of people to participate in public money and the means of production in the economy. The communism came into existence as a political theory at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century within socialist thought. The German philosopher Karl Marx (1818- 1883) is considered to be its most prominent theorist prior to the Russian Revolution of 1917. The "socialism" and "communism" were synonymous as both refer to the economic systems in which the government owns the means of production. For more information, you can read: Stanley Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1914-1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), p. 370

<sup>2</sup> In Korean language, the word 'Korea' is a term that literally means 'half an island' which is, in fact, a peninsula surrounded by water on three sides. The Korean Peninsula extends around 620 miles from north to south and lies 142 miles from the Japanese island of Kyushu across the Korea Strait and the western coast of the Korean Peninsula is bordered by the Yellow Sea. The Korean peninsula was home to clans, tribes, kings and different dynasties throughout its long history and every civilization left its mark there. It is more likely that the first Korean settlers came from Manchuria, a region located in northeastern China and Siberia. They survived along the coasts and river valleys by living



in caves in the Neolithic period. Then the Korean Bronze Age began around 1500 B.C. The Korean founding legends indicate that “Tan gun” is the founder of the first Korean state in the fiftieth year. During the first four centuries of the first millennium, Korea gradually entered the “three kingdoms period” that ended with the rule of the Chosun dynasty and the establishment of the state of Korea after the proclamation of the empire in 1897. For more information, you can read: BalazsSzalontai, Kim Il Sung in the Khrushchev Era, United States of America, 2005, p.1; Mark Peterson and Others, A brief History of Korea, New York, 2009, P.vii.

<sup>3</sup> The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 broke out in which Japanese forces took control of Korea and appointed their loyal administrators. The new Korean officials signed an alliance with Japan and provided supplies to help Japan expel the Chinese from Korea. After the battles, the Treaty of Shimonoseki ended the war and forced China to abandon Korea. With China defeated in its war with Japan, Russia was the other major power in the region, and in February 1904 Japan launched a “surprise” attack on Port Arthur, which ended in Russia's defeat, and the Portsmouth Peace Treaty was signed, under the auspices of US President Theodore Wesvelt, and the Japanese protectorate over Korea was declared in 1905: for more: Meshaal Mofreh Zahir, the Japanese-Russian conflict over Korea and Manchuria 1895-1903 Basra Journal of Etiquette, 2015; Lutz Tyler, Cult of Personality: North Korea under Kim Il Sung, 2015, PP.13.14.

<sup>4</sup> The Bolshevik Revolution was a result of the deterioration of the internal conditions after its defeat against Japan. Despite the issuance of the Russian Tsar Nicholas II, Nicholas II, a decree on the fifth of May 1905, in which it was decided to grant the rural population the facilities of paying the debts that they contracted with to feed them and sow the fields to write off the accounts completely. However, the demonstrations, strikes and peasant uprisings of January and February 1905 exploded. In the meantime the first Korean Socialist Party was established in 1908 for workers in Russia in the city of Petrograd and here the Koreans began to be influenced by communist thought: Walther Kirchner, A History of Russia (New York, 1874), p.156

<sup>5</sup> Denny Roy., China's Foreign Relations. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998., 164; Mark Peterson and Others, OP. Cit., p.140.

<sup>6</sup> Michael J.Seth , A history of Korea: From Antiquity to the Present , United States of America , 2011, p.255

<sup>7</sup> Carter J., Eckert, and Ki-baek Yi. Korea, Old and New: A History. Seoul: Published for the Korea Institute, Harvard University by Ilchokak, 1990., P. 277), ; Mark Peterson and Others, OP. Cit, p.143.

<sup>8</sup> The Korean immigration to Russia began in 1861. In the first half of 1869 alone, it was reported that about 6,500 people entered the Russian lands. The Russian authorities initially favored the entry of Koreans by granting them land. However, due to the increase in the numbers of migrants, an agreement was signed in 1884 between the Russian and Korean governments that had restricted the immigration. The Russian attitude towards the Koreans fluctuated after the agreement but the number of immigrants rose nonetheless reaching 80,000 in 1910. The fall of the Korean government in that year led to an increase in refugees to the stream of economically destitute people: Mark Peterson and Others, OP. Cit , p.156 .; Hildi Kang, Under the Black



Umbrella: Voices from Colonial Korea. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001. 2001, p.17

<sup>9</sup>‘Bolshevism’ means ‘many or majority’. The Bolsheviks were a faction of the Marxist Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. In fact, Lenin’s followers or supporters came to be called Bolsheviks. (Theodore I. Dan, *The Origins of Bolshevism*, 1964).

<sup>10</sup> Lutz Tyler, *OP. Cit.* , p.15.

<sup>11</sup> Michael J. Seth, *OP.Cit.* ,PP.266-267

<sup>12</sup> Japan entered World War I on the side of the Allies on the twenty-third of August 1914. It played a relatively “minor” role in the war, as it secured the sea lanes in the South Pacific and Indian Ocean against the German Navy. Its participation in the war helped it to strengthen its position against China and to recognize it as a superpower. Djunkilkim, *The History of Korea, United States of America*, 2005, p.126; Mark Peterson and Others, *OP. Cit.* , p.152.

<sup>13</sup> Vladimir Lenin, a Russian Marxist revolutionary and leader of the Bolshevik Party and the Bolshevik Revolution was born in 1870 in the city of Simbirsk. After finishing his schooling, he joined the Faculty of Law at Kazan City University but was expelled from the university as he had participated students’ demonstrations after the execution of his brother Alexander due to his involvement in the assassination attempt on Tsar Alexander III. Lenin returned to Kazan, then traveled to Switzerland and stayed outside Russia until 1905. He was chosen to lead the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party which was formed in 1898. In 1916, after the party split, Lenin headed the Bolshevik Party. With the outbreak of World War I, he called for turning the world war into civil wars against capitalist governments in European countries. After the end of tsarist rule in Russia in 1917, the provisional government assumed power in the country. Germany allowed Lenin to return to Russia. Lenin led a revolution that led to the Bolshevik Party taking power in the country and the outbreak of the civil war. He died in 1924. Jeffrey Brooks, *Lenin and the Making of the Soviet State, A Brief History with Documents*, Bedford, 2007.

<sup>14</sup> Andri Lankov, *Communist Party of Korea Estabiishid in 1925*, Korea Times, 2020.; Kim Se-yong, “The Activities of the Koreans in Siberia P’y6nghwa wachayu (Peace and Freedom) (Seoul: 1932), PP. 261-278.

<sup>15</sup> Mark Peterson and Others, *OP. Cit.*, PP.152-153; Meredith Woo-Cummings , *The Korean Bureaucratic State: Historical Legacies and Comparative Perspectives.*, In *Politics and Policy in the New Korean State: From Roh Tae-woo to Kim Young-sam*, edited by James Cotton. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995, p.177.

<sup>16</sup> Dae-SookSuh, *Documents of Korean Communism, 1918-1948.* (Princeton (N.J.): Princeton University Press, 1970, p.505.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Woodrow Wilson was born in 1856. He was an American politician and academic who served as the twenty-eighth president of the United States from 1913 to 1921. Also, he headed Princeton University and was governor of New Jersey. During his presidency he was one of the most important symbols of the progressive movement in the country and led the country during World War I. His political approach during that period was known as Wilsonianism. During the end of his second term, he suffered from a stroke that affected his political work, and he died in 1924 three years after leaving office.



H.W.Brands, Woodrow Wilson, The American Presidents Series The President 1913-1921, 28th, 2003

<sup>18</sup> Dae-SookSuh, *Documents of Korean Communism*,, P.505 ; Mikhail Pak, The Anti Japanese Korean Independence Movement in Russian Territories: The 1920s and 1930s , Korea Journal 30, No. 6 (1990):,PP. 37-44.; Michael J.Seth ,OP .Cit ,P.268

<sup>19</sup> Mikhail Pak, “The Anti-Japanese Korean Independence Movement in Russian Territories: The 1920s and 1930s Korea Journal 30, no. 6 (1990):PP. 37-44 .;ShenZhihua and Yafeng Xia ,A Misunderstood Friendship”MaoZedong,Kimll Sung, And Sino-North Korean Relations 1949-1976 ,The United States of America ,2018,P.4

<sup>20</sup> Omar Saber Abdullah Omar Al-Tikriti, Social Developments in the Republic of South Korea 1948-1960, Tikrit University Journal of Humanities, Volume 5, Issue 26, 2019, p. 219.

<sup>21</sup> Li DachuoChendeuxiu, a Chinese politician, was born in 1879. He studied classical Chinese literature. In 1896 he passed the provincial-level examination with honors in Huai Ning. After the republic was founded in 1911, he became general secretary of the military governor of Anhui Province and dean of the provincial higher general school. In 1915 he started a monthly youth periodical journal titled ‘Youth’ in Shanghai, which was later renamed “New Youth”. In 1917, he was appointed dean of the Faculty of Arts at Peking University. Many liberal and progressive professors and students gathered around him in 1918. The literary and philosophical ideas of this group were dominated by the May Fourth Movement, a student protest against the weak position of the Chinese government at the Versailles Peace Conference. He died in 1942. For more, refer to: Gregor Benton, Chen Duxiu's Recent Essays and Letters, 1937-1942. University of Hawaii Press. 1998

<sup>22</sup> Lutz Tyler, OP. Cit. , PP.16.17; Dae-SookSuh, Documents of Korean 1970), p.27

<sup>23</sup> Conrad Totman. A History of Japan. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000. Wagner, Edward W. “The Literati Purges: Political Conflict in Early Yi Korea.” Harvard East Asia Series. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975. PP. 364-365

<sup>24</sup> Dae-SookSuh, Documents of P.506., ShenZhihua and Yafeng , Op.Cit., PP.8-9

<sup>25</sup> The Comintern: International Communism, also known as the Third International, is a movement founded in Russia in 1919 that aims to promote revolutionary Marxism in capitalist countries. The movement was dissolved in 1943 to assuage the fears of Russia's allies in the West. For more, you can refer to: Rehab Qassem Hussein, The Comintern between Thought and Application (1919-1943), unpublished doctoral thesis, College of Arts, University of Baghdad, 2019

<sup>26</sup> Michael J.Seth ,OP .Cit. ,P.277; Lutz Tyler,OP. Cit. , P. 17.

<sup>27</sup> Dae-Sook-Suh , Documents Of Korean Communism 1918-1948, Princeton University Press , 1970 , P.P.15-21

<sup>28</sup> Karl Heinrich Marx, a German philosopher, economist, sociologist, historian and one of the most famous pioneers of the socialist movement, was born of Jewish parents in Rhineland Germany in 1818. Being a Jewish family, it suffered persecution by the German people. However, he began to study social and political theories at the university





surrounded by the Young Hegelians. He became a journalist and his socialist writings got him expelled from Germany and France. In 1848, he published the Communist Manifesto with Friedrich Engels, and was exiled to London until he died in 1883: Helmi Al-Qummun Yaqoub, *Journey to the Heart of Atheism - Part One - Atheism, the Seeds and the Men*, Carl Arx 1818-1883, Christian Books Library - Nabatieh, (Dr. T) .

<sup>29</sup> Lutz Tyler, OP. Cit. , P.18.; Dae - Sook -Suh , Op.Cit., P.111.

<sup>30</sup> Dae-SookSuh, Op.Cit., P.372-374;Michael J. Seth ,Op .Cit .,P.277;Lutz Tyler,Op.Cit. , P.18,

<sup>31</sup> Pak Hon Yong, a Korean politician, was born in 1901 in Yoon Province. He received his education. Also, he learned English at the Young Christian Association in Seoul. He traveled to Tokyo in 1920 and was influenced by socialist ideas. Then he left for Shanghai in 1921 and then to Russia. He returned in 1922 to China. China sent him to Korea to spread communist thought. He became the head of the Korean Communist Party in 1925 and was arrested. He was released under the pretext of mental illness. He traveled to Russia and underwent treatment. After that, he returned to Shanghai in 1922, from where he entered Korea and founded the party again. He was imprisoned for several years, after which he was released and survived arrests. As soon as the North Korean government was formed, he became the head of the Korean Workers' Party, and assumed the position of Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs until Kim Il Sug accused him in 1953 of espionage for the United States of America and executed him in 1955: Dae-SookSuh, Op. Cit., PP. 480-481.; , <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/114890>

<sup>32</sup> Dae-SookSuh, Op.Cit. , PP. 480-481; Lutz Tyler, OP. Cit. , PP.18-19

<sup>33</sup> *Chong-sik Lee, . The Korean Workers' Party: A Short History. Stanford, Calif.:Hoover Institution Press, 1978,PP. 6-45; Michael J.Seth ,OP .Cit. ,P.277 .*

<sup>34</sup> Lutz Tyler, OP. Cit. , p.-19; Dae-SookSuh, Documents of Korean , PP.374-385

<sup>35</sup> Dae - Sook -Suh , Op. Cit.,P,112; Michael J.Seth ,OP .Cit ., P.277

<sup>36</sup> Lutz Tyler , OP. Cit ., P. 20; Michael J.Seth ,OP .Cit ., P.277.;DaeSookSuh,Op .Cit., P. 99

<sup>37</sup> Kim Il Sung was born in 1912 in Pyongyang as Kim Seung Jo. He was the eldest son. His parents were citizens of the lower middle class. His mother came from a very religious family. His family was Christian and his father attended a missionary school like the majority of rural intellectuals. Also, Kim's father was a prominent leader of the national movement. The family moved to Manchuria around 1920 for political and economic reasons. He attended a Chinese school, returned to Korea to stay with his grandfather for a while, but soon left his home country again. The situation of the family in Manchuria did not improve and in 1926 his grandfather passed away. While he was a high school student, belonged to an underground Marxist group formed by a local youth organization of the Communist Party of China. The group was discovered almost immediately by the police and 17-year-old Kim was the youngest member. He was imprisoned for several months in 1929. He was soon released. Then, he joined the guerrilla war in Manchuria. In early 1946, Kim officially became the ruler of North Korea, leading the country to war with the South from 1950-1953. He ruled as a dictator and despite attempts to remove



him in August 1956, he continued in his position. He died in 1994. Ilpyong J. Kim, *Historical Dictionary of North Korea*, Asian/Oceanian Historical Dictionaries, No. 40, The Scarecrow Press, Maryland, and Oxford, 2003, PP. 70-71

<sup>38</sup> Michael J. Seth, *Op.Cit.* , p.278;; Ilpyong J. Kim, *Historical Dictionary*, p.126.

Muntaha Talib Salman, *The Brief in the Modern and Contemporary History of Asia*, Dar Al-Waddah Publishing House, Tigris Library, 2015, p. 141

<sup>39</sup> It was founded in South Korea in 1922. Members were sent to participate in the first scouting competition for the Far East in Beijing 1924, after which it was banned by the occupying authorities until 1937. It returned to work throughout the Korean Peninsula in 1950, that is, with the participation of the two Koreas. It was recognized by the World Organization Scout movement in 1953: *History, Korea Scout Association Website Archived from the original on 2005-02-04. Retrived 2006-01-10*

<sup>40</sup> D.G.E.Hall, *History of South-East Asia*. London, Macmillan, and New York, St. Martin's Press, 1968., PP. 759-762; Michael J. Seth, *Ibid*, p.296

<sup>41</sup> Dae-Sook-Suh , *Documents of Korean Communism*, P P.415-417. ; Chong-sik Lee, *Op, Cit*, PP. 263-269; Michael J. Seth, *Op. Cit.*, p.296

<sup>42</sup> Germany had started World War II by invading Poland on September 1, 1939. Britain and France responded to this invasion by declaring war on Germany on September 3 of the same year and thus the World War II had been declared. Within a month, Poland was defeated by both German and Soviet forces and was divided between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union: Muntaha Sabri Mawla, *the efforts of the United States of America to evacuate its citizens from Europe during World War II 1939-1944, a documentary study*, *Journal of Dhi Qar Arts*, Volume 40, Issue December 1, 2022, p. 221

<sup>43</sup> Dae - Sook -Suh , *Op. Cit.* , P.412

<sup>44</sup> Kim Muchong was born in 1904 in Chongjin, North Hamgyong Province, ethnically Korean general and widely known by his nom de guerre Muchong (his real name was Kim Muchong). He was a Korean immigrant, communist, independence activist and North Korean statesman. He has been living in China for years. He joined the Chinese Communist Party which was fighting against the Japanese. After the liberation of Korea, he returned to North Korea and became a general in the Korean People's Army. He was an important member of the Yan'an Faction, a group of pro-Chinese Communists in the North Korean government. Also, he achieved a prominent place in the Chinese Eighth Route Army and later played an important role in the early stages of the Korean War. Ilpyong J. Kim, *Historical Dictionary*, p.77.

<sup>45</sup> Kim Tu-bong, a Korean linguist, scholar and politician, was born in 1886. He was the first chairman of the Worker's Party of North Korea from 1946 to 1949. He had formed a provisional government-in-exile in China with other Korean leaders at that time. Because of his communist beliefs, he played an important role in the North Korean communist government. Together with other members of the Yan'an faction, he formed the New People's Party when they returned from exile. After the New People's Party merged into the Worker's Party of North Korea in 1946 at its first congress, he became its chairman. Much of his work was done politically and linguistically while living in China with the exiled government of Korea. He was purged by Kim Il-sung in 1957: James E. Hoare, *Historical Dictionary of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea*, Toronto, 2012, p.223.



<sup>46</sup> Choi Chang-ik, a Korean politician, was born in Onsong Province in 1896. He completed his high school. He participated in the March 1, 1919 movement, which led to his expulsion. He studied at Waseda University in Tokyo in the Department of Economics and Politics, where he formed a student union and continued his activities. He secretly infiltrated into some parts of Korea where he went on a lecture tour to share his ideas on socialism and equality. He was arrested by the Japanese police, but was released. He completed his graduation from Waseda University in 1925 and returned to Korea. He contributed in forming the “Korean Communist Youth Alliance” and served as a commissioner. He worked to establish of a communist federation within the organization in 1936. He obtained political asylum in China in 1945. He was appointed to the Political Committee of the Communist Party of Korea. He returned to Pyongyang with Kim tu bongo muchong. He founded the New Democratic Party of Korea and was elected deputy prime minister in 1954, Minister of Finance and Chief of Security. He died in 1960: Charles K. Armstrong, *Tyranny of the Weak: North Korea and the World, 1950-1992* , Cornell University Press., 2013, p. 130.;[digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/people/choe-chang-ik](https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/people/choe-chang-ik)

<sup>47</sup> Quersted in: Lutz Tyler, *Op.Cit*, P. 24; ZhihuaShen and Yafeng Xia, *OP. Cit*, PP.51-52

<sup>48</sup> The Cairo Declaration on November 2, 1943 was attended by President Franklin Roosevelt of the United States, Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and Commander-in-Chief Chiang Kai-shek of the Republic of China. The Cairo Communiqué was broadcasted over the radio on December 1, 1943. The three main clauses of the declaration were that Japan would renounce any land it had occupied since World War I and all lands that it had stolen from the Armenians, such as Manchuria, Formosa, Obskador, and Hong Kong would be returned to the Republic of China. At appropriate time, Korea would become free and independent: *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, the Conferences at Cairo and Tehran, 1943*, Franklin d. Roosevelt Administration 1933-1945 , <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1955-57v23p2>

<sup>49</sup> In May 1945, Sorkin conveyed the instructions of the Far Eastern Army Command to Zubuzeng in the scheduled operation against Japan. A few months later, the 1st Brigade would be integrated into the 2nd Far Eastern Army, becoming an army of "100,000 people." After negotiating with the Soviet Army, they proposed to contact again with CPC Central Committee, build an anti-Japanese coalition army and restore the Northeast Party organization. For more information, refer to: Mark Peterson and Others, *OP. Cit.* , p.179; Lutz Tyler, *OP. Cit.* ,PP. 24-25

<sup>50</sup> Mark Peterson and Others , *OP. Cit.* , P.179

<sup>51</sup> Lawton J.Collins, *War in Peacetime: The History and Lessons of Korea*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1969, PP.25-26. ; Eleanor Bradshaw, *OP. Cit.* , P.35; Bruce Cumings,*Op. Cit.*,P. 82

<sup>52</sup> Mark Peterson and Others , *OP. Cit.* , P.179.;Kathryn Weathersby,. “Soviet Aims in Korea and the Origins of the Korean War, 1945-1950: New Evidence from the Russian Archives.” *Cold War International History Project Working Paper No. 8*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, November 1993, PP.8-12



<sup>53</sup> It was held from July 17 to August 2, 1945 and it is also referred to as the Berlin Conference of the Three Heads of Government (the Soviet Union, the United States of America and the United Kingdom), who met to decide how to run Germany which had agreed to unconditional surrender. The goals of the conference also included the division of North and South Korea: Nofal Kazem Mahous, Pre-Potsdam Paris Peace Meetings (preparatory meetings September 1945-July 29, 1946), Basra Research Journal for Human Sciences, Volume 43, Issue 3B (30 September 2018, pp. 138-146; Dae-SookSuh, The Impact of the War on North Korea: the Internal Dimension, The Historical Reillumination on the Korean War (Seoul : Korean War Research Conference Committee, War Memorial Service-Korea, 1990), p.381

<sup>54</sup> Choi Yong-gon, a North Korean politician, was born in 1900 or 1903. He went to China and attended the Yunnan Military Academy as a member of the Chinese Communist Party. He fought with Kim Il-sung in Manchuria in the 1930s. Like Kim, he moved to the Soviet Union under pressure from Japan in 1940 or 1941 and returned to Korea in 1945. He became head of the Security Bureau of the Provisional People's Committee and later on the chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Korea, replacing Cho Man Sikin in 1946. After that, he became vice chairman of the Workers' Party of Korea in February 1948. He played an important role in the Korean War. He became Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly Committee. He retained his position as Vice-Chairman of the Workers' Party of Korea and held both positions until his death: James E. Hoare, Op.Cit., p.82.

<sup>55</sup> ChayJongsuk , Unequal Partners in Peace and War: The Republic of Korea and the United States, 1948-1953(Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2002),PP. 32-33 ; Andrei Lankov, The Real North Korea, New York, 2013 V. , P.2 ; Michael J.Seth ,OP .Cit ,PP.312-313

<sup>56</sup> Michael J.Seth ,OP .Cit. ,PP.312-313; Bruce Cumings,Op .Cit., P. 443)

<sup>57</sup> Cho Man-sik was born in 1883 in Kangso-gun, South Pyongan Province, now in North Korea, brought up and educated in traditional Confucian style. He moved to Japan to study law in Tokyo, Meiji University. During his stay in Tokyo, Cho came into contact with Gandhi's ideas of nonviolence and self-sufficiency. After Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, he became increasingly involved in his country's independence movement. His participation in March 1 movement led to his arrest. He was also known for his public disapproval of the Japanese imperial government's policy of pressuring Koreans to legally change their surnames to Japanese. With Japan's surrender approaching, Chu was contacted by the Japanese governor of Pyongyang and asked to organize a committee to take control and maintain stability in the power vacuum that would inevitably follow. He agreed to cooperate. From this position, he continued to oppose the Communists, executing Cho along with political prisoners during the Korean War: Erik Ree, Socialism in One Zone: Stalin's Policy in Korea, 1945-1947, Oxford: Berg, 1989. ; J. HoarePratt, K.L., . R. RuttKorea: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary, Routledge, 19.; James E. Hoare, Op.Cit., p.82

<sup>58</sup> El. Shabshina, SotsialisticheskaiiaKoreia, Moscow: Izdatel'stvovostochnoilitratury, 1963, PP. 7; AndreiLankov, "Razgromnekommunisticheskikhpartij v KNDR" [The defeat of non-communist parties in the DPRK], 1995, [http://www.hrono.ru/statii/2003/lan\\_raznk.html](http://www.hrono.ru/statii/2003/lan_raznk.html) (1 February 2015).

<sup>59</sup> David Hal berstam, The Coldest Winter: America and the Korean War. New York: Hyperion, 2007.,PP. 67-68; Andrei Lankov ,The Real ,PP.11-12



<sup>60</sup> Soviet Report on Communists in Korea, 1945,” 1945, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, AGShVS RF. F. 172. OP 614631. D. 23 PP. 21-26. Translated by Gary Goldberg., <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/114890>

<sup>61</sup> It was agreed to place Korea under tutelage by four powers, the United States of America, the Soviet Union, China and Britain for a period of four to five years: Haider Abdul-Ridha Al-Tamimi, the position of the Soviet Union on the Korean War 1950-1953, a published doctoral thesis, University of Basra - College of Arts 2008, p. 27.

<sup>62</sup> The Yalta Conference was held from 4 to 11 February 1945. The US President Franklin Roosevelt and UK Prime Minister Winston Churchill agreed to protect Soviet interests in Port Arthur and Darien in China and the Manchurian railways, which gives the Soviets greater advantages than other countries in exchange for their declaration of war on Japan: Enas Saadi Abdullah The Cold War: A Historical Study of US-Soviet Relations 1945-1963 Cuba as a Model, unpublished PhD thesis, College of Education for Girls - University of Baghdad, 2009, p. 146; Haider Abd al-Ridha al-Tamimi, The Role of the Soviet Union in Japan's Surrender in 1945, Basra Arts Journal, Twenty-second Issue, June, 2017 Special Issue of the First Scientific Conference, p. 89.

<sup>63</sup> Shen Zhihua and Yafeng Xia, OP. Cit., P.17; New York Times, North Korea Supreme Leaders; Orea Published in 2019 by The New York Times, P.14.

<sup>64</sup> Gregory Henderson, Korea, the Politics of the Vortex (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), PP. 114-15.; Michael J. Seth, Ibid, PP.310-317

<sup>65</sup> Ralph Hassig; Kongdan oh, the Hidden People of North Korea Everyday Life in the Hermit Kingdom (2nd ed) . Lanham Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, P.63

<sup>66</sup> Ralph Hassig; Kongdan oh, the Hidden People of North Korea Everyday Life in the Hermit Kingdom (2nd ed) . Lanham Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, P.63.

<sup>67</sup> Taekbin Kim, Who Is Purged? Determinants of Elite Purges in North Korea, University of North Texas, 2021, P.77; Lee Chong -Sik, Op.Cit., PP. 434-448.

<sup>68</sup> James Palais, A Search for Korean Uniqueness, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 55, No. 2. (Dec. 1995): P.420.; Andrei Lankov, Crisis in North Korea: The Failure of De-Stalinization, 1956, The United States of America, 2005, PP.12-13

<sup>69</sup> Andrei Lankov, From Stalin to Kim Il Sung The, P.80; Taekbin Kim, Op. Cit., P.77; James Palais, “, Op. Cit., P.420

<sup>70</sup> Jin Guangxi, "The August Incident" and the Destiny of the Yanan Faction, International Journal of Korean History, 2012, P.55.; John N. Washburn, Op. Cit., PP.59-62.

<sup>71</sup> Andrei Lankov, From Stalin to Kim Il Sung The, P.80; Andrei Lankov, Crisis in North Korea, PP.13-14

<sup>72</sup> Mark Peterson and Others, Op. Cit., P.247.; Andrei Lankov, from Stalin to Kim Il Sung, P.29.

<sup>73</sup> Alexei Ivanovich, a Soviet politician known in North Korea as Ho-ka-I, was born in 1908. He was a leader of the Soviet faction within the early political structure of North





Korea and second deputy head of the Politburo of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from 1949 until he was purged. He committed suicide in Pyeongyang 1953: Jae-Kyu Park, Jung-Gun Kim, *The Politics of North Korea*, Westview, Press, 1970.

<sup>74</sup> Andrei Lankov , from *Stalin to Kim Il Sung* , P.80; Dae-SookSuh, *Kim Il Sung: The North Korean Leader*, P. 71.

<sup>75</sup> Dae -SookSuh, *Kim Il Sung: The North Korean Leader*), PP. 75-78; Lee Chong -Sik, *Politics in North Korea : Pre- Korean War Stage* *The China Quarterly* 14 , 2009 , PP. 3-16.

<sup>76</sup> Scalapino and Lee, *Communism in Korea: The Movement*(Berkeley: University of California Press ,1972): 334.;Adrian Buzo, , *Guerilla Dynasty: Politics and Leadership in North Korea*”, Westview Press, 1999, ch 1; Bruce Cumings *Op.Cit.*,PP. 229-23

<sup>77</sup> Lee Chong -Sik, *Op.Cit.*, PP. 3-16. ; Scalapino and Lee,*Op.Cit.*, :,P 334.

<sup>78</sup> Wilbert B. Dubin, *The Political Evolution of the Pyongyang Government. Pacific Affairs.* 23 (4), PP.381-392.

<sup>79</sup> Terenty Shtykov, Soviet politician, was born in Russia in 1907 and was active in the Communist Party. Also, he was in charge of the Party. He survived the 1930's purges. He was the political commissar of the Soviet Red Army in the navies bordering China and Korea. During the Soviet war on Japan in 1945 his unit moved to Korea, he became an advisor to the new administration, and headed the Soviet delegation to the Joint Trusteeship Committee. In 1948, he became his country's ambassador to North Korea and died in 1964: James E. Hoare, *Op.Cit.*,PP.349 -three hundred fifty.

<sup>80</sup> United Nations, *Report to the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK) (A/1881)*; *Kim Il Song Works* 3 January - December 1947, Pyongyang , 1980, P.13;Andrei Lankov,, *From Stalin to Kim Il*, P.23

<sup>81</sup> *Kim Il Song Works* , *Op.Cit.*, P.371; James F. Person, *We Need Help from Outside”: The North Korean Opposition Movement of 1956*, Washington, 2006; Michael J.Seth ,*OP .Cit .*,PP.317-318

<sup>82</sup> Andrei Lankov, *The Demiss of Non-Communist Parties* ,*Op.Cit.*, .PP. 103-125

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