

After Kim Jong-Il: *Can We Hope for Change?*



Kim Kwang-Jin

An Occasional Paper

The Committee for Human Rights in North Korea
1725 Eye (I) Street, NW, Suite 300
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After Kim Jong-Il:

Can We Hope for Change?

By Kim Kwang-Jin



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After Kim Jong-II: Can We Hope For Change?

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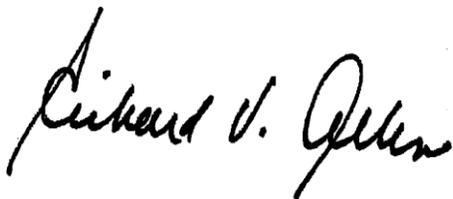
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Foreword

On a dark night in September, 2003, Mr. Kim Kwang Jin, accompanied by his family, rushed to an airport in Southeast Asia to fly to freedom in Seoul, South Korea. His wife later recalled that every step she took felt like she was walking to the gallows. Only a few months earlier, the Kims had been privileged members of the North Korean regime's overseas banking operations, bestowed with benefits that many members of North Korea's official diplomatic missions do not receive. The Kims had entertained visiting North Korean officials, including some of the high level people mentioned in this report, and enjoyed purchasing power and lifestyles that other North Koreans can hardly imagine. With privilege comes an understanding of reality—most obviously, the false precepts of a regime that exists solely for the benefit of Kim Jong-Il at the expense of a nation that is impoverished, starving, and suffering. The family of Kim Kwang Jin, like many other recent defectors, can now speak openly in the West about the misery they know exists in North Korea and their patriotic hopes for a North Korea that will be different after Kim Jong-Il.

The Committee for Human Rights in North Korea is the leading US-based bipartisan, non-governmental organization in the field of North Korean human rights research and advocacy. Launched in 2001, it was created to build a broad base of knowledge about conditions in North Korea and focus the world's attention on human rights abuses there. We have published reports including the path-breaking *Hidden Gulag: Uncovering North Korea's Prison Camps*; *Hunger and Human Rights: The Politics of Famine in North Korea*; and *Lives for Sale: Personal Accounts of Women Fleeing North Korea to China*.

This report is something different—the second in a series of “Occasional Papers,” this sets out a point of view that is not necessarily representative of the Committee or its Board of Directors. It is the viewpoint of a courageous man who has had a unique opportunity to see how outcomes in North Korea are produced, which individuals are critical to the political process, and what limitations and latitude they have to achieve results. We are pleased to give him the opportunity to exercise a right none of his former colleagues were permitted to exercise while in North Korea—the right to imagine what might happen after Kim Jong-Il ceases to rule North Korea, and to work to improve the lives of his countrymen.



Richard V. Allen,
Co-chair



Chuck Downs,
Executive Director

After Kim Jong-Il:

Can We Hope for Change?

Kim Kwang-Jin

North Korea's Second Succession will be Different from the First

North Korea today is in a state of power transition that could lead to new dangers, instability, and uncertainty. This was not the case during the first succession. Kim Jong-Il had been carefully groomed by his father to succeed him. The process had gone on for twenty years and was directed by Kim Il-Sung himself.

In North Korea, all political power derives from Kim Il-Sung's reign. At the present, North Korea refers to itself as "Kim Il-Sung's nation." In 1998, the North Korean Constitution was changed to enshrine Kim Il-Sung as the "eternal president," even though he had been dead for four years.

Acting in his father's name, Kim Jong-Il was able to seize and retain power. His son, Kim Il-Sung's grandson, must now do the same thing. The regime knows that this basis for power succession cannot be used so easily again, and is rushing to tie the young man to his grandfather's political legacy.

Even though it is clear that Kim Jong-Il has named his third son, Kim Jong-Eun, as the heir, there is no sure guarantee this time that it will work well. Depending on how the succession proceeds and taking into account many unpredictable developments, a number of possibilities will arise. Before the "next leader" of North Korea takes over, there may be turmoil, confusion, and unexpected rivalries.

In the Past Year, the Kim Family Has Taken Steps to Guarantee Power Succession for a Third Generation

North Korea officially launched its second hereditary succession attempt at the Third Party Representatives' Conference held on September 29, 2010. A Representatives' Conference had not been held for 44 years, and North Korea watchers generally expected it to announce Kim Jong-Eun as the heir. That said, the speed with which certain actions were taken was surprising. Kim Jong-Il's 27-year old third son was promoted to a Four Star General just hours before the meeting. During the conference, he was also elevated to a newly-created position, Vice Chairman of the Party's Central Military Commission. This puts him second-in-command over the military, immediately after his father.

It was clear in the past that Kim Jong-Il and before him, Kim Il-Sung, held the chairmanship of the Party's Central Military Commission. In order to guarantee there was no question whether that would continue to be the case, the regime took the unusual step of adding a provision to the Charter of the Korean Workers Party. The provision states the General Secretary of the Party serves as the Chairman of the Central Military Commission. What this means is actually the opposite of what it appears to mean—it means the Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission (Kim Jong-Eun) will become the next General Secretary of the Party.

The hidden message that is clear to every North Korean is that, immediately upon the death of Kim Jong-Il, Kim Jong-Eun will be in charge of the both the military and the Party.

Around the time of his father's 69th birthday, February 16, 2011, Kim Jong-Eun was reportedly elected as a new Vice Chairman of the National Defense Commission (NDC). Kim Jong-Il himself is the Chairman of the NDC and he uses this position to govern the country. This step was also rushed; it happened within five months after Kim Jong-Eun's elevation to Vice Chairman of the Party's Central Military Commission.

These actions were meant to address many uncertainties. There had been speculation that Kim Jong-Eun would not be presented to the public before 2012, and many believed that it was too early to make another hereditary succession. Many assumed he would start at a medium-level position.

But all these uncertainties were cleared away at once. Kim Jong-Eun is the heir apparent, he appeared at the Conference, he became the second-most powerful man, he received the official delegations from China alongside his father, he inspected military parades and visited army units and secret police agency offices, not as a contender for power but as a next ruler. His race to coronation was surprisingly short when compared to his father.

Kim Jong-Il is Running Out of Time

The speed of succession and the fragile health of Kim Jong-Il at the military parade on October 10, 2010 were sufficient indications that there is little time for the ailing Kim Jong-Il. His health is the most critical factor now in determining a successful power transfer to his son. The less time he has, the lower his chance of success.

To facilitate the transfer power to Kim Jong-Eun, Kim Jong-Il again sought to gain legitimacy for his son from Kim Il-Sung, the founder and god-like father of North Korea. Every image of Kim Jong-Eun was deliberately designed to imitate his late grandfather. His hair cut, jacket, and photo angles reflected those of Kim Il-Sung. He was made to appear heavier. This image of the grand-son as the newest in the line of Kim Il-Sung deflects critical reasoning among many North Koreans, and hypnotizes them into seeing a return of Kim Il-Sung's relatively successful era, at least for the time being. It had the effect of pre-empting any opposition, since

the second incarnation of Kim Il-Sung cannot be challenged. Those analysts who think that Kim Jong-Eun may not in fact be the designee are wrong—since he has been presented as the embodiment of Kim Il-Sung himself, there will be no turning back on the effort to bring him to power.

Kim Jong-Eun's New Power Base Shows the Integration of Military and Party Powers

Kim Jong-Il ruled his country not through a constitutional system of laws and regulations, but through his personal, direct contacts with the cadres (the secretaries, heads of the party departments, generals and ministers). The legitimacy of the organizational hierarchy in the party, military and administration was carefully destroyed, making all levels compete with and spy on each other to render him as the only powerful decision maker.

But his sudden stroke in August 2008 frightened him, and made him aware of his own mortality. He could imagine a power vacuum after his absence or disability, and this caused him and his aides to seek to fill that vacuum swiftly. The army was reshuffled to have a central command; the NDC was filled with new members; the spy agencies were integrated in one hierarchical structure; the slush fund management was reshaped; and finally the party hierarchy was restored in a way that its Military Commission stays at center of controlling all military and security with a strong influence also in the NDC. By creating the position of Vice Chairmanship of this Commission and appointing the heir apparent Kim Jong-Eun to that position, it is now very clear whom the regime desires to be in charge next.

Under Kim Jong-Il, although there was rough power distribution among the party, military and the NDC, more weight was placed on the military. This was embodied in his “Military First [songun] Policy.” But the importance of the Communist Party in controlling all aspects of life in a Socialist state, coincided with another hereditary succession, drove Kim Jong-Il and North Korea's power elite to integrate the two powers; the party and the military. For this, they reinforced the Party's Central Military Commission as a new power base for Kim Jong-Eun, where he can control both the party and the military as a Vice Chairman next to Kim Jong-Il.

Layers of Guardians Have Been Formed to Guarantee Kim Jong-Eun's Ascent

An unprecedented power succession test in North Korea requires a multi-layered group of guardians who serve and defend the successor. The sudden rise of Kim Jong-Il's only sister, Kim Kyong-Hui, as a Four Star General and a new member of the Politburo; Kim Jong-Il's brother-in-law, Chang Song-Taek, as a Vice Chairman of the NDC with powerful links throughout the entire power structure; and a relative of Kim Il-Sung's mother, the nuclear negotiator Kang Sok-Ju, as Vice Prime Minister and Politburo Member establish these three as the strongest group facilitating Kim Jong-Eun's transition. The promotions of Kim Il-Sung's cousin (by marriage), ex-Speaker of the Supreme People's Assembly and the Vice Chairman of

its Standing Committee, Yang Hyong-Sop, as a new member of the Politburo; and another cousin of Kim Il-Sung's (by marriage) Lee Yong-Mu, as a new member of the Politburo, Vice Marshal and Vice Chairman of the NDC, fortify this family group.

Another group representing the senior revolutionary generation that has been connected to Kim Jong-Eun includes the Chairman of the Supreme People's Assembly Standing Committee and the nominal head of state of North Korea Kim Yong-Nam, Prime Minister Choi Yong-Rim, Kim Yong-Chun, Kim Kuk-Tae, Kim Ki-Nam, Ju Sang-Song and Hong-Sok-Hyong.

Another group of second and third generation of Kim Il-Sung partisans has been given recent prominence as proof of their support for Kim Jong-Eun. A new star, Choi Ryong-Hae, was promoted to a Four Star General at the same time as Kim Jong-Eun, and Kim Yong-Il, a son-in-law of the ex-Body Guard Commander, Jon Mun-Sop, is now the Secretary of the Party's International Department. They constitute another significant group.

Still others were in high level positions before, but are seen as gaining new prominence as part of a power group supporting Kim Jong-Eun: Lee Yong-Ho, the Chief of the General Staff, Vice Chairman of the Party's Central Military Commission and one of 5 Presidium members of the Politburo; Kim Jong-Gak; U Tong-Chuk; Kim Kyong-Ok; Mun Kyong-Dok; and Kim Pyong-Hae. They form a very important layer, supporting the future of Kim Jong-Eun.

The need to obtain and demonstrate such wide-spread support among various power groups shows that this succession faces greater challenges. Because of such distinct supporting groups, it is also likely there will be conflicting differences in their interests as time goes on.

Potential Problems in the Transfer of Power after Kim Jong-Il

There Could Be Difficulties For Hereditary Succession

Scenario: Direct Transfer of One-Man Rule to Kim Jong-Eun

Depending on when Kim Jong-Il dies or disappears and how soon Kim Jong-Eun consolidates his power, we can expect different outcomes. If Kim Jong-Eun is given enough time and seeks better policies of opening and reforming the country, gaining support from both inside and outside, a direct and quick transfer of one-man-rule is possible after his father's death. However, the absolute power as his two predecessors is unlikely.

Scenario: Repetition of Kim Jong-Il Style Behind-the-Scenes Rule and Collective Regency

Since Kim Jong-Eun is too young and inexperienced, it will not be easy for him to rise to power only by invoking legitimacy from the Kim family lineage. His challenge is to implement successful policies in order to gain support and legitimacy, but such change is not likely to happen within the confines of the current leadership. Accordingly, the repetition of behind-the-scenes rule like his father, with a collective regency formed from several layers of guardian

groups, is possible. A year ago, a single “regent,” seemed possible, but now a collective group of regents is emerging.

The regime may continue to have a nominal head of state and a Prime Minister in charge of the people’s economy while Kim Jong-Eun rises to exercise key positions of power. He does not need to assume key positions openly. In North Korea, power is often exercised by the person in the second position of an organization, and the number one position is left vacant. He already serves as Vice Chairman of the Party’s Central Military Commission—and the Chairman is his father. When the father dies, he will be in control, even if he does not change his title. He could be appointed as the first Vice Chairman of the NDC, and might serve in the absence of Kim Jong-II; he might become a member of the Politburo Presidium at some point, and there could be a vacancy in the position of General Secretary of the Party.

The actual situation could be even more opaque. For example, others can serve as his proxy, or surrogate. It is possible that Kim Jong-Eun’s uncle, Chang Song-Taek will appear to be the head of the NDC and his aunt Kim Kyong-Hui may control the party.

In addition to his family “regents,” various supporting groups such as those from the senior revolutionary generation, the second and third generations of partisans, and the newly emerging military and guardian groups, would play their own roles, for the common objective, but possibly sometimes differing.

There is Still a Possibility of Non-Hereditary Regime Change

Scenario: Take-Over by a Single Regent

Although power is shared and supported by different loyalty groups, an immediate challenge to Kim Jong-Eun, if there were any, would likely come first from his family. Kim Jong-Eun’s half brother, Kim Jong-Nam, is not himself a contender for power, but his behavior shows that problems can arise within the family. He has spoken openly against the third-generation succession in the western press. If there were to be a challenge to Kim Jong-Eun’s rule from family members, it could be from his aunt, Kim Kyong-Hui or uncle, Chang Song-Taek. Absolute power derives from the family, so there is a possible challenge.

Being the only sister to Kim Jong-II and a woman, Kim Kyong-Hui is less likely to present a challenge to leadership transition.

Her husband, Chang Song-Taek, is different. With a “royal” family background and positioned at the top of major organizations, Chang holds and is fortifying a strong reputation as a trusted power in the Kim Jong-II regime. Though he has experienced several dismissals because of Kim Jong-II’s jealousy and paranoia, Chang survived each time and resumed power.

Chang himself has a hand in every important organization, including the NDC, the Party Central Military Commission, the Politburo, and the security Agencies, which he controls. The

recent restructuring of the power elite brought in many new faces from among Chang's men and their rise in prominence can be seen everywhere. If any one individual could challenge Kim Jong-Eun's power succession, it would be Chang. He could open a new era of non-hereditary succession in North Korea.

Scenario: Military Coup

Both the current hereditary succession and a form of regency could fail. In such an event, this would leave a power vacuum that could only be filled by the military. Under this scenario, failure of these two efforts would lead to a military coup and a complete change of the regime. Replacement of the dictatorship and the assertion of strong central power can only be done by the military—there are no civilian structures (not the Party) that can assert control.

Until now, under the two Kims' rule, any possibility of forming a military faction or power base was strictly forbidden and technically impossible. High ranking army officers above the level of regiment commanders and political commissars were under constant surveillance and supervision. In this system, close ties among superiors, subordinates and peers did not extend past official matters.

Although traditionally, Korean culture would permit such cliques to develop through educational background, family connections, or ambition, these have been prohibited under the Kim regime. But it is possible after Kim Jong-Il's death such cliques will emerge driven by opposition to Kim's rule, ideology, or possibly patriotism. This could eventually bring a positive change to North Korea, a non-Kimist rule by other forces.

Implications

Hereditary Succession Might Still Lead to Change

The solution to North Korea's nuclear issue becomes more remote, as long as the new leadership continues to refuse a big change in North Korea's policy. The nuclear weapons program is the only "valued" heritage from Kim Jong-Il. Kim Jong-Eun will not abandon the nuclear policy.

Division of power is expected not only between Kim Jong-Il and Kim Jong-Eun but also among the different supporting groups until Kim Jong-Eun builds up full authority and takes over all power.

The formation of factions and conflicts of interests may occur between the old revolutionary groups and new Kim Jong-Eun supporters and senior military generals along with the emerging military power.

Changing offensives in both peaceful and aggressive ways are likely. There may be a period of rapidly changing mixed signals, from peaceful offers to aggressive provocations. More

aggressive provocations would be generated in a bid to show off authority, consolidate power and gain credit for Kim Jong-Eun. A more conciliatory approach to China, South Korea, six party talks and US-North Korea relations would be guided by an interest in breaking sanctions and extorting aid.

A Sudden collapse after Kim Jong-II's death is another possibility, which could bring an end to the Kim dynasty. The two major variables in how such a collapse proceeds are Chinese involvement and how the US-South Korean alliance would react.

There is a Possibility of Positive Change

As the Kim Jong-II regime faces the dilemma of choosing between “no change and die slowly” and “big change and die quickly,” so will the next leadership. For them, there is another nightmare: even with no change, it will be hard for North Korea to survive. So, the answer most often chosen by Pyongyang's leaders is to pursue little change and keep muddling through.

For Kim Jong-Eun, it's different. A succession to a third generation in a failed, starving nation is creating more danger of collapse. Little change no longer guarantees survival. For a non-Kim leader, this becomes much more critical. So, regardless of who succeeds, there are two possibilities: No or little change and collapse, versus big and real change and a prospect for progress. The latter is surely the better choice for all.

In both collapsing and reforming scenarios, more chances are open for bringing about an improved human rights situation in North Korea.

Recommendations

Despite the various challenges that must be faced in addressing the succession and the future of North Korea, one requirement has become clear. We must shift American policy away from singular attention to the issue of nuclear programs to a multi-faceted approach in dealing with North Korea. With an understanding that collapse or change in North Korea is quite near, emphasis must be placed on two important outcomes: (1) promoting international involvement and (2) preparing the foundation for the new policies of a post-Kim Jong-II North Korea.

Promoting International Involvement

The “North Korean problem” lies with its regime, specifically Kim Jong-II himself. Without an end to the current regime, we cannot hope to find a solution to all the fundamental problems in North Korea.

With Kim Jong-Il's regime coming to an inevitable end, the emerging North Korean government must necessarily develop, internally, a plan for sustainable control and management of national governance. It is certainly reasonable for any group coming to power to seek stability. But there is a danger that given the lack of technology, scarce resources and decreasing central control, such internal efforts to maintain stability may fail. An external effort to demand concessions from weakened leaders in North Korea under such circumstances would likely prove counter-productive.

At the same time, there is an opportunity for bringing change to North Korea that must not be missed. International cooperation and oversight must therefore be planned well in advance to deal with the inevitable reduction of state control in North Korea. Because the military option to accomplish the end of Kim-ism in North Korea is only a last resort and undesirable at that, the coordination of unified efforts of the international community as Kim passes is vital.

This international cooperation will necessarily build on the existing strong military alliance between the United States and South Korea, continued close cooperation with Japan, and the concerted efforts of China and Russia. What is needed above all is firm determination and preparedness from the international community.

Preparation for Post-Kim Policies

It is still not too late for the international community to undertake substantive discussions regarding preparations for a post-Kim Jong-Il era for North Korea. Both formal and informal dialogues should be encouraged. Consensus among concerned nations, with the absolute support of South Korea, the US and China must be obtained in order to bring about the desired change in the post-Kim Jong-Il North Korea. Regardless of whether the next regime is pro-China, pro-South Korea or pro-United States, the future of North Korea must be focused on creating the possibility for North Korea to become an open state, ready for wide-scale reform. It is through this reform that an open North Korea will be able to develop the necessary pre-conditions for lasting governance and prosperity.

Though needed to be fully prepared, accelerated unification process may not serve the only option for opening of North Korea. It is clear that rapid and overhasty unification will lead to greater nation-wide economic difficulties, political rancor and overall destabilization. It is much better to have unification after North Korea has reformed.

The preparation of a sustainable, nation-wide system of new management and the adoption of new post-Kim Jong-Il policies must be based on a fundamental understanding of human rights in North Korea. The continual lack of concern for basic human rights in North Korea has caused the overall degeneration of the North Korean state and resulted in the adoption of state policy which does not meet the basic needs of the citizens. Kim Jong-Il allowed for the

misallocation of resources away from nation-promoting initiatives to nation-crippling nuclear weapons, military spending and an elite-centered economy. The right of the people to benefit under a new system is understood by all external parties, even by those that are not true democracies, but it is not understood within North Korea itself.

Regardless of who takes power in North Korea after Kim Jong-II, international influence will prove to be a necessary precondition for the very survival of North Korea's people. Through an international resolution by nation-states and by international organizations such as the United Nations, the global community must address the future of North Korea, not merely as one of military engagement and political conflict, but as one of global importance for the continued prosperity of the global community.

Only through such resolve can we hope to rise above the current situation and avoid the imminent dangers of the "state of emergency" which is North Korea.

Who is Kim Jong-Eun?

After Kim Jong-Eun's official designation as heir apparent at the Party's Representatives Conference, North Korea began to provide photographs and information that had been previously unknown. Conflicting reports, however, are proliferating, and much about him remains mysterious.

Kim Jong-Eun's mother was Ko Yong-Hui, who died in Paris in 2004. He attended a high school in Switzerland for at least 2 years, and was given special courses at Kim Il-Sung Military University. These points are widely accepted as true; from here on, however, little is known with certainty.

His precise age is not known. Some scholars believe he was born in 1983, some say 1984. Still others set the date as 1982 in order to suggest that he is a year or two more mature and round out the numbers with his ancestors' birth years: 1912 for his grandfather and 1942 for his father. The North Korean regime is known to have falsified Kim Jong-Il's birthday from 1941 to 1942 for similar reasons.

Speculation surrounds Kim Jong-Eun's life and career. Various sources say he had been appointed as an Instructor at the National Defense Commission, a General in the Guard Command or in the Army and a Major General at the State Security Department (North Korea's highest level internal security department) but these are conjectural. Kim Jong-Il's Sushi chef has said that Kim Jong-Eun was a spitting image of his father Kim Jong-Il, although most believe that he is much closer in appearance to his grandfather Kim Il-Sung. Chef Fujimoto described his aggressively ambitious personality, but recent propaganda shows him smiling and friendly. He was described as a basketball fan, and was known to own numerous pairs of extravagantly expensive basketball shoes while in Switzerland, but has been described more recently as a billiards fan, in light of the orders he placed for expensive billiards tables at his villas.

On more important matters, Kim Jong-Eun's policy inclinations are similarly, perhaps deceptively, portrayed in opposites. He has been quoted as saying North Korea needs more food than bullets, but he is also given credit for the provocative military attacks against the South Korean navy vessel and Yeonpyeong-do Island in which dozens of sailors and two civilians were killed.

The timeline of an enigma:



11 years old
circa 1994



While in Switzerland between 1998
and 2000



At September 2010 Representatives
Conference

After Kim Jong-Il:

Can We Hope For Change?

Influential Persons in the Current Power
Succession in North Korea

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Photograph of Representative Conference © 2011 Open Source Media

The Committee for Human Rights in North Korea

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Influential Persons in the Current Power Succession in North Korea

 <p>YONHAP NEWS</p>	<p>Kim Jong-Eun</p>
<p>Date of Birth</p>	<p>January 8, 1983</p>
<p>Place of Birth</p>	<p>Pyongyang</p>
<p>Family Relation</p>	<p>Third son of Kim Jong-II. His mother was Ko Yong-Hui who died in Paris (2004)</p>
<p>Other Places Lived</p>	<p>Switzerland for schooling</p>
<p>Credentials</p>	<p>Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission of the Worker’s Party of Korea (Sept 2010)</p>
<p></p>	<p>Four-Star General of the Korean People’s Armed Forces (Sept 2010)</p>
<p></p>	<p>Reportedly elected (not finalized) as a new Vice Chairman of the National Defense Commission (Feb 2011)</p>
<p></p>	<p>Known to have taken Special Course at Kim Il-Sung Military University (2002-2007)</p>
<p></p>	<p>Once reported to be appointed Instructor at National Defense Commission</p>
<p></p>	<p>Rumored before 2010 to be a Full General in the Guard Command or in the Army, or a Major General at SSD</p>
<p>Summary of Power Base</p>	<p>Third son of Kim Jong-II</p>
<p></p>	<p>Promoted to a Full General one day before the official designation as a successor to Kim Jong-II at the third KWP Representative Conference on September 28, 2010</p>
<p></p>	<p>At the conference, he was selected as a Vice Chairman of the KWP’s Central Military Commission, a second most powerful position next to Kim Jong-II in charge of the military</p>
<p>Possibility of Succession</p>	<p>Designated heir apparent to Kim Jong-II (Sep 2010)</p>
<p></p>	<p>Will be purged in a failed succession</p>

Influential Persons in the Current Power Succession in North Korea

	<p>Kim Kyong-Hui</p>
<p>Date of Birth</p>	<p>May 30, 1946</p>
<p>Place of Birth</p>	<p>Pyongyang</p>
<p>Family Relation</p>	<p>Only younger sister of Kim Jong-Il and wife of Chang Song-Taek</p>
<p>Other Places Lived</p>	
<p>Credentials</p>	<p>Member of the Politburo, KWP (Sep 2010)</p>
	<p>Full General of the Korean People’s Armed Forces (Sep 2010)</p>
	<p>Director of Light Industry Department, KWP</p>
	<p>Director of Economic Policy Inspection Department, KWP</p>
	<p>Vice Director of International Relations Department, KWP</p>
<p>Summary of Power Base</p>	<p>Sole younger sister of Kim Jong-Il</p>
	<p>Promoted to a Full General together with Kim Jong-Eun</p>
	<p>Became a member of the Politburo signaling her increasing role in regency for Kim Jong-Eun</p>
<p>Possibility of Succession</p>	<p>Support and advise on succession</p>
	<p>Retire per success, will be purged in failed succession</p>

Influential Persons in the Current Power Succession in North Korea

	<p>Chang Song-Taek</p>
Date of Birth	January 22, 1946
Place of Birth	Chongam District, Chongjin, North Hamgyong Province
Family Relation	Brother-In Law of Kim Jong-Il and husband of Kim Jong-Il's sister Kim Kyong-Hui
Other Places Lived	
Credentials	Alternate Member of the Politburo, Member of the Central Military Commission, KWP (Sep 2010)
	Vice Chairman of the National Defense Commission (Jun 2010)
	Member of NDC (Apr 2009)
	Director of Administrative Department, KWP
	1st Vice Director of Capital Construction Department, KWP
	1st Vice Director of Organization and Guidance Department (OGD) Administrative Section, KWP
	Director of Youth and Three Revolution Work Team Department, KWP
Summary of Power Base	Graduate of Kim Il-Sung University
	Only brother-in-law to Kim Jong-Il
	Second most influential man in North Korea (controls security dept)
	Strong influence over Organization and Guidance Department
	Experience in raising and handling "Revolution funds"
	Deeply involved in capital construction and economic measures
	Two older brothers were important generals in the army
Possibility of Succession	Major role in power transition with a hand in all power bodies
	Role as a regent for Kim Jong-Eun
	Could come to power as a new leader of North Korea

Influential Persons in the Current Power Succession in North Korea

	<p>Lee Yong-Ho</p>
Date of Birth	October 5, 1942
Place of Birth	Tongchun, Kangwon Province
Family Relation	
Other Places Lived	
Credentials	<p>Member of the Presidium of the Politburo, KWP (Sep 2010)</p> <p>Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission, KWP (Sep 2010)</p> <p>Vice Marshall (Sep 2010)</p> <p>Chief of General Staff, People's Armed Forces</p> <p>Commander of the Pyongyang Defense Command</p> <p>Vice Chief of Generals' Staff, People's Armed Forces</p> <p>Vice Director of Operations Bureau, Generals' Staff, People's Armed Forces</p> <p>Operations Head of the Corps</p> <p>Chief of Staff of a Division</p>
Summary of Power Base	<p>Elevated to the second highest position in control of the military in Sept 2010, at same time as Kim Jong-Eun</p> <p>Graduate of Mangyongdae Revolutionary School,</p> <p>Kim Il-Sung Military Academy</p> <p>Reported to be an 'artillery teacher' of Kim Jong-Eun while serving as a commander of the Capital Guard Unit</p>
Possibility of Succession	<p>Military mentor and assistant to Kim Jong-Eun</p> <p>Will play major role in controlling the Army</p>

Influential Persons in the Current Power Succession in North Korea

	<p>Kim Yong-Chun</p>
Date of Birth	March 4, 1936
Place of Birth	Bochon, Ryankang Province
Family Relation	Descendant of anti-Japanese partisan
Other Places Lived	Russia (Frunze Academy)
Credentials	Member of the Politburo and Central Military Commission, KWP (Sep 2010)
	Minister of the People's Armed Forces
	Vice Chairman of the National Defense Commission
	Chief of General Staff, the People's Armed Forces
	Commander in Chief of Korean People's Army Corps 6
	Director General of Military Mobilization General Bureau
	Director of Operations Bureau of the People's Armed Forces
	Vice Director, KWP
Summary of Power Base	Graduate of Mangyongdae Revolutionary School, Kim Il-Sung Military Academy
	Descendant of anti-Japanese partisan
	Graduate of Russian Frunze Academy
	Has head all major positions in the army
	Led a purge in the VI Corps after the 'VI Corps incident'
Possibility of Succession	Support for another hereditary succession

Influential Persons in the Current Power Succession in North Korea

	<p>Choi Ryong-Hae</p>
Date of Birth	January 15, 1950
Place of Birth	Sinchon, South Hwanghae Province
Family Relation	Descendant of anti-Japanese partisan
Other Places Lived	
Credentials	Alternate Member of the Politburo, member of the Central Military Commission, KWP (Sep 2010)
	Full General of the Korean People's Armed Forces (Sep 2010)
	Secretary, KWP (Sep 2010)
	Chief Party Secretary of North Hwanghae Province
	Vice Director, KWP Central Committee
	Party secretary of Pyongyang Water and Sewage after purge
	First Secretary of Kim Il-Sung Socialist Youth League
Summary of Power Base	Graduate of Kim Il-Sung University, majored in political economy
	Second son of Choi Hyun, a former Defense Minister most loyal to Kim Il-Sung
	Descendant of anti-Japanese partisan
	Graduate of Mangyongdae Revolutionary School
	Became prominent when working as head of youth league
	Promoted to a Full General together with Kim Jong-Eun
Possibility of Succession	Closest aide and supporter for Kim Jong-Eun
	Play central role in rallying second and third generations of revolution
	Expected to have more influence and power in the future

Influential Persons in the Current Power Succession in North Korea

	<p>Kim Kyong-Ok</p>
Date of Birth	
Place of Birth	
Family Relation	
Other Places Lived	
Credentials	Full General of the Korean People’s Armed Forces (Sep 2010)
	Member of the Central Military Commission, KWP (Sep 2010)
	First Vice Director of OGD, KWP in control of the military
	General, People’s Armed Forces
Summary of Power Base	Promoted to a Full General together with Kim Jong-Eun
	Controls military personnel management at the most powerful organization, OGD
	As long as the head of OGD is vacant, he would keep direct contacts with both Kim Jong-Il and Kim Jong-Eun
Possibility of Succession	Support Kim Jong-Eun in replacing generals with his men
	Important role in controlling the military

Influential Persons in the Current Power Succession in North Korea

	<p>Kim Ki-Nam</p>
Date of Birth	August 28, 1929
Place of Birth	Kumya, South Hamgyong Province
Family Relation	
Other Places Lived	Moscow
Credentials	Member of the Politburo, KWP (Sep 2010)
	Secretary and Director of the Propaganda and Agitation Department, KWP
	President of the Party History Institute
	Senior editor in chief of Rodong Shinmun
	Vice director of Propaganda and Agitation Dept, KWP
	Vice director of Science and Education Department, KWP
	Once chargé d'affaires to China, Protocol Director of the Foreign Ministry
Summary of Power Base	A key designer of Kim family deification, working over 40 years in propaganda
	Graduate of Mangyongdae Revolutionary School
	Graduate of International University in Moscow
Possibility of Succession	Key architect of Kim Jong-Eun's debut in September, 2010
	Manipulation of propaganda for succession
	Old age prohibits long-term involvement

Influential Persons in the Current Power Succession in North Korea

	<p>Kang Sok-Ju</p>
Date of Birth	August 29, 1939
Place of Birth	Pyongwon, South Pyongan Province
Family Relation	Known to be a relative to Kang’s family, Kim Il-Sung’s mother
Other Places Lived	Paris, France
Credentials	Member of the Politburo, KWP (Sep 2010)
	Vice Prime Minister (Sep 2010)
	First Vice Minister of the Foreign Ministry
	Representative at US-N Korea high level talk
	Third Secretary at representative office to UNESCO in Paris
	Senior manager, International Department, KWP
Summary of Power Base	Known to be relative to Kang’s family, Kim Il-Sung’s mother
	His elder brother Kang Sok-Sung, died in 2001, is a key player in fabricating Kim’s revolutionary history as a long time President of Party History Institute
	Graduate of Pyongyang Foreign Language University and Party International Affairs University, majored in French
	Key diplomat who produced 1994 Geneva Agreement with US
	As First Vice Foreign Minister for 23 years, he enjoyed more power than the Minister
Possibility of Succession	Support for Kim Jong-Eun
	Will lead diplomatic efforts seeking foreign acceptance of succession, nuclear talks

Influential Persons in the Current Power Succession in North Korea

	<p>U Dong-Chuk</p>
Date of Birth	August 8, 1942
Place of Birth	Pyongwon, South Pyongan Province
Family Relation	
Other Places Lived	
Credentials	Alternate member of the Politburo, member of the Central Military Commission, KWP (Sep 2010)
	Member of the NDC (Apr 2009)
	First Vice Director of the State Security Department (Sep 2009)
	Promoted to a Full General in April, 2009
	Vice Director of SSD
	Bureau Chief of SSD
	Instructor, deputy section chief, Central Committee KWP
Summary of Power Base	Graduate of Kim Il-Sung University, majored in philosophy
	Since position of head of SSD has been vacant for a long time, his position is the highest in SSD
	Promoted very fast and play major role in current succession
Possibility of Succession	Support for Kim Jong-Eun in security area
	Influence and power likely to increase

Influential Persons in the Current Power Succession in North Korea

	<p>Kim Jong-Gak</p>
Date of Birth	July 20, 1941
Place of Birth	Jungsan, South Pyongan Province
Family Relation	
Other Places Lived	
Credentials	Alternate member of the Politburo, member of the Central Military Commission, KWP (Sep 2010)
	Member of the NDC (Apr 2009)
	First Vice Director of the General Political Bureau, People's Armed Forces (Mar 2007)
	Vice Minister, Korean People's Army
	Chief of Staff, Commander of a Training Base (=corps)
	Deputy Commander of a Corps
	Battalion Commander
Summary of Power Base	Graduate of Kim Il-Sung Military Academy
	Controls political affairs in the Army since the death of Jo Myong-Rok
	Known to be actively involved in Chinese contacts
Possibility of Succession	Strong support for Kim Jong-Eun
	Will play major role in rallying the Army for succession
	Influence and power is expected to increase

Influential Persons in the Current Power Succession in North Korea

	<h2>Mun Kyong-Dok</h2>
Date of Birth	October 12, 1957
Place of Birth	Daesong District, Pyongyang
Family Relation	
Other Places Lived	
Credentials	Alternate member of the Politburo, KWP (Sep 2010)
	Secretary, KWP (Sep 2010)
	Chief Party Secretary (=mayor) of Pyongyang (Sep 2010)
	Vice Director of Administrative Department, KWP
	Director of “No. 2 Guidance Bureau”
	Vice Chairman of Socialist Youth League
Summary of Power Base	Graduate of Kim Il-Sung University, majored in political economy
	Very close friend of Chang Song-Taek
	First Secretary of KWP in charge of all provincial secretaries as Pyongyang Party Chief Secretary
	Visited Seoul in 2002 as a member of the Economic Tour Team
Possibility of Succession	Will support Chang in power transition



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