

Song of Youth: North Korean Music from Liberation to War

Adam Cathcart

Biographical Statement

Adam Cathcart is an assistant professor of history at Pacific Lutheran University in Tacoma, Washington. His published articles center upon on Korean War mobilization and anti-Japanese nationalism in China, and his ongoing research explores the Cultural Cold War in Asia. Cathcart has contributed to academic conferences on PRC-DPRK relations at Cornell and Beijing Universities and works annually in the Korean Autonomous Region of Yanbian, China. He is the author of published and forthcoming Korea-related essays in *Korean Studies*, *Asian Perspectives*, *International Institute for Asian Studies Newsletter*, *Korean Quarterly*, and *Korean Studies Review*. This article benefited from the research assistance of Charles Kraus and Anuj Gurung, both of Hiram College. John Somerville of Michigan State University is thanked for his inspired editing and rewriting of sections of the manuscript.

Abstract

In analyzing North Korean song propaganda captured during the Korean War and Kim Il Sung's writings about music, this paper argues for consideration of music's significance as a component in the North Korean revolution. Music's respective connections to North Korean religion, education, and military discipline are examined. The paper contributes thereby to debates on the cultural Cold War in Korea, North Korean state formation, and the role of international influence on the Korean Peninsula.

*Department of History, Pacific Lutheran University, Tacoma, WA 98447;
Phone: 330-860-0480; Email: adamcathcart@yahoo.com*



North Korean Review / DOI: 10.3172/NKR.4.2.93 / Volume 4, Number 2 / Fall 2008 / pp. 93-104 /
ISSN 1551-2789 (Print) / ISSN 1941-2886 (Online) / © 2008 McFarland & Company, Inc.

Introduction

Kim Il Sung claimed expertise in an array of disciplines, but few areas appeared to enliven his intelligence more fully than the musical arts. Music served Kim's statist ambitions from 1945 to 1950, strengthening national consciousness among the first post-colonial generation of North Koreans. Musical techniques pioneered by Christian missionaries would aid in the Kim's cultivation of a corps of North Korean youth steeped, as he said in October 1945, in "people's democracy ... proletarian internationalism [and] hatred for the imperialists."¹ North Korean music depicted Korea's imperialistic enemies and concurrently plunged down the taproot of Kim Il Sung's powerful personality cult, feeding the legend of the "great general" with persuasive poetry and attractive melodies. Finally, music promoted the spirit of revolutionary militancy and suffused the Korean War, promoting alliances and ultimately memorializing the conflict as a triumph for the state and its surviving leaders.

Christian Influences

North Korea's revolutionary musical techniques did not emerge *ex nihilo*, but represented a singular amalgamation inclusive of Korean folk tradition, practices of Christian missionaries, legacies of Japanese military government, and Soviet influence. Of these, the importance of Christian and Japanese influences could be considered the greatest external influences on North Korean musical development, not least because the story of the sculptor of North Korea, Kim Il Sung, begins within the church and stands juxtaposed against the crimson backdrop of Japanese imperialism.

Kim Il Sung's recognition of music's power to motivate and unify disparate groups was rooted in his youthful experience in a church in Mangyongdae, where he grew of age under the influence of Protestantism. His father, a church rector, and his mother, a Pentecostal deaconess, encouraged him to participate in the musical life of the church as an organist.² His late-appearing autobiography *With the Century* explained in part his Christian heritage and youthful love of music, but Kim Il Sung's much earlier *Works* imply with equal clarity the impact of Kim's experience as a church musician.³ (While the *Works* remain problematic because of their heavy and multiple editing, they are used here in conjunction with contemporary materials to suggest the broader gesture of North Korean arts policy.)⁴ Kim's childhood experience as an organist not only solidified his belief in music as good propaganda, it gave him a firm grounding in music theory. The depth of Kim's understanding of music's key relationships (for example, tonality) was wholly apparent when, comparing the keys of D and E major for his son in the 1960s, the elder Kim betrayed a close knowledge of key structure and its emotional impact on singers and listeners. The notion that each key retains the power to provoke certain emotions (including discomfort) originated from European music theorists such as Robert Schumann, and was almost certainly an idea that Kim had picked up at the organist's bench. As

Kim Il Sung noted to the attentive Kim Jong-il, E major was more likely to make people “rush forward involuntarily,” springing the bodies of singers and audience into alertness and anger.⁵

Kim’s published writings from the late 1940s are punctuated with references to music and reveal his related attention to the effectiveness of missionary propaganda. Kim, clearly, recognized that religion’s profound influence on Korea stemmed in part from musical techniques that, if harnessed and filled with proletarian class content, could be turned into formidable tools for cultural change. In the uncertain ideological climate after liberation, Kim and his Korean Worker’s Party also needed to create an alternative to missionary education. Here they recast foreign models as carriers of proletarian catechism. Kim explicitly modeled his new propaganda centers, termed “democratic publicity halls,” on previously established Christian education centers. In describing these centers to school cadre in 1952, Kim emphasized the prior success that Christian missionaries had enjoyed by emphasizing music:

If democratic publicity halls are used only for meeting or lectures, people would not gather there readily. These halls must be run well so that people come there with interest. In the past, when Christian pastors wanted to attract young men and women, the pastors first gave them such things as notebooks and pencils and got them to sing songs when they came to the church. After rousing their interest in this way, the pastors gradually preached the Christian doctrine to the young. In fact, young men and women went to the church in the past not because of belief in Christianity but to sing songs and keep each other’s company.⁶

Such comments reinforced a notion Kim had mentioned earlier in 1949: “School children take an interest in going to church because they are given pencils and ... a chance to play on the organ.”⁷ To Kim’s way of thinking, Christianity had become a successful social movement in Korea because it managed to snare even casual adherents into a web of enjoyable human activities and artistic associations. If his Korean Workers’ Party were able to do the same, it stood to succeed. Music could build community and “gradually preach” a communist doctrine by attracting Koreans looking, quite simply, for something to do.

Kim’s attitude toward Christian activities was in the end, however, hardly benign, going well beyond simple co-opting of Christian techniques. In the early months after his arrival, Kim was furiously hemming in his senior rival, the Christian leader Cho Mansik, and attempting to uproot anti-Soviet nationalist sentiment among Christian students in conservative cities such as Sinuiju. Although Kim Il Sung spoke encouragingly enough of limited political participation by Christian leaders in 1946, his representatives were burning churches in North Pyongan province, and they were overwhelmingly hostile toward Christianity.⁸ However, by using Christian forms, Kim demonstrated his notion that “in cultural and propaganda work, content is far more important than form.”⁹ Along with visual arts and literature, music became an integral medium for inculcating the populace with a durable new North Korean ideology able to withstand its intellectual competitors.

Music and the Military

Military pursuits occupied a central position in Kim Il Sung's thinking, particularly the growth and fidelity of the Korean People's Army (KPA/*Inmingun*). In their day-to-day usage of music to stimulate martial vigilance, Kim and the KPA drew upon multiple legacies mirroring Korea's experiences of resistance to, and absorption of, foreign cultural practices. The spiritual and physical core of the KPA is said to have originated in the vast Manchurian forests north of the Tumen River where, myth proclaims, the Korean "warriors covered one thousand *ri* in one day, mowing down the Japs like stalks of hemp."¹⁰ When not attacking police stations in border towns like Pochonbo, the guerrillas were said to have spread the revolutionary spirit via songs.¹¹ The guerrilla movement's dimensions have been exaggerated by DPRK propagandists, but Kim's musical childhood indicates that he may indeed have had a role in the composition of songs and folk opera in the 1930s, roaming the Manchurian border spinning out song tunes and spitting anti-Japanese lyrics. Leaving aside official myths such as Kim's complete conception of the opera *Sea of Blood*—later to grow into a staged opera, collectively written novel, and cinematic production carried out under the diligent eye of Kim Jong-il—it stands to reason that, for a poor band of guerrilla fighters, songs could fend off long hours of boredom and cement acquaintance with new ideologies. Because the Manchurian guerrilla experience was held up repeatedly as the sine qua non of revolutionary manliness (and womanhood) in the DPRK, songs from the period no doubt served as an effective and inexpensive template for building solidarity within military units.

The small units Kim had commanded in Manchuria, however, bore little resemblance in scope to the Korean People's Army, established in February 1946. The new KPA was both large and regular, and the musical needs of the army reflected as much, requiring brass bands for drill and inspection as well as orchestral-choral spectacles for inspiration. Like mechanized transport and mortars, brass bands had been in short supply in the communities of exiled rural Koreans from whom Kim Il Sung had drawn his support in the 1930s. The KPA thus required a rapid investment into instrumental music, an endeavor in which they were granted aid from cultural detachments of the Soviet Red Army after 1945.

While the KPA's acquaintance with the instrumental techniques benefited from Soviet tutelage, the former experience of many KPA soldiers in the Imperial Japanese Army also played a role. In strictly musical terms, the Japanese army in North-east Asia was equal to the Soviet Red Army as the KPA's primary model. As the Soviet military government conceded in Pyongyang in 1945, the liberation of North Korea did not equate to an eradication of all Japanese methods, nor necessarily did it seek to eliminate all Japanese techniques.¹² Kim Il Sung elliptically acknowledged as much, and, though he repeatedly enjoined his police and army officers to move away from behavior reminiscent of Japan, the KPA was reliant upon Japanese models of military music. In 2001, Min Kyung-chan, a musicology professor at Korea National University of the Arts, asserted kinship between Japanese military songs and North Korean anthems, stating that the latter were heavily dependent on the former.¹³ And

while it can be expected that the conservative *JoongAng Ilbo* would publicize research that implied a foreign origin for the DPRK, Chinese scholarship confirms that the roots of many Asian revolutionary tunes indeed lay in Japanese military songs.¹⁴

Pre-liberation Japanese influence on Korean musical norms was especially deep for those Koreans conscripted into the Japanese military after 1942, and musical mobilization of Korean civilians bore a resemblance to that of the Japanese on the home islands.¹⁵ It is therefore not coincidental that North Korean music was printed on the five-staff western-style music notation system, also implemented by the Japanese, rather than using the more rudimentary number notation system favored for mass music pedagogy in China. Japanese practices of guiding physical exercise with music-blasting loudspeakers, practices themselves adapted from such European theorists as Jacques-Emile Dalcroze, were merged with Soviet sport theories and employed by North Korean educators. (Today, North Korea's singular merger of music, movement, and state loyalty is of course the "Mass Games," a phenomenon whose ideological effectiveness, so far as the author is aware, has yet to inspire the "monograph" it deserves.) In 1945, the previous three decades as Japan's colony had revealed the efficacy of the Japanese model for extending state power and loyalty through the musical arts. The multiple connections between Japanese imperial practices and those adopted by the North Korean regime, though they rest today under the bristled cloak of self-reliance rhetoric, are clearly visible in the musical sphere.

As he rose to power in 1945, Kim desired to inculcate a military spirit in his populace, particularly among the youth. Military music *was* North Korean music and vice versa, Christian hymns and the unmodified *pangchang* and *pan'sori* notwithstanding. The role of music in forging a cohesive and ideologically consistent army thus arose with considerable frequency, indicating Kim's agitated thought on the subject. For public security officers, Kim advocated the creation of special spaces called "Nation Building Rooms" within police training centers wherein cadets could "trace the patriotic struggle of our people, especially the heroic struggle of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army [and] enjoy their leisure time reading books and singing songs."¹⁶ If songs could carry forward the message of Kim's Manchurian mythos, they would be eagerly employed.

On February 2, 1948, Kim celebrated the second anniversary of the founding of the KPA with a speech that dwelled at length on the importance of songs, dances, and the arts in military life. Kim, as he often did, wasted little time in denouncing the legacies of the Japanese. The foreign occupiers, Kim said, had not only corrupted "our beautiful national dances [but] banned our people from singing their own songs and dancing their own dances freely." Into this colonial void had rushed Japanese music, promoted through all manner of media, making the Korean people "almost ignorant of their own songs and dances." In order to wipe out Japanese influence, Kim argued to his military audience, his government would "guarantee every possible condition for the advancement of national arts."¹⁷ While Kim's state-centered approach to culture may quickly be labeled totalitarian, some North Korean intellectuals appeared to readily endorse such centralization. As Lim Hwa put it in an article surprisingly critical of the Workers' Party in the *Choson Inmin Ilbo* in April 1946,

“the fight against Japanese cultural policies” had only just been joined, making government control of the arts, along with preservation of antiques, necessary as a means of precluding future foreign domination.¹⁸

The KPA provided precisely the means to prevent a Japanese revival, the great fear of the postwar era manifested even in Korean War propaganda. Kim, however, was not satisfied with enjoining his soldiers in 1948 to show deep concern with the arts; he also encouraged orchestral musicians themselves to *become* soldiers of North Korean culture:

You must not forget, above all, that you are warriors in building a new, democratic Korea. Not only those who fight with bayonets in hand but all those who strive to build a new, democratic Korea are warriors, too. While army men are warriors fighting with arms in hand against the enemy, you are soldiers fighting with art as a weapon for the building of a new, democratic Korea. Through all ages and in all countries, fine musicians have been ardent patriots. Likewise, our musicians should actively contribute to the building of a new country with all their energies and talents.¹⁹

Kim’s oration to the musicians inevitably echoed the words of Mao and Lenin, but not necessarily intentionally so. Over the course of the first five years of his rule, Kim cajoled students, railroad workers, and even the elderly to model themselves after the army. Yet Kim’s plunge south on June 25, 1950, rendered his injunctions of the 1940s into literal commands, resulting in the full militarization of North Korean society.

Nation-building Songs

Seeking to embody the Korean nation, shore up his political support, and shrug off the real and perceived legacies of foreign influence, Kim Il Sung repeatedly emphasized the importance of promoting Korean culture. In part by pursuing a stridently nationalistic propaganda policy toward the South in the late 1940s, North Korea acted as a magnet for intellectuals and musicians from below the 38th parallel seeking a more progressive artistic climate. In spite of the initial rapine chaos of invading Soviet troops, North Korea yet held certain advantages, mainly in the form of relatively generous subsidies for artists after 1946.²⁰ The rapid establishment of government and party-affiliated organizations for performing artists in the North far surpassed the bustling yet fragmented and poorly funded activities in the South. Among the writers, artists, and musicians in Pyongyang, Kim made common cause, finding sustenance for his consolidation of power and, perhaps, the seeds of his ambition for future aggrandizement. The most famous of among these men was the “north-fleeing writer,” or *wolbuk chakka*, Han Sorya, whose January 1946 fictionalization of Kim Il Sung’s days as a partisan guerrilla fighter won him high posts in North Korea’s expanding cultural bureaucracy.²¹ While migrating musicians expected similarly privileged treatment from the northern regime, they nevertheless rarely pierced the superiority of, or enjoyed the rewards granted to, the northerners who had stayed in Korea through the colonial period.

One such northerner who had stayed on under Japanese rule was Kim Won'gyun, an autodidact composer said to be of peasant background. In 1946, at the age of twenty-nine, Kim Won'gyun rose to fame on the strength of his "Song of General Kim Il Sung," a piece hailing Korea's new strength.²² In an ebullient C major, the song promotes a view of Kim Il Sung as a synecdoche to Korean independence.²³ The prestige garnered from the "Song of General Kim Il Sung" brought Kim Won'gyun the commission of the national anthem a year later. The piece, not surprisingly, was also a paean to Kim Il Sung, further identifying the nation of the DPRK with its founder. In the song, the hearts of the Korean people are endeared to Kim, lauding the leader as the reason Korea is "ever flourishing and free."²⁴ Such lyrics were an integral part of the early drive to downplay Kim's leftist ideology and Soviet connections in favor of a more idiomatic nationalistic profile.²⁵

The construction of the North Korean national anthem had captured Kim Il Sung's attention in September 1946, when he discussed the matter with writers and artists in Pyongyang. "For nearly half a century," he stated operatically, "our people lived in endless pain and grief fettered to the colonial chains of Japanese imperialism, and drained the bitter cup of sorrow to the dregs as a ruined nation." The national anthem, however, was meant to take on the optimistic ethos of the DPRK. Unsubtly praising himself for drawing the folk out of the metaphorical wilderness, Kim stated: "This is the moment when our people feel the urge to sing lustily of their joy and emotion at enjoying freedom and happiness in the liberated country, and they want to express this in their national anthem ... under the guidance of our party." As North Korea faced a struggle to reinvent the Korean cultural identity, Kim noted quite correctly that the national anthem stood as a symbolically significant first step to "to satisfy these sincere [nationalistic] sentiments and desires of our people."²⁶ Kim thereafter advocated a united effort from the artistic community to produce songs that would inspire patriotism in the people.²⁷

For the KPA, Kim possessed a fastidiousness concerning the purpose of anthems: "The song which the soldiers of our People's Army will sing must be composed with ardent patriotism, burning hatred against the enemy and the lofty revolutionary spirit of fighting for the reunification and independence of the country."²⁸ The song was to represent a renewed and unassailable proletarian Korean identity, but more than that, recognizing the power of music, Kim further desired an anthem that would be a useful tool to transmit and propagate Korean nationalism.

Education

Music, as in most states, was a vital part of North Korean educational initiatives. In January 1949, Kim gave an audience to a subsection of the Central Committee regarding the Mangyongdae school for orphans, an institution whose growth would exercise substantial long-term leverage on Kim's behalf as he consolidated and deepened his power. Noting that the students at Mangyongdae had become "gloomy and out of spirits," emotions he characteristically attributed to ill-treatment under

Japanese occupation, Kim recommended that the students build morale through a regimen of sports and study of musical instruments.²⁹ The role of music in raising the spirits of these children and consequently binding them closer to the Great Leader could not be overlooked.³⁰

One song, entitled “Song of Youth,” indicates the type of attitudes being inculcated by regime-sponsored composers. The “Song of Nationwide Youth Democratic League,” written by Lim Yim-hwa and Kim Sun-nam, exudes élan. The tempo marking is written in Italian (*sempre marcate* or “very marked, vigorous”), and five-staff notation is used, showing again the westernization of music and the impact of both missionaries and the Japanese on musical practices in Korea. Its four verses dwell upon themes of strength and resistance. No mention is made of Stalin or the Soviet Union. Each verse ends with the same refrain, praising the power of the people. Dotted rhythms exude confidence and vigor, and the composer’s choice of key, G major, connotes optimism and new beginnings.³¹ The Democratic Youth League was an ardent promoter of song, and its members were encouraged in turn to bring the new songs into the civil sphere, revolutionizing their potentially conservative elders.

Yet the youth could not become agents of revolution if they themselves had insufficient grounding in the theory, history, and arts of revolution. Kim’s acuity for instruction made him aware of the glaring deficiencies in socialist pedagogy from which North Korea suffered in its early years. Lecturers in South Pyongan province were using unappealing methods, changing their lesson plans without sufficient direction from the party.³² More alarmingly, many teachers were showing signs of political unreliability. Internal documents from the occupying Red Army evinced alarm both at the lack of qualified teachers in 1945 and the difficulty of stringent investigation of new teachers. Experienced high school teachers, ostensibly the most important teachers of ideology to future cadre and citizens, were mainly Japanese. The Soviet solution to this problem was to proffer an intense and “short period of drill and study” of senior high school students to cultivate a new class of teachers, a task made difficult by the long years of Japanese (indeed, anticommunist) education experienced by these students.³³ After the founding of the DPRK, more stringent procedures would be put in place to weed out undesirable applicants to the teaching profession.³⁴ Pyongyang Teachers’ Training College garnered Kim’s praise in 1948 for having “detected and purged the impure and alien elements among the teaching staff and students.” Having critiqued the “serious inclination among teachers to use textbooks devoid of ideological content,” Kim was well aware that planting songs into the curriculum could assure that students would be exposed to “the history of the revolution, an important political subject.”³⁵

Music education was a useful counterfoil to this ideological confusion. Books were in terribly short supply, but songs could be transmitted and learned quickly and without a printing press. Songs printed in textbooks, distributed via party newspapers, and spread throughout the land as leaflets were an economical method of assuring a modicum of ideological content in the lesson plans of North Korean schools.³⁶ In addition to their unifying ideological properties, songs were also an important means of teaching students of all ages to read *hangul* as part of liberating the Korean

people from reliance on all facets of foreign language, whether it be spoken Japanese or written Chinese *hanja*.³⁷

Conclusion

Since the “roaring of the cataract” and the destruction of the Korean War, North Korea’s struggle with foreign influence has largely been focused upon the United States as the DPRK’s intractable foreign adversary.³⁸ However, U.S. cultural influence in North Korea was mediated through leaflet drops, radio broadcasts, POW camps, and ordinance, and was therefore minimal. In the years prior to the Korean War, and indeed today, North Korea’s neighboring states projected a steadier and more internally driven cultural influence to which the regime’s cultural apparatus was eager to adapt. Music, as a cultural tool relatively free of linguistic constraints, flows easily across physical and ideological borders, and is therefore a fine case study for the depth of Soviet and Chinese influence in North Korea in the years of alliance.

With regard to DPRK–Soviet cultural relations, much research remains to be done. Were Kim or his subordinates aware of the profound artistic changes and power struggles in the Soviet arts bureaucracy when, in 1948, Soviet Minister of Culture Andrei Zhdanov purged or criticized a number of important Soviet composers, decrying the presence of “formalism” in their work?³⁹ Did these decrees hamper North Korean art composers or shape the popularization of North Korean opera and song? To what extent, if any, were North Korean audiences or elites exposed to the high forms of Soviet Socialist Realism as represented by performances of Shostakovich or Prokofiev? Such study would necessarily encompass visits by delegations of Soviet artists and musicians to North Korea after 1945; data for such activity resides in the Lenin Library in Moscow, a major repository for Soviet cultural documents in North Korea. The connection between Soviet tutelage among North Korean musical pedagogues and opera and song composers also requires greater examination, and inquiries are needed into remnants of the Soviet conservatory and music education system in the DPRK today. Such scholarship could expose more clearly the depth of Soviet influence in North Korea and test if Soviet assistance enabled the growth of a unique North Korean system or if it was actually cultural hegemony in disguise.

China’s potential potency in shaping North Korean musical decisions, forms, and education is also in need of examination in this period. It seems clear that Kim Il Sung was influenced by the writings of Mao Zedong on the role of the arts in stimulating political mobilization and deepening party control, but these similarities might reflect Mao’s own derivative notions plagiarized from Lenin.⁴⁰ Much Chinese influence at the time was routed into North Hamgyong province via Chinese Yanbian, an important conduit for culture and CCP troops during the Chinese civil war. Two of the most important men in terms of North Korean culture in this period, Kim Tubong and Mu Chong, were both later purged. Kim Tubong had been present at Mao’s 1942 Yan’an forum, and Mu Chong, a Long March figure who had founded schools for exiled “Korean Youth Federations” in North China, was also

active in promoting Sino–North Korean cultural exchanges.⁴¹ Thus, examining Chinese influence on musical and artistic aspects of North Korean culture in the period surrounding the Korean War might also reveal interesting details on the looming factional battles in Pyongyang.

Much research remains to be done on the exchange of music, particularly local opera, between communist base areas across the Manchurian border and North Korea.⁴² Exceptions abound in North Korea, and Charles Armstrong's assertion of a wholly nationalist and Korean-directed revolution of culture in North Korea is also inflected by his selection of sources, many of which come from Kangwon province and other areas far removed from the northern border provinces with culturally prolific Manchuria. Cultural flows then, as now, had strong implications for the direction of the North Korean state.

Of course, no period of cultural exchange or upheaval can match that of the Korean War. The violence that had rippled through the southern zone and the new Republic of Korea would erupt into a global conflict playing out on the Korean Peninsula. During the war, North Korean music would play an important role in consolidating state power and in marshaling hatred of the state's enemies. More importantly, music was certainly a means of cementing friendship with international socialist friends. Documents in Beijing describe the travels of North Korean arts delegations to China in 1953, dwelling on the gratefulness the musicians felt for being able to depart from the war zones.⁴³ Music and music drama also became at least one means of channeling away deep frustrations at the destructive failures of the Korean War and reshaping narratives of North Korea's problematic history.⁴⁴ Within the wartime propaganda, themes of nationalism, internationalism, and hatred of enemies, like primary colors, were mixed together both with thoughtful calculation and frantic haste, creating a distinctly North Korean shade in the eight years after *haebang*, Korea's 1945 liberation.

Notes

1. Kim Il Sung, *Works*, Vol. I, Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1981, p. 332.
2. H. C. Kim and D. K. Kim, *Human Remolding in North Korea: A Social History of Education*, Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005, p. 164.
3. Kim Il Sung, *With the Century*, Korea Friendship Association, 2003.
4. Dae-Suk Suh, *The Korean Communist Movement, 1918–1948*, Princeton University Press, 1967; Li Sangjo, "Letter to the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party," 5 October 1956, in "North Korea in 1956: New Evidence from the Archives of the Russian State Archive of Contemporary History" (distributed by James Person at the "International Workshop on The Cold War and the Korean Peninsula: The Domestic Politics and Foreign Relations of North and South Korea," Beijing University, May 18, 2007), p. 65.
5. Kim Jong Il, *Selected Works, Volume 1, 1964–1969*, Vol. I, Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1992, pp. 27–34.
6. Kim Il Sung, *Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 236. Translation modified for clarity.
7. Kim Il Sung, *Works*, Vol. V, p. 130.
8. Adam Cathcart and Charles Kraus, "Peripheral Influence: The Sinuiju Student Incident and Soviet Occupation of North Korea, 1945–1947," *Journal of Korean Studies* 13, no. 1 (Fall 2008).
9. Kim Il Sung, *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 126.

10. Anonymous, *Sea of Blood*, Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1982, p. 156; Alzo David-West, "Nationalist Allegory in North Korea: The Revolutionary Opera *Sea of Blood*," *North Korean Review*, Fall 2006, pp. 75–87; and Alzo David-West, "The North Korean Positive Hero in *The People of the Fighting Village*," *North Korean Review*, Fall 2007, pp. 101–118.
11. Ibid, pp. 45, 198.
12. Soviet Military Government in North Korea, "Concerning the Report on the Proceedings and Situation of the Local PPC Conference," October 13, 1945, Archive of Defense Ministry of the Russian Federation, f. 172, o.614630, d.9, pp. 42–43.
13. JoongAng Ilbo, "Spirit of Nationalism and Revolution Plagiarized from Japan," October 15, 2001.
14. Shi Lei, *Zhongguo Jindai Junge Chutan* (Basic Explorations in Modern Chinese Military Songs), Beijing, Jiefangjun Wenyi Chubanshe, 1986.
15. Toshio Iritani, *Group Psychology of the Japanese in Wartime*, London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1991.
16. Kim Il Sung, *Works*, Vol. III, pp. 21–24.
17. Kim Il Sung, *Works*, Vol. IV, pp. 91–93.
18. Lim Hwa, "On the Protection of National Artifacts," *Choson Inmin Ilbo*, April 9, 1946, translated in United States National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 319, G-2 Intelligence Files, Box 1398, folder 1, "News Summary."
19. Kim Il Sung, *Works*, Vol. II, p. 299.
20. Charles K. Armstrong, *The North Korean Revolution 1945–1950*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003.
21. Brian Myers, *Han Sorya and North Korean Literature: The Failure of Socialist Realism in the DPRK*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.
22. Keith Howard, "The People Defeated Will Never Be United: Pop Music and Ideology in North Korea," in *Korean Pop Music*, ed. Keith Howard, Kent: Global Oriental, 2006, p. 157; see also Keith Howard, "Minyo in Korea: Songs of the People and Songs for the People," *Asian Music* 30, no. 2 (1999), pp. 1–37.
23. National Archives, SA2012, 1/100, 1946
24. Keith Howard (2006), p. 157.
25. H. C. Kim and D. K. Kim, *Human Remolding*, p. 113
26. Kim Il Sung, *Works*, Vol. II, pp. 401–403.
27. Kim Il Sung, *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 401.
28. Kim Il Sung, *Works*, Vol. II, pp. 402–403.
29. Kim Il Sung, *Works*, Vol. V, p. 23.
30. United States National Archives and Records Administration, Captured Enemy Documents: Record Group 242 College Park, Maryland [hereafter "National Archives"], SA2012, 1/108, Mass Cultural Section, "Handbook for Study of Music," Mass Cultural Library, Vol. 4, dated November 10, 1949, published by Mass Cultural Section NK Professional League.
31. National Archives, SA 2005, 6/49, Printed and mimeographed propaganda leaflets of NK Peoples' Committee, NKDYML, Farmer Association, Women's League, and NK Communist Party, dated 1946, belonging to North Korean political parties and groups.
32. Kim Il Sung, *Works*, Vol. V, p. 14.
33. Soviet Military Government in North Korea, "Concerning the Report on the Proceedings and Situation of the Local PPC Conference," October 13, 1945, Archive of Defense Ministry of the Russian Federation, f. 172, o.614630, d.9, pp. 42–43.
34. National Archives, SA2005, 8/4, Evaluations of school principals, from Songnim 1st and 2nd High School, and Songnim Girls' School, Hwanghae-do; National Archives, SA2005, 8/7, handwritten file containing personal histories, autobiographies, and application of candidates for high school teachers (literary courses), dated 1947, belonging to Pyongyang Special City; National Archives, SA2005, 8/16, handwritten file containing personal histories, autobiographies of teachers and the written opinions of the principal, dated 1949, belonging to Chaeryong High School for Girls.
35. Kim Il Sung, *Works*, Vol. IV, pp. 5–7.
36. Nettie Ma, "The Curricular Content of Elementary Music in China between 1912 and 1982," Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Texas, 1989.
37. Kim Il Sung, *Works*, Vol. V, p. 236; Kim Il Sung, *Works*, Vol. III, p. 104.

38. Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War, Vol. II: The Roaring of the Cataract, 1947–1950* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).
39. Keith Howard (2006).
40. National Archives, SA2005, 2/68, Printed booklet, titled “On People’s Democratic Dictatorship,” by Mao Zedong, dated September 18, 1949, published by Democratic Chinese Abroad Publishing House, Pyongyang.
41. Bernhard Olivier, *The Implementation of China’s Nationality Policy in the Northeastern Provinces*, San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1993, p. 43.
42. Zhao Han, “The Reform of the Local Opera in Manchuria from the Early to Mid–1950s,” paper presented at Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting, April 2006.
43. PRC Foreign Ministry Archive, Beijing, China, File 106-00035-05 (1), Memorandum of Conversation between Yi Chongtu, Head of Korean Railroad Arts Group Coming to China, others, and Vice Foreign Minister Zhang Hanfu, February 7, 1953.
44. Brian Myers (1994), pp. 73–85.