

Anlage
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The making of totalitarian city in Pyongyang:
The spatial transition from free to ideology, and for marketization

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Summary of the thesis,

The making of totalitarian city in Pyongyang:

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The main aim of this thesis is to reveal 'the process of totalitarian city making in Pyongyang', especially, in the view of the interaction between the power and urban space. If the questions of the research are listed, it as follow:

- 1) through how process, Pyongyang has been the totalitarian city
- 2) what characters have been seen in the totalitarian city of Pyongyang
- 3) what characters are different with other totalitarian cities
- 4) now, how it is changing with market system

The scope of this research is limited to the city of Pyongyang. With respect to time, the study covers the modern time to the present day given that totalitarianism in Pyongyang was born with the birth of modern city and the masses. The space is also limited to Pyongyang as the capital of North Korea.

The research of totalitarianism is based on the works by Hanna Arendt, Erich Fromm, Herbert Marcuse, Carl Friedrich, Leonard Schapiro, Theodor Adorno, Masao Maryama, Henri Lefebvre, and George Orwell. The most influenced idea for this study is from *The Origins of Totalitarianism* by Arendt and *The Production of Space* by Lefebvre.

In the research of Pyongyang, the biggest difficulty is that the researcher was unable to visit the city, especially for a person of South Korean descent. To compensate for these limitations, the researcher examined many primary and secondary sources on North Korea, and interviews were taken with people who escaped from Pyongyang. In the national library of South Korea, there are many primary sources available, such as news-papers, magazines, books, and textbooks issued from Pyongyang from 1945 to the present day. To investigate the actual life of citizens in Pyongyang, the researcher conducted in depth interviews with four escaped Pyongyang citizens: Lee, Kim, Park, and Choi. For example, one of the interviews was taken over a course of three sessions spanning seven hours in total. Each of interviewees is different in age, class, and gender.

In South Korea, there are many experts and books about North Korea in fields of politics, economics, and sociology. However, there has not been a thoughtful study on urban space and urban life with the view of urban sociology. This research is the first work about the city of Pyongyang based on urban sociology.

main results:

Through what processes has Pyongyang become a totalitarian city?

Although this study largely relies on many influential existing works, it does attempt to break new ground in three areas. The first area is identifying the differences found in other totalitarian cities. There are some similarities with Nazism and Stalinism found in North Korea's historical transformation from a free society to a totalitarian society. However, in the light of time continuity, there are also a number of different characteristics. While the totalitarian regimes by the Nazis and by Stalin collapsed after the death of the leader, Kim's regime has maintained the totalitarian system even with the market system entering the state. This means that a new generation of North Korea has been born in the totalitarian space and society; in turn, this also means that the new generation will be largely ignorant of the past memories and literature have disappeared with the demise of the older generation.

The second area deals with understanding the connection between the totalitarian system and the urban space of Pyongyang. This study analyzes how totalitarian power produces space and how the space also influences on the totalitarian society simultaneously.

Through what processes has Pyongyang become a totalitarian city?

The first step of making totalitarian city of Pyongyang has been started on the process of modernization. Unlike absolutism, totalitarianism requires modern technology, administrative ability, and unified masses. Similar to how modern technology makes automobiles, totalitarianism produces standardized persons with a modern administrative system. A Christian liberal ideology in colonial modern era helped Pyongyang citizen to form the modern masses from the slavish status. However, rapid social change and urbanization situated the masses at the lowest class, which did not have any social connections. The slave-like people of Pyongyang not only escaped from traditional restrictions but also lost the minimal protection provided by human relations, and they eventually became urban squatters and part of the mob. As a result, they took on a violent character, which was directed toward massacring Chinese, who were the main target of racial discrimination in Pyongyang with the action of 'the Anti-Chinese Riot'.

The second step was on the socialist era. Under the influence of the Soviet Union, North Korea accepted the socialist system and the idea of establishing equitable societies in all nations. The land belonged to the state and was again distributed to the peasants. In that time, according to Lee's testimony, the citizens of Pyongyang constructed the city not only with propaganda and suppression but also through hope for their future lives. However, at that time, the statues of Kim Il-sung was already constructing and prohibiting private ownership, which evoked the limitation of action and the political bias. North Korea lost the way of escape into South Korea after the Korean War, and the remaining citizens in Pyongyang were absorbed as members of the construction process for establishing a totalitarian city.

Finally, the regime eliminated all political opponents in 1967 and finally declared the totalitarian

ideology in 1974. During this process, Pyongyang appeared two main characteristics of a totalitarian city that are the space of terror and ideology; the space of terror produces the fear of death and the space of ideology controls the citizen's thought and life.

What are the totalitarian characteristics of Pyongyang?

Since the main features of totalitarianism is 'total control by terror', the space of terror can be the witness of totalitarian society existence. After Juche ideology was proclaimed and the power shifted around 1980, many branded people were deported from Pyongyang to a labor camp. In the camp, nobody could claim their human rights, and political prisoners could not escape the camp, except through death. They were never educated, except through language, and they could not even educated Juche ideology and the name of Kim Jung Il. The Pyongyang citizens realized the existence of the space when they observed their neighbors' being deported, which taught them the result of disobedience. Citizens and prisoners near the Nazi camps feared death because of the rumors of gas and trains containing many Jews, and though the camp was not located in the city of Pyongyang, everyday experience and rumor thoroughly instilled the fear of death in the remaining citizens.

Similar to a fishbowl, in Pyongyang were many abstract, symbolic, and religious monumental buildings, and these large or national style buildings inspired citizens to feel not only praise but also fear. Everywhere in the city was propaganda that praised Kim's family, and the citizen themselves sometimes became the vehicles of the propaganda by attending group action or marches. Finally, the space of the totalitarian city led to people's fake smiling, and also totalitarian system control the space of body where citizens could keep their own space at the last.

Which of those characteristics are different from those of other totalitarian cities?

The urban space of Pyongyang shares most of the characteristics that the cities of Nazism and Stalinism used but also has unique characteristics. In the time of socialism entering, constructivism and the Western neoclassical style were implemented in the construction of monumental buildings, similar to the Soviet Union. Around 1970, when the Juche ideology was budding, many monumental buildings with a Korean style from the period of monarchy were built. Unlike the cities of Nazism and Stalinism which adopted the classical styles of Rome and Greece, Pyongyang incorporated a historical Korean style to evoke nationalistic emotion.

The main difference of Jucheism is the temporal permanence. Nazism achieved the most control over its society by instilling terror and a pseudo religion, but this hypnotic experience did not last longer than half of a century. However, the totalitarian society created by Kim's regime has persisted through three generations. This durability explains why North Korea, unlike other socialist countries, has not collapsed, despite the country's suffering great starvation and the market entrance. Unlike other totalitarian cities, the durability produces the varied space in Pyongyang, such as the style of neoclassic, constructivism, the transparent space, and even market, which was based on several ideologies.

How is Pyongyang changing today?

The main strategy of a poor totalitarian state trying to keep its power is to retain and control the obedience of cooperators. The use of certain incentives namely, "the gift" makes the strategy possible, but it creates much inequality. The unequal strategy of Pyongyang has incorporated the game of location exchange through punishments and rewards in the market. For this strategy, the two main spaces used are the market and the Foreign Currency Shop. These spaces are used as a means of control, and they arouse the desire of consumption. In addition, the desire targets not only material objects but also the concepts of freedom and truth. Currently, this situation has shaken the foundation of totalitarianism and totalitarian city of Pyongyang.

further research plan

On April 27 in 2018, South and North Korean leaders, new generations who didn't experienced the Korean War, met and set 'denuclearization' and North Korea is moving to transition. For the follow-up research, I will try to visit Pyongyang to study the authenticity and transition in the urban space of Pyongyang. Also, I will research the comparable study with other post-socialist cities to prepare the Pyongyang's potential as the global city. In addition, I expect my study boundary will be expended into the connection between North Korean cities and cities of China and Japan.