

The North of Korean Political Regime between Post-Totalitarianism and Sultanism

النظام السياسي الكوري الشمالي بين ما بعد الشمولية والسلطانية

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Abstract :

This research paper will focus on characteristics and features of political regime in **North Korea**, this regime is defined as the most bloody dictatorship in modern era, and the most militarized country in the world, its features can be summarized as follows: Lack of political institutions, violation of human rights and basic liberties, no rule of law, use of repressive measures and terror as the favorite tool in the hands of **Kim -family** in order to suffocate the democratic voices and any try from civil society to change the pillars of political regime, of course, this led to the absence of real opposition to the governing elite, additionally no peaceful political alternance on political power. On this basis, the study tries to examine the nature of North Korean political regime in the light of the different views of academics about it.

Keywords: sultanism , cult of personality, Post-Totalitarianism.

ملخص:

ستحاول هذه الدراسة التركيز على خصائص ومميزات النظام السياسي في كوريا الشمالية، هذا النظام يعرف على أنه أكثر دكتاتورية دموية في العصر الحديث، وأكثر دولة عسكرية في العالم، يمكن حصر مميزاته كالتالي: ضعف المؤسسات السياسية، انتهاك حقوق الإنسان والحريات الأساسية، لا وجود لحكم القانون، استخدام التدابير القمعية والترهيب كأداة مفضلة في أيدي عائلة كيم- بهدف خنق الأصوات الديمقراطية وأي محاولة من المجتمع المدني لتغيير أسس النظام السياسي. وبالطبع هذا قاد إلى غياب المعارضة الحقيقية للنخبة الحاكمة، بالإضافة إلى أنه لا وجود للتداول السياسي السلمي على السلطة السياسية، وعلى هذا الأساس تحاول هذه الدراسة فحص طبيعة النظام السياسي الكوري في ضوء اختلاف وجهات نظر الاكاديميين حوله.

كلمات مفتاحية:

السلطانية، عبادة الشخصية، ما بعد الشمولية.

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I- Introduction:

The political regimes have been developed around the world, today according to many studies of political science and especially comparative politics field, the world political regimes are divided into three(3) great poles, Democracy which related generally to western world, Authoritarianism which centered on Mena region..... and Africa, some states in Asia and Latin America, and Hybrid regimes which appear in the wake of the third wave of democracy and the appearance of Grey Zone which combines Democratic and authoritarian features at the same time, and this is of course after the collapse of another pole named” Totalitarianism” that had shown the world in the thirteen and fourteen of 20 century .

But despite of the development of studies and theorists efforts, the reality has proved the incredibility of classifications, and the north of Korean political regime as the best example of exception from the classical classifications of political regimes, this type of regime(north of Korean) has attracted the attention of many researchers and theorists about his nature, this type characterized by its vulnerability to coups and revolutions and the longevity and durability of “**Kim Family**” in power, although the republican character of state.

In this context these researchers and academics are divided into two castes, the first caste as Patrick Mceachem has considered north Korean political regime as the extension of totalitarian rule and accurately what’s called “**Post Totalitarianism**” on one hand, the second caste as peter wiles and Jae-Cheon lim has believed that the north Korean political regime in his nature is sultanistic regime in the other hand, because according to them, north Korea politics defined by dynastic rule and cult of personality .

Research Question:

This research paper attempts to answer the following question:

what’s the nature of North Korean political regime?in the other words what are the main features of North Korean political regime?.

Hypotheses:

This research paper revolves around two main assumptions, which are :

1. the North Korean political regime is considered as the pure totalitarian regime as well as it relied on propaganda and terror.
2. The sultanistic regime in North Korea manifests only in tendency toward dynasticism.

Methodology:

The research paper adopts an institutional perspectives to examine the main features of political regime in north korea between post-totalitarianism and sultanism.

Structure of the research paper

in order to answer the previous question, the study will divided into fold, the first is about the post-totalitarian regime that characterized North Korean after the independence period. The second is about Sultanism because the North Korean regime contains some features of Sutanism as Presidential Monarchy rule and inheritance of power among the members family from grand father to father to son.

II - Post-totalitarian regime in North Korea:

This section provides a conceptual basis in which to describe the North Korean political regime as post-totalitarianism, it is approximated the ideal type of totalitarianism in the era of leader

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“Kim-Sung”, but after that the political regime has approximated to post-totalitarianism in the period of his son “Kim Jong-Il”.

1. The Definition of Post-Totalitarian regime:

The most systematic and useful analysis of post-totalitarianism was under taken by Juan José Linz in 1975, and recently elaborated in a collaborative project with Alfred Stepan in 1996 in their book”problems of democratic transition and consolidation”, they presented their views on the emergence of certain class of these post-totalitarian states. They argued in part that the decay of ideology in the soviet bloc created space for democratic opposition- particularly in central and Eastern Europe. Also, Technocratic employment became a real alternative to party careers as citizens withdrew into private life and the state increasingly tolerated private activity (Mceachern, 2010, p22) .

In contrast to totalitarian regimes that led by a charismatic dictator with virtually unconstrained powers, is monistic, are based on an elaborate ideology, and are highly mobilizational,. the post-totalitarianism has more constrained leadership and is more”pluralistic”, on the one hand, and is less ideological and mobilizational, on the other , than totalitarianism. But it also differs from authoritarianism because of its leadership being recruited from within the all-powerful party, its lack of a traditional civil society(destroyed by totalitarianism), its dependence on a guiding ideology, and its mobilizational practice (Thompson, 2002, p81). The case of North Korean political regime after Kim-Sung tended to be Post-Totalitarianism because we can find more than one party: The communist party, the south Korean labor party, The Korean Democratic party, Choudoist Chouge party. But despite of the existence of these parties, the ruling and dominant party is the **Korean Worker”s party**, and the other parties serve as mirror of democracy in the eyes of abroad, that is means parties without any political functions.

Also the tendancy toward the Post-Totalitarianism has appeared in the existence of social classes such the core (haeksim) consists of the most loyal members of Democratic Popular Republic of North Korea. People belonging to this caste receive significant privileges, the Wavering(dongyo) class consistes of people whose loyalty to the regime is questionable, the hostile(choktae)class consists of people who are perceived as disloyal to the regime (War crimes committee of the international Bar Association, 2017, p17) . As opposite to society without classes or in the other words “**classless society**”as Hannath Ardent claimed in her prominent work”**the origins of totalitarianism**”this makes the society in totalitarianism “**mob society**”.

2. Characteristics of North Korean post-totalitarian regime:

As any political regime the Post-Totalitarianism has particularities compared with other political regimes particularly totalitarianism. these particularities can summarize as follows:

a. the Juche ideology as an expression of communism :

As explained **juan José linz** in post-totalitarianism there is guiding ideology and still exists as the social reality, but weakened commitment to faith in utopia, and this is means that the political regime begins to leave the idea of building ideal society and state by the total destruction and total restruction of society as in totalitarianism. It’s worth to mention that in **North Korea** and exactly in the period of **kim- sung** the political regime tended to be totalitarian because kim- sung wanted to build the utopian state.but in the era of his son **kim jong-il** the political regime is tended to be post-totalitarianism.

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As we know in **north korea** the official state ideology is the **juche** and translated as “**self-reliance**” initiated by the great leader”**kim- sung**”, and later developed by his son, the dear leader”**kim jong-il**”. This term juche first appeared in **kim -sung’s** speech on December 28, 1955 to emphasize the importance of the labor party’s struggle against “dogmatism” .kim-sung’s ambition was at that time establish his own application of **Marxist-Leninist** of principles (based on the dictatorship of proletariat, the socialist ownership of the means production, class struggle, the collectivist leadership, the leading and guiding role of the communist party, the democratic centralism.). and to distinguish the **North Korean’s** ideology from the soviet union and eradicate the political opponents who linked with the soviet union (Kim, 2017, p3) . As distinct from the ideologies of the other communist states, the juche ideology has many concepts as follows :

- ✓ North Korea’s”**own style of socialism**(urisik-sahoejui) stresses the importance of developing north korea as an economically independent nation, in order to ensure stability from the economic crisis of the world.
- ✓ The principle of the “**Korean race being superior**”(minjok-jeiljuui) was instituted in order to strengthen the concept of the dynastic north Korean style communist regime.
- ✓ The principle of a “**red flag-ideology**” (puleungi-sasang)urges citizens to be loyal and to make sacrifices from kim jong-un.
- ✓ The principle of a “**strong economic-military state**”(kangseong-daegugron) because kim jong-un has aspired to maintain the strong support of the military (Lee, 2013, p6).

According to the interpretation of the juche ideology, the **suryeong**,the party, and the masses constituted what might be called an integrated trinity. As the party was an immortal socio political body, so the **suryeong** was said to be the brain(center) of this organic body, at the physical life was mortal, and given by one’s natural parents, so the political life of the **juche** country was immortal, and given by the socio political body. Under this system the only thing that the masses were expected to do was to obey unconditionally the command of the **suryeong**, because he said to be the brain of the body politic (Whan and Kim, 2006, p 9) .

b.The existence of one party : the Korean worker’s party

Although, the existence of one party is the main feature of totalitarianism, but it is not critical variable to differentiate between the post-totalitarianism and the other types of political regimes, clearly, we can find the one party that dominates the power in the **post-totalitarianism** and in the authoritarianism as example, for that **juan José linz** argued that the existence of one –party in totalitarianism with the lack of political pluralism, this is means the absence of political parties, but in authoritarianism the existence of one party with the existence of political pluralism(political parties, interests groups, civil society organizations). The nucleus, from the beginning of party construction. **Kim- Sung** emphasized the “**mass line**” that the party should not only represent a widest possible range of people but its members also should work closely with the people the party remains a “**mass party**” with about 12-14% of the population as its members.further-more-, it had extended its reach deep into the society through the three revolutions campaigns by (sendingsofo/ small teams) of young workers to factories, farm cooperatives, and military units . (Suh, 2013 , p 14).

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The totalitarian dictatorship has been the primacy of the **Korea Worker's party(KWP)**. Its supremacy over official government organizations and unlimited authority has allowed this one-man to thrive. party control is reinforced by interlocking membership between party elites and chief governmental and military figures. Its grip over the populace is pervasive and reaches into the daily lives of residents through indoctrination and surveillance. Thus the **KWP** has stood as one pillar of the leader's power as he reigns over the state in the uppermost position of the party, its general secretary in this regard, it is not unusual that the constitution itself provides that "the **Democratic Popular Republic of Korea** shall conduct all activities under the leadership of the workers party" (Yoon, 2003, p1291).

c. Monopoly of the military: centrality of north korea's military:

The concept of post-totalitarian highlight the centrality of the coercive apparatus to a communist regime. This structure usually consists of various police, secret police, paramilitary and military organs. But the military is the key element.(Scobell, 2005, p250)

The military in the **north korea** was originally under the control of the state, namely the ministry of national defense, but it has become politicized by means of deep and extensive penetration of the **Korean Worker's Party** eventually resulting in an institutional intervention into civil and party politics through National Defense Commission and Korean Worker Party's central military committee (Moon and Takesada, 2001, p368).

Clearly, as stated long editorial on **Kim Jong's** political leadership by a central agency of North Korea on October 20,1988" the Military is the party, the state, and the people. The editorial pointed out three elements the military's centrality in **North Korean** politics, strengthening the military with utmost priority, and the military's leadership in pursuit of socialist goals. Under the socialist system, the military is an Instrument of party and state domination (Moon and Takesada, p 357).

Kim supreme leader, first **Kim- Sung** and then **Kim Jong-il** runs the party and the military. The institutions are the most pronounced instruments of domination available to the supreme leader.

Traditionally, North **Korea** was governed by a trinity of party, state, and the people, but the military were added as a further element.

On fifty-fifth birthday of Kim Jong-il(february16,1997) the **KWP(Korean Worker's Party)** convened a central report and announced that "comrade KimJong-il" has invented a new idea of favoring the military in which the military is the people, the state, and the party. The report states further that the North Korean people's armed forces (KPA) is the military of **suryeong(the supreme leader)**, the party, and the people given that the party, the military and the people are integral parts of the supreme leader, they cannot be disaggregated into components. The extreme form of organic corporation framed around the supreme leader **Kim -Sung** and his successor **Kim Jong-il** does not allow any artificial separation party, state and military (.Moon and Takesada, p 359).

The logic behind the **Kim Jong-il** regime's promotion of the "**military first**" policy is twofold: First to compensate for the Kim regime's weakness in the face of dismal economic failure and food shortages , and second, to use the military as the basis for strengthening his authority to not only defend the **Democratic Popular Republic of Korean** from perceived external security threats but also to build a so-called Kangsong taeguk(strong and prosperous great power). The term "**military-first politics**" first appeared in the Rodoug Shinmun(party organ) editorial on

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August 22,1998.it was timed to coincide with kim long it's official succession to power on september5, and the launching of the three-stage Taepodong missile across Japan on August31.(Whan and Kim, p 9).

d.Planned Economy:

The guided Economy is part and parcel of post-totalitarianism in order to achieve socialist goals, this type of economy upholds state ownership not private ownership, **second:** resources are allocated not by the market, but according to plans. **Third:** the rights to take decisions on economic matters are not distributed to individual economic agents like enterprises and households but concentrated in the central government (Mun-Su, 2016 , p6) and north Korea didn't escape from this reality(planned Economy), despite of transformation of North Korean's economy from pure socialist economy that began in the era of Kim-Sung to what's named «market socialism” in 1990, by the state ownership of the means of production, public ownership consists of state-owned enterprises, collective-owned enterprises and real collectives or cooperatives. It refers to the means of production that are not owned and controlled by any individual but owned by public or collective entities (Guo and stradiotto, 2007) .

E.The use of coercive repression :

The defining feature of any post-totalitarianism regime is that his rule with repression in order to survive in power for longtime. For that The police and security forces under the **Kim family** regimes have been used as tools of repression of north Korean people . the security apparatus enforces strict rules of behavior prescribed by the state. Monitoring the movements of and words uttered by **North Korean** citizens through an extensive network of secret police and citizens informants (Gause, 2012, pp53-54) .

The formal police apparatus relies on a massive, multilevel system of informants to identify critics and political troublemakers. Entire communities are routinely subjected to security services.

The **State SecurityDepartment** directs and maintains control over the mass surveillance networks organized across the nation it rewards citizens who make reports with gifts. Also the purge politics is the most preferred tool in the hands of Kim Family, between 1955 and1958, **Kim-Sung** purged all or most of those in both the pro-Chinese and pro-soviet factions within the Korean worker's party and all other aspects of government and society(Bichtol,2010, p 46). For Example Kim-Jong-Un executed his own uncle Jang song-Thaek in December 2013, and his family as whole this includes Jang's two brothers, sons, daughters and grand children.

I.1.1 The North Korean Sultanistic regime :

This section provides another perspective about the nature and kind of North Korean political regime.it is known that it has become that the North Korean political regime has some characteristics of sultanism as accumulation of political power in the hands strong man and tendency toward dynasticism .

I. The definition of Sultanistic Regime :

The sultanistic regimes idea can be traced to the German Sociologist”**Max Weber**” in his famous book” **Economy and Society**” he is considered the sultanism as an extreme form of

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patrimonialism. Deeply characterized by the leader's arbitrariness and irrationality. Weber identified in the Near East the Geographical location in which sultanism could flourish most favorably, and he considered the ottoman empire as the most representative example of sultanism (Anceschi,2009, p 49) .

After the term reintroduced by **Spanish-American Thinker “Juan José Linz”** in 1975 and expanded its geographic dimension and transformed it into generally accepted label used to indicate a highly authoritarian and personal form of rule (Anceschi, p 49) .

In this sense, **Juan José Linz and Houchang Chehabi** defined **sultanistic regimes** in their book” **sultanistic regimes”** as follows” it based on personal rulership, but loyalty to the ruler is motivated not by embodying or articulating an ideology, nor by a unique personal mission, nor by any charismatic qualities, but by a mixture of fear and rewards to his collaborators. The ruler exercised his power without restraint, at his own discretion and above all unencumbered by rules or by any commitment to an ideology or value system” (Linz and Chehabi, 1998, p7).

From that definition we can deduce the nature of sultanism as one of the most famous undemocratic regime, it relies on personalism or rule by one who grasps all powers in his hands, without any devotion, also among his pillars we can find clientelism as pattern of social relations between patron (ruler) and client (the rest of society) ,thus the obedience and submission to the ruler is based on mixture of fear and rewards or in the other words “**stick and carrot system”**, also the ruler in this form has an extraordinary powers and exercised it without any constitutional or legal limits, he rules according to his emotions and own discretion.

In thisVein, North Korean political regime includes some features of sultanism and specifically personalization of state in **Kim family** whose rule the state since 1940 after the Japanese decolonization

2.Characteristics of North Korean sultanistic regime :

As any post-totalitarian regime, sultanistic regime has many specific features in general and North Korean regime in particular these features can be summarized as follows:

- The Blurring of the line between regime and state:

Juan José Linz argues in his book” **sultanistic regimes”** that sultanism defined by the blurring between regime and state, and in advanced cases we can speak about fusion between regime and state (Linz and Chehabi, p 10). This means in North Korea, kim -family is the state and the state is kim family. Thus, Kim has considered his power as its personal property.

Also as stated **Juan linz** sultanistic rulers typically maintain an atmosphere of distrust among various branches of the military and encourage mutual espionage to protect themselves from a military coup, and some even use militias to sustain their control of society, often there is no unified command and the commanders of force report directly to the rulers. The normal criteria for promotion are disregarded or subverted, creating resentment, the armed forces are thus deprofessionalized as the rulers aim at converting them into their private instruments for power (Linz and Chehabi, p10).

In this respect, the North Korean regime uses Coup-Proofing technics in order to deter any coup plot as long as the military is the most disciplined and armed institution, as claimed **Peter Feaver**, we fear from the others, for that we create military as institution in order to save and protect us, after we become fear from the institution that created for our protection, and for that Kim Family carefully staffed key positions with people bound to them by family or other close

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ties. Such example Kim installed his brother in law “**Chang Soung-Taek**”, and Chang’s brothers in sensitive positions, also Kim promotes those he believes most trustworthy, thus, Kim relies on multiple and competing internal security agencies to reduce the unity of security forces and to maximize the information. Internal security, intelligence and espionage missions are distributed across several branches of the government and the military. The central committee of the Korean Worker party oversees nine bureau involved in intelligence operations.

Moreover, North Korea has paramilitary forces numbring about **189.000**, the guard command, about 50.000 men, report directly to Kim and handles his personal security equipped with tanks artillery, and aircraft, the guard command consists of three brigades that would defend Kim against the army in the event of an attempted coup. Also Pyongyang defense command is another important parallel military force comprising about **70.000** troupes(Bymen and Lind, 2010, p 67).

Thus, Sultanistic rulers sometimes create single parties, when they do.these parties very names bespeak the rulers effort to make them look like”revolutionary movements” destined to link between the leader and the people, he guides toward new horizons, , the revolutionary quality of these parties is like the charisma of its leaders-most declarative (linz and Chehabi, p 13) . And this what’ s occurred in north Korean regime that has the single party under the label” **The Korean workers party**”. This party is a vanguard for the realization of socialism, has the highest authority over other political and state organs(Park, 2013, p 7) .also Korean worker’s party permeates society as a tool of both indoctrination and social control, dominating the lives of its citizens from cradle to grave(Hemmings, 2013, p 68) .

In north korea one party exercises its authority over human resources in the government and the military, organizes and mobilizes society through all kinds of workers and even controls the media, the party also controls the elections. The party determines the candidates and the election campaigns are full of only propaganda and incendiary speeches, also controls access to policy and political status, the party seizes and controls not only most of the national agencies, including the military, but also dominates most all political domains including local governments, society and press (Seok and Mee, 2015, pp 17-18) .

In addition, the Korean Worker’s party played a critical role in inculcating the Juche ideology in North Koreans and in having society constituted and maintained by ideological unity in order for the hegemonic group to rule the people through ideological leadership(Choi, 2017, p5) .

- Personalism :

Personalism is the second salient feature of sultanism , personalistic regimes are regimes in which a single individual controls politics. One person «**dominates the military, state apparatus, and ruling party**. No autonomous institutions exist independent of the leader ((Ezrow and Frantz, 2011, p 215) .Moreover, personalists dictators rule with extreme freedom, allowing for eccentric politics. The aim of the ruler is to use power to private ends that can be enjoyed by him and distributed among his protégés(Bosch,2015, p 12) .

In north Korea the supreme leader(Kim Jong-Un is the first secretary of the workers party, chairman of the central Military commission, first chairman of national defense commission of the Democratic Popular Republic of korea and supreme commander of the Korean people army, and having also been a presidium member of the central politiburo of the workers party of Korea(Park, p2) .

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According to Juan José Linz the personalism has **two facets**: a pronounced cult of personality around the leader and the tendency toward dynasticism.

-Cult of personality :

Another central feature of North Korea's system is what's called "**cult of personality**" which characterized many political regimes in the past such as Joseph Stalin regime, Mao Zedong in China, Kamal Ataturk in turkey, and staying till now as north Korean cult of personality which differentiated from the other regimes

Cult of personality includes exaggerated compliments directed at the Suryeong's genius and achievements, the dissemination of moral tales featuring the Suryeong through the media and school education, the preservation of sites associated with the Suryeong's activities, and the marking of the leaders birthdays as the country's most important national holidays(Park, p 6) .

It's necessary to mention that Cult of personality began after North Korea's liberation from the Japanese occupation. North Korean writers such as "**Hen Sol Ya**" began propagating the cult of Kim (Lim and Yoo, 2010, p 342)¹. This cult of personality serves as the symbolic weapon against his political rivals and means to legitimize his personal rule. Although this was a feature of other socialist countries, the cult of personality in North Korea was peculiar in its scope intensity and family relatives, after his son kim jong" was formally appointed as successor, North Korean ideologists began to promote various legendary tales to praise the junior Kim. Also this cult penetrated every part of society and every aspect of people's daily lives(Kwon, 2003, p 291) . And unlike the cults of Stalin, Hitler and Mao, the North Korean leadership cult is unique in that it incorporates not its leaders (Kim II Sung, Kim Jong –un). But also their family members as its subjects (Lim, 2015, p20) . This cult has appeared as **follows:**

- Pictures, plaques, busts and statues of Kim11 sung and Kim Jong11 are visible everywhere.
- Writings of two leaders are recited daily, their speeches are heard constantly. And their published works are prominently displayed in every library, work place and school.
- From nursery school to university, all school buildings and classrooms are adorned with pictures and plaques of two kims.
- The educational programmes are designed to teach the life stories of Kim11 sung's revolutionary struggle .
- At the third anniversary of the death of the "great leader", it was announced that North Korea was henceforth to use new calendar system, starting from 1912, the birth year of KimII Sung. The new calendar system is now found in every North Korean publication(Kwon, p291) Birthday.
- Kim JongII Birthday in (February16), which had served as a provisional holiday since1970 became an official state holiday and his first biography was published in the same year(Kwon, p 344) .

Moreover, After Kim Jung chose his son, **Kim Jong –Un** as his successor in late 2008 or early 2009, the state commenced the cult of Kim Jong-Un. The North Korea promoted a song for young Kim(Palkorum) (foot steps), calling him "Kim Daejang"(chief Kim) after Kim jong II's death in December 2011, **Kim Jong-Un** became the leader just as his father had planned. The

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state embalmed Kim JongII's body and placed it in the Kumsusan memorial palace alongside the body of his father, it is reported that in 2012, the state initiated the cult of **Kim Jong-Un** mother, **Ko Young-Hui**, calling "Mother of Pyongyang's" in February and the "mother of **Military-First** Korea in May(Lim, pp20-21) .

Furthermore, The Strange thing is According to 3 of the **Ten principles**, all North Koreans must struggle against impure element that damages the authority of the Great Leader KimII Sung and treat and protect all symbols related to him with extreme care. And according to 4 and 5 of Ten Principles, all North Koreans must accept KimII Sung's ideas and Kyosi and struggle to fulfill them, without exception. Christians believe that the Bible is a collection of god's holy words, Likewise ordinary North Koreans believe that the statements of KimII Sung and Kim JongII were holy. And According to the Seventh clause of article 4 of the Ten principles when North Koreans discuss or write something, they are required to quote the leaders Kyosi. For Example, The case must be quoted in most organizational meetings before these meetings can commence..

In addition, The North Korean State has published all of its important publications in the names of its leaders. For Example, Kim II Sung's works have been printed several times under different titles, including KimII Sung's selected works, Among his numerous works, three volumes of KimII Sung's selected works were first published in 1952 in Japan, his most popular work in North Korea itself was his Eight-Volume memoir with the century, which focuses on his the art of the cinema in 1973, after which Kim JongII's selected works began to edited in 1992, including his other works and speeches.

Titles also used for praising the Great leader for Example: The term Suryong's(Supreme leader)Talwonsu(generalissimo), or Changgun(General) where usually employed for KimII Sung(Lim, p21) were usually employed for Kim II Sung when Kim II Sung was alive , his successor Kim JongII was designated as the Ch'inae Hanun Chidoja(Dear Leader) .after Kim senior died, the term Yongdoja which means leader or Changgun was designated for use when referring to Kim Junior. Currently Wonsu (Marshall) , Changgun and Yougdoja are being used for kim Jong –Un.

-Tendency toward Dynasticism :

The second aspect of personalism is tendency toward dynasticism ,and this is mean presidential monarchy phenomenon that has shown the third world in the 1960 and its goal is create a monarchical form of presidency. The tendency toward dynasticism in North Korean's regime appears in what's named "**heredity succession**" this is means the transition of power from the one to others from the same family, this of course the mechanisms of monarchies not republics. Juan José Linz and Alfred Stepan identify strong dynastic tendencies typical of sultanism in North Korea, where "Kim JongII did succeed his father "Kim II Sung, upon the latter's" death in 1994, and where many other family members hold prominent positions (Saxonberg, 2013, p 109) . the processus of heredity not stop it here , In 2011 after the death of the leader.

This succession over three generations clearly shows the personal dictatorship nature of the north Korean regime. According to north korean constitution, the Suryong is the center of life of socio-political group, is the "**highest brain**" of **socio-political group**, and has a status as the "center of commanding the activities of life in a unified way. This means that the suryong, as the center of ideological unity. Creates the revolutionary ideology that rightly reflects the self-

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reliant need and direction” of the masses, and as the” center of organizational unity”, proposes rights lines and policies to construct a revolutionary organization and carries them out, and can build the revolution organization and regulation among people(Seok and Mee, pp 18-19) .

It is should be noted that the tendancy toward dynasticism is related to tyranny as argued Thucredides that tyran’s first thought was always for himself for his own personal safety, and for the greatness of his own family” this is true for North Korea that ruled by successive Kims from the grandfather to father to son . this type is “ family state” as Stalin’s USSR and Mao’s China (Armstrong, 1992, p 289) .

IV- Conclusion:

It is true that many studies in the field of comparative politics have focus much of its attention on capabilities and chances of democratic transition in different areas, where the non-democratic regimes still survive and take roots in history as in North Korea state that has the most ambiguous and longest repressive political regime in modern world where it has consolidated power in the hands of one family”**Kim Family**” and centralized all political institutions like political party,government, military, the Bureaucratic machine, and the most strange reality in this state is the republican character of state which transforms to “communist Monarchy”, this means republic state with mechanisms of monarchy rule(inheritance of power among the members of family).

Although, the differences of perspectives among researchers about the nature of North Korean political regime, it should mention that this regime has approximated from post-totalitarianism and in some cases sultanism as the most distinctive regime of personal rule as argued Juan José Linz more than any other non-democratic regimes. Why exactly post-totalitarianism? Because it have adopted what’s named” *juche Ideology*” it distinct from the other communist ideologies especially” **Leninist-Marxist ideology**”, the Kim ‘s regime uses this ideology when it wanted the absolute obedience and loyalty from people and as tool in the hands of great leader for controlling different elites, the *Juche ideology* is considered as the heart of regime, furthermore, the mobilization of populace and state institutions as the main feature of Kim’s regime in order to lead the communist revolution by the *Suryong*,

The Hegemonic Party, whose played a crucial role in communist North Korean regime, the “**Korean Worker’s party**” chaired by the great leader, its main function controlling the military and the other institutions , also both elites and population. The use of coercive and repressive measures or “police state” against the opponents of regime even the members of his family and even the innocent persons, this is another tool of the toolbox of “**Kim’s Family**” in order to maintain the order and guarantee of total obedience to leader aside the cooptation by using perks and rent distribution.On the Other hand, North Korean regime has approached from personal rule in its appearance “sultanism” , the sultanistic regime in North Korea manifests ruled in tendancy toward dynasticism as mention previously”**Kim Family**”has been ruled the country since the independence, three generations succeeded the power from Kim-Sung to **Kim-Jong-Un and perhaps to his sister “Kim Yo-Jong** will assume the power as long as she represents his brother in many ceremonies for example in olampic games in South Korea.

Furthermore, the hallmark of **Kim’s Family** as the spirit father of his people, whose guarantes the commun interests and savior of the nation, defender of the country, for guarantee the

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continuation of this picture in the eyes of his people regime uses speeches, writings, stories, educational programmes.... Also personalization of power is another hallmark of sultanism in North Korea, all powers centralized in the hands of great leader. finally, all that should be under study, interpretations and investigations by researchers in the future.

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