PRACE ORIENTALISTYCZNE I AFRYKANISTYCZNE

**Nicolas Levi**

# Tangible and Intangible Legacies of 70 years of Polish-North Korean relations (1948–2018)

10

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# Introduction and research questions

How were two countries – the Republic of Poland (hereafter 'Poland')[1] and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (hereafter 'North Korea') – which were so different, able to collaborate? Where are Poles remembered in North Korea, and where are North Korean citizens remembered on the territory of Poland? This monograph aims to present key issues concerning the cooperation between Poland and North Korea in the period 1948–2018. The book is not in any case an attempt to collect all issues related to relations between both countries, but rather a consideration of the most important matters that directly concerned bilateral relations between these two states, including Polish memories in North Korea, and North Korean memories in Poland. Therefore, the monograph has a nature that is not only historical but also geographical.

The author of this monograph argues that the relations between Poland and North Korea prove that North Korea was not as closed a country as foreign analysts and specialists usually describe it. For this reason, the author demonstrated, based on official statistics and North Korean documentation that both countries maintained relations not only on an official level but also at the micro-scale, which involved the civil society of both countries. Evidence includes the place of North Korea in the foreign trade of Poland with Asian countries, the number of North Korean students in Poland, and, for instance, the number of movies imported from North Korea to Poland. All these issues will be described in detail within these pages and are based on a comparative approach within the framework of the relations of Poland with other Asian nations.

This monograph also enlightens the fact that although Poland did make efforts to successfully foster mutual relations, sometimes regardless of the Polish interest, the behaviour of the North Korean authorities reduced the benefits Poland could gain from maintaining relations with this country. North Korea focused on its interests and not on those of fraternal nations. This led to a negative image of the North Korean authorities among the Polish leadership and automatically to

[1] The Polish People's Republic (*Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa*) was the official name of Poland between 1952 and 1989. The country was renamed the Republic of Poland (*Rzeczpospolita Polska*) in 1989.

negative views concerning the North Korean population among Poles. This point is especially related to the post-communist period in Poland, where the inflow of information about North Korea merely increased.

This monograph supports the hypothesis and theoretical conclusion that the North Korean national interest was prioritised in the establishment of relations with Poland and that therefore there is asymmetry in the quality of relations between the two countries.

To fulfil this aim, the author of the present monograph divides the period of relations between Poland and North Korea into five parts. The first, covering the period from 1948 to 1950, is a short outline of bilateral relations until the outbreak of the Korean War. The second tackles the relations between Poland and North Korea during the Korean War from 1950 to 1953 and the post--Korean War period till 1959 when Poland provided multilateral support for the post-war recovery of North Korea. This monograph mainly deals with the period 1960–1980, emphasizing the rupture of relations between both countries due to an ideological disagreement. The fourth part is related to the transition period between 1980 and 1989 due to the collapse of communism all around the world. The fifth and last part covers the period from 1989 to 2018.

Several Polish authors have devoted their time to analysing the relations between these two countries. Here, I would like to mention Marceli Burdelski, Marek Hańderek, and Sylwia Szyc. Nevertheless, if I am correct, I must underline that none of them was using research materials in the original Korean, which imparts a biased view of the relations between both countries.

Nevertheless, one book cannot be omitted here. The publication entitled *Spotkania Polsko-Koreańskie*, which can be translated as *Polish-Korean Meetings*, published in 2008, is a first attempt at collecting memories regarding the relations between these two countries.[2] This publication, prepared in cooperation with North Korean authorities, gathered 15 authors who provide their views regarding North Korea.[3] All of them were involved to a small or large extent in relations between Poland and North Korea. For instance, Elżbieta Jakubiak, who worked for three years (1954–1957) with North Korean orphans at the State

2 Marszałek-Kawa 2008: 10–140.

3 The table of contents of this book was written using the North Korean dialect of the Korean language. For instance, Poland is written as 뽈스까, which means 'Poland' according to North Korean standards instead of 폴란드 like in South Korean documents. Furthermore the title of the book can be discussed, as it seems to indicate that the book includes discussion of relations with South Korea, which it clearly does not after reading the whole monograph. Marszałek-Kawa 2008: 5–6. Adam Marszałek, the owner of this publishing house is regularly seen at the North Korean embassy in Warsaw but also invites its diplomats to conferences organised in Toruń, where the publishing house is headquartered. Marszałek contributed highly to the propagation of Asian studies in Poland.

Education Centre in Płakowice.[4] I would also like to underline the participation of Juliusz Kanty and Czesław Denga, who authored two articles in this book.[5] Both participated in the Polish mission that supervised the Armistice Treaty between the Koreas. Another good example of valuable testimony was prepared by Jerzy Górzański, who visited North Korea as a member of a delegation of the Polish Writers' Union, in 1969.[6] This monograph brings excellent information about the state of relations between the two countries, unfortunately, due to the close control of the North Korean authorities toward the preparation of the book, its objectivity can be debated.

This present monograph aims also at filling this crucial gap, thus providing North Korean documents focused on relations with Poland based also on North and South Korean documents.

For this sole reason, the author collected from among all the resources exclusively focused on relations between Poland and North Korea, including in Polish, 12 research books, 33 research articles, 12 documents uploaded from the Polish Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 84 newspaper articles, 16 agreements and protocols signed between Poland and North Korea, and a hundred North Korean printed propaganda books and newsletters translated in Polish. Regarding documents in Korean, the author analysed one book, the only one according to the author, in North Korean related to Poland, eight documents published in North Korean, one document prepared by a North Korean citizen and published in Polish, and four North Korean documents published in English. This list excluded not only Polish translations of North Korean propaganda documents but also all books, research articles, and other documents mentioning some aspects of the relations between Poland and North Korea, which would include more than 200 positions, explicitly mentioned in the bibliography, available at the end of this monograph.

I would like also to underline that the results obtained in the course of my research are probably incomplete, due to the selectivity of issues I covered, and therefore, we do obtain only an incomplete picture. Therefore, it cannot be considered an exhaustive guide to Polish-North Korean relations.

4 Marszałek-Kawa 2008: 33–42.
5 Marszałek-Kawa 2008: 147–154.
6 Marszałek-Kawa 2008: 129–132.

# Methodology and theoretical backgrounds

This book uses a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods and source criticism to analyse the mentioned topic. This is done to develop important observations and draw conclusions. Qualitative data come from various sources such as the literature related to North Korea and available in Polish, but also the North Korean literature related to Poland. The author also used the archives of various foreign ministries such as these of Poland and France. Quantitative data are based mainly on statistical data provided by the Polish Ministry of Economy collected from the North Korea side, as this country has not published statistics since 1965. North Korean documents dedicated to its relations with Poland are scarce, but are mentioned in this paper. Therefore, oral descriptions of individuals engaged in the described events are highly valuable.

As the relations between Poland and North Korea are related to international relations, the author used it as the theoretical background. In international relations, the existing literature seeks to explain how to interpret the behaviour of nations and states in the case of alliances or wars. Within recent decades, new approaches dedicated to the theory of international relations appeared. One of them is the rational theory of international relations. Rational choice theory is rooted in the assumption of instrumental rationality. Rationalism is a behaviour that can be optimally adapted to the situation considering the availability of the information. A rational actor is one who, when confronted with 'two alternatives which give rise to outcomes, will choose the one which yields the more preferred outcome'.[7] Kahneman and Tversky, two Israeli-American researchers, developed prospect theory to gather these patterns into a theory of choice. Two phases are distinguished.

The first one is the reference point, the options available, and potential outcomes. In the present case, the editing phase will be the post-Korean War period when North Korea used as many opportunities provided by the Polish People's Republic as it could. It is also important to underline that the outcomes

7 Raiffa, Luce 1989: 50.

depend on preferences, which are determined by each entity or states. The American political scientist Kenneth Waltz focuses on three sorts of factors related to security strategies: motivation of a state, its capabilities and the information it collects, and the capacities and intentions of others. Rationalist theory deduces the circumstances under which states will seek to cooperate or compete. It is a strategic choice theory for a state (in the present case North Korea) facing an international environment that presents constraints and opportunities.[8] The problem of asymmetric information was also explored by George Akerlof, who argued that, in the case of uncertainty, actors attach probability estimates to the occurrence of events and then attempt to maximise their utility based on these probabilities.[9] During the considered historical period, in the case of relations between the two countries, the behaviour of Polish authorities was to a large extent guided by the USSR authorities, thus the North Korean authorities may have considered that Poland would keep a particular commitment to North Korean issues considering the Soviet authority's commitment to North Korea.

The second phase is the evaluation, which is described within a utility model (applied in microeconomics) that can be associated with the behaviour of North Korea. It assumes that the state will make rational decisions to maximise its gains within its relations with Poland. The potential gain for North Korea will be an inflow of goods and know-how through different channels. In other words, institutional actors will use the expected utility as the basis for their economic and political decisions.

This monograph applies this theoretical framework to the case of Polish-North Korean relations. The article's research focus is to examine and chronicle the relations between Poland and North Korea to show what relations between these ideologically and culturally distant countries looked like, whether the countries belonging to the socialist community could really rely on each other, and why such relations – good in the beginning – changed.

As far as the rationalist explanations used in this book, a hierarchy of preferences shall be established. During the studied period, the primary goal of the North Korean leadership was its welfare. The regime tried to obtain as much monetary support, as well as food and equipment, as it could. During the period 1948–1980, North Korea was not directly threatened by foreign states. As of now, with growing American interest in North Korean issues, the priority of the North Korean state organisations is their survival instead of welfare issues. As relations between countries are not static, we can also assume that the preferences of the North Korean authorities consist of a mix of survival and welfare issues.

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8 Glaser 2010: 10.

9 See Akerlof 1970.

## Romanisation and linguistical issues

One of the key linguistical issues to be discussed is the romanisation of Korean words. Somewhat confusingly to a certain extent, there exist several different systems for the romanisation of Korean words. A variant of the older McCune-Reischauer system is still used in North Korea, while in South Korea, the Revised Romanisation system has been in official use since 2000. Interestingly, most North Korean proper nouns retain the old McCune--Reischauer system in both Koreas (for example, the romanisation of the common last name remains 'Kim' rather than the South's Revised Romanised Korean name 'Gim'; 'Pyongyang' has also still not shifted to the revised 'Pyeongyang'). Given the predominance of this convention, the author of the present monograph has mostly retained the North's version of the McCune-Reischauer romanisation system throughout this monograph. Therefore, except in the bibliography, names are not hyphenated.

The Polish language romanised Korean words through various mistakes. Until 2006, the Polish name of the city was 'Phenian', a derivation of the Russian exonym '*Пхеньян*' ('Phenian', pronounced as [fenian]). Names derived from this Russian form were adopted both in Poland and in other countries of the former Eastern Bloc. This exonym did not correspond to the original name or its pronunciation, and it was also often erroneously pronounced. In recent years, many countries of Eastern Europe have withdrawn from using the name derived from the Russian name into forms referring to the Korean pronunciation, for example, Czech and Slovak use 'Pchjongjang', Serbian considers 'Пјонгјанг', Croatian and Bosnian utilise 'Pyongyang', and Estonian, 'Phjongjang'.

Regarding Poland, on November 21, 2006, the Commission for the Standardisation of Geographical Names Outside the Republic of Poland, statutorily responsible for determining the correct Polish names of geographic objects located outside the country, decided to accept the name 'Pjongjang', proposed by Polish orientalists and referring to the pronunciation of Korean names as Polish exonyms.

The word 'Poland' in Korean can be written using different orthographs. Initially, Poland was called 파란 (*Paran*) in both Koreas. 'Paran' comes initially

from the Chinese language. After the Korean War, North Korean linguists called this country 뽈스까 (*(Ppolseukka)* which is the closest to the Polish original word *Polska*. Meanwhile 폴란드 (*Polandeu*) is the South Korean version. As of 2020, North Korean official institutions continue to use the word 뽈스까, when referring to Poland.

# Chapter 1
# 1948–1950 in North Korea-Poland relations

On September 9, 1948, the Polish People's Republic (PRL) became the second country in the socialist bloc, after the USSR, and the third country (after China [PRC]) to establish a dialogue with North Korea, shortly after it gained independence and elections.[10]

The USSR was the first country to recognise North Korea, doing so on September 12, 1948. Pak Han Jen, the North Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs, informed Zygmunt Modzelewski, the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, about the creation of North Korea and proposed the establishment of diplomatic and economic relations between the two countries on October 8, 1948. On October 15, 1948, Stefan Wierbłowski, the General Secretary of the Polish MFA, replied that Poland acknowledged the fighting spirit of Koreans with Japanese Imperialism.[11] On October 16, 1948, the Polish government officially recognised North Korea. Poland was followed in October-November 1948 by Mongolia, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, China, Albania, and East Germany in 1950.[12] There is also the probability that Poland wanted to recognise North Korea earlier; however, due to ideological reasons, the first countries that were to recognise North Korea were the USSR and the PRC.

North Korea was then the country that represented the Korean Peninsula in the communist world for the next 41 years. For historical reasons, during the Cold War, Poland maintained limited but good relations with North Korea. On June 7, 1950, both governments decided upon the respective appointment of ambassadors.

Starting on July 9, 1950, Stanisław Dodin became the first Polish representative (*chargé d'affaires ad interim*) to North Korea but was based in Beijing. Before he left Poland, he had some cultural training with Chinese and Korean people based in Poland. Later, he was replaced by Juliusz Burgin, who was appointed solely as the first Polish ambassador to North Korea on December 24, 1950, more than one

10 Buczek 2012: 59.
11 Levi 2012: 69.
12 Levi 2009: 345.

year after the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries and, therefore, increasing the rank of diplomatic relations. Furthermore, like Dodin, Burgin was based in Beijing, as the Polish authorities did not want and, due to other financial priorities, could not invest in an embassy in Pyongyang, which was still not considered a crucial partner.[13] On the North Korean side, Choe Il, a former employee of the North Korean embassy to China, was nominated by Pyongyang as the first North Korean ambassador to Poland. He arrived in Warsaw on May 3, 1951, with six other diplomats and accompanied by three children.[14]

Comparatively, Poland established diplomatic relations with Mongolia in April 1950, followed by the appointment of ambassadors in 1953; an embassy in North Vietnam was opened four years after diplomatic relations were established with that country in 1950.[15]

Until September 14, 1954, Polish interests in North Korea were represented by the Polish embassy in China. The large involvement of Poland in the Far East, including in the post-Korean War period resulted in creating a special department dedicated to Asian Affairs in the Polish MFA in 1954, which dealt with this part of the world.[16] Later in August of the same year, Jerzy Siedlecki was appointed the first Polish ambassador based in North Korea. Afterwards, due to difficulties in recruitment of people from Poland, the wives of diplomats were employed as secretaries and, to a certain extent, this tradition has been maintained until the present day. Many Koreans were also employed at the Polish embassy, especially in the military section.[17] The Polish embassy in Pyongyang consisted of several small wood houses.[18]

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13 Juliusz Burgin provided his letter of accreditation in Nampho, the city where was based the current North Korean MFA.

14 Since then, the embassy of North Korea edited newsletters or conveyed newsletters with limited circulation edited by the MFA in Pyongyang, aimed at presenting a vision of North Korea regarding its role in international affairs. Levi 2012: 69.

15 Kowalski 1988: 547.

16 Labudy, Michowicz 2002: 602.

17 Kowalski 1988: 551. The military section of the Polish embassy in North Korea was not attached to the Polish MFA, but to the Polish Ministry of National Defence. The official name of the military attaché was *attaché wojskowy, morski i lotniczy*, which may be translated as 'military, naval and air attaché'. Paduchowski 2018: 159–160.

18 Dubrowski 1961: 24.

# Chapter 2
# The Korean War period and its aftermath (1950–1959)

## 2.1.
## THE POSITION OF POLAND DURING THE KOREAN WAR

The Korean War was a conflict that involved not only both Koreas but also many nations, which participated in various operations. Polish media also described this bloody conflict but following views prescribed by Moscow. For a country closed to North Korea, Polish literature on the Korean War is abundant.[19] The role of Poland in this conflict has been analysed many times by historians and political theorists.[20] However, these publications were skewed in favour of the PRL's historiography, claiming that the Korean War was provoked by South Korea and 'American Imperialists'.[21]

The struggles of North Korea started to surface in 1950 when the Korean War broke out.[22] Interestingly, at the same time, a Polish delegation of journalists from *Trybuna Ludu*, the official media outlet of the Polish United Workers' Party, was in North Korea.[23] Initially, such as in July 1950, there was a large list of articles in the Polish press that were written with the framing in mind of how the US had prepared the aggression toward the peoples of Asia.[24] However, from September 14, 1950, Polish reports recognised the futility of North Korea's defence, and on September 23, 1950, the official reports read that the 'imperialists' had overwhelming superiority over the communist troops.[25] The Polish rhetoric

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19 See Koreańska Armia Wyzwoleńcza sforsowała pozycje na rzece Naktong 1950.
20 See Burdelski 2015.
21 Góralski 1979: 30; Kojlo, Dikij 1975: 55; Kunstler 1986: 139; Kim 1996.
22 Wróbel 2003: 8.
23 위대한 수령 김일성동지께서 조국해방전쟁시기 세계 여러 나라 인민들과의 국제적련대성을 강화하도록 현명하게 이끄신 불멸의 업적 2018.
24 Neścioruk 2014: 126.
25 Wojna w Korei 1950: 1.

changed over the months, claiming that North Korea must be protected from the imperialist invasion. Movies such as *Korea Oskarża* (*Korea accuses*) from 1951 were filmed thanks to Bronisław Wiernik, the first Polish journalist to visit the Far East. The Polish writer Andrzej Braun also considered that Polish young people wanted to participate in the Korean War. [26]

Media and regular people defended the North Korean cause. In both Poland and other socialist states, mass meetings were held in solidarity with the North, with slogans such as 'Hands off Korea' (*Ręce przecz od Korei!*). Documents emanating from the Polish communist party started to show the stronger involvement of Polish diplomacy in the Korean case. Unemployed Poles were even threatened with being sent to the Korean front.[27]

Economic and financial aid for North Korea was initiated by Poland and other socialist states beginning in 1951. In March 1951, the first convoy of food and clothing was sent to North Korea. Between May 6 and 24, 1951, a delegation of the Polish Committee of the Defenders of Peace (*Polski Komitet Obrońców Pokoju*), led by Marian Czerwiński, transmitted additional Polish humanitarian aid, such as machinery, resources, and other products. On June 2, 1951, Poland signed a treaty with North Korea on the import of products as a form of credit. The Presidium of the Polish communist party decided, however, to revise a large part of the treaty due to the Korean War. Poland provided 91 laden wagons to North Korea in 1951.[28] On the first ship, the *Przyjaźn Narodów (Friendship of Nations)*, there were 500 thousand sq. m. of fabrics, and 2,100 tonnes of steel. In 1952, 71% of the Polish support was financed by social funds and 29% by state funds. The total equalled approximately PLZ 10 million. In March and April 1952, Poland sent vaccines and medicine to North Korea worth PLZ 4 million.[29] Despite the war, a North Korean economic delegation visited Poland, headed by Tian Si U, the North Korean Minister of Trade, who visited Poland in May–June 1952. His visit led to the signing of a trade agreement for the sending of food and materials to North Korea on a credit basis, at zero percent interest, on June 2, 1952. He left Poland on June 4, 1952.[30]

From early spring 1952, some countries and North Korea were exchanging views on organising control commissions in case the war ended.[31] By autumn 1952, during the 7th UN assembly, the Polish delegation presented a resolution project entitled *On avoiding the threat of new world war and consolidating peace and friendly cooperation between nations*. The project encompassed the directions

26 Braun 1956: 7.
27 Drabik 2018: 147.
28 Levi 2012: 70.
29 Levi 2012: 70.
30 Kronika Dyplomatyczna 1952: 2.
31 Svamberk 2013: 4.

of peace in Korea, division of the peninsula, and determining the armistice agreement. When the American general William Harrison and North Korean General Nam Il signed a ceasefire agreement putting an end to the three-year war on the Korean peninsula at the demarcation line in Panmunjom on June 27, 1953, it was clear that the conflict could not be resolved by military means only and that the formation of organs ensuring the respect of the armistice was necessary. Therefore, two institutions were created to support the ceasefire: The Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission (NNSC) and the temporary Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission (NNRC).

The NNSC was appointed to make sure no military actions would be undertaken in Korea, to investigate possible violations of the armistice and ensure their implementation. The inauguration of the NNSC took place in Panmunjom on August 1, 1953. According to the arrangement signed in the first weeks of 1952, Poland and Czechoslovakia (the two countries were selected by the leaders of the Chinese People's Volunteer Army, or CPVA, and of the South Korean People's Army, or KPA[32]) were supposed to station in the North and Sweden and Switzerland (chosen by the US) in the South.[33] The headquarters of this organisation is Panmunjom. The main function of the NNSC was to control, observe, and inspect military installations in the demilitarised zone (DMZ).

Four countries were also chosen by India to be members of the NNRC: Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden, and Switzerland. Poland was officially nominated as a member of the NNRC on June 8, 1953. On June 11, 1953, Poland sent its representatives to Panmunjom. In the spring of 1952, Poland and Czechoslovakia prepared special actions that were supposed to be deployed in North Korea. The NNRC mission was to control the issue of prisoners of war. The first head of the Polish delegation was Stanisław Gajewski, who headed a delegation composed of 32 Poles.

Due to the first planned meeting of the NNSC on August 1, 1953, in June 1953, a Reconnaissance Group of 30 Polish military officials (under the governance of Brigadier General Mieczysław Wągrowski and the deputy head, Jan Śliwiński) accompanied a delegation to the Korean Peninsula.[34] Based on Order № 0077/ORG, signed on 10 December 1953, of the Polish Ministry of Defence, a mission called *Military Unit 2000* was created and dedicated initially to North Korea. This unit participated also later in peace missions to Cambodia, Nigeria, Vietnam, and the Middle-East. The first team sent to the Korean Peninsula was checked by the Polish Secret Police (*Urząd Bezpieczeństwa,* commonly known as UB).[35]

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32 Potocka, Gawlikowski 2001: 125.
33 Svamberk 2013: 2.
34 Potocka, Gawlikowski 2001: 125.
35 Wąs 2015.

This first mission was composed of 330 officers and soldiers who were supposed to leave Poland for Korea, but only 301 arrived and started to fulfil their obligations on August 1, 1954.[36] In comparison, the Czechoslovak Reconnaissance Group had departed for North Korea already in July 1953.[37] The first Polish team consisted of soldiers of the Polish Army, translators, and employees of the MFA and Ministry of Internal Affairs. After a few months of training (foreign languages, legal and political aspects of North Korea),[38] the first team of 301 people was sent, including women, who usually served as nurses and typists.[39] Due to the economic crisis and lack of infrastructure as a result of the Korean War, the Polish mission brought over all requested goods and supplies, such as electronic devices, clothes, and basic items like pens, paper, beds and also Polish-made cars called *Warszawa.* Another difficulty for Poles was the presence of exotic diseases and the lack of health infrastructure in case of difficulties. Many soldiers suffered from infections such as diarrhoea and dysentery.

Later, personnel changes took place regularly, every 9–11 months, and concerned less than a hundred people.[40] In 50 years of the Polish mission to North Korea, more than 1,100 officers and MFA workers rotated through. In this time, they took various actions to secure the implementation of the armistice agreement signed in Panmunjom, such as inspecting the CPVA, who were present in North Korea until October 1958, through mobile teams travelling all over North Korea. Poles also investigated violations of the armistice agreement. On a monthly basis, there were some general lunches held by each country.[41]

It is difficult to consider the NNSC as being neutral, considering the interference of the North Korean MFA, which tried to monitor the Polish and Czechoslovak officers. Poles were also spied on, especially by their North Korean drivers, who were forced to indicate to their superiors who and where they were driving, what Poles bought, who they talked to, etc. Poles were conscious that they were under continuous monitoring by North Korean authorities.[42]

With time, the team's range of activities changed and limited the number of soldiers in the Polish contingent. This was also due to public protests in both Korea against Poles, which started at the end of 1953 when North and South Korean authorities jointly criticised the role of Poland and Czechoslovakia concerning their management of the NNRS and their presence on the southern

36 Benken 2014: 440; Jendraszczak 2001: 131.
37 Svamberk 2013: 7.
38 Reinberger 2005: 3.
39 Birchmeier, Burdelski, Jendraszczak 2012: 28.
40 Burdelski 2001: 131.
41 Interview by the author with Kazimierz Wróblewski, a major in the Polish army, who worked at the NNSC between 1993 and 1994. The interview was held on the 19 March 2010.
42 Benken 2014: 448–449.

side of the DMZ. Moreover, the complicated situation may have also been due to incidents involving the killing of some Polish soldiers on November 7, 1955. Meanwhile three Polish officials, Zygielski, Rudnik, and Zielinski, were killed in North Korea.[43] The following incident also deteriorated relations between North Korea and Poland. In the early 1960s, a former Polish driver was regularly providing information to US soldiers, but any contact with the southern side was forbidden. Caught by the Czechoslovaks, he was quickly removed and sent back to Poland.[44]

The highest period of work was related to 1953–1956 when around 125,000 issues were discussed by the NNSC.[45] Nevertheless, due to the difficult living conditions and constant monitoring by the North Korean authorities, the size of the Polish mission was regularly reduced over the years. The first decrease in the number of Polish soldiers took place with the dissolution of the NNRC in February 1954. Consequently, by 1969, the Polish mission consisted of only 10 people but was still led by a brigadier general.[46]

## 2.2.
## POLISH SUPPORT AFTER THE KOREAN WAR

When the parties announced the ceasefire, the Polish government voted on July 28, 1953, for a resolution that guaranteed economic aid to North Korea and in 1955 signed a treaty enacting non-refundable relief aimed at rebuilding the country. Cotton fabrics, linen, tarpaulins, sugar, meat, bearings, machinery, and mechanical parts amounting to PLZ 350 million in total were sent. To thank Poland for its support, some Koreans wanted to name a main street in Pyongyang 'Bierut', after the first leader of communist Poland.[47]

This economic support was discussed during the visit of the North Korean Minister of Trade Cheon Si U, who was in Poland between May 17 and June 3, 1952. The following year, Minister of Trade Ri Ju Cheon came to Poland, between November 10 and 13, 1953. Meanwhile, Poland continued to support North Korea by sending automotive spare parts and cars to North Korea.[48]

The political and organisation cooperation was not only based on diplomatic visits, such as the visit between June 21 and 22, 1955, of Deputy Prime Minister

43 Wąs 2015.
44 Wąs 2015.
45 Jendraszczak 2001: 129.
46 Kowalski 1988: 551.
47 Brandys 1954: 9.
48 Levi 2012: 71.

Pak I Wan, who participated in the celebration of Foundation Day in Poland, but also because North Korean institutions were organised according to structures in Central Europe.

Despite the lack of funds due to the disastrous economic consequences of World War 2, there was also a global initiative among European communist countries to send medical teams to support the North Korean authorities in the development of the country's medical sectors[49]. Poles worked in different cities, such as Huichon, and its suburb Hungnam in a building that was part of the city's former fertiliser plants. [50] One month later, they moved to the city of Hamhung, where, considering the needs of the population, they set up an orthopaedic hospital that is still in operation today and is considered the best institution of its kind in North Korea.[51]

When the Polish hospital was inaugurated in May 1953, it consisted of eight barracks serving as a trauma centre, replacing the North Korean Military Hospital. The hospital was officially inaugurated in a document entitled 'Agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of Poland and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the establishment of the Polish Red Cross hospital in North Korea' signed on May 8, 1953.[52] The North Korean name was 파란 병원 (Paran Pyeongwon), Polish Hospital. This hospital was considered the best gift from Poland to the Korean nation.[53] The local Polish team was composed of engineers, technicians, and specialists in hospital construction but also of young people with limited experience. Poles were assisted by younger Korean specialists.[54] Polish doctors were rewarded with a salary in Chinese Yuan and North Korean Won.[55] According to the previously mentioned agreement, Polish authorities were supposed to fund the salaries and living expenses of a maximum of 55 doctors. Doctors also gave lectures to future North Korean medical employees. The lectures were prepared in Polish and then translated into Russian, due to the lack of Polish translators, then translated into Korean.[56] Tens of thousands of North Korean citizens were treated by Polish doctors. In August 1952, there were some rumours of biological weapons left by the Americans. Already in the 1950s, several articles in the Polish press were dedicated to the mission

49 Frenkel-Czarniecka 2014: 108.

50 Hungnam became a ward of Hamhung in 2005.

51 The head of the second team of Polish medical doctors servicing the hospital told the PNA: 'During my 8-month stay, having 150 at disposition and 12 specialist clinics, doctors made 700 surgeries, provided ambulatory aid to more than 110,000 people. RTG lab made 12,000 X-rays and about 3,500 pictures. There were about 400 prescriptions per day.'

52 Levi 2012: 74.

53 Braun 1956: 7.

54 Braun 1956: 55.

55 Frenkel-Czarniecka 2014: 112.

56 Knypl 2014b: 23–28; Knypl 2014a: 25–28.

fulfilled by Polish doctors based on the Korean Peninsula.[57] The humanitarian organisation Caritas Polska continues to fund the hospital in Hamhung but the medical 'tools' from the 1960s are still used to treat current patients.[58] Similar hospitals were erected by other communist countries from Eastern Europe and were named based on the donor; therefore, there are hospitals built by Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and the Soviets in North Korea.[59] Polish specialists sent to North Korea obtained prestigious positions when they came back to Poland. For instance, Professor Władysław Barcikowski became a deputy minister of health in Poland. Professor Jan Oszacki became the president of the Jagiellonian University of Krakow.[60]

The last team of Polish specialists, which consisted of 20 people, left North Korea in 1986. They returned to Poland on the same flight with General Wojciech Jaruzelski, who visited North Korea in September 1986.

Except for doctors, Poland also sent numerous teams of specialists including miners and urban engineers, who over time trained North Korean citizens, also in Poland.[61] Polish experts also helped rebuild locomotive and carriage factories in Pyongyang and other cities of North Korea. For instance, Poles participated in modernising three coal mines, including one in Anju,[62] the largest coal-producing area in North Korea. Poles also contributed to the development of coal mines in Sinchon by conducting geological analysis and assessing coal reserves.[63]

Polish urbanists also came up with the plan of rebuilding Chongjin and created projects for two residential compounds in this city. Polish technicians, including Piotr Zaremba, the first mayor of Szczecin after World War 2, who arrived in Wonsan, helped to revive destroyed railway companies. In Wonsan, the following companies and Polish cities were involved in this project: a rolling-stock company from Poland, machinery tools produced by Rafmet, lathes from the city of Pruszków, and compressors from the company *Chrzanowska Fabryka*

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57 Cegielski 1956: 193–195; Daniłoś, Horzela, Oszacki 1956: 195–197; Józef Daniłoś was the deputy director on political education issues at the Polish Hospital in Hungnam between 1953 and 1954. Tadeusz Horzela was the deputy director on medical and education issues for the same period. Kuczyńska-Sicińska 1958: 528–530. Jadwiga Kuczyńska-Sicińska worked as a doctor at the PCK between 1954 and 1955.

58 Janina Ochojska, the leader of Polish Humanitarian Aid, claims that Caritas Polska would continue financial support of the hospital in Hamhung. *Fundacja Polska Akcja Humanitarna–Raport za rok 2005* 2005: 23.

59 Rolicka 1994: 102.

60 Rolicka 1994: 102.

61 Braun 1956: 283.

62 The Polish geologist Adam Dudek mentions the Anju coal mine in his book *Poszukiwacze* 1987: 127.

63 The original writing used by the author for Anju is Aodzi. Ogarek-Czoj 1965: 91.

*Lokomotyw* (Locomotives Factory of Chrzanów). The first group of specialists in transportation arrived in *Pyongyang* on December 7, 1953. In addition, the first silicate plants in Korea were established under a contract signed between the Foreign Trade panels: Korean Daesong and Polish Polimex-Cekop.[64] Concrete came from ZREMB Makrum in Bydgoszcz. The Polish urbanist Stefan Słoński was a co-author of the Urbanisation Plan of the city of Wonsan. The key realisation of this project was the adaptation of the Korean ondol floor-heat system to residential buildings.[65] Poles underlined in their reports the lack of raw materials provided by the North Korean side.[66] The North Korean authorities, in turn, complained about an accident caused by drunk Polish workers in 1955.[67]

Furthermore, the *Warszawa*, which was the first newly designed Polish car built after the Second World War, was quite often seen in the streets of Pyongyang.[68]

Józef Cyrankiewicz, then prime minister of Poland, visited North Korea in April 1957. He observed the site constructed by Poles, such as the rolling stock repair plants in Pyongyang and Wonsan. No Poles were working there except the management board of both plants. Adam Bielunas led the plant in Pyongyang and Paweł Brzozecki the factory in Wonsan.[69]

Regarding economic issues, supplies provided between 1954 and 1959 were used to implement the Korean '5-year planification plan'. The aid usually consisted of free deliveries of materials, resources, machinery, and appliances provided by selected allies of the USSR, mainly European countries and Mongolia. Initially, each of these countries was theoretically supposed to be specialised and focused on a specific sector, nevertheless, the Korean economic needs were so significant that these countries were involved in various branches of the Korean economy. For instance, Czechoslovakia provided electronic machines, measuring devices, chemicals, paper and medicine, a car factory in Tokchon, machinery for cement mixing plants, and a few hydrological power plants in Huichon and Unsan. Hungary delivered machine tools, machinery, electrical appliances, pipes, metal wires, and oil products. Hungarians also built a factory producing chemicals, paper and medicine. East Germany built rolling mills and an engine factory.[70] Wires, cement, glass, and medicine came from Bulgaria. Mongolia is the only country that specialised in one specific area of the humanitarian aid brought to North Korea. The Mongolian authorities provided 10,000 horses, sheepskin,

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64 Konecka 1989: 40.

65 Ogarek-Czoj 1965: 92.

66 Levi 2012: 80.

67 Levi 2012: 198.

68 Dubrowski 1961: 10.

69 In both cities, Poles had their own dormitories and cinema rooms. *Wiec w kolonii polskiej w Phenianie* 1957: 1.

70 Szalontai 2005: 46.

and meat. This specialisation was because this country likewise needed foreign support at all levels and in every sector of its economy.

Poland became the fourth humanitarian supplier to North Korea in the period following the Korean War. The Polish support was based on a treaty signed on January 14, 1955, entitled *Umowa o udzieleniu pomocy KRL-D* ('Agreement of support for the DPRK'). In this document, it was stipulated that North Korea was supposed to receive financial support worth PLZ 365 million in the period 1955–1959.[71] On April 30, an agreement on postal services and communication was signed by the countries.[72] On December 16, 1955, an agreement entitled *Protokół o płatnościach niehandlowych między Rządem Polskiej Rzeczpospolitej Handlowej a Rządem Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo-Demokratycznej* ('Protocol on non-commercial payments between the Government of the Polish Trade Republic and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea'), which regulated expenses by both diplomatic missions and delegations. Globally speaking, North Korea is a country that received the biggest financial support from other socialist countries during the period of the communist alliance (1945–1991).[73]

Table 1. Financial support to North Korea (1954–1956)
Currency and unit: SUR mln

| Providers | Financial support | As a percentage of the total aid |
|---|---|---|
| USSR | 292.5 | 38% |
| PRC | 258.4 | 34% |
| East Germany | 122.7 | 15% |
| Poland | 81.5 | 10% |
| Romania | 5.6 | 1% |
| Hungary | 5.6 | 1% |
| Bulgaria | 4.5 | 1% |

Source: Levi 2009, [in] Żelichowski 2009: 351.

On March 28, 1956, an economic agreement was signed by both countries under the name *Umowa między Rządem Polskiej Rzeczpospolitej Ludowej i Rządem Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo-Demokratycznej o obrocie towarowym i płatnościach na rok 1956* ('Agreement between the Government of the Polish People's Republic

71 Levi 2012: 80.

72 See *Umowa między Rządem Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej a Rządem Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo-Demokratycznej w sprawie transportu poczty i komunikacji* 1955.

73 Harden 2016: 232.

and the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea on Trade in Goods and Payments for 1956'), indicating goods that are supposed to be traded between the two countries. Poland was supposed to export machinery and fabrics. North Korea was supposed to export raw materials such as magnesite. Based on statistical data, the two following facts are clear: in 1956, North Korea was the third economic partner of Poland after China and Turkey; and, in 1956, the trade with North Korea represented 0.8% of the global foreign trade of Poland. In 1948–1956, North Korea represented no more than 1% of the foreign trade of Poland and rather close to 0.3%. Until 1961, every year an economic agreement was signed, underlying which goods would be traded between the countries. To improve relations between the countries, in June 1961, an agreement for the mutual exchange of products was signed. A similar agreement was signed already in the 1950s with other socialist countries (with the PRC in 1950 and with Ceylon in 1955).

Table 2. Bilateral trade between Poland and North Korea (1948–1959)
Currency and unit: PLZ mln

| Year | Polish Export to North Korea | North Korean Export to Poland | Trade Balance |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1948 | – | – | – |
| 1949 | – | – | – |
| 1950 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1951 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1952 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1953 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1954 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1955 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1956 | 31 | 4.5 | 26.5 |
| 1957 | 52.5 | 10.6 | 41.9 |
| 1958 | 5.6 | 3.3 | 2.3 |
| 1959 | 7.1 | 9.8 | –2.7 |

Source: *Compiled data from Statistics Poland.*

## 2.3.
## EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL SUPPORT

Poland and other communist countries provided not only economic support but also some education support to North Korean youth. These young Korean citizens had nowhere to study after the Korean War. The main educational sites were destroyed. The Kim Il Sung University lacked lecturers. That's why those who were sent to Europe and other communist countries were supposed to participate in the intellectual reconstruction of North Korea and to the replacement of non--North Korean specialists based in North Korea. Therefore, Poland received an influx of young exchange students from the North, studying mainly at technical universities and agricultural colleges, but usually being affiliated at least to a certain extent to the WPK.[74]

Paulo Carvahlo mentions that in the early 1950s, there were already more than 500 North Korean students in Poland.[75] In 1952, of the 301 foreign students in Poland, only 20 were from North Korea. Patryk Laskot, a researcher at the Institute of National Remembrance, notes in his research papers that this increase is probably due to how Polish authorities began to count not only those who were students but also those enrolled in courses or internships in the country. In 1954, 89 North Korean citizens came to Poland for their internship, mostly in the production sector.[76] That is why many of the North Korean citizens who arrived in Poland in the 1950s were already in their 30s. For instance, on August 12, 1953, 123 North Korean citizens arrived to take a crash course in Polish at the University of Łódź. When they arrived in this city, they received some clothes offered by the Central Trading House and received suits adapted to their size. Later, they had a health check-up. Among them were 25 cases of malaria, nine cases of tuberculosis, two cases of otitis media, two of ringworms, two of heart disease, and one case of haemorrhagic tumours. So, in all, every third North Korean was seriously ill. Four citizens of the country were immediately sent to sanatoriums.[77]

North Korean students in Poland had not only health problems but also administrative difficulties. When 20 North Korean citizens arrived in Warsaw on January 4, 1952, they had to wait 20 days before a Polish teacher was committed to them.[78] Meanwhile, they were kept at their student dormitory, *Akademik*, located

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74 I Sok Ju 2016: 350.

75 Pleskot 2009: 15. Among the Korean community in Warsaw there was also a Soviet citizen, a woman, with Korean roots (Koryosaram) who had arrived and settled in Warsaw in 1951. See: Kochanowski 2009: 212.

76 Levi 2012: 70.

77 Pleskot 2009: 22.

78 Pleskot 2009: 15.

on Plac Narutowicza.[79] Some 119 other North Korean citizens settled into the Student Dormitory House close to Bystrzycka Street in Warsaw on August 19.[80] On August 20, 1955, they started their Polish course. After passing all the exams they attended Polish universities as regular students.[81] This large number of North Korean citizens in Poland can be found in an administrative document enumerating the number of foreigners with a permanent residency card in Poland as of October 1955: among the 649 people registered, 96 were from North Korea, the second-most-represented nationality in Warsaw after Spain (101 people). Of Soviet citizens, only 69 people were registered.[82]

The North Koreans usually sought technical majors[83] in cities such as Gdańsk (University of Gdańsk), Gliwice (Silesian University of Technology), Poznań (Adam Mickiewicz University), Warsaw (especially at the University of Technology in Warsaw, at the University of Warsaw, and the Warsaw University of Life Sciences). Many of them also studied at the University of Science and Technology in Kraków, which prepared them for future work in the mining industry. According to official Polish statistics, there are estimates that in 1955/1956, out of 575 foreign students, 367 came from North Korea.[84] Although many North Korean students knew Polish quite well by then, they lived separately while still maintaining contact with Polish students, but to a small extent.[85]

As an answer to the difficulties coped with by the North Korean students in Poland, in August 1953, scholar support was to be implemented with respect to North Korea. According to an official document entitled *Notatka informacyjna Zofii Zemankowej, zastępcy kierownika Wydziału Nauki KC PZPR, o pomocy naukowców dla Korei Północnej* ('Information Note by Zofia Zemankowa, Deputy Head of the Science Department of the PUWP Central Committee, on the Help of Scientists for North Korea')[86], Polish education centres were supposed to actively support the reconstruction of North Korea. The document indicated the voluntary status of Polish scientists who contacted the Polish Academy of Sciences to concretely support educational institutions in North Korea.

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79 The exact address is Akademicka 5.

80 Pleskot 2009: 20.

81 De Carvalho 1990: 23–25. Among the 301 foreign students in Poland in 1952, 20 were from North Korea. See: Pleskot 2009: 15.

82 North Korean orphans based in Świder, a city close to Warsaw, were probably included among these 96 North Korean citizens. Kochanowski 2009: 218.

83 Ri Chun Su (North Korean Cultural Attaché to Poland) in discussion with the author, April 2006.

84 Meanwhile, there were 53 students from China, 41 from Bulgaria. The figure related to students from the USSR is not mentioned, but may be considered to be fewer than 15. De Carvalho 1990: 23–25.

85 Based on the authors' personal correspondence with Janusz Kochanowski, a former Commissioner for Civil Rights Protection of the Republic of Poland, addressed on June 20, 2007.

86 Pleskot, Rutkowski 2009: 111–113.

From a cultural perspective, a first treaty entitled Agreement on Cultural Cooperation Between the Government of the Polish People's Republic and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on Cultural Cooperation Between Both Countries was signed on May 11, 1956, and came into force on January 31, 1957, and functioned until 1971, being automatically prolonged every five years.[87] According to it, both sides were annually supposed to send delegations to the other country to update it on its status. Protocols regarding education cooperation, religion, radio, film, and health were also mentioned in this global agreement. Learning Polish in North Korea was also supposed to be promoted. During the World Festival of Youth, which took place in Warsaw from July 31 to August 15, 1955, a North Korean delegation of 158 came, including 39 athletes, 98 dancers, and 21 journalists, which represented 3% of all delegations. In comparison, there were 706 Chinese and 310 Indian delegates.[88] A few months later, the orchestra of the Polish Army visited North Korea while at the Dramatic Theatre of Pyongyang, an exhibition devoted to Polish Author Adam Mickiewicz was held. In 1960, an exhibition of North Korean pictures entitled 'Chollima' and an exhibition of North Korean children's cartoons were presented in Poland.[89]

Starting in 1957, a Polish-North Korea committee focused on scientific and technical cooperation was to hold meetings every year.[90] The first meetings were held in December 1958. Between then and 1971, the committee held just 10 meetings, signed 122 resolutions favouring Korea and 60 favouring the Polish side, for instance, allowing Polish scientists to go to North Korea. On the same basis, North Korean engineers and technicians had internships in Poland, for example, in the mining industry, and scientists from Poland learned about breeding and plant cultivation. Botanists such as Leon Stuchlik went to Korea for scientific expeditions. Polish education centres proposed support through the transfer of electro-machinery. The Electrotechnical Institute, which undertook to help to rebuild Pyongyang University of Technology, provided the Pyongyang authorities with an impressive amount of technical documentation necessary for the construction of laboratories. The Polish Water Institute submitted a project to make hydrological field tests in North Korea, and the Vibration Research Department was to prepare acoustic documentation for one cinema in Pyongyang.

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87 See *Umowa o współpracy kulturalnej między Rządem Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej a Rządem Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo-Demokratycznej podpisana w Phenianie dnia 11 maja 1956 r.* 1956.

88 See *Raport Polityczny Ambasady Polskiej Rzeczpospolitej Ludowej w Koreańskiej Republice Ludowo-Demokratycznej za okres od 1 maja do 30 czerwca 1955 r.* 1955. A different source provides a figure of 184 North Korean citizens present at this festival. Krzywicki 2009: 35.

89 Kutte 1973: 261.

90 See *Porozumienie o współpracy naukowo-technicznej zawarte między Rządem Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej a Rządem Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo-Demokratycznej* 1957.

A commission of the Polish Academy of Sciences was supposed to be created to determine needs for North Korea.

Polish culture also emerged in Pyongyang, not only through exhibitions, like in 1957 when Polish art was shown in Pyongyang,[91] musical shows, with the visit of the State Folk Ensemble of Song and Dance 'Mazowsze' in January 1960,[92] but also on North Koreans' dinner plates. In memory of the officer Marian Reinberger, we learned that during weekends officials used to go to the Polish restaurant in Pyongyang called Warszawa (Warsaw).[93] Polish cooks worked there, serving typical dishes of Polish cuisine. It is worth mentioning that this Polish restaurant was only one of three foreign restaurants in Pyongyang. The first one was a restaurant with hot dishes prepared by a Japanese citizen with Korean roots, the second was a Hungarian restaurant, and the third was the Polish one. Warszawa was located on Changwang Street, about 100 meters from the Koryo Hotel. It closed in the 1970s. Interestingly, there was also a North Korean restaurant in Warsaw under the name Phenian (Pyongyang in Polish), at Senatorska 27, in the centre of Warsaw. Half of the working team was Polish and half came from North Korea. In the late 1970s, the name of this restaurant changed to Insam.[94]

## 2.4. NORTH KOREAN ORPHANS IN POLAND

The Korean War, which occurred between 1950 and 1953, limited exchange between both countries to marginal economic cooperation and mostly to Poland's support of North Korea related to reconstruction.

The USSR, the PRC, European communist countries, and Mongolia agreed on a global project focusing on taking care of Korean children who had lost their parents during the Korean War. Already during the war as a sign of solidarity with the North Korean authorities, the Polish authorities had proposed some social and financial initiatives to North Korean officials in which Poland would care for some North Korean orphans. This large initiative was not only conducted for humanitarian reasons but for propaganda purposes as well, used to mark

91 Kutte 1973: 261.

92 Dubrowski 1961: 7.

93 Reinberger 2005: 3. Some Polish dishes such as dumplings (pierogi) were also served at the Taedongang Diplomatic Club.

94 A North Korean restaurant was established in Krakow in the 1990s. This facility was co-managed by the sister of the former prosecutor of North Korea, Ri Kil Song, and some former North Korean students who had become responsible for hiring North Korean workers who were supposed to work in construction projects in Poland. Kittel 2006.

the orphans as one of the consequences of the U.S. intervention in the Korean conflict.

Therefore, Poland brought about 200 North Korean orphans and placed them in orphanages all around Poland, starting from November 1950.[95] After a journey of 14 days, the orphans found a home in Gołotczyzna, close to the city of Ciechanów. However due to a lack of educational institutions nearby Gołotczyzna, starting from November 23, 1951, all of the children were moved to various parts of the city of Otwock, such as Świder (an orphanage on Komunardów Street) and Sopliców.[96] In particular, the construction of the building in Świder was partially funded by the North Korean embassy in Warsaw.[97] Pak Jon Suk is the name of the first North Korean orphan registered at this orphanage.[98] Before their departure in 1959, the orphans planted pines and birch trees; their journey is also commemorated with a stela.[99]

The orphanage of Świder was visited by Kim Il Sung in July 1956. In the assembly hall of this former orphanage, there was a commemorative tablet that read: 'We were living happily in this house between 1951 and 1959. We will remember forever the motherly support of the nation of Poland'.

Other orphans lived in Otwock, at Bernardyńska Street 13 and Zaciszna Street 54 (regarding the latter, it was a famous building in the city called *Willa Anulka*, which was destroyed in the mid-1990s). Children went to primary school Nos. 1, 2, and 5 in Otwock but the majority were educated at a primary school located on Wojskiego Street. This school was around two kilometres from the orphanage at Bernardyńska Street. The building at Bernardyńska Street was destroyed in 2016, and as of 2017, there was a retirement centre there that kept a stela commemorating the presence of North Korean orphans in Sopliców, a part of Otwock.

On January 1, 1955, some 1,270 new Korean orphans were placed in Płakowice, near Lwówek Śląski. When North Korean orphans arrived there, they were in touch with other orphans from Greece, Poland, and the USSR. This large institution constituted a school, some dormitories and boarding homes, and two pitches. Korean children were educated by Polish teachers and teachers from North Korea, including Korean people responsible for their security. These young orphans were taught various classical subjects such as mathematics and biology but also learnt the Polish language. After a few months, many of them were able to speak

95 Some young North Koreans arrived on November 23, 1950. Cze Czan Ir 1957: 4.

96 Kałuszko 2004. In the 1970s, Otwock was a partner city to Sunchon and a Polish-Korean friendship rural cooperative was located there. Konecka 1989: 49.

97 This building was quickly called the Korean House (*Dom Koreański*).

98 Kałuszko 2004.

99 The orphanage in Świder has served since 2012 as the Architecture and Construction Department of the administration of Otwock.

proficiently in Polish. Some other orphans were placed in Zgorzelec, close to the German border.[100] Older kids started higher education in technical schools in Warsaw; many of them also went to schools with dormitories, such as City and Suburbs Construction High School of Wrocław (Wrocławskie Technikum Budowy Miast i Osiedli), at Górnicza Szkoła Zawodów[101] or Poznań University. Therefore, until 1959, a relatively large North Korean population, mainly composed of 30-year-olds, lived in Poland. The first year of study was focused on learning the Polish language in cities such as Gdańsk, Gliwice, Poznań, Kraków, Łódź, or Warsaw. After that, they were able to complete a degree in Poland. The whole journey of these students was financially covered by the Polish authorities, including accommodation, food, return tickets to North Korea, and other things.

Some Polish historians consider that the issue of North Korean orphans was kept secret,[102] but that seems to be inaccurate, mostly because the inhabitants of the previously mentioned cities were in touch with these young Koreans, for example, going together to primary schools. Secondly, this issue was also mentioned in the contemporary Polish press.[103] For example, Kim Wan Un and Ri Jin Ben,[104] two students at Poznan University, visited the city of Mogilno for a few days starting on July 22, 1959.[105] Another example is the case of Li San-hy, who won nationwide shooting competitions of mining schools in 1955.[106] North Korean orphans in Central Europe were also regularly mentioned in the North Korean press.[107]

Despite an agreement signed between Poland and North Korea stipulating that all of these children would return to North Korea after that had finished either high school or other studies, their quiet life in Poland was interrupted by the visit on September 4–7, 1959, of Jon In Saen, the North Korean deputy minister of education. This North Korean official came to Poland to discuss the return of North Korean orphans to their home country, providing limited explanations to the Polish authorities. In total, 606 orphans suddenly left Poland and returned to North Korea between 1957 and 1958. Once back in North Korea, some of them continued to live in orphanages but were sent to ones with other orphans from abroad. The orphans grouped themselves based on the country

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100 Kubrak 2016: 388.

101 *Centrum Edukacji w Zabrzu – Kalendarium* 2017: 2.

102 Kubrak 2016: 388.

103 *Nasze dzieci – sieroty, ofiary pożogi wojennej-wychowują się w Waszym kraju, a naród otoczył je prawdziwą opieką rodzicielską. Spotkanie z delegacją KRL-D* 1956: 2.

104 Ri Jin Ben is the original version in written Polish by this student.

105 Kaczyński 2019.

106 *Centrum Edukacji w Zabrzu – Kalendarium*, http://www.ce.zabrze.pl/dokumenty/historia_ce.pdf (accessed: 20.08.2019), p. 3.

107 진형제의마음으로 1956: 1.

where they had been educated. This created factions, such as one composed of those coming from China, others from Romania, and a Polish one, etc.[108] The largest group was the Chinese one. Not all North Korean citizens who had been educated in Poland were forced to return to their native country. Students in their last year of study remained in Poland until 1959. By that year, 120 North Korean students had obtained a diploma from a Polish university.[109]

The previously mentioned Kim Wan Un and Ri Jin Ben were able to remain in Poland until the completion of their education in 1961 at the University of Adam Mickiewicz in Poznań. Kim Wan Un became a research worker at the Institute of History at the Academy of Social Sciences in Pyongyang. He married and became the father of two sons. He died on November 12, 1968, at the age of 30. In his childhood, he lived in the Kumkang area near Wonsan, where he was born on February 11, 1938. Ri Jin Ben, born on May 2, 1932, in Hyesan, initially worked as an engineer at Kangson and then became its vice-director. Friends called him a Korean Pole.[110]

Initially, some of the Polish orphans wrote letters to their European tutors, but finally, it became more or less too difficult for them to communicate with those who educated them in Europe. Despite a law forbidding them to do so, some North Korean people formerly based in Poland tried to send several letters to Poland, explaining that the North Korean orphans who had lived in Europe were badly treated in comparison to those who had been in China and Albania.[111] Some former North Korean orphans, such as Won Suk Ja and Ji Sun Ja, met again Polish citizens during cultural events in Pyongyang, supplying for Polish books.[112]

The process of the removal of the North Korean orphans started earlier, in 1958 when all of them were classified according to their Songbun,[113] a North Korean caste system subdividing the population of the country into three classes and 51 categories by trustworthiness and loyalty to the Kim family. A few years later, a minority of them considered to be less loyal toward the Kim family were supposedly either sent to labour camps or killed.[114]

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108 Kim Yong 2009: 24.

109 Six people obtained a university degree, 89 gained a technical degree, 16 an agricultural degree, six a degree in economics, two an artistic degree, and one person was awarded a medical diploma. Levi 2012: 73.

110 Kaczyński 2019.

111 *Uzupełnienie notatki z 23 grudnia w sprawie byłych studentów koreańskich w Polsce z dnia 2 stycznia 1963 r.* 1963.

112 Dubrowski 1961: 18.

113 The Songbun is a North Korean classification system which, according to one's supposed degree of loyalty toward the WPK, determines the work and education path of its population. This system is constituted of five classes.

114 *Sprawozdanie z pobytu w Koreańskiej Republice Ludowo-Demokratycznej w latach 1964–1968 Władysława Napieraja.*

The 'return policy' was not apply applied to very young North Koreans but also the students based in Poland. Until 1956, North Korean students constituted the majority of foreign students in Poland. After 1957, their number started to decline. For the academic year 1960–61, there were only 108 North Korean students out of 740 foreign students in Poland. For the academic year 1965–1966, none of the 1,364 foreign students was from North Korea.[115]

Table 3. Number of North Korean students in Poland in 1955–1965

| Academic Year | 1955-56 | 1956-57 | 1957-58 | 1958-59 | 1959-60 | 1960-61 | 1961-62 | 1962-63 | 1963-64 | 1964-65 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of North Korean students | 367 | 359 | 349 | 303 | 164 | 108 | 37 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Number of foreign students in Poland | 575 | 687 | 931 | 916 | 751 | 740 | 648 | – | – | – |
| Number of North Korean students as a %-age of foreign students | 64% | 52% | 37% | 33% | 22% | 15% | 6% | – | – | – |
| Finished studies | – | – | – | – | – | – | 4 | – | – | – |

Source: *Compiled data from Statistics Poland.*

The sudden return of North Korea youth from Poland and other socialist nations in Europe was probably due to the following. First, several events in Europe and in the USSR indicated a relative opening of communist minds. The majority of information reaching Kim Il Sung was available in reports prepared by the North Korean embassy in Warsaw and secret information from journalists and Korean students staying in Poland. He thought that these young Korean citizens, in touch with relative liberalization, would constitute a danger to his power.

Secondly, Kim Il Sung was afraid that the students would flee Central Europe. Some North Korean students had left Hungary, using the Budapest crisis of September 1956 as cover. Some others based in Poland also tried to escape. Two high school students based at the Technical High School in Szopienice tried to

[115] De Carvalho 1990: 23–25.

escape to East Germany in May 1957 but were arrested by Polish officials. In June 1957, some North Korean students based in Poland initially contacted the US embassy in Warsaw, but finally, North Korean authorities arrested them, in cooperation with Polish and French authorities based in Warsaw who had contacted the North Korean embassy there.[116]

Despite the large geographical distance and cultural differences, these events were a warning sign of things that might happen in North Korea, especially constitutionalising an opposition (anti-Kim Il Sung) and the possible attempt of triggering a 'Korean Poznań.'[117] Kim Il Sung could not openly question the 20th assembly and provoke the USSR and other socialist bloc states, at least due to all the aid they provided. The 1950s and crises in Hungary, Poland, and the GDR was a sign to him that the regime must be moderated but attention must be tightened. Very soon after, salaries increased by 35%, the processing of some goods decreased by 25%, daily rice rations were increased by 100g[118] and at the same time repressions against opponents of the system were radically toughened. Show trials against members of the Chondoist Chongu Party with 200 given the death penalty were mentioned in Polish diplomatic notes.[119]

Repatriation of North Korean citizens based in Central Europe was also extended to North Korean officials based there. The previously mentioned events may also have been the reason for the dismissal of the North Korean ambassador to Poland, Ho Guk Bon (1954–1958), considered to be relatively open-minded by other diplomats, who openly discussed religious issues in the Polish press. The diplomat indicated as follows:

> *This matter is complicated. Our village strictly professes Buddhism. However, only elderly people are sincerely religious. Young Buddhists are rare anymore. The Catholic population prevailed among the urban population, while the war destroyed all Catholic temples. The Japanese occupation […] introduced a third religion to the country, which was used as an instrument of their politics. The war against Japan was also a war against their religion. Our youth, however, is already completely progressive, and the Buddha statues are found only in distant and less accessible mountains.*[120]

Meanwhile, Rim Chum Su, the North Korean ambassador to Bulgaria was also purged and removed from his position in Sofia and sent back to Pyongyang in 1963.[121]

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116 Levi 2012: 195.
117 See *Notatka z rozmowy z tow. Pieliszenko radcą Ambasady ZSRR z dnia 26.07.57* 1957.
118 Dziak 2000: 245.
119 See *Notatka z rozmowy z tow. Pieliszenko radcą Ambasady ZSRR z dnia 26.07.57* 1957.
120 Burzyński 1957: 3.
121 Loken-Kim 2003: 906.

Additionally, relations between Poland and North Korea worsened after the publication of an article written by the Polish journalist Wanda Melcer entitled *Obiad w Pjongjangu* ('Lunch in Pyongyang'), which included a negative image of Korean cooking culture. As a result, no Polish delegation was invited to the 15th anniversary of the birth of North Korea in 1962.

Some of the older orphans of higher Songbun were able to study and get jobs working with Eastern European engineers sent to North Korea. They worked in the following places: the Polish hospital in Hamhung, the Polish mission at the NNSC, and the Polish embassy in Pyongyang.[122] Others worked in fields where Polish specialists were based, and where knowledge of Korean was requested.[123] For their jobs, no university degree was required, only knowledge of the Polish language. As proof, we can quote the case of Ri Hang sik, who worked for Fabex--ZREMB as a translator despite having only primary education.

Later, some of these orphans returned to Poland for professional reasons. For example, Kim Je Ming (born in 1941), who was initially a translator for Polish companies in North Korea in the 1970s, returned to Poland in the 1980s and was used as a translator for five North Korean artists who worked as cartoonists in the Cartoon Studio in the city of Bielsko-Biała (*Studio Filmów Rysunkowych Bielsko-Biała*). Another orphan was a translator for a group of overseas North Korean workers delegated to Kleczanów in 2004. The Department of Polish Studies at Kim Il Sung University has been headed since its creation in 2007 by one of the orphans from Płakowice, Jo Song-mu. It is also known that a wife of a North Korean ambassador was also an orphan based in Otwock. She used to return there to visit a doctor at the Marchlewski Sanatorium in Otwock. A military *attaché* at the North Korean embassy in Warsaw was also an orphan based in Poland. Unfortunately, both names are unavailable. Yun So Hyon, the current officer of the Committee for Cultural Relations of North Korea, and the secretary of the association of Friendship between France and North Korea, and between Poland and North Korea, is the daughter of Yun Myong Jin, a former Secretary of the National Commission of North Korea to UNESCO and a former orphan based in Poland. Her father taught her Polish, a language she uses perfectly.[124] As of October 2017, Yun So-hyon has travelled five times to Poland.

These Korean children inspired many books, poems, and articles. The most famous ones were authored by Marian Brandys, such as *Dom odzyskanego dzieciństwa* ('The home of recovered childhood') and a similar one entitled *Koreańczycy Gołotczyzny* ('Koreans of Gołotczyzna'), a shorter version aimed at younger children. This book told about the story of North Korean orphans

122 Konecka 1989: 42.
123 Konecka 1989: 42.
124 Myjak 2017: 11.

who were based in Gołotczyzna, a village close to the city Ciechanów. This book underlined the number of interactions between Poles and North Korean citizens. This book was a success in Poland, being published several times, in 1953, 1954, and 1956. It was also translated into Czechoslovak in a version entitled *Dom na văzvărnatoto detstvo* ('House for a childhood') published in 1954 with the support of the author, R. Pečikova). This book was also translated in Chinese with the romanized title of *Chaoxian haizi zai Bolan* (which can be translated as 'Korean Children in Poland') and published in 1955 in the city of Shanghai by the Shaonian Publishing House.

We must also mention the book *Grupa Słowika* ('The Group of Słowik') (1954) by Marian Bielicki. Monika Warneńska wrote in her book entitled *Karolinka z Diamentowych Gór* ('Karolinka of Diamonds Mountains') of a protagonist who is sent to join a group of small Korean children who settled in Płakowice, near Wrocław. A 15-minute movie entitled *Dzieci koreańskie* ('Korean Children') was also prepared by Władysław Marko in 1953, describing the life of Koreans in Poland. Also, according to chronicles from Polish Television, Radio Pyongyang had broadcast the message, *War orphans, go to Sinuju! From there you will be evacuated to places where there is no War.* [125]

There is also a particular place for the book *Mały łącznik Kim E-cho*[126] ('The Little Runner Kim E-cho') (1951), written by Weronika Tropaczyńska-Ogarkowa. In this book, there is an 18-page story related to the life of a young North Korean child during the Korean War. It is also worth noting that the first books introduced to Korean literature appeared at the same time, such as *Na południe od 38 równoleżnika. Sztuka w trzech obrazach* ('South of the 38th Parallel. Art in Three Pictures') (1951), by Bronisław Troński; *Korea walczy. Wiersze poetów koreańskich 1950–52* ('Korea Is Fighting. Poems of Korean Poets 1950–52') (1954), by Jerzy Ficowski; *Korea walczy. Zbiór opowiadań* ('Korea Is Fighting. Collection of Stories') (1952), by Marek Lechowicz; *Bajki koreańskie* '(Korean Fairy Tales') (1954), by Czesław Jastrzębiec-Kozłowski and *Ziemia* (' The Land') (1955). Since there were no Poles available to speak fluent Korean,[127] these five previously mentioned books were translated from the Russian version.

The history of North Korean orphans in Poland has also been presented many times in media. Journalist Jolanta Krysowata's program entitled *Osieroceni* (' The Orphaned') (2003), in which two orphans were found, was awarded the *Europa Award* in Berlin. She co-directed a similar documentary called *Kim Ki Dok* (2006), with the famous director Patrick Yoka. This production was focused on the life of the orphan Kim Ki-dok (김기덕), who lived and was buried in Osobowicki

125 Levi 2009: 351.

126 Tropaczyńska-Ogarkowa 1951: 121–139.

127 Within this period, two Polish citizens spoke Korean to a certain extent, Wiesław Sieroszewski and Remigiusz Kwiatkowski.

Cemetery in Wrocław, Poland. This film was presented by the Polish embassy in Seoul in 2016 as part of a film festival organised by the European Union National Institutes for Culture.[128]

The humanitarian support provided to Korean orphans was not forgotten by the North Korean authorities. As a sign of their gratefulness, the North Korean government gave 3,000 tonnes of wheat to Poland in 1982.[129] The North Korean press remembered one of Kim Il Sung's visits to an orphanage in Poland in a document issued by the Korean Central News Agency in 2006.[130] Furthermore, the city of Otwock maintained contacts with North Korea and its officials by organising a meeting with the North Korean delegation. In 1984, an official delegation of representatives from Otwock consisting of four people went to North Korea.[131] Another delegation was sent in 1990. Moreover, on the Juche Tower in Pyongyang, among the 'friendly' cities, there is a tablet from Otwock, the only Polish city listed. A branch of the Polish-North Korean Friendship Association was inaugurated there in 1970.[132]

Other socialist states also took care of North Korean orphans. During his visit to Czechoslovakia in June 1956 as part of his grand tour of Eastern Europe, Kim Il Sung referred in his speech at a mass rally in Pilsen to the *Numbers of our students and war orphans who are freely studying … in your country.*[133] He went on to observe that, *when they come back to their country after finishing their study, they will become excellent workers in the labour struggle for the development of the national economy.*[134] In a March 7, 1957, report on friendship communication between North Korean and Czechoslovakian schools, Pyongyang mentioned that children from one Czechoslovakian school had recently combined their talents in *friendship art-circle performances* with Korean children of the Kim Il Sung School in Czechoslovakia. It is assumed that around 600 orphans were raised in Czechoslovakia. On December 27, 1956, Pyongyang broadcasted the following dispatch from Budapest:

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128 The South Korean producer Chu Sang Mi authored a film concerning North Korean orphans in Poland entitled 폴란드로 간 아이들 (*Pollandeuro gan aideul*, Children Gone to Poland). Principal photography began already in autumn 2016 in Płakowice, where some of the North Korean orphans in Poland were located.

129 Krysowata 2004: 1998.

130 See: 뽈스까에서 김일성주석의 고아원방문 *50*돐 기념집회 2006.

131 Kałuszko 2004.

132 Kim Hi-sun, the North Korean ambassador to Poland, and Ko San-gin, the first secretary, inaugurated its activities. *Koreański klub w Otwocku* 1970.

133 See *Relations de la Corée du Nord avec la Tchécoslovaquie. Copie d'une étude en date du 18 septembre dernier, établie par le service de la „guerre psychologique" du quartier général de l'armée américaine au Japon* 1957.

134 See *Relations de la Corée du Nord avec la Tchécoslovaquie. Copie d'une étude en date du 18 septembre dernier, établie par le service de la „guerre psychologique" du quartier général de l'armée américaine au Japon* 1957.

*Hundreds of Korean children who have been attending Hungarian schools left for home by special train yesterday and today. Mostly war orphans, they were invited by Hungary. While in Hungary, the children were studying in 60 schools in Budapest and dozens of other cities.*[135]

## 2.5. KIM IL SUNG'S VISIT TO POLAND IN 1956 AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

On June 1, 1956, Kim Il Sung and an impressive delegation of North Korean officials left their country by train for a 50-day tour around the USSR, the Mongolian People's Republic, and allies of the USSR in Europe.

This visit was prepared during the trip of Kim Tu Bong, the first secretary of the SPA, between January 12 and 15, 1956.

It was not only the longest foreign travel of a North Korean leader but also the longest absence from his country. The visit aimed to collect positive reactions concerning financial and material support, which would be used to fulfil the assumptions of the North Korean economic plan for the period 1957–1961.[136] As part of his European tour, Kim Il Sung visited Poland between July 2 and 7, 1956. In Warsaw, at the Palace of Culture and Science, on July 5, at a public meeting gathering 3,000 people, he thanked Poland for its support and asked for continued aid and cooperation in the realisation of North Korea's economic strategy.[137] On the same day, Kim Il Sung was granted the Order of Polonia Restituta First Class, and two party officials (Nam Il – named as Nam Ir – and Pak Chong Ae – named as Pak Den Ai) who accompanied him received the same Order, but the Second Class.

Implementation of the resolutions of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, including aid for Korea, was being discussed at that time. While in Poland, Kim Il Sung visited the orphanage in Świder, and in 'Gwardia' Hall he met with inhabitants of Warsaw. Finally, he was awarded the Order Polonia Restituta.[138] Inhabitants of the city of Głogów received a reward as an expression of gratitude for equipping Korean schools destroyed by the war.[139]

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135 See *North Korean orphans in Hungary* 1957.

136 Dziak 2000: 236.

137 See *Komunikat końcowy z pobytu w Polsce delegacji rządowej KRL-D* 1956.

138 Kowalski 1988: 552.

139 Ho Guk Bon, then the Ambassador of North Korea to Poland, informed that furniture and learning aids would reach the prominent Kim Il Sung University in Pyongyang. Burzyński 1957: 3.

The requests made by Kim Il Sung were only partially fulfilled, which constituted a failure for him. Edward Ochab, then the Secretary of the Polish Communist Party, did not declare anything above what was promised before. The North Korean authorities expected military support, consisting of 200 Polish military troops, 45 cars, and food support. Konstanty Rokossowski, then the Polish defence minister, only allowed sending no more than 20 officers.

Visits to other states also did not match the Korean leader's expectations. Aid from Russia was not as significant as previously thought. In 1956, North Korea received 300 million roubles, but it was much less than after the end of The Korean War. The GDR authorities declined continuing special aid and production support of diesel engines. The Hungarians declared that they would not provide 15 million roubles. Romania declined to provide 25 million roubles. In total, the economic and technical aid did not exceed 500 million roubles, less than half of what was expected.[140] One year later, Józef Cyrankiewicz, then the prime minister of the Polish People's Republic, in April 1957 visited North Korea. His visit was aimed at consolidating friendship and developing cooperation between Poland and North Korea. During his visit, he met Kim Il Sung, the prime minister of North Korea.[141] In the same period, the WPK publishing house published a book focused on the success of the Polish economy.[142]

140 Kim Ir Sen 1970: 51–52.

141 Józef Cyrankiewicz is known for an eccentric way of life. During the meeting with Kim Il Sung, the leaders each drank 38 glasses of vodka and were still feeling sober. Lipiński 2016.

142 See Kim Yong 1956.

# Chapter 3
# Relative Disturbance in Polish-North Korean relations (1959–1980)

## 3.1.
## ECONOMIC COOPERATION

The period starting in 1959 was one heralding a new era in relations between the countries. Aleksander Zawadzki and Edward Gierek headed a delegation of members of the PUWP Political Bureau that visited North Korea between October 15 and 19, 1959.[143] Two years later, between June 20 and 29, 1961, Cheon Jung Thaek, the head of the WPK Planification Commission visited Poland. In the same year, Roman Zambrowski, the secretary of the PUWP CC visited North Korea and plants built by Poles. The Polish authorities, through the Książka i Wiedza publishing house, produced 1,260 copies in Polish of speeches from the fourth WPK Congress (September 11–18, 1961).[144]

From 1961, the North Korean authorities proceeded to make some changes to their foreign policy. Being in a better economic situation than before, the North Korean leadership assumed that they did not want to be subordinated either to the USSR or, to a lesser extent, to China. Kim Il Sung wanted to reinforce his autonomy instead. Kim viewed the USSR as a state where 'modern revisionism' prevailed. He also dismissed the Chinese view of a shift in the 'world revolution' with Beijing at its epicentre because, he said, 'it is impossible to shift the revolution from one country to another. Moreover, a situation in which one country would be the centre of world revolution or that any party would stand atop the international communist movement is impossible'.[145]

The North Korean authorities forbade foreigners to move around the country or to marry Korean partners from September 1963. Even the Polish delegation of the NNSC was not able to travel freely in North Korea. In June 1962, sailors were

143 *Wspólny komunikat Polsko-Koreański* 1959: 3.

144 This publishing house already in 1961 had published 22 other books summarising communist congresses in other countries.

145 Kim Ir Sen 1977: 571.

not allowed to leave their ships docked at the port of Kaesong without approval from the North Korean authorities. The orphans who were educated in Central Europe were also punished differently than those educated in China, Albania, or South Vietnam.

This newfound autonomy and economic independence was outlined in the Juche ideology aimed at tightening relations with Third World Countries and Eastern Europe.[146] Progressively, North Korea's trade with other countries increased. In 1961, Poland exported goods worth PLZ 5.4 million while importing from North Korea products worth PLZ 11.4 million. Meanwhile, Poland consented to a credit to the North Korean authorities worth 10 million Soviet roubles.[147] Four years later, Poland exported goods and services worth PLZ 19.3 million. That same year, Poland imported goods from North Korea worth PLZ 24.6 million and services worth PLZ 20.2 million. The trade between Poland and North Korea in the framework of Polish trade with other Asian partners was significant. In 1965, Poland exported around four times more goods to North Korea than to Japan (PLZ 4.2 million) and imported slightly more from North Korea (PLZ 24.6 million) than Japan (PLZ 20.2 million), despite the high level of quality of Japanese products.

In 1968, Franciszek Waniołka, the deputy prime minister of the Republic of Poland, went on a state visit to North Korea.[148]

In the 1970s, attempts by North Korean diplomacy to consolidate the relationship and cooperation with Poland resulted in signing yet another agreement on March 26, 1970, forecasting an increase in trade exchange of 35% in comparison to the 5-year plan of 1966–1970, and the North Korean vice minister, Pak Song Chol (박성철), paid a visit to Poland on February 21, 1972. On October 4, 1972, an agreement related to the establishment of a Consultative Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Affairs was signed.[149] The Commission was supposed to be composed of four Poles and four North Korean citizens (Art. 2 of the agreement) and meet once a year (Art. 9). This agreement was also supposed to replace a similar agreement signed on April 17, 1957.

The same year, delegates of the North Korea Supreme People's Assembly also came to Poland. These delegations included not only official meetings with politicians but also visits to economic facilities in Poland. For instance, in 1973, a delegation from the North Korean embassy in Poland led by Kim Jaen Wok

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146 Kim Il Sung 1976.

147 Paduchowski 2018: 177.

148 *Wicepremier Fr. Waniołka udał się do KRL-D* 1968: 1

149 See *Umowa między Rządem Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej a Rządem Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo-Demokratycznej w sprawie utworzenia Komisji Konsultacyjnej ds. kwestii naukowo--technicznych i ekonomicznych* 1972.

and Ri Je Jang, its commercial attaché, visited the Silesia chemical factory in Żarów (Świdnica county). On September 8, 1977, another delegation from the North Korean embassy in Poland, including ambassador Paek Nam Sun, visited some factories near Sochaczew and Teresin, about 65 kms south of Warsaw.[150]

Economic relations between North Korea and other communist states intensified in the 1970s. Bilateral government commissions were formed to watch over economic, scientific and technical cooperation. North Korea had raw materials, such as zinc, silver, talcum powder, and graphite. In Poland's case, it was able to provide in return heavy machinery, car and tractor parts, and control apparatuses. A multiannual trade agreement for the period 1962–1965 was signed in 1961. It provided credit for products imported to complete industrial buildings. Credits were given on very convenient terms, with interest rates at 2% per annum and refund payments were supposed to begin after a period of seven years. North Korea was supposed to pay back the credit in the form of exports of magnetite, talcum, and graphite.

In 1965, Poland exported goods and services worth PLZ 19.3 million; meanwhile, the sum of exports to Japan reached PLZ 4.2 million. In the same year, Poland imported goods from North Korea worth PLZ 24.6 million and exported PLZ 20.2 million worth of goods to Japan. Furthermore, new industrial buildings were constructed in North Korea between 1962 and 1970, such as a factory for medical tools and glass polishing and candy factories, challenging the demand for European products.

In 1969, Poland was the fifth-largest trade partner of North Korea, preceded, in order, by the USSR, China, East Germany, and, paradoxically, Japan, a country formally considered an enemy. Machinery dominated the Polish exports to North Korea (more than 60% of its exports to North Korea), mostly machine tools, AN-2 aircraft, and coke, as well as – due to market deficiencies – consumer goods such as glassware and porcelain. Imports from North Korea consisted mostly of raw materials such as magnetite or talcum powder.[151] However it must be noted that although as of 1972 the trade exchange with North Korea represented only 0.2% of total Polish trade, some interesting facts were present. For instance, in 1972, North Korean exports represented the following percentages of Polish imports of these products: 56% of the talcum, 49% of the magnetite, 18% of the fluorite, 49% of the porcelain ware, 7% of the lead, and 4% of the herbal products. This means that North Korea was the top provider of fluorite, magnetite, porcelain, and talcum to Poland.

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150 *Ambasador KRL-D gościł w woj. skierniewieckim* 1977: 2.

151 Kojło 1975: 169.

In 1972, the cooperation between the countries deepened through an agreement focused on the creation of an Economic, Scientific, and Technical Consultative Committee. The aims of such an organisation were to examine the possibilities for development and expanding cooperation between them, to consider the implementation of agreements and protocols concluded by the competent authorities of both parties, and to take necessary measures for the further development of cooperation. The treaties were supposed to be renewed every two years, as the economic situation of North Korea was considered as difficult. North Korea since 1967 then participated in international fairs in Poznań.

This organisation was inaugurated during a visit by Cheon Jun Taek, the North Korean deputy prime minister, to Poland in October 1972. Poland's deputy prime minister, Franciszek Kaim, participated in the first session of this committee. During the first sitting, both parties concluded that by mid-1970 the trade exchange could reach 100 million roubles. Between October 3 and 8, 1973, the second session took place. The third session was between October 16 and 18, 1974. The fourth session was held a little over a year later, between November 5 and 10, 1975, with the participation of Franciszek Szlachcic, the Polish deputy prime minister, and Kong Jin Dae, the North Korean representative. The fifth session took place between November 16 and 18, 1977, with Polish Deputy Prime Minister Józef Kępa and Kong Jin Dae on the North Korean side.

On August 13, 1973, a treaty on scientific exchange between Poland and North Korea for the years 1973 and 1974 was signed. The sides also agreed to pursue a trade exchange agreement covering the next four years. Emil Wojtaszek, then the Polish foreign minister, paid a visit to Pyongyang between June 26 and 29, 1977,[152] and Wojciech Jaruzelski, then defence minister, followed between September 25 and 29, 1977. On August 28, 1978, a document entitled *Agreement between the Government of the PRP and the Government of the DPRK on air transportation* was signed by both sides, underlining that in both countries, two cities (including Warsaw) would welcome Polish or North Korean commercial airplanes. Both airlines would be exempt from taxation on their profit regarding these bilateral activities.[153]

Between July 1 and 4, 1978, Gerard Kroczek, the deputy minister of mining, headed a delegation to North Korea. Between July 28 and August 7, 1978, Ri Jin Chan, the North Korean energy minister, visited Poland. Cheon Jung Eun, the North Korean foreign trade minister, headed a delegation to Poland between November 27 and December 2, 1980. Two additional visits must be underlined. Between January 28 and February 1, 1980, Pak Myong Bin, the North Korean

[152] See *Wizyta Tow. Ministra E. Wojtaszka w KRL-D w dniach 26–29 czerwca 1977 r.* 1977.
[153] *Umowa między Rządem PRL a Rządem KRLD o komunikacji lotniczej* 1978.

health minister, visited Poland. That same year, between July 19 and 25, Choi Hi Heon, the North Korean labour minister visited Poland.

By analysing the bilateral trade between these two countries, we can draw the following conclusions. First, despite its theoretically secretive nature, North Korea was not at the bottom of the list of Polish economic partners. When we review the official Polish statistics for the year 1979, we notice that Poland considered North Korea to be a more important business partner than, for instance, Bangladesh or Mongolia. Poland exported goods to North Korea worth PLZ 95.2 million, but to Bangladesh items worth just PLZ 33.5 million, and to Mongolia goods worth PLZ 22.5 million. North Korea was in the bottom half of the 10-largest Asian commercial partners of Poland, ranking seventh but far behind China (exports of PLZ 314.3 million) and Turkey (exports of around PLZ 153.3 million). As noted above, on average, North Korea represented around 0.2% of Poland's total foreign trade. From North Korea's perspective, if we do not take into account the USSR, Poland represented 8% of North Korea's foreign trade from socialist bloc countries in 1973.

Table 4. Bilateral Trade between Poland and North Korea (1960–1979)
Currency and unit: PLZ mln

| Year | Polish Export to North Korea | North Korean Export to Poland | Trade Balance |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1960 | 26 | 7.5 | 18.5 |
| 1961 | 5.4 | 11.4 | –6 |
| 1962 | 13.1 | 15.9 | –2.8 |
| 1963 | 17.6 | 15.4 | 2.2 |
| 1964 | 16.4 | 15 | 1.4 |
| 1965 | 19.3 | 24.6 | –5.3 |
| 1966 | 23.1 | 25.6 | –2.5 |
| 1967 | 28.5 | 10.2 | 18.3 |
| 1968 | 47.1 | 36.9 | 10.2 |
| 1969 | 49.3 | 33 | 16.3 |
| 1970 | 34.5 | 40.9 | –6.4 |
| 1971 | 19.9 | 155.7 | –135.8 |
| 1972 | 32.1 | 316.7 | –284.6 |
| 1973 | 20.4 | 393.9 | –373.5 |
| 1974 | 35.7 | 41.2 | –5.5 |

| Year | Polish Export to North Korea | North Korean Export to Poland | Trade Balance |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1975 | 38 | 60.2 | -22.2 |
| 1976 | 36.6 | 56.7 | -20.1 |
| 1977 | 45.4 | 52.8 | -7.4 |
| 1978 | 55.2 | 85.3 | -30.1 |
| 1979 | 108 | 95.2 | 12.8 |

Source: *Compiled data from Statistics Poland.*

Table 5. Bilateral Trade between the Socialist Bloc and North Korea (1960–1973) Currency and unit: SUR mln

| Country | 1960 | 1965 | 1970 | 1973 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| USSR | 102.7 | 160.0 | 329.3 | 357.3 |
| East Germany | 8.3 | 7.0 | 28.6 | 27.5 |
| Romania | 7.5 | 7.6 | 12.5 | 25.0 |
| Bulgaria | 1.5 | 1.2 | 5.9 | 13.7 |
| Czechoslovakia | 13.8 | 11.9 | 13.7 | 13.4 |
| Poland | 2.9 | 9.9 | 17.0 | 10.3 |
| Hungary | 6.7 | 4.0 | 6.0 | 5.6 |
| Mongolia | 1.0 | 1.5 | 2.3 | 3.9 |
| Total: | 143.0 | 203.0 | 415.3 | 484.6 |

Source: *Ekonomika i politika zarubieżnych stran socjalizma: Koreanska Narodno--Demokraticzeskeja Republika* 1975: 128.

The development of trade between Poland and North Korea led to the development of the logistic sector between the countries, with the North Korean ports of Chongjin, Hungman, and Nampho able to start to receive goods provided by vessels of the Far Eastern Lines of the Polish Maritime Lines (Polskie Line Okrętowe) on a monthly basis from the early 1960s. One vessel was even named *Pjongjang*. On November 19, 1965, the treaty *Porozumienie pomiędzy Rządem Polskiej Rzeczpospolitej Ludowej a Rządem Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo-Demokratycznej o utworzeniu Koreańsko-Polskiego Towarzystwa Maklerów Morskich* (Agreement Between the Government of the Polish People's Republic and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the Establishment of the Korean-Polish Maritime Brokers' Society) was signed, establishing

a Polish-Korean Shipbrokers Association (*Koreańsko-Polskie Towarzystwo Maklerów Morskich*), also known as Chopol (*Cho* from *Choson*, and *Pol* from *Polska*, the Polish name of Poland), which was put in charge of naval cooperation.[154] The inaugural meeting with the partners was held on February 7, 1967, in Pyongyang. The shipbrokers' association had two ships under their command manned by bi-national crews. The association controlled by Polish and North Korean citizens was supposed to buy, sell, and rent ships to transport coke and magnetite. By comparison, the Polish-Chinese Association of Shipbrokers – Chipolbrok – had been operating since 1945. Two Polish ships, the *Narvik* and the *Mickiewicz,* were used. Accordingly, per the bilateral agreements 70% of the *Mickiewicz* merchant shipping was supposed to be from North Korea, a figure that was not always maintained. Poles complained often about the behaviour of the North Korean seamen, who tried to invoke propaganda during journeys. In 1972, Polish shipyards refurbished the North Korean fleet.[155]

The economic cooperation between these countries can also be illustrated by the creation of the Polish Korean Farm based in Model, around 115 kms south of Warsaw. This Polish-Korean farm was started in 1949, but its Korean name was only given in 1967. The cooperative used to be run by 14 families. Each of them took care of five hectares. Powerful communist names were often given to leading cooperatives tied to 'friendship' with communist countries, hence the Model cooperative was given the name 'Polish-Korean Friendship' in 1967. The size of the cooperative increased to 517 hectares, with 147 people working there with cattle and operating a fruit and vegetable processing plant. On a regular basis, North Korean diplomats and delegations visited this symbol of cooperation between the countries. The cooperative was visited by the North Korean ambassador to Poland in 1972, 1947, 1979, and 1984. The managers of the cooperative visited North Korea in 1975. Their delegation consisted of two people – CEO Wladyslaw Adamczyk and chief accountant Tadeusz Ziółkowski. Another delegation was sent in 1980 that including Adamczyk again, but this time Czesław Braszka, a member of the board. The last visit took place in 1982 when a larger delegation consisting of Adamczyk, Marek Paradowski, and Aleksander Znyk visited North Korea. After 1989, the cooperative disappeared and only the name of the street remained.

A similar initiative was birthed in North Korea. The first cooperative in Noseaden in the county of Samsek was inaugurated on July 24, 1960. A second

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154 On February 11, 1987, the name of the company changed to Koreańsko-Polskie Towarzystwo Żeglugowe Sp. z o.o., still emphasing its Korean origin in the name of the economic entity, but from a legal perspective transforming it into a limited liability organisation (pol. spółka z ograniczoną odpowiedzialnością).

155 Kojło 1975: 182.

cooperative in Jangsuwon, which was inaugurated as the North Korean-Polish one, opened on November 25, 1965. The Polish ambassador to North Korea and embassy staff visited this cooperative once a year, which was noted by the North Korean press.[156]

## 3.2. POLITICAL COOPERATION

Poland's position in the 1960s regarding the recognition of North Korea as the only true Korea did not change in this period. On a regular basis, Polish authorities sent messages of support to the North Korean authorities. For instance, on August 13, 1962, Czesław Wycech, the head of the Polish National Assembly sent a message to the head of the SPA, Choi Won Thaek, regarding the removal of U.S. troops from the Korean Peninsula.

When the North Korean government reduced their support for Chinese issues in the mid-1960s, the North Korean leadership's approach toward Poland improved. That is why in the second half of the 1960s, several bilateral visits took place.

An interesting document entitled *Agreement between the Governments of the PRP and the DPRK on the mutual granting of rights to use plots of land intended for the construction of embassies* was signed on May 10, 1966.[157] This agreement stipulated that the Polish embassy in Pyongyang would be financed by the Polish side and the North Korean embassy in Warsaw was to be financed by the North Korean side. The North Korean embassy was also supposed to be erected on Bonifraterska Street, close to the Chinese embassy, with work commencing in 1970. The Polish embassy was supposed to be addressed in district number 66 of Pyongyang, with construction supposed to begin in 1966.

Between November 8 and 11, 1966, the North Korean foreign minister, Pak Song Chol, visited Poland. His visit was already discussed and prepared during a meeting between the North Korean ambassador to Poland and Wladyslaw Gomulka on August 8, 1966. In July 1967, Li Jeon Ho, the deputy secretary of the SPA visited Poland. Between September 3 and 11, 1968, the deputy prime minister of Poland, Franciszek Waniołka visited North Korea. Kwon Hi Jeon, the North Korean deputy foreign minister, visited Poland between August 29 and September 2, 1969. Choi Hyeon, the North Korean defence minister, visited Poland between September 22 and October 2, 1969. Between October 31 and

156 뽈스까대사관 성원들 장수원협동농장에서 친선로 2017. The Polish Ambassador to North Korea would visit the Korea-Poland Friendship Jangsuwon Cooperative Farm once a year.

157 *Porozumienie między Rządami PRL i KRLD o wzajemnym przyznaniu praw do użytkowania działek przeznaczonych pod budowę budynków Ambasad* 1966.

November 1 of that year, O Song Ryeol, the North Korean transport minister, visited Poland. Between May 24 and 30, 1970, the deputy head of the Polish National Assembly, Zenon Kliszka, led a delegation to North Korea. Pak Sung Cheol revisited Poland between February 21 and 25, 1972. Between June 29 and July 3, 1972, Ri Man Seok, the North Korean deputy foreign minister, visited Poland. Kang Rian Guk, the SPA secretary, visited Poland between July 10 and 16, 1972. Ri Taek Hyon, the North Korean transport minister, visited Poland between the September 13 and 25, 1972. Kye Ung Tae, the North Korean foreign trade minister, visited Warsaw between September 24 and 28, 1976. On May 30, 1977, a protocol partially amended the *Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of North Korea on the mutual granting of rights of use of plots intended for the construction of Embassy buildings*. Although the embassy was to have been built on Bonifraterska Street, this protocol indicated a new localisation, close to Beethoven Street, with a total surface area of 1.55 ha.[158] Between September 8 and 9, 1978, the Polish Deputy Prime Minister Franciszek Kaim visited Pyongyang due to the 30th anniversary of the founding of North Korea. Meanwhile, the North Korean authorities wanted to improve the position of South Korea in international fields. At the 68th meeting of the International Olympic Committee, the North Korean delegate, Ri In Gyu, spoke along with a Polish delegate suggesting the participation of South Korea in international organisations.[159]

The question of the possible unification of Korea was constantly on the minds of North Korean officials. For example, in June 1973, the North Korean ambassador to Warsaw met with Deputy PM Kaim to discuss the question of Korean unification. During this meeting, the creation of the Koryo Confederation was suggested and later was agreed upon by Poland.[160]

Kim Tong Gyu, the North Korean WPK Secretary of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Ho Dam, visited Poland between May 4 and 10, 1974. On May 22, 1974, Tadeusz Białkowski, the Polish ambassador to North Korea, met with North Korean Prime Minister Ri Jong Ok to discuss the reunification issue. Between September 17 and 24, 1974, Jan Czapla, the Polish deputy PM, visited North Korea.

Under some circumstances, Polish foreign policy was supported by North Korea. The arrangements for normalisation and mutual relations between Poland and West Germany, signed on 12 December 1970 by Józef Cyrankiewicz and

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158 *Protokół częściowo zmieniający Porozumienie między Rządem PRL i Rządem KRLD o wzajemnym przyznaniu praw do użytkowania działek przeznaczonych pod budowę budynków Ambasad* 1977.

159 Levi 2012: 91.

160 June 29, 1973, notes taken during a discussion of Deputy Prime Minister Kaim with the North Korean Ambassador in Poland, Kim Hi Soun, regarding the unification of Korea. [Note from the Author: exact spelling of the name of the North Korean ambassador to Poland].

Willy Brandt, was considered by the North Korean government as a victory for the Polish nation. However, Poland was not a North Korean ideological ally. A closer country to North Korean propagandists was Romania. Its president, Nicolae Ceausescu, visited China, North Korea, and North Vietnam in 1974. He came back to Bucharest fascinated by the mass demonstrations of the WPK. After his return to Bucharest, he presented his *July Theses*, which echoed his experience in Asia. The Romanian leader pressed for increasing the role of the party and ideology in daily life. His actions that followed were based on Juche. The shared concept of the cult of personality had the effect of tightening North Korean relations with countries such as Romania and Albania, where the party directorate conducted all actions of the state ideologically and economically. North Korea also began to look for allies in African countries that had had no previous experience with socialism, drifting way from Soviet and Chinese influence. Equally, relations with European communist states gained a mainly economic character. The political difficulties may be illustrated by the fact that Polish diplomats based in Pyongyang could visit the North Korean leadership only when they were informed that the North Korean ambassador to Poland had made an official visit in Poland.

In the 1970s, relations between Poland and North Korea improved. Meanwhile, the North Korean authorities implemented an open strategy of promoting North Korean ideology in Poland. North Korean political and ideological activity in Poland was also mentioned in the Polish press. For instance, in the edition of February 1, 1977, the daily newspaper *Dziennik Bałtycki* informed readers about a meeting held at the North Korean embassy in Warsaw focused on the unification of the Koreas.[161]

## 3.3. CULTURAL AND SPORT COOPERATION

During the period 1960–1980, except for the *Protocol between the Government of Poland and the Government of North Korea on the amendment of Art. 4 of the Cultural Cooperation Agreement, signed in Pyongyang on May 11, 1956*, signed on September 28, 1966, the most important pillar of the educational cooperation between the countries was the partnership signed between the Polish Academy of Sciences and North Korea Academy of Sciences in 1963. This North Korean institution was supposed to establish a branch in Warsaw to attract North Korean researchers (especially from technical fields) to Poland and export

[161] *Spotkanie w ambasadzie KRLD* 1977.

technical knowledge and scientific machinery to North Korea. The branch was inaugurated in 1968 but closed suddenly in 1974, only to reopen a few years later.

Meanwhile, Jong Jong Ryu, the North Korean ambassador to Poland was also expelled on December 19, 1974. The whole situation was due to a Polish student named Kim Hak, who focused on Polish studies at the University of Warsaw and was motivated to leave Poland.

Polish artists regularly travelled to North Korea, such as the Folk Group Śląsk, which toured North Korea between November 19 and 27, 1966. The North Korean embassy in Poland also tried to attract Poles through public meetings, not only in Warsaw but also in smaller cities, such as Radom. For instance, in July 1975, Ri Man Skim and O Thaek Gwon, the first secretary of the North Korean embassy to Poland and the cultural attaché of the North Korean embassy, respectively, participated in a meeting at the International Press and Book Club (*Międzynarodowy Klub Prasy i Książki*) devoted to North Korean issues.[162] PUWP officials and Krystyna Firmanty also participated in this meeting.[163] On October 15, 1978, there was a concert by the Mansudae Art Group, which was shown at the Poznań Opera House.[164]

Another subject cooperation was sports. Among the North Korean students based in Poland in the 1970s, some of them started to teach taekwondo to Poles interested in this sport. First, they were teaching karate, but after a certain period, they begin to teach Poles the karate technique called *kyoksul* (격술). Kyoksul has already been taught in Poland in the 1960s when KAL officials who were in contact with Polish officers discussed this martial art. Another striking example of cooperation is the case of the development of taekwondo in Poland. The origins of taekwondo in Poland are related to the situation and political system prevailing before 1989. The first taekwondo section in Poland of the International Taekwondo Federation was established in 1974 in Lublin. It was led by an Englishman, Andrew Marshall. The next centres were established in the cities of Łódź, Wrocław, Gdańsk, and Olsztyn. In 1978, the leader of the ITF, Gen. Choi Hong Hi, visited Poland in 1978, 1980, 1982, and 1983. During these visits, Choi conducted instructor seminars. The first North Korean coaches arrived to Poland in April 1979. Transportation was ensured by the North Korean authorities with other logistical matters fulfilled by the Polish side. The first invited coach was Han Ho Un, who coached some foreigners during journeys in the USSR. When Han Ho Un came to Poland, he was already known by a student based in Warsaw. He came to Poland for three months, left in July, but returned for a six-month visit between December and June 1980.

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162 Ri Man Skim is probably mispelled. The exact spelling of the name of this North Korean diplomat is Ri Man Shim.

163 *Spotkanie z Koreańczykami* 1975.

164 *16 październik 1978, Dziś w Teatrze Wielkim zespół 'Mansude'* 1978.

In the same period, the ITF established cooperation with the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SUPS),[165] which became the guardian and sponsor of the taekwondo movement in Poland, providing assistance in the form of the organisation of summer and winter camps. During his visit in 1982, Gen. Choi Hong Hi held talks with the North Korean embassy to secure additional funds to support the taekwondo movement in Poland. In the talks, the party representing Poland was the Supreme Council of the SUPS. A meeting between Gen. Choi Hong Hi and the North Korean Ambassador resulted in the arrival of a North Korean demonstration team in Poland in September 1982. The North Korean citizens presented the martial art in several major Polish cities and shot a programme later broadcast by Polish Television. The North Korean Taekwondo Association initially sent several instructors to cities in Poland, including Gdańsk, Kraków, Łódź, Lublin, and Warsaw.

After June 1980, Han Ho Un disappeared, with some versions of why stating that the Polish elite counter-terrorism unit, GROM, had recruited him. After his disappearance, he was replaced by a North Korean student based in Warsaw. Some others came to Poland, but their fate changed after 1980, being forcibly recalled to their home country due to cooling relations between North Korea and Poland.

Due to his position, Gen. Choi Hong Hi was allowed to return to Poland where he was invited to lead some seminars focused on taekwondo techniques in the 1990s. His first seminar in Poland took place in 1993. He again returned to Poland between May 24 and 27, 1994, where he gave some technical instruction at the Warszawianka Hall in Warsaw. He visited again in October 1996 and in December 1997. Choi Hong Hi was sometimes accompanied during his seminars by his son, Choi Jung Hwa, who also led seminars. Choi Hong Hi passed away in 2013.

Another story to be mentioned is the case of several North Korean orphans who has made a sport career during and after their time in Poland. Two of them, born in the mid-1930s, Im Kwan Sik and Ro Jong Nam, returned to Poland in 1952. A third one, Pak Ton Ho, arrived at an unknown later date. All of them were educated at the Sport High School in the Oliwa district in Gdańsk along with other North Korean citizens, including one woman who trained in athletics and three males who focused on acrobatics. Ro Jong Nam and Im Kwan Sik were able to participate in the Polish Judo Championships due to their strong physical and technical abilities. Ro Jong Nam competed in the under – 60 kg category, topping the charts in the mid-1950s. Ro Jong Nam left Poland in 1956. Im Kwan Sik was allowed to remain a few more years. Later, they became close to Polish bronze medallist in judo Kazimierz Jaremczak. Jaremczak became Im

[165] Official name in Polish: SZSP – *Socjalistyczny Związek Studentów Polskich.*

Kwan Sik's trainer. They called themselves 'brothers'. Im Kwan Sik also would visit Jaremczak's family, including during Christmas festivities.[166] Im Kwan Sik was highly appreciated for his sport performances as a member of TWF Gdańsk and later in the GKS Wybrzeże Gdańsk Sport club. He won two medals. On May 19, 1957, he was awarded a silver medal at the Polish Championship held in Łódź in the under – 68 kg category. On March 13, 1960, he won a bronze medal at the Polish Championship held in Gdansk in the same category. As he could speak Polish, he trained young Poles regularly in Elblag. Pak Ton Ho also became a coach.

Ro Jong Nam returned to Poland with other North Koreans in the mid-1960s. Kazimierz Jaremczak wanted Im Kwan Sik to return to Poland, suggesting that he could open a training company in Poland. Pak Ton Ho came back to Poland and was awarded the Order of Merit with a Knight's Cross by the Republic of Poland in 1994 for his involvement in the North Korean cooperation with the Mining Academy of Kraków.[167]

## 3.4. EDUCATIONAL COOPERATION

Between 1953 and 1989, the cooperation between Poland and North Korea was especially concentrated on cultural exchanges and some minor trade. According to Mieczysław Dedo,[168] due to the similarities – two wars which destroyed their capitals, Warsaw and Pyongyang – and common ideologies, many Polish songs and movies were presented in North Korea and many North Korean movies were also available in Poland.[169] As mentioned above, North Korea needed Poland more than Poland needed North Korea due to its national and economic interests. The first stage of the relationship, from 1949 until 1953, could be characterised also as a period during which there were intensified efforts by Poland toward the reconstruction of North Korea. The second phase of the relations, from 1953 to 1989, can be characterised as a period in which North Korea looked for financial support from countries belonging to the Warsaw Pact. This was a period

166 Compilation of data collected during interviews by the author with Stanisław Tokarski, professor of philosophy. The interviews were held on October 8 and 28 and November 12, 2019. Some of the information was also provided by Waldemar Sikorski, a former national coach of the Polish judo team. Another source was the Polish judoka Kazimierz Jaremczak, who won a bronze medal at the European Championship of Judo in 1965.

167 *Monitor Polski* 1994.

168 Interview by the author with Mieczysław Dedo, a former Polish diplomat who was twice the Polish representative to North Korea. The interview was held on April 4, 2010.

169 Krysowata 2004: 98–122.

of turbulence and confusion, when Poland was not in a position to challenge the USSR like North Korea could. This was because Poland was a Warsaw Pact member, unlike North Korea, which was not part of this alliance.

On January 13, 1972, an agreement was signed in Warsaw by the Academies of Sciences of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the USSR establishing the Banach Centre. Later, the Academies of Sciences of Vietnam (1979), Cuba (1984), and North Korea (1986) joined. Between 1972 and 1992, Ho Gon represented North Korea at its scientific council. Interestingly, North Korea was the only country to have only one member on the scientific council.

A long-term project began involving the Kraków Institute of Systematics and Evolution of Animals of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the North Korea Academy of Sciences.[170] This was not the first cooperation of this kind. In the past, the Warsaw Institute of Zoology of the Polish Academy of Sciences participated in four fieldtrips to North Korea in 1959, 1965, 1966, and 1970.[171] After 1970, the cooperation between these two institutions was withdrawn, though some of the zoologists from Warsaw remained in touch with the scientists in Kraków. Later, another research institute and its members took the place of the Warsaw researchers. In September 1971, the first Kraków trip to North Korea took place, led by Prof. Kazimierz Kowalski.[172] In North Korea, they were working with several North Korean citizens who spoke Polish at varying levels – Kim Hyong Sok and Ku Wan Son. The latter was a North Korean orphan who had lived in Poland in the 1950s and was educated at the Rud Technical High School in Czestochowa.[173] An unnamed Polish-speaking North Korean partner was also a PhD student at AGH University of Science and Technology of Kraków.

During 15 field trips to North Korea, the Polish zoologists were mainly in touch with staff members of the Zoological Institute in Pyongyang. They worked all over North Korea (Kumgang Mountains, Myohyang mountains). Many publications were published based on studies made during these fieldtrips by the researchers.[174] Some of them brought old books written in Polish and Polish

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170 Pawłowski, Tomek 1997: 231–246.

171 Pawłowski 2008: 1.

172 The two other leaders were Jerzy Pawłowski and Józef Razowski.

173 Ku Wan Son was educated with several other North Korean young people, Jae Jang Il (Cze Czan Ir as spelled in the newspaper), Ha Jon Sik (Ha Czon Sik), Ri Jan Hui (Li Chian Hi), Kang Jaen Kwon (Kang Jen Kwen), Ri Han Su (Li Han Su), Ho Jong Rak (Ho Zon Rak), Kim Ho Gon (Kim Ho Kon), So Jon Sik (So Ją Sik), Pak Riom Dok (Bak Rią Dok), Jo Ju Gon (Czo Ji Gon), Jae In Gon (Cze In Gon), Kim Pong Muk (Kim Bą Muk), Kye Kyong Ho (Ke Ken Ho), Kim Jae Gon (Kim Ze Gon), and Kim Sun Won (Kim Syn Won). Cze Czan Ir 1957: 4.

174 A list of publications made possible thanks to these 15 fieldtrips to North Korea is available at: http://www.isez.pan.krakow.pl/archiwalne/korea_lista_publikacji.pdf

music (such tunes by the famous Polish band „Mazowsze") and deposited them in North Korean libraries.[175] Due to the establishment of relations between the now non-communist Poland and North Korea on November 1, 1991, these field trips ended in 1992.

In the 1970s, some North Korean students returned to Poland but all of them were removed on December 17, 1974, including scholars of the North Korean Academy of Sciences who had been initiating the launch of a branch in Poland.[176]

175 *W skansenie komunizmu* 2013.
176 Levi 2012: 76.

# Chapter 4
# Relations between Poland and North Korea between 1980 and 1989

## 4.1.
## ECONOMIC COOPERATION

In 1981, North Korea exported goods with a net value of 65.9 million Polish zlotys, with 48.7 million polish zlotys' worth considered as minerals, or 74% of the total. That same year, North Korea was the seventh-largest trade partner of Poland among Asian countries but represented only 0.1% of Poland's total imports. Meanwhile in 1981, Poland exported 66.4 million Polish zlotys' worth of electro-machinery to North Korea, which represented 65% of its exports to that country but only 0.2% of its total exports.

Despite the changes happening in Poland in the early 1980s, bilateral economic visits continued between both countries. Between October 29 and November 3, 1981, a Polish economic delegation visited Pyongyang. The delegation participated in the sixth session of the Polish Korean Consultative Commission on Economic, Education, and Technical cooperation. Between November 22 and 30, 1982, a delegation from the healthcare ministry of Poland headed by Antoni Konaszyc visited Pyongyang.

The eighth session took place in Pyongyang between July 8 and 13, 1984. The ninth session was shorter and came on December 13–14, 1985. This session was led by the deputy prime minister Zbigniew Szałajda and a member of the CC WPK, Kye Ung Tae. Between September 26 and 28, 1986, the 10th session of the Polish Korean Consultative Commission on Economic, Education, and Technical cooperation took place in Pyongyang. This session ended with the signing of an agreement between the Polish People's Republic and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on legal assistance in civil, family, and criminal cases.[177]

Like the previous session, this one was led by Szałajda and Kye Ung Tae. Between 1984 and 1986, several Polish agricultural delegations visited North Korea.

[177] *Umowa między Polską Rzeczpospolitą Ludową a Koreańską Republiką Ludowo-Demokratyczną o pomocy prawnej w sprawach cywilnych, rodzinnych i karnych* 1986.

Between December 16 and 20, 1988, the 12th session of the Polish Korean Consultative Commission on Economic, Education, and Technical cooperation took place. Janusz Patorski, the deputy prime minister of Poland, and Cho Se Ung on the North Korean side participated in the meetings.

A trade agreement entitled *Trade and Payment Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the DPRK* was signed on May 12, 1992, and testified to changes in the Polish economy.[178] According to Art. 3 of this agreement, transactions were supposed to be made between individuals and companies from Poland and 'trade companies' from North Korea, thus avoiding transactions with North Korean individuals. Art. 5 of the agreement stipulated that all currencies must be finalised in exchangeable currencies.

Some Polish companies tried to enter new markets, such as the mining society Damel, which sent two six-person delegations to North Korea in October and November 1988 to sell electric mining motors and exchange technical knowledge.[179] Unfortunately, this cooperation was the exception. The whole effort may be summarised by Mieczysław Dedo, former Polish ambassador to North Korea, who always described his visits with the North Korean leadership as 'nice' but also emphasized the difficult economic situation of the country.

Table 6. Bilateral Trade between Poland and North Korea (1980–1989)
Currency and unit: PLZ mln

| Year | Polish Export to North Korea | North Korean Export to Poland | Trade Balance |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1980 | 117.1 | 128.7 | –11.6 |
| 1981 | 65.9 | 102.2 | –36.3 |
| 1982 | 1 009 | 1 563 | –554 |
| 1983 | 1 422 | 2 131 | –709 |
| 1984 | 1 783 | 2 546 | –763 |
| 1985 | 3 088 | 3 349 | –261 |
| 1986 | 3 371 | 3 941 | –570 |
| 1987 | 8 010 | 5 721 | 2 289 |
| 1988 | 13 452 | 10 651 | 2 801 |
| 1989 | 34 925 | 22 715 | 12 210 |

Source: *Compiled data from Statistics Poland.*

178 *Umowa o handlu i płatnościach między rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a KRLD* 1992.
179 *1940–2015 – Damel 75 lat, Konkurent Światowych Liderów* 2015.

## 4.2.
## POLITICAL COOPERATION

1980 is a crucial year in the history of Poland, notably for the major strikes that took place in Gdańsk. These strikes and the creation of the labour union 'Solidarność' ('Solidarity') were carefully observed from Pyongyang, which was afraid of losing an economic partner. The Pyongyang authorities also wished during this period that the Polish authorities would avoid any contact with South Korean authorities; therefore, bilateral relations between the two countries increased, despite the international context. This led to several bilateral visits. The first one took place between February the 9 and 18, 1980, when a delegation of the WPK participated in the 8th Congress of the PUWP. The Polish delegation, headed by Emil Wojtaszek, was present at the 6th Congress of the WPK in Pyongyang in October 1980.

From a different perspective, the North Korean authorities informed its population about the events that took place in Poland only in 1981, indicating that the government is promoting a policy that would avoid difficulties encountered by the Polish population.[180] The state of war implemented in Poland in December 1981 was also commented on by a North Korean newspaper. The official daily journal *Rodong Sinmun* mentioned in an article published on January 6, 1982, that military control is something uncommon in a socialist country. On August 3, 1983, a consular convention focused on the duties of the bilateral agreements the two countries signed in Warsaw.[181]

Between April 3 and 29, 1984, Kim Yong Nam, a member of the WPK Politburo visited Poland. During his stay, a memorandum of cooperation between both MFAs for the period 1985–1989 was signed in Warsaw.

After a break of nearly 30 years, Kim Il Sung came back to Europe where he visited the majority of Socialist countries. Several documents discuss the visit of Kim Il Sung to Poland in May 1984. One of the most important of them is a book in Polish published in Pyongyang and entitled *Wieczna braterska przyjaźń. Oficjalna wizyta Kim Il Sunga w Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej w maju 1984 roku* ('Eternal Brotherly Friendship. Kim Il Sung's Official Visit to the Polish People's Republic in May 1984'). We may also quote the research article written by Sylwia Szic and entitled 'Wieczna braterska przyjaźń. Oficjalna wizyta Kim

[180] Szyc 2018: 355.

[181] *Konwencja Konsularna między Polską Rzeczpospolitą Ludową a Koreańską Republiką Ludowo--Demokratyczną* 1983.

Il Sunga w Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej w maju 1984 roku.'[182] Some video programmes prepared by the Polish Television are still made available online.[183]

Based on the previously mentioned propaganda book and the research by the author, the Kim Il Sung's visit can be described as follows[184]: On May 27, 1984, Kim Il Sung and his delegation arrived to Warsaw by train. The North Korean delegation was welcomed at Warszawa Centralna, the capital's main railway station inaugurated in 1976. When Kim Il Sung came to Poland in 1956, he was welcomed by the top Polish leadership at the former main railway station of Warsaw, Warszawa Główna. In the evening of his 1984 visit, he had some discussions with the Polish head of state, Wojciech Jaruzelski.

On the second day, in the morning, Kim Il Sung met Henryk Jablonski, the president of the Ministries Council. Then, he visited and left flowers at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on Pilsudski Place[185]. On the same day when Kim Il Sung was driven with his limousine down Krakowskie Przedmieście street, the sculptor Marek Kijewski[186] pretended to shoot the North Korean leader's car. The Polish services detained him and he spent 24 hours in custody. Later, Kim Il Sung watched a movie describing the history of socialism in Poland at the Palace of Culture and Science. Meanwhile, the members of his delegation visited a plant making precision machinery, K. Świerczewski, and met its workers. Later, the delegation met with the artistic group Mazowsze. In the evening, Kim Il Sung had some more discussions with Jaruzelski before having an official dinner. During this meal, Kim Il Sung discussed the size of the North Korean embassy in Poland, which was not only definitely too small but also too close to the US embassy in Warsaw. Between 1948 and 1985, the localisation of the embassy was a neogothic palace called Pałac pod Karczochem.[187] One year later, the new building of the North Korean embassy was inaugurated during a visit by Kim Hyeon Ryeol, the deputy foreign minister of North Korea, who was in Poland between September 24 and 27.[188]

On the third day, Kim Il Sung left Poland and headed to East Berlin. Kim Il Sung's visit to Poland was also described in detail in North Korea press, for example, in *Rodong Sinmun*[189]. The English version of the newspaper of June 2, 1985, provided information about the visit, describing it on pages 2 and 3.

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182 Szyc 2013.

183 *PRL 1984 Kim Ir Sen. Powitanie na Dworcu PKP* 1984.

184 '*Wieczna braterska przyjaźń.' Oficjalna wizyta Kim Il Sunga w Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej w maju 1984 roku* 1985: 25–38, 246–247. This book was published due to 'the first anniversary of the official friendship visit of the comrade Kim Il Sung to Poland'.

185 *PRL 1984 Kim Ir Sen. Powitanie na Dworcu PKP* 1984.

186 Marek Kijewski passed away in 2007.

187 The address is Aleje Ujazdowskie 14. It serves currently as the Lithuanian embassy in Poland.

188 The embassy kept, as of 2020, the same address at Bobrowiecka 1A in a quiet area of Mokotów.

189 조선-뽈스까진선-힘있는시위 1984.

Between September 24 and 29, 1986, Jaruzelski and a member of the PUWP Politburo, Czesław Kiszczak, paid a visit to North Korea. They did some sightseeing in Mangyongdae and Nampo. Beyond that, the Polish head of state signed a declaration of friendship between the two nations. The Polish delegation also visited Chongsan Farm.[190] This visit was described on the first four pages of the Pyongyang Times of 4 October 1986, five days after the journey of the Polish leader to North Korea, but it had already been published on September 26, 1986, in the North Korean edition of *Rodong Sinmun*.

Between 1987 and 1988, there were three visits related to North Korean-Polish political relations. Between the May 6 and 11, 1987, Hwang Jang Yop, the secretary of the SPA, visited Poland. Between the November 16 and 19, Marian Orzechowski, the Polish foreign minister, visited North Korea and signed a protocol of cooperation between both MFAs for the period 1987–1991. Kim Yong Nam, the North Korean foreign minister visited Poland between May 5 and 9, 1988. Ri In Gyu, the deputy minister of foreign affairs, visited Warsaw between November 17 and 21, 1988. He met Jan Majewski, the deputy minister of foreign affairs.

After the visit of Kim Il Sung to Poland, additional bilateral visits took place and several agreements were signed. Regarding agreements, between April 23 and 29, 1985, an agreement of cooperation was signed between the Polish and the North Korean MFAs. Kim Yong Nam, the deputy prime minister and the foreign minister of North Korea signed this agreement in Warsaw. Regarding visits, delegates of the CC PUWP, Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak and Orzechowski, visited North Korea in 1984. Zbigniew Michałek, secretary of the CC PUWP visited North Korea in 1985. In March 1986, O Kuk Ryol, the head of the North Korean army, visited Poland. This experienced air-force commander signed on March 27, 1986, an agreement on the supply of goods and payments related to the production of MI-2 helicopters sold to North Korea.[191]

That same year, the deputy president of North Korea, Ri Yong Ok, paid a courtesy visit to Poland on the occasion of the 10th Congress of the PUWP. Jaruzelski visited North Korea between September 24 and 28, 1986.

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190 'The Pyongyang Times', October 4, 1986, issue 40 (1335), p. 4. Interestingly, some young Poles belonging to the Kim Jong Il Youth Brigade of the Polish Socialist Youth Union arrived to North Korea a few days before Wojciech Jaruzelski.

191 *Umowa o współpracy w produkcji śmigłowców MI-2 w Korei Północnej* 1986.

## 4.3.
## CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL COOPERATION

Despite a few growing ideological differences, some Polish organisations continued to defend the North Korean economic model with their presence at the inauguration of the Juche Tower in Pyongyang. This monument opened on April 15, 1982, on the occasion of the 70th birthday of Kim Il Sung. A stone was added on April 15, 1981, by the branch of the Poland-North Korea Friendship Association in the city of Otwock, where North Korean orphans lived between 1951 and 1959. A second stone was offered by the branch of the Poland-North Korea Friendship Association of the city of Puławy in 1983. [192] That same year, the Puławy branch organised a meeting at a veterinary plant in the city praising Kim Il Sung. The people of Puławy and the staff of the North Korean embassy in Poland were invited.[193]

Starting from 1985, North Korea proposed that Polish politicians spend their vacation at their facilities. Józef Czyrek and Jan Główczyk (members of the Politburo of the CC PUWP) spent their holidays in North Korea in August 1986. Henryk Bednarski, Janusz Kubasiewicz, and Marian Woźniak, senior leaders of the PUWP, spent their vacations in North Korea in 1987.[194]

Besides this ideological cooperation, the visit of Kim Il Sung to Poland provided an impetus to the number of North Korean students in Poland who reappeared in 1985, even as many as 65 in 1987. Some lecturers of the Korean language were also brought from North Korea. However, in September 1988, a delegation of the Mansudae Art Troupe, known for a song called *Song of the Korean Polish Friendship*, the differences between both countries through the line 'although years have passed, the rivers have changed and the mountains are still together on the anti-imperialist path' (세열은 흘러가고 강산은 변해도 반제의 길에 함께 있네), where 'rivers have changed' is probably related to the change of economic policy of Poland. After 1988, the Mansudae Art Troupe never returned to Poland.

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192 A similar branch was launched in the early 1980s at the College of Pedagogy in Kielce. At the launch, due to low interest, the head paid for drinks to attract potential newcomers to the meeting to meet the visiting representatives of the North Korean embassy in Warsaw. The members of such friendship associations regularly visited North Korea. For instance, a delegation of the Poland-North Korea association visited North Korea in June 1985. Ryszard Towalski, a scout leader initiated the Puławy branch in the 1960s.

193 *Polish Meeting Marks Kim Il-song Birthday* 1983.

194 Szyc 2018: 355.

Table 6. Number of North Korean students in Poland (1980–1989)

| Academic Year | 1980 /81 | 1981 /82 | 1982 /83 | 1983 /84 | 1985 /86 | 1986 /87 | 1987 /88 | 1988 /89 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of North Korean students | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 45 | 65 | 84 |
| Number of foreign students in Poland | 2913 | – | – | – | 2986 | 3113 | 3447 | 3619 |
| Number of North Korean students as a percentage of foreign students | 0.2% | – | – | – | 0.3% | 1.4% | 1.9% | 2.3% |
| Finished studies | – | – | – | – | – | – | 4 | – |

Source: *Compiled data from Statistics Poland.*

# Chapter 5
# Relations between Poland and North Korea after 1989

## 5.1.
## ECONOMIC COOPERATION

Changes in Poland's policy toward the Korean Peninsula did not influence the role of North Korea in the Polish economy. Like in 1981, North Korea continued to account for only 0.1% of total Polish imports. Furthermore, although diplomatic relations between Poland and South Korea had been established just one year earlier, the total trade between them (157 billion PLZ) had already surpassed trade between Poland and North Korea (146 billion PLZ). In specific figures, in 1990 Poland exported and imported goods to North Korea with 84 billion and 62 billion PLZ, respectively, and in comparison, with South Korea, 45 billion and 112 billion PLZ. Commercial cooperation between Poland and North Korea is highly limited to some minor activities. Poland exported meat, industrial machines and tools, clothing, and medical supplies. North Korea exported mainly raw materials and spare parts to Poland. It also was exporting to Poland some products produced by South Korean companies based in the Kaesong Industrial Complex. In the overall trade balance with North Korea, Poland has been on the negative side for years. For instance, in 2007, Poland imported USD 14 million worth of North Korean goods and exported USD 0.5 million, meaning North Korea was its 99$^{th}$ economic partner.

Despite the deepening relations between Poland and South Korea, the nature of the contacts between Poland and North Korea left a tremendous impression on the business life of Pyongyang. One of the 12 founders of the European Business Association (EBA) in Pyongyang was Andrzej Weber, the Polish delegate of the Polish-North Korean Joint Venture Chopol. Furthermore, the founding ceremony of the EBA was also attended by a visiting Polish business delegation headed by the vice minister of the Polish Ministry of Transportation. Also, according to Felix Abt, a Swiss businessman who was based in Pyongyang in the 2000s, 'Polish

people were those who contacted him on seeking advice on how to do business in North Korea in the last 12 years more than any other European nationality.'[195]

Besides Chopol, another trial joint venture was discussed in the late 1990s. In October 1997, a delegation from the North Korean Ministry of Fishing visited Poland and discussed the details of the countries' cooperation in fishing and on October 2, 1997, signed the document, an *Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and of the DPRK on cooperation in the fishery industry*.[196] Art. 3 of this agreement stipulates that Polish ships will be able to be repaired in North Korea maritime waters. Art. 4 underlined the cooperation between the countries and Art. 8 discussed a potential Polish-North Korean joint venture in which the Poles would help North Korea restore its fishing fleet and in return would receive fish from Korean waters. In addition, Polish trawlers hoisting North Korean flags would gain access to fishing zones in the Sea of Okhotsk. Russia has denied Poland's right to fish there but North Korea holds a licence allowing it to take over 10,000 tonnes of fish from the sea annually, though it lacks a fleet to make use of it. A special Polish-Korean Joint Fisheries Commission was also supposed to be established,[197] but this was never started.

On June 1, 2001, the countries signed an agreement regarding the settlement of North Korean debt owed to the Republic of Poland.[198] As of this date, the North Korean government was supposed to reimburse Poland a total of USD 4.3 million. The North Korean authorities were supposed to transfer USD 1.5 million to Chopol and USD 200,000 to the Polish embassy in Pyongyang. The remaining USD 2.6 million in debt was supposed to be cancelled. Chopol was also supposed to reimburse USD 400,000 to North Korean companies. This amount was also cancelled. From the Polish perspective, during the Cold War it was seen as necessary to support a fraternal regime and the financial returns were considered unimportant. With increasing demands from the North Korean side for further support for post-war reconstruction, the question of payment arose and there was some tension, which particularly emerged after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of the Soviet Bloc. If North Korea is going to repay its debt, which is rather not possible in the foreseeable future, the trust toward this country may increase as will transparency. Rescheduling the debt in exchange for reforms may also be a solution to this financial issue.

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[195] Interview of the author with Felix Abt, a Swiss businessman who was based in North Korea for more than 10 years, between 1992 and 2002. The interview was held on December 18, 2014.

[196] *Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem KRLD o współpracy w dziedzinie rybołówstwa* 1997.

[197] Prawo i Gospodarka 1997: 4.

[198] *Umowa między Rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a Rządem Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo--Demokratycznej w sprawie uregulowania zadłużenia Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo-Demokratycznej wobec Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, podpisana w Pjongjang dnia 1 czerwca 2011 r.* 2011.

Starting from the mid-2000s, many North Koreans were also dispatched to rural areas of Poland to learn agricultural techniques. The first discussions related to this topic were performed via a meeting between a North Korean delegation led by Kil Sang Bong, the vice-chairman of the CC of the Agricultural Workers of Korea, and the Polish Ministry of Agriculture in 2005. The Polish authorities have also donated farm machinery to North Korean cooperatives since the early 2000s. Some Polish companies also sent a prospective delegation to North Korea, including representatives of steel producer KGHM, who were invited by the North Korean authorities.[199]

A protocol on the validity of bilateral agreements was signed in Pyongyang on February 1, 2007.[200] Several of its points were made active until February 27, 2014.

Table 7. Bilateral Trade between Poland and North Korea (1990–2017)
Units: PLZ mln till 1992, and USD mln from 2006

| Year | Polish Export to North Korea | North Korean Export to Poland | Trade Balance |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1990 | 84 | 62 | 22 |
| 1991 | 11 | 98 | –87 |
| 1992 | 211 | 206 | 5 |
| 1993 | – | – | – |
| 1994 | – | – | – |
| 1995 | – | – | – |
| 1996 | – | – | – |
| 1997 | – | – | – |
| 1998 | – | – | – |
| 1999 | – | – | – |
| 2000 | – | – | – |
| 2001 | – | – | – |
| 2002 | – | – | – |
| 2003 | – | – | – |
| 2004 | – | – | – |

199 *Polska Miedź w Korei Północnej* 2004.

200 *Protokół między Rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a Rządem Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo-Demokratycznej w sprawie obowiązywania dwustronnych umów międzynarodowych w stosunkach między Rzecząpospolitą Polską a Koreańską Republiką Ludowo-Demokratyczną* 2014.

| Year | Polish Export to North Korea | North Korean Export to Poland | Trade Balance |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2005 | – | – | – |
| 2006 | 3.12 | 14.04 | –10.9 |
| 2007 | 0.5 | 15.0 | –14.5 |
| 1998 | – | – | – |
| 1999 | – | – | – |
| 2000 | – | – | – |
| 2001 | – | – | – |
| 2002 | – | – | – |
| 2003 | – | – | – |
| 2004 | – | – | – |
| 2005 | – | – | – |
| 2006 | 3.12 | 14.04 | –10.9 |
| 2007 | 0.5 | 15.0 | –14.5 |
| 2008 | 4.7 | 94.5 | –89.8 |
| 2009 | 0.4 | 48.4 | –48.0 |
| 2010 | 0.8 | 16.9 | –16.1 |
| 2011 | 1.4 | 11.0 | –9.6 |
| 2012 | 0.3 | 6.5 | –6.2 |
| 2013 | 0.4 | 7.5 | –7.1 |
| 2014 | 0.3 | 10.5 | –10.3 |
| 2015 | 1.2 | 7.7 | –6.5 |
| 2016 | 0.2 | 3.2 | –3.0 |
| 2017 | 0.2 | 2.0 | –1.7 |

Source: *Compiled data from Statistics Poland.*

## 5.2.
## POLITICAL COOPERATION

Starting in 1989, relations between Poland and North Korea gradually deteriorated because of several issues, which can be summarised in three stages. The first event that reduced relations between the countries was the establishment of bilateral relations between Poland and South Korea on November 1, 1989.

It was the custom during the Cold War to maintain diplomatic contacts with only one of two conflicted countries. Even if at the time Poland was willing to establish diplomatic relations with South Korea, it would have encountered strong opposition from mainly North Korea and, of course, the USSR. The reaction of the socialist bloc given Cold War rivalries was perfectly understandable because in these countries, the government in Seoul was considered a puppet of the US, and servile. North Korea appeared then to the countries behind the Iron Curtain as the only representative of the Korean nation on the political scene. Therefore, between January 10 and 12, 1989, Kim Yong Nam, the North Korean foreign minister, paid an unofficial visit to Poland, during which he discussed Polish relations with South Korea. The status quo lasted until November 1, 1989, when the PUWP established diplomatic relations with the Republic of Korea (South Korea). On that day, among others, an agreement on the promotion and mutual protection of investments was signed in Seoul. Poland-North Korean contacts started to be clearly damaged. Pyongyang recalled its ambassador to Poland, and forced its workers, students, technical specialists, sportsmen, and others to return to their home country under various pretexts, such as participating in military exercises.[201] The Polish ambassador to North Korea was forced to return to Poland.[202] Contact in Poland between the ambassadors of the two Koreas was also forbidden.[203] The attachment of Poland to communist ideas was also jeopardised by the three following events. On December 29, 1989, the Polish National Assembly decided to change the official name of Poland from 'The

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201 For example, until the end of the 1990s, a dozen North Koreans were studying at Gdynia Maritime University. Due to the changes that occurred in Poland, all of them (including two North Korean agents responsible for them in Gdynia) left Poland in a day. The reason for their departure mentioned by the North Korean embassy in Poland was their participation in military exercises in North Korea. They never returned to Poland. Nevertheless, on May 13, 1989 (before the fall of the Berlin Wall), a Taekwondo match between a team from Poland and one from North Korea took place in Koszalin. A few weeks later, the junior Polish team went to Pyongyang for the 13th International Festival of Youth and Students, which was held in the capital of North Korea.

202 *Séoul & Varsovie établissent des relations diplomatiques* 1989: 4.

203 The situation changed in the 2000s as during diplomatic events both ambassadors were often seen having a chat together. 사교행사 적극 참여… 유럽 北대사들 달라졌다 2018.

Polish People's Republic' to 'Republic of Poland'.[204] Then, on December 31, the expression 'socialist country' was replaced by 'democratic country'. Finally, on January 28, 1990, the PUWP ceased to exist.

The North Korean authorities were surprised by the establishment of relations between Poland and South Korea, as still a few months before this event, Poland and North Korea had several interactions. On May 13, 1989 (before the fall of the Berlin Wall), a Taekwondo match between teams from Poland and North Korea took place in Koszalin. Between July 1 and 9, the Polish authorities sent a delegation to Pyongyang for the 13th International Festival of the Youth and Students.

A second argument was constituted by the collapse of the USSR on December 26, 1991, which complicated the economic situation of North Korea, which was dependent to a certain extent from USSR supplies.

Finally, a third issue had a serious impact on the privileged position of Poland in relations with the regime of the North. The official visit of Polish President Lech Wałęsa to South Korea in December 1994 when he met South Korean President Kim Young Sam, seriously upset the North Korean authorities. Pyongyang was even informed by the Polish head-of-state of closing its already reduced embassy in Pyongyang. As a form of retaliation, on February 28, 1995, the North Korean authorities expelled the Polish delegation of the NNSC. The Polish military group, with its head, Gen. Andrzej Puczarek, and five officials had to leave Panmunjom and return to Poland, with North Korea claiming they had been doing nothing except eating, sleeping, and generating costs.[205] From a different perspective, the Polish mission to the NNSC met with a lot of difficulties, including the death of three Polish soldiers between 1953 and 1956 and a total invigilation of the Polish mission by North Korean authorities, who prevented them from even having a walk in the DMZ.[206] However, the Polish delegation to the NNSC was also composed of only 10 Poles starting from 1960 and eight people from 1968. On the other hand, the Czechoslovakians has already been expelled in 1989 because the Czech Republic was not recognized as the successor to Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, it should be noted that Polish journalist Krzysztof Darewicz was the only Western reporter able to cover the funeral of Kim Il Sung in 1994.[207] This was a sign of the double-sided policy of North Korea.

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204 The Polish People's Republic was the official name of Poland between 1952 and 1989.

205 Interview of the author with Kazimierz Wróblewski, a major in the Polish army who worked at the NNSC between 1993 and 1994. The interview was held on March 19, 2010.

206 *Polacy w KNPN w Korei* 2018.

207 Interview of the author with Krzysztof Darewicz. A former Beijing-based correspondent for the Polish News Agency (PAP) in the 1990s. The interview was held on September 9, 2019. At Kumumsan Mausoleum, where Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il are interred, there are some gifts provided by Poles. There are similar offerings at the Museum of Gifts for Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il, located in the Myonghasan mountains.

The Polish authorities responded to the North's actions within a few weeks, lowering the rank of its ambassador in Pyongyang to the level of *chargé d'affaires* and recalling its representative, Ryszard Baturo, who had been based in Pyongyang since 1991. The Polish MFA also forced the North Korean authorities to reduce to seven people the number of its diplomats based in Warsaw within six weeks.[208] The MFA also prevented any visits or bilateral diplomatic contact.

The removal of Poland and Czechoslovakia from the NNSC led to the start of annual meetings of this organisation, but outside of North Korea. Some of these sessions took place in Warsaw.[209] During these meetings, representatives of Poland, the Czech Republic, Sweden, and Switzerland discussed recent regional tensions and their impact on NNSC activities. The last workshop was held on the March 21–22, 2019, in Seoul and Panmunjom. These consultations are held every year, such as the one on March 20, 2017, but, unfortunately, this has not brought concrete results – the NNSC has no branches in North Korea. Every year, the Polish MFA organises an internal meeting focused on the Korean Peninsula, inviting Polish experts and Korean diplomats. For instance, on October 28, 2018, the Polish MFA met, respectively and separately, with the North Korean and South Korean ambassadors in Poland.

In the strategic vision of North Korea foreign policy, Poland began to be treated as a peripheral country of the Euro-Atlantic political area. Hence, relations with Poland have marginalised North Korean's foreign policy. For North Korea, Poland was neither an attractive economic partner due to distance, nor a partner for political dialogue.

After a break of nearly seven years, bilateral cooperation started again. Pak Sang Am was designed as the new ambassador to Poland on July 19, 1997.[210]

However, one year later, Pak Sang Am was dismissed by Pyongyang and replaced by Kim Pyong Il, a sibling of Kim Jong Il. Kim Pyong Il was sent to Poland, being considered back home as a threat to the regime.[211] Kim Pyong Il arrived in Poland in January 1998, during a period in which 80% of the symbolic trade between North Korea and Central Europe was conducted with Poland.[212] He was nominated as one of the youngest North Koreans in its diplomatic corps – only 34 when accredited to Hungary. There was a delay in Kim Pyong Il's credential presentation due to a protocol problem. Until 1997, North Korea issued credentials in the name of Kim Il Sung, who passed away in 1994. To resolve the issue, the

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208 *Jak Korea Polsce...* 1995: 2.

209 For instance, on April 11, 2013. The author of the monograph participated in such meetings.

210 *DPRK ambassador to Poland appointed* 1998. Pak Sang Am also represented North Korean interests in Hungary for a few months in 1998 but later he was removed from his position and sent back to North Korea.

211 Levi 2010: 33–46.

212 Levi 2012: 97.

credentials were signed by Kim Yong Nam, the North Korean foreign minister.[213] During his time in Poland, he rarely appeared in public.[214]

When Kim Pyong Il left Poland in December 2015, he was replaced by Ri Gun, a former director-general of the North American Affairs Bureau of the Foreign Ministry of North Korea. Ri Gun also serves as North Korea's deputy nuclear negotiator to the Six-Party Talks in the early 2000s. The nominations of these important persons to the North Korea mission in Warsaw may be due to the fact that the headquarters of North Korean spies in Central Europe was located in Warsaw.[215] This assumption is possible because, in the mid-1980s, the North Korean authorities tried to increase their cooperation with the Polish secret services. They invited Gen. Roman Misztal, the head of Polish military intelligence, to Pyongyang. North Korean officials were supposed to operate against South Koreans in Poland, and Polish officers of the NNSC, who had an access to South Korea, were supposed to infiltrate this country. In his report to the chief of the General Staff, Misztal accepted the North Korean requests.[216]

Between 2005 and 2014, each Polish ambassador who served in Pyongyang had a military background, which is especially the case for the North Korean authorities, which held foreign military officials in high esteem. Roman Iwaszkiewicz, a general in the Polish Army was ambassador to North Korea between 2005 and 2009. His successor, Edward Pietrzyk, a Polish general who previously served as the ambassador to Iraq (2007–2010), replaced him in 2010 and served in Pyongyang till 2014.

Pietrzyk was replaced by Krzysztof Ciebień in 2014, who is the first Polish civil ambassador since 2005. He was removed from his position on January 31, 2019. As of October 2020, there is still no Polish ambassador to North Korea. The next ambassador is supposed to be a military officer. Moreover, some of the meetings related to the North Korean nuclear programme were held in Warsaw. This diplomatic channel in Warsaw is one of the main reasons for maintaining relations between both countries despite limited bilateral cooperation. The role of the North Korean embassy in Warsaw can be compared, within its limits, to the role of the Chinese embassy in Warsaw, which secretly and partially organised the visit of US President Richard Nixon to Beijing in 1971.[217]

At the end of 1999, Poland and North Korea re-established political cooperation between their respective parliaments. Political consultations were held in Warsaw in July 2000 and on March 28, 2001, with the participation of then Deputy Foreign

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213 Levi 2012: 97.

214 Kim Pyong Il appeared in Narew, a small city of Poland in May 2007. *A rare glimpse of Kim Pyong Il* 2007.

215 Steiner-Gashi, Gashi 2011: 20.

216 See Hańderek 2019.

217 Komine 2008: 116.

Minister Radoslaw Sikorski and Deputy Foreign Minister Choi Su Heon. On May 25, 2001, the deputy secretary of the Polish National Assembly, Franciszek Stefaniuk, met with North Korean Deputy Energy Minister Hyon Ryo Jin, who was also a representative of the North Korea-Poland parliamentary group.

Poland reappointed an ambassador to Pyongyang, nominating Wojciech Kałuża as its representative starting from October 2001. In the post-communist world, Poland became one of seven European countries (alongside the UK, Sweden, Romania, Germany, the Czech Republic, and Bulgaria), that maintain diplomatic missions in Pyongyang. Since then, Polish-North Korean relations began to gradually warm up. In 2001, Radosław Sikorski, still in his capacity as deputy foreign minister, visited North Korea for political consultations as part of the strategy on relations between North Korea and the EU. The following year, a Polish parliamentary delegation visited Pyongyang.

In 2004, Deputy Foreign Minister Bogusław Zaleski visited Pyongyang and then in 2006, his counterpart from North Korea, Kung Sok Ung, paid a courtesy visit to Poland. Slightly later, an agreement of cooperation between the countries was signed in Pyongyang.

In 2008, Kung Sok Ung visited Poland again. In October of the same year, the Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Ryszard Sznepf and Tadeusz Chomicki, the director of the Asia and Pacific Department of the Polish MFA, visited Pyongyang for the 60th anniversary of the establishment of relations between Poland and North Korea, meeting with Foreign Minister Pak Ui Chun and Kung Sok Ung. Meanwhile, a North Korean delegation was sent to Poland between October 15 and 17, 2008. On October 19, 2009, some political consultations were held between the countries. Kung Sok Ung visited Poland on September 13, 2011. Poland also maintained its transversal role in Korean issues, participating in the inspections of a South Korean vessel fired on by a North Korean gunboat on June 29, 2012.[218] Between September 17 and 20, 2013, Filip Grzegorzewski, the director of the Asian department of the Polish MFA, paid an official visit to North Korea. Kim Son Gyong, the director of the European Department of the North Korean MFA, visited Warsaw in December 2015 to discuss two documents: a bilateral agreement on education and cultural cooperation and the *Protocol between the Government of the Republic of Poland and North Korea on the validity of bilateral international agreements in relations between the Republic of Poland and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea*. Both documents were signed on June 15, 2015, in Pyongyang.

On March 29, 2017, Michał Kołodziejski, the director of the Asia and Pacific Department, met with a delegation of the Ministry of Unification of the Republic of Korea. The delegation was led by Lee Moo Il, the director-general of South

[218] Levi 2012: 79.

Korea's Intelligence and Analysis Bureau. The meeting focused on the situation on the Korean Peninsula, including the developments in the security situation resulting from the recent nuclear and ballistic tests conducted by the North. The parties discussed the ideas to develop the cooperation between Poland and South Korea in fostering peace and stabilisation on the Korean Peninsula. In the first half of 2017, Poland acted on behalf of the European Union presidency in North Korea's capital Pyongyang.

In October 2018, Pawel Milewski, the director of the Asian Department of the Polish MFA, visited North Korea.[219] He was preceded by a visit of the Polish think tank, the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). This delegation was headed by its then director, Slawomir Dębski. For a few years, the North Korean mission to Warsaw had been trying to invite the Polish think-tank to visit North Korea.

## 5.3. PARLIAMENTARY COOPERATION

In the first term of the Polish National Assembly (1991–1993), the North Korean leadership came out with an initiative to resume the parliamentary exchanges and gave Sejm Marshal Wiesław Chrzanowski the appropriate invitation. This matter has not been taken up by the Polish side since 1996. Bilateral contacts were limited due to the decision taken by the authorities in Pyongang in 1995 to expel Polish NNSC personnel; therefore, international cooperation at the bilateral group level between Poland and North Korea started in the third term of the Polish National Assembly (1997–2001).[220] The deputy foreign ministers of both countries met in 1997 and political consultations were held in March 1998 in Warsaw. Since 1999, Poland's policy towards North Korea has been targeting the gradual normalisation of relations. In January 1999, the North Korean side launched an initiative to conduct a visit of a parliamentary delegation to Poland. The visit finally took place in 2001.

One year earlier, the DPRK-Poland Friendship Assembly Group was constituted on October 20, 1999, and 14 meetings of this group have taken place since then.[221] On March 13, 2002, the Polish authorities decided to create a Polish-

[219] 뽈스까외무성 대표단 도착 2018.

[220] The information provided here was obtained from the Social Communication Desk of the Chancellery of the Polish National Assembly. The correspondence was made in the first half of October 2018.

[221] The group was composed of left-wing politicians. Its chairman is Cezary Stryjak, who visited North Korea in 2000 and between June 25 and 29, 2002 (the delegation met with Choe Thae Bok, at that time the current head of the SPA). The North Korean-Polish Friendship

-Korean Parliamentary Group split in two branches, each dedicated to one of the Koreas. Thirty meetings of this group have been held since then.[222] However, there were no joint meetings with representatives of both Koreas. As of 2020 there is no North Korean branch of this parliamentary group due to a lack of interest among Polish deputies.[223]

## 5.4. CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND SPORT COOPERATION

The establishment of Poland-South Korean relations in 1989 also could be felt in the Polish literature related to the Korean Peninsula. In 1988, in the context of the XXIV Summer Olympics held in Seoul, the Publishing House *Sport i Turystyka* issued a tourist guide to the Korean Peninsula. Due to its ideological background, North Korea was discussed first. However, the authors dedicated only 32 pages to this country, followed by 70 pages on South Korea.

Between 1989 and 1995, there were no significant cultural or educational initiatives between the countries due to the freezing of relations. However, some agreements were signed, but with a historical background. For instance, on November 27, 1996, an agreement of cooperation was signed between the Polish Academy of Sciences and the North Korean Academy of Sciences. This kind of agreement was based on deep cooperation on selected projects. One of them constitutes extensive research conducted between 1982 and 1986 by five Polish researchers – Zofia Heinrich, Halina Komorowska, the husband-and-wife team of Kazimierz Zarzycki and Barbara Zarzycka, and Władysław Wojewoda – in North Korea focused on macrofungi.[224] In 2004, they published a report detailing 430 species of macrofungus originating from North Korea. Previously, information concerning these species (mushrooms) were only published in Korean.[225]

In the late 2000s, North Korean diplomats started also to be more present at cultural events in Poland. For instance, since 2016, Ri Gun, the ambassador of

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Parliamentary group visited Poland twice: in 2001, the delegation was headed by Hyon Ryo Jin (the former head of the SPA and former minister of energy), and again in 2003, with a delegation headed by Hong So Hon (the head of Kim Chaek University). The group is known in Polish as *Parlamentarna Grupa Przyjaźni KRL-D–Polska*. A similar group (under the name 조선-뽈스까드친선협회–Korea-Poland Friendship Association) exists in the North Korean SPA and is headed by Hong Seon Uk.

222 Cezary Stryjak was the co-chair of this group.

223 At least seven deputies or senators from at least two parliamentary clubs are required to form a group.

224 See Wojewoda, Heinrich, Komorowska 2004.

225 *Inne kierunki badań i aktywność pracowników Zakładu Mykologii* 2018.

North Korea to Poland, has participated in the Polish Congress on Asian Studies held in Torun. There was even an exhibition of North Korean stamps at the 2018 edition of the Congress. This exhibition was prepared on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the establishment of relations between the countries.[226]

As a former North Korean diplomat mentioned to the author, the cultural field is the main driver of cooperation between North Korea and Poland.[227] On November 27, 1996, an agreement of cooperation was signed between the North Korean National Academy of Sciences and the Polish Academy of Sciences. In 2002, an exhibition of North Korean art was held in the city of Sierpc.[228] In October 2007, three North Korean students were sent to Poland to learn the Polish language at Łódź University so they would be able to apply to a Polish music academy. These events were made available to Polish citizens because of historical relations with North Korea. This demonstrates the importance of the fraternal factor. In the case of the exhibition in Sierpc, the Polish link was Emil Czajkowski, a politician with several connections at the North Korean embassy in Warsaw.[229] Fraternity also justified the organisation of several North Korean art exhibitions in Poland.

The first exhibition was held in Warsaw between September 2 and 6, 2008, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Poland and North Korea. This event was co-organised by members of the Polish-North Korean Friendship Association.

A second exhibition of North Korean art took place at the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Gdańsk between September 3 and 13, 2014. The initiator of this event was Marceli Burdelski, a long-time observer of the Korean Peninsula who started the process of inviting the North Korean artists to Poland. This cultural event also found justification in the 66th anniversary of the establishment of relations between Poland and North Korea. This second exhibition was much better promoted, bringing in numerous visitors, unlike the first exhibition, which took place in a green, but unfortunately remote part of Warsaw. In any case, such initiatives were introduced by the Polish side, which aimed at softening the image of North Korea in Poland. The objects presented at both exhibitions differed diametrically. At the first one, one could observe some paintings that were reproductions of well-known drawings. The second one was much more focused on strictly North Korean art. Interestingly, the first exhibition

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226 *Zaproszenie dla Ambasadora Korei* 2018.

227 Interview of the author with Kim Ju Dok, counsel of the North Korean embassy in Warsaw. The interview was held in January 2016 at the Asia and Pacific Museum in January 2016.

228 *Koreańska wystawa w sierpeckim Muzeum Wsi Mazowieckiej* 2002. Three North Korean citizens participated in this event – two diplomats, Pak Sung Chol and O Sung Chol, and Ryom Chung Gon, the director of International Exhibitions of North Korea.

229 *Koreańska wystawa w sierpeckim Muzeum Wsi Mazowieckiej* 2002.

also included some representations of the Buddha, despite the repressive nature of the North Korean state toward religion.

On June 17, 2015, representatives of both countries signed in Pyongyang a document entitled *Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for cooperation in the field of science, education and culture*, in which both sides expressed their wish to improve bilateral cooperation in fields such as physical education (Art. 6) and broadcasting issues (Art. 7). A joint commission with meetings every four years was also supposed to be established (Art. 9).[230]

Given the risk of instability within North Korea, any sport activities between the countries is limited to the minimum. There were some discussions in the past regarding a potential friendly football match between Poland and North Korea, but the Polish MFA was against this.[231] Besides this, attempt, a North Korean football team did play at least once in Poland, in a match between the Polish team Wisła Kraków and the Amrokkang Football Club, which sold out tickets and ended in a 3–3 draw.[232]

In 2003, some Poles re-established the non-governmental Polish-Korean Friendship Association (Towarzystwo Polsko-Koreańskie), which aims to deepen relations between Poland and North Korea. The organisation was originally founded in 1982, but without legal form.[233] Its founders were related to some extent to North Korea. For instance, as of 2019, the president of the board is Sławomir Guzowski (born in 1937), whose parents took care of some of the North Korean orphans in Poland in the mid-1950s.[234] Stanisław Dobek, a member of the board, employed North Koreans at his farm in Poland.[235] Other members of this organisation are also related to some extent to North Korea. For instance, one regular member, Leszek Goździk, used to invite North Korean diplomats to his university, including Kim Pyong Il, the former North Korean ambassador to Poland, who visited the University of Technology in Bialystok on October 25, 2002, where Goździk was teaching.[236] The Polish-Korean Friendship Association is not affiliated to the Polish branch of the Korean Friendship Association, a friendship association with North Korea acknowledged by the government of Pyongyang.

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230 *Umowa między Rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a Rządem Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo--Demokratycznej o współpracy w dziedzinie nauki, edukacji i kultury.* 'Monitor Polski' 2015/1262.

231 Note from a meeting with a diplomat of the Polish MFA. The meeting took place on February 23, 2015, in Warsaw.

232 See Cichowicz 1968.

233 *Retour sur les relations entre la Pologne et la Corée du Nord* 2015.

234 Guzowski 1996: 5.

235 Kowalski, Głuchowski 2006.

236 Kim Pyong Il (and his daughter Kim Un Song), Om Sung Chol, and Pak Sung Chol visited the Faculty of Materials and met its students. *Biuletyn Informacyjny Rektora Politechniki Białostockiej* 2002: 5.

The Polish-Korean Friendship Association is participating in international events. In 2015, a delegation headed by Danuta Pająk joined a seminar focused on Korean issues in Helsinki.[237] Belonging to this organisation was considered as threatening the professional career of its members. As an example, Jacek Poniewierski, an expert in the railways industry, was supposedly expelled from his professional position due to his membership in the Polish-Korean Friendship Association.[238]

[237] *Retour sur les relations entre la Pologne et la Corée du Nord* 2015.
[238] Kowalski 2013.

# Chapter 6
# Disputes between Poland and North Korea

## 6.1.
## MIXED MARRIAGES BETWEEN NORTH KOREAN AND POLISH CITIZENS

The presence of North Korean students in Poland and other socialist countries and their interactions with foreign students, including Polish ones, led to couples and in some cases, in marriage. Some Poles met their future North Korean spouses while studying in Poland or abroad.[239] Polish diplomatic documents referred to five such cases.[240]

The most relevant and famous example is the story of Halina Ogarek-Czoj, who married a North Korean student she met in Warsaw. Ogarek was born in 1931 in Lublin, a city 165 km south of Warsaw. Her mother, Weronika Tropaczyńska-Ogarkowa (1908–1957), was a novelist and a communist activist. In the 1950s, Halina Ogarek left Lublin and started to study sinology at the University of Warsaw where she met her future husband. Later, she obtained a scholarship to Kim Il Sung University in 1957. While she may have been inspired to take Korean studies by her husband, it was also by her mother, who wrote a Korean-dedicated novel in the book *Mały Łącznik Kim E-cho* ('The Little Runner Kim E-cho'), published in 1951. Ogarek defended her doctorate in Korean literature at Kim Il Sung University in 1961. One year later, she gave birth in Pyongyang to a daughter named Anna. Until September 1963 they had a happy life in Pyongyang, but in 1965, in connection with the decision by the North Korean authorities to expel foreign wives, Ogarek-Czoj had to leave North Korea, along with her daughter. After returning to Poland, she started work at the University of Warsaw as an assistant, as her PhD from Pyongyang was not recognised.

[239] There is also the case of one male North Korean citizen who fled the North in the early 1960s. He finally settled in Poland where he worked in the mining industry and was married twice.

[240] *Notatka dotycząca ograniczeń stosowanych przez władze Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo-Demokratycznej z dnia 7 czerwca 1963 r.* 1963; *Notatka A. Morskiego z 11 grudnia 1963 r.* 1963.

After a titanic amount of work, she defended a thesis related to the works of the Korean author Song Yeong at the University of Warsaw in 1974.[241] In 1977, together with Cho Un Hak, a North Korean lecturer at the University of Warsaw, she published a 288-page book of the Korean language entitled *Teksty do nauki języka koreańskiego* ('Texts for the learning of Korean'). Despite making several trips to North Korea working as a translator for Polish delegations, such as the one in September 1986 of official visit of Wojciech Jaruzelski, she never met her husband again. Professor Ogarek-Czoj retained her surname in honour of her husband. She died in 2004 and was buried in Warsaw. Ogarek-Czoj is considered the founder of Korean studies in Poland.

Another example is Dorota Kudlak. Wife to Choi Mi Ja since 1960, they lived happily and in 1961, their daughter was born in Pyongyang. In 1962, Kudlak visited the Polish embassy in Moscow asking for support regarding her marriage to Choi Mi Ja, who had been sent to a labour camp, leaving her alone with the child. Later they were legally separated and Kudlak and her daughter repatriated to Poland.

The third example is Krystyna Li. She met her husband in Poland in the 1950s. Later, they moved to North Korea. In 1959, after a few months of living in Hungnam, she was forced to return to Poland.

The fourth case involved a woman with the last name Rzepko-Łaska who tried to commit suicide because she couldn't live with her husband.

The last known case in the dossier is Hanna Marchwicka, who married a North Korean writer named Ri Jon Ho, a member of the WPK CC.[242]

A similar situation occurred with other mixed-nationality families in other communist countries. In the mid-1950s, an unidentified North Korean woman was studying in Poland. Her father was a fierce WPK member who had served as the mayor of a city near Pyongyang. Due to her background, she was allowed to study abroad and arrived in Poland in 1955. There, she remained in touch with a Bulgarian citizen who worked at the Bulgarian embassy in Warsaw. However, their relationship was never formalised.[243] We can also note the case of a Romanian woman, Georgeta Mircioiu (1936–2015), and her husband, Jo Jung Ho, a former North Korean orphan sent to live in Romania. Some North Korean citizens who married abroad (with a Soviet woman in this case), such as Kim Ji Il, a former student of the University of Technology of Kharkov (former USSR, present-day Ukraine) who managed to flee to South Korea in the 1990s. There is also the

[241] This second PhD was supervised by Wiesław Kotański, the founder of Japanese studies in Poland.

[242] *Notatka dotycząca ograniczeń stosowanych przez władze Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo--Demokratycznej z dnia 7 czerwca 1963 r.* 1963; *Notatka A. Morskiego z 11 grudnia 1963 r.* 1963.

[243] I Sok Ju 2016: 350.

case of a North Korean citizen who met a Pole in Ukraine in the 1950s. Later, he went back to North Korea, managed to defect, and returned to Poland. He married there and remained in the Silesia region.

## 6.2. DEFECTION OF NORTH KOREAN CITIZENS IN POLAND

In the first half of the 1980s, there was a clear trend toward establishing and maintaining contacts with various South Korean commercial, industrial, academic, cultural, sport, and non-government organisations (NGOs). Yet, many of these initiatives were blocked by the government in Warsaw because of its relations and cooperation with North Korea, which were, by that time, reaching a zenith, especially after the visit of Kim Il Sung in 1984. His visit to Poland led to a revival of North Korean students in Poland, who had practically disappeared from the country in the 1970s until 1983.

The opening of European communist countries to the world in the 1980s may have an impact on the North Korean students based there. Two North Korean citizens, Kim Un Hak (김운학) and Dong Yong Jun (동 영준), defected while they were students in Poland. Kim Un Hak, born in 1962, came to Poland in 1985 to study at the University of Technology of Warsaw. He came from Yanggak province (양강도) from the Pongso area (풍서 군). His family belonged to the upper classes of North Korean society. Kim Un Hak's father was the director of the administrative and economic committee of the Phonso area (행정 경제 지도 위원회 부위원장).

The second student is Dong Yong Jun, born in 1961 and hailing from North Hamgyung province (함경북도) from the Dokseong area (덕성 군). Before he came to Poland as a third-year student in international logistics at the economics faculty of the University of Gdańsk, he was keenly learning in one of Pukchong's high schools. His family was among North Korea's elites because his father worked in the organs of the North Korean security services, and one member of his family was a member of the SPA, the North Korean National Assembly. Throughout his youth, Dong was also convinced about the superiority of Kim Il Sung and after arriving in Poland in 1985, he could not believe that the North Korean authorities had given him such a false image of foreign countries, which were much richer than what was shown to the North Korean population. While in Poland, he met Kim Un Hak. Like other students from North Korea, both had Polish friends, some of whom were even affiliated with the 'Solidarność'

labour union.[244] As these North Korean students spoke Polish to a certain extent, they were able to be in touch with other Polish students. Some, such as Ro Jong Nam and Im Kwan Sik, dressed like Poles, even having similar long hair as their Polish counterparts.[245]

Owning a North Korean passport, they travelled to some other Eastern European countries. These two students also were able to watch the Olympic Games in Seoul in 1988 on Polish media. They were astonished by the level of prosperity of the 'evil' South Korea. Being informed of the opening of the South Korean embassy in Budapest and the repatriation of North Korean students based in Hungary in response, the two North Korean students started to make up their mind about defecting. The South Korean authorities established their embassy in Poland in May 1989. Dong and Kim then left Poland at the same time, afraid that they would face the same fate as the North Korean students in Hungary. They defected initially to the South Korean embassy in Budapest and then to the South Korean embassy in Vienna. After relocating to Seoul, Dong was involved in some business projects and later was married and had one son.[246]

In 1989, a North Korean professor working in the Korean Faculty of the University of Warsaw refused to return to his country, and went missing.[247] That same year, Kwak Ro Song, who studied at the University of Technology of Warsaw, also disappeared. During the summer of 1989, he went to the North Korean embassy in Warsaw and was never seen again. A few days later, a diplomat from the North Korean embassy in Warsaw came to the dormitory where he lived to collect his things.

These North Koreans were not the only students and scholars who wanted to defect or refused to go back to their native country. When the Berlin Wall collapsed on November 11, 1989, Chang Yong Chol and Jong Chol Wu, two North Korean students based in East Berlin defected to West Berlin on the same day. Chang was continuing his education in a mining school while Jong was finishing a degree in Dresden. Another example is two students who were completing a dentistry degree at the Charles University of Prague – Kim Un Chol and Cho Sung Gun. Interestingly, both had different social backgrounds, which indicates that not only people with a loyal background were able to study abroad but also those with higher intellect. Cho Sung Gun came from a loyal

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244 *Solidarność* is a labour union that contributed to the collapse of communism in Poland in 1989. The leader was Lech Wałęsa, who became the Polish head of state in 1990.

245 Compilation of data collected during interviews by the author with Stanisław Tokarski, professor of philosophy. Interviews were hold on October 8 and 28, and November 12, 2019. Some of the information was also provided by Waldemar Sikorski, a former national coach of the Polish Judo team. Another source was the Polish judoka Kazimierz Jaremczak, who gained a bronze medal at the European Championship of Judo in 1965.

246 Martin 2004: 379–380.

247 See Mok 2010.

family living in Pyongang and Kim Un Chol had worker-class parents and lived in the industrial city of Kanggye.

The North Korean students who defected from Central Europe were not the first cases of this kind. A North Korean student in Budapest, Choi In Hwan, defected to Yugoslavia during the Hungarian Revolution in October 1956. Later, he emigrated to Switzerland and then Yugoslavia, where he obtained South Korean citizenship. During a trip to Budapest in the mid-1960s, he was repatriated to Pyongyang by the North Korean embassy in Hungary.[248] It must be noted that the arrests of Choi In Hwan and some North Korean students in Central Europe were carefully consulted with the MFAs of those countries. The North Korean government explicitly asked the Hungarian MFA whether it could spy on Choi In Hwan. After getting approval, a North Korean diplomat in Budapest, Kim Tae Hwa, spied on Choi and finally captured him. In the late 1950s, some North Korean students in Warsaw wanted to ask for asylum at the French embassy in Warsaw, which instead informed the North Korean authorities about this situation. These students disappeared and were never seen again.

In each case, we may remark that the relative disorder in the three communist countries mentioned – Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland – led to the defection of North Korean students. Nevertheless, some North Korean students continued to study in Poland but were removed without prior notice by the North Korean government. For instance, in the late 1990s, some North Korean students studying at the Polish Maritime Academy of Gdynia were recalled to North Korea, including their minders, under the pretext of some military obligation.

Despite these events, the actions of the North Korean authorities abruptly changed in the first half of 1989 when the head of the Korean Faculty of the University of Warsaw, Halina Ogarek-Czoj finished a book related to the study of the North Korean language, in cooperation with two North Korean scholars, Kim Jong Gun and Ri Dong Bin.[249] The book was published one year later but constitutes an exception to the freezing atmosphere between Poland and North Korea.

In the late 2000s, the Polonicum Centre of Polish Language and Culture for Foreigners offered Polish language courses. During some of these lectures, there were students from both Koreas. The South Korean students decided to leave the lectures.

The repatriation of North Korean students based in Poland was highly associated with the political changes that happened over those years. From a more global perspective, a similar situation occurred in the USSR in the late 1950s. Some North Korean citizens in Moscow studying at the Gerasimov Film Institute

248 Baev, Kim 2017: 12.

249 *Teksty do nauki języka koreańskiego. Rozmówki koreańskie* 1990.

were influenced by the more liberal Soviet political climate in the first years of de-Stalinisation and openly expressed their disgust with North Korean policy and went so far as to ask for asylum from the Soviet authorities. The events took place during a conference of North Korean students in Moscow on November 27, 1957. During it, Han Dae Yong, Ho Ung Pae, Kim Jong Hun, Kim Sun Ja, and Ri Kyong Jin criticized Kim Il Sung's policy related to the August purge of 1956. On February 4, 1958, they officially wrote to the Soviet authorities expressing their satisfaction with de-Stalinisation under Khrushchev. Fearing further developments, the North Korean embassy in Moscow wanted these students to return to their home country as soon as they received their degree. The students obtained their degree and then secretly left Moscow for Central Asia, to Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. Meanwhile, they married, settled there, and some worked in cultural institutions.

## 6.3.
## NORTH KOREAN WORKERS IN POLAND

One of the goals of the North Korea regime was to systematically collect foreign currencies to ensure the survival of the leadership in case of the collapse of North Korea. One of the methods used was the utilisation of labour overseas, that is, workers whose salary was not only paid in a foreign currency but also mostly confiscated by the North Korean regime. According to the UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in North Korea, the country earns between EUR 1 bln and 2 bln a year from such laborers' salaries. A UN report notes that more than 50,000 citizens from the DPRK are working abroad, including 20,000 people in Russia.[250] These workers equate to 0.25% of the entire population of North Korea. Interestingly, hundreds of North Korean workers were also sent to Poland.

The export of labour migrants from North Korea was enacted in 1945 as official policy of the government to combat domestic unemployment and to serve as a source of foreign currency. This policy is supported by several government agencies, such as the Ministry of Construction and Building Materials Industry, the Ministry of Forestry, and numerous North Korean companies, which are described below. North Korean workers were recruited to Poland until 2018. Based on UN Council Resolution, as of December 31, 2019, all North Korean workers shall be removed from Poland.

250 *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea* 2015.

The beginning of North Korea's programme to dispatch laborers to foreign countries was a group of woodcutters sent to the USSR after the Korean War. Most of them were convicted criminals, so they were shipped to Siberia. To manage the laborers, the North Korean authorities created the Foreign Construction Agency under the control of the Ministry of Foreign Trade in 1975. The first mass group of construction laborers was sent to the Middle East as demand in factories increased. After then, the sending of North Korean laborers increased and was connected to construction aid to African countries since the mid-1970s, projects in the USSR then Central Europe after the end of communist socialism,[251] and expansion to the Middle East after the Gulf War in 1991.[252] Starting from the 1970s, laborers were able to keep part of their remuneration or to exchange it for vouchers as compensation for their job and used to acquire goods from a 'supply centre'. The North Korean authorities stepped up the practice during the 1990s as the country slipped into economic crisis. The practice expanded again starting from the end of the 1990s.[253]

The main North Korean company instrumental in sending laborers abroad is the state-run Rungrado Trading Company (릉라도무역총회사), a North Korean conglomerate trading mainly in daily goods but also responsible for training institutes where prospective laborers are prepared for their work abroad. Two additional companies are also involved: the Korea South-South Cooperation Corporation (조선남남협력총회사),[254] and the Korea Chonsan General Corporation (조선전산회사봉화 총회사). The process is also managed by the relevant ministry for the industry in which the North Korean are employed. For example, those working in forestry are under the guidance of the Ministry of Forestry, people working in the construction sector are affiliated to the construction ministry, manual laborers in manufacturing plants are affiliated to the Ministry of Trade, and so on.[255] State security officers responsible for the security and control of these North Korean overseas laborers at their workplaces are employed by the State Security Department (국가안전보위부).

Job announcements are usually not made public. Instead, they are available through offices of the Laborers' Party of Korea and affiliated organisations such as ministries and companies. The recruitment process is a multistep issue that involves a check on party affiliation and later, qualifications and physical checks.

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251 Yu Ji Hye 2017.

252 Cho Jong Ik 2011.

253 Countries where North Korean laborers used to be hosted: Algeria, Angola, China, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Kuwait, Libya, Malaysia, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nigeria, Oman, Poland, Qatar, Russia, and the UAE. In the past, North Korean laborers were also employed in Bulgaria, Czechia, Germany, Iraq, Malta, the Netherlands, Romania, and Syria.

254 The company is also known as *Nam Nam General Corporation*, and *Nam-Nam (South-South) Cooperative General Company*.

255 Yoon, Lee 2015: 30.

The recruitment process also includes checking the worker's Songbun. If a North Korean is supposed to go abroad, he/she will have to undertake preliminary training, including knowledge useful in the future job and political education.

The first North Korean overseas laborers arrived in Central Europe in the late 1990s. In Czech Republic, some arrived in 1998,[256] and in Poland, around the year 2000, according to official statistics. North Korean authorities dispatched hundreds of construction and agricultural workers to Poland, sending them to sites in several cities, mainly in the northwest and southeast of the country, and in the suburbs of Warsaw.[257] In 2008, the embassy of Poland in Pyongyang issued about 200 visas to Poland to citizens of North Korea. As of 2017, they were living in different parts of Poland (Gdansk, Łódź, Piotrowice, Szczecin, and Warsaw, among others). Their wages are deposited into a communal bank account controlled by the North Korean government and denominated in dollars or zlotys. More than half of their wages are deducted for the cost of food or so-called 'voluntary contributions'. As far back as 2006, the Polish newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza* covered the story of North Koreans working as welders in the Gdańsk shipyards and in Kłeczanów, which were suffering a staffing crisis.[258]

The period of assignment for North Korean laborers is usually three years[259] but it may be terminated earlier for personal reasons, such as health issues.[260] In the past, there were some North Korean companies that directly exported laborers to Poland. These include the Pyongyang Horticulture Central Bureau (양원예총회사), and Pyongyang General Construction Corporation. As of now, in addition to the state-run Rungrado Trading Company, Korea South-South Cooperation Corporation, and the Korea Cholsan General Corporation, the North Korean authorities create companies in Poland responsible for the employment of North Korean laborers. The first was Redshield Sp. z o.o., a Polish company managed by two Polish-speaking North Korean citizens (Pak Jong Ho, CEO, and Jin Ok Ju, proxy). [261] The second one was Wonye Sp. z o. o.,[262] on whose board sat Jo Chol Yong[263] (CEO), Kang Hong Gu[264] (deputy CEO), and Kim

256 Willoughby, Rosenzweig 2007.

257 In the past, specialised NK doctors were supposed to be employed in the healthcare centre in Człuchów.

258 Kleczanów is a rural area close to the city of Sandomierz. The majority of workers come from Puchon. *Koreańscy niewolnicy w Kleczanowie* 2006.

259 Yoon, Lee 2015: 177.

260 Yoon, Lee 2015: 81.

261 Current adress of the company: ul. Stołczyńska 100D, 71–869 Szczecin.

262 Current adress of the company: Kołdowo 4D, 77–300 Człuchów. There is a strong habit among North Koreans to create companies with names incorporating natural things. Wonye (원예) is no exception as it means horticulture in Korean.

263 Born in 1965.

264 Born in 1961, Kang Hong Gu is supposedly a North Korean military officer who also studied in Poland.

Kil Nam (since June 2016).[265] All of them coordinate directly the work of North Korean laborers at construction sites. A former legal representative of Wonye was Cecylia Kowalska (who resigned in the first half of 2016). In the past, she worked at Selena FM SA, a company that also employed North Korean laborers.[266] Other North Korean citizens were involved in the management of the two previously mentioned companies (including, Choe Ha Rim,[267] Choe Jong Chol, Ho Bong Myong, Jo Jong Su,[268] Jo Ung Son, Kim Myong Chol, O Hwan Ryong, Om Chang Ryol,[269] Pak Myong Hui,[270] Pak Yong Su, Ryu Yong Jong).

As of 2016, work permits for North Korean laborers represented 0.3% of all permits for foreigners in Poland – 420 out of 139,119 work permits. That number dropped to just 99 due to the UN sanctions on North Korea over its nuclear and missile programmes.

Historically speaking, North Korean laborers are working in several types of companies. The first one consists of companies managed by people connected to North Korea or attached to communist regimes. The second category are Polish companies looking for cheap labour but with no prior connections to North Korea. The third category includes branches of international major groups used to recruit foreigners.

In the first category, we have companies where people employing North Koreans are those with deep connections to that country, which underlines the North's reliance on local networks as partners. For instance, North Koreans employed at Doktor Krasicki Sp. z o.o. started work there because the founder of this entity, Dr Jarosław Krasicki, worked in North Korea during two periods (1972–1974, 1980–1981) and had deep knowledge of Korean medicine. Consequently, all North Korean doctors employed at his clinics are graduates of the Massage and Acupuncture Clinic Koryo in Pyongyang. Those doctors were also supposed to be employed in public healthcare centres, such as the hospital in Bytów, but the authorities of the city refused to employ them. Furthermore, despite the doctor's death in 2014, his clinic continues to operate using Korean medicine.[271] Another example of a company belonging to the first category, is the firm managed by Stanisław Dobek, a member of the management board of the Polish-Korean Society and the president of the Polish-Korean Society's branch in the Opatów--Sandomierz area. This rural entrepreneur used to employ some North Korean laborers in the 2000s. Dobek met NK diplomats at the Museum of Popular

265 Born in 1974, Jo Chol Yong obtained a degree of Engineering studies from the University of Science and Technology of the University of Kraków in the late 80's and is fluent in Polish.

266 See Levi 2009.

267 Born in 1961.

268 Born in 1967.

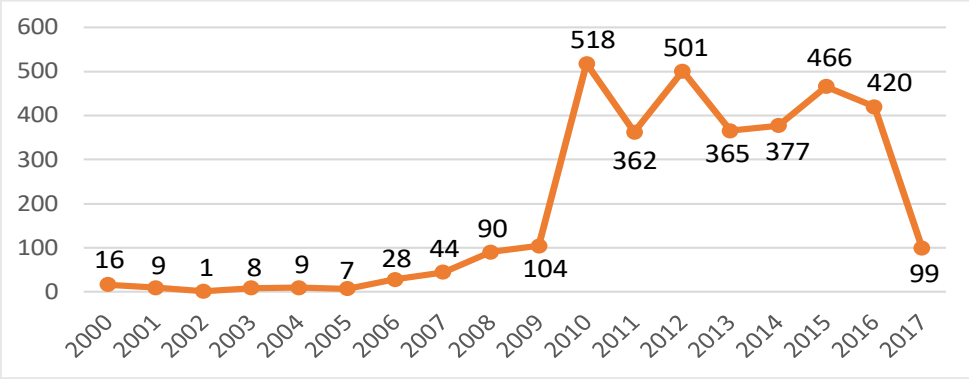
269 Born in 1966.

270 Born in 1965.

271 *Medycyna Dalekiego Wschodu* 2016.

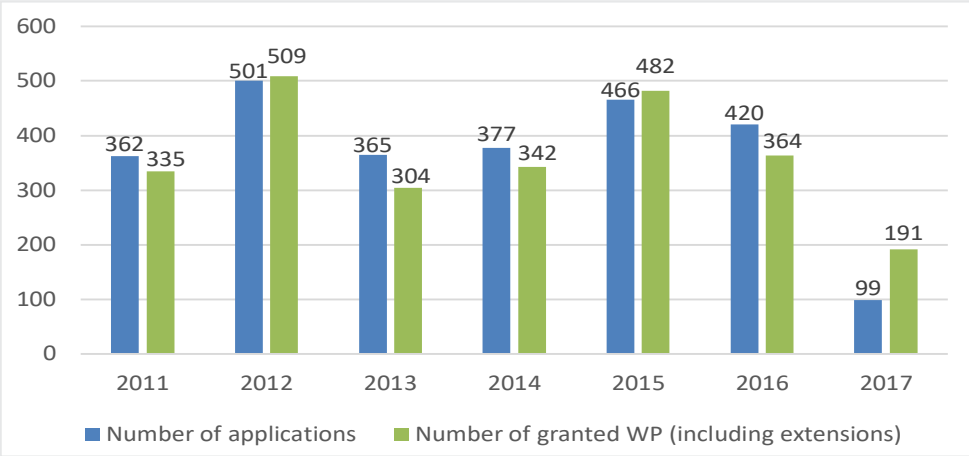
History in 1997 where they discussed the North Korean food situation. He supplied the embassy with 300 euros and then started a cooperation project. In 2005, Dobek was awarded the First Class Friendship Medal from the North Korean government.[272] Interestingly, in the same period, a Polish rural delegation was in Pyongyang.[273]

Figure 1. Number of work permits for North Korean laborers in Poland




Source: *Polish Ministry of Family, Labour, and Policy.*

Figure 2. Work permit applications and permits granted to North Korean laborers




Source: *Polish Ministry of Family, Labour, and Policy.*

[272] Kowalski, Głuchowski 2006.

[273] Leader Kim Jong Il was presented with a gift by the delegation of the National Farmers' Union of Poland [National Union of Farmers, Agricultural Circles and Organizations] on a visit to North Korea [Democratic People's Republic of Korea].
The gift was conveyed to North Korean official by the chairman of the union, Władysław Serafin, who was leading the delegation. *Polish union delegation visits North Korea* 2005.

Concerning the second category of companies, North Korean laborers are also employed in Polish-owned construction companies.

Regarding the third category, some North Koreans used to be employed in branches of major international companies, such as Borgwarner Poland Sp. z o.o. (automotive spare parts) or HBSC Service Delivery Sp. z o.o. (data management).

The employment of North Koreans is also creating a problem for Poles employed in the same company. For instance, in the ceramic factory ('Przedsiębiorstwie Ceramiki Budowlanej') in Odonów near Kazimierza Wielka, Poles were supposed to be replaced by North Koreans, which created some misunderstanding among the existing workers.[274]

Humanitarian organisations used to very often criticise the behaviour of the Polish authorities toward the North Korean laborers in Poland, claiming that the Poles do not inform the North Korean workers of their rights and that their security is not ensured. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that Polish Labour Inspections are not only conducting regular inspections of places that employ North Korean laborers but also giving security lectures to them.[275] The same organisations conducted 23 inspections of workplaces where North Korean laborers used to be employed. The organisations mentioned that the North Koreans were usually under very little control at their working place. That's an issue that may be debated. The degree of freedom was different according to the working places. For instance, those working in the Odonów ceramic factory[276] used to go alone on a walk, or regularly went fishing.[277] Those based in Kleczanow used to play football with Poles and to go to Polish political meetings despite not understanding the Polish language. They were also visited several times by North Korean diplomats based in Warsaw.[278]

Despite internal and external pressure, the question of North Korean laborers is not only avoided, but remains partially unsolved by the Polish authorities.[279] As of February 8, 2019, there were still 37 North Korean workers in Poland.[280] The

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274 See Ligiecki 2010.

275 Employees from Korea also watched a film about principles of working safely at heights, produced by PIP, and received informational materials in a pictorial version (without text and subtitles in Korean), presenting in an accessible way safe work methods at a construction site. *Bezpieczna praca na budowie – szkolenie dla koreańskich pracowników* 2015.

276 For instance, 20 of them were also living in Harasiuki, a village in Nisko County, Subcarpathian Voivodeship, in southeastern Poland.

277 See Ligiecki 2010.

278 See Wojniak 2006.

279 In June 2016, a conference focused on the situation of workers from North Korea in Poland was co-organised by the Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights and the Database Center for North Korean Human Rights (NKDB) on June 27, 2016. Among the invited speakers were representatives of the National Labour Inspectorate, the Border Guard Headquarters, and experts on Korean affairs, including the author of this monograph.

280 See Sokołowa 2019.

Polish authorities probably did not remove all of them because they were afraid of the reaction of the North Korean authorities, which may have decided to remove Polish diplomats based in Pyongyang and then reduce Polish interests in North Korea. What follows is only a supposition but the Polish authorities may believe that these North Korean laborers in Poland, as some of them are working for the Polish authorities, are some kind of agents infiltrating on behalf of North Korea.

In 2019, the Polish authorities tried to remove the North Korean workers from Poland. The majority left the country but some women remained in the south of Poland. When the Polish authorities sent translators to these North Korean workers, the women refused to cooperate.[281]

## 6.4. THE KOREAN EXPERIENCE OF ANDRZEJ FIDYK

In September 1988, a Polish media production team went to North Korea. As Polish and North Korean media had signed a cooperation agreement, getting a visa to North Korea was not complicated for the Polish team. These three Poles, Andrzej Fidyk, Kola Nesterowicz, and Krzysztof Kalukin, went to North Korea under the pretext of the 40th anniversary of the founding of North Korea. In North Korea, they aimed to make a film based on its propaganda to demonstrate the absurdity of the regime. When the Polish team returned to Poland in late September 1988, they completed their production, entitled *Defilada* (Parade), in time for a screening at the Krakow Film Festival, which was supposed to be held in May 1989. The film also passed through the censorship process.[282] The movie was awarded at the Lipsk Festival in 1989. An award was also supposed to be sent from Pyongyang, however the North Korean diplomats based in Warsaw clearly understood that the movie constituted an attempt to criticize the North Korean regime. Andrzej Fidyk was eventually made *persona non grata* in North Korea but the Korean Peninsula remained in the mind of Fidyk. Therefore, he returned to Korea, but to its southern side, in November 2004. In Seoul, he met Jung Sung San, a producer who had defected from North Korea. With the support of Joanna Hosaniak, the Polish deputy director at Citizens' Alliance for Human Rights in North Korea, Fidyk recruited defectors for a broadcasting project entitled *Yodok Stories*, describing North Korean concentration camps. This documentary film featuring North Korean defectors was finished in 2008 and received several awards in Poland and abroad.

281 For instance, these women do not want to understand the word *Hwajansil*, and preferred to use *wijangsil*, despite having a clear understanding of the South Korean version of the Korean language.

282 Fidyk, Szarłat 2017: 18–29.

## 6.5.
## DISPUTES INVOLVING THE NORTH KOREAN EMBASSY IN WARSAW

The financial difficulties of the North Korean embassy in Poland started with the collapse of communism in socialist countries. Until the 1980s, the North Korean embassy in Poland was able to fulfil its needs, for instance, organising major events in the top premises of Warsaw, such as the Palace of Culture and Science in 1960. In the 1990s, due to the economic difficulties in North Korea, the wages and benefits of the North Korean diplomats were reduced to a minimum, forcing them to find new sources of income. One of them was renting their premises to business partners. However, at the bilateral level, in accordance with the 1966 agreement between Poland and North Korea, the embassy premises cannot be used for commercial purposes.[283] At a global scale, according to paragraph 18 of resolution 2321 (2016) of the UN Security Council, member states shall prohibit North Korea from using real property for any purpose other than diplomatic activities. The European Union acknowledged it prohibited the lease of North Korean real property situated outside the territory of North Korea, directly or indirectly, by persons, entities, or bodies of the government of North Korea. This earning method, though, was already used by other foreign countries, including Poland, which rented a part of its embassy in Mongolia to companies.

In 2002, the Polish authorities began discussing this issue in its National Assembly, underlining that it may jeopardise the activities of the Polish embassy in North Korea. The North Korean embassy in Poland was also renting some of its premises for special events, such as a Bacardi night in August 2011, despite criticism from the National Assembly.[284] A former candidate for president has his headquarters within the embassy premises.[285] Within the last 10 years, the North Korean embassy has rented its premises to commercial companies (Ciszewski Public Relations, 4Fun Media, The Venue, etc.)[286] and NGOS (e.g., 'Czas na

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283 *Odpowiedź sekretarza stanu w Ministerstwie Spraw Zagranicznych – z upoważnienia ministra – na interpelację poseł Anny Sobeckiej w sprawie działalności Ambasady Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo-Demokratycznej w Warszawie, Warszawa, dnia 19 sierpnia 2011 r.* 2011: 177–178.

284 *Odpowiedź sekretarza stanu w Ministerstwie Spraw Zagranicznych – z upoważnienia ministra – na interpelację poseł Anny Sobeckiej w sprawie działalności Ambasady Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo-Demokratycznej w Warszawie, Warszawa, dnia 19 sierpnia 2011 r.* 2011: 177–178.

285 The author of this publication met Ryszard Petru. He did not know that his organisation was headquartered on the North Korean embassy premises.

286 As of November 15, 2019, the following are registered at the address of the North Korean embassy in Poland: the NGO "Czas na Muzykę" and the companies 4Fun Media Ambasada Studio (whose official address is in the centre of the city, but its mailing address is registered at the North Korean embassy in Poland), AC Solutions, Arres Sp. z o.o. (a South Korean company), Bistro Bobrowiecka 1a, Biuro Rachunkowe A&K s.c., DB Sound Studios, Hasco Lek Polska

Muzykę'). Interestingly, the Tax Administration of the Mokotów District of Warsaw was also supposed to be erected on the premises of the North Korean embassy in Poland. As of 2019, the Polish authorities had informed the Polish National Court Register to not record any further entities at the embassy.

The North Korean embassy in Warsaw employed several diplomats who have had a good knowledge of Poland, mostly because they were educated in that country. Some of the North Korean diplomats with knowledge of Polish realities include Kim Ju Dok (a student at the University of Warsaw in the 1970s),[287] Ri Um Rim (a student in Poland in the late 1960s), Pak Sung Chol (a student at the University of Warsaw in the early 1980s),[288] Ri Chun Su (a student at the University of Technology of Wroclaw in the late 1970s), and Om Sung Chol (a former political advisor until 2002). When they end their duties in Poland, the North Korean diplomats return home where they work in the second department of the North Korean MFA. Among them were Pak Sung Chol (who left Poland in 2012 and as of December 2018 was working in the North Korean MFA) and Ri Chun Su (who left Poland in 2015 and as of December 2018 was working in the North Korean MFA).

The financial difficulties of the North Korean embassy in Poland can also be illustrated through the following example. In 2013, Andrzej Kompa, the owner of Kompa Investment Co., lent more than USD 2 million to the North Korean government through the embassy to carry out work on the building in 2005. The North Korean government did not fully repay the Polish businessman.[289]

The North Korean embassy in Poland was also considered a channel of distribution for counterfeit US currency. In 2005, the American authorities accused North Koreans in Poland of manufacturing high-quality counterfeit USD 100 notes. Some of these notes were supposedly manufactured under the auspices of the government of North Korea and were exported through North Korean diplomatic representations. According to American officials, one of these diplomatic representations might be the North Korean embassy in Poland, which the Americans claim provided counterfeit USD 100 notes to potential customers, including Sean Garland, the leader of the Marxist-Leninist Worker's Party, an

(Department of Registration and Clinical Drug Research), PrOgram Sp. z o.o., Principes 2 sp. z o.o., 4Fun Media, and XS events sp. z o.o. sp.k. *Biznes z Wrocławia i dyktatura z Azji* 2010.

287 Kim Ju Dok studied at the Faculty of Polish Philology of the University of Warsaw. In the 1980s, he worked in the North Korea MFA and served as a translator for Polish delegations in the late 1980s in North Korea. In the first decade of the 2000s, he moved to Poland where he served as a political counsellor to the North Korean embassy in Poland until 2018.

288 Pak Sung Chol is the son of Pak Sang Am, a diplomat who served twice as the North Korean ambassador to Poland. Pak Sung Chol served as a translator for Polish delegations in the early 1980s in North Korea.

289 Kuc 2013.

arm of the Official Irish Republican Army, who regularly visited North Korean missions in Russia and Poland and then distributed the fake currency to terrorist organisations.[290] This information was never totally verified.

In May 2011, three North Korean citizens were arrested in Ukraine for trying to smuggle 20,000 packs of cigarettes into Poland. They were supposed to be working at the North Korean embassy in Poland. All of them were protected by diplomatic immunity.[291]

Some more anecdotal evidence includes an incident from July 11, 1997, when a soldier from the Vistula Special Forces was attacked on duty outside the North Korean embassy in Warsaw.[292] Another case came in 2017 after a North Korean diplomat posted in London defected, several South Korean citizens called the North Korean embassy in Warsaw to encourage them to do the same.[293]

In 1998, a Polish citizen sent a letter to Japan written by Toru Iskioki, a Japanese citizen abducted by North Korea. This Polish citizen did not know that this letter was prepared by the Japanese citizen.[294]

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290 *Warsaw Trail of Terrorist Dollars Meetings* 2000.
291 *Diplomats arrested for cigarette smuggling* 2001.
292 *Soldier Attacked Outside Embassy* 1997.
293 태영호 따라 탈북하라우'… 北 대사관에 장난전화: 2016.
294 Stefanicki 2002.

# Chapter 7
# The humanitarian and cultural cooperation between Poland and North Korea in the 2000s

## 7.1.
## HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION

With the activation of the Lisbon Treaty, signed by the EU Member States on December 13, 2007, the EU became a political unit with a defined strategy as a whole concerning North Korea. From that year, Poland has had to follow EU directives regarding North Korea in some subjects, such as the nuclear crisis or human rights. However, there are some fields in which Poland can act alone. This covers some of the bilateral interactions between the countries. Despite the nature of the North Korean regime, a win-win game can be imagined through humanitarian and cultural cooperation.

Cultural diplomacy can be defined as a set of actions based on the exchange of ideas, values, and traditions that aim to strengthen socio-cultural cooperation or promote national interests. Cultural diplomacy can be practiced by either the public sector, private sector, or civil society.

Poland is materially supporting North Korea on humanitarian issues (including financial support and dealings with humanitarian rights) but also informing the North Korean authorities through the Polish embassy in Pyongyang or the Polish MFA, on its position on human rights. For example, in May 2008, when the North Korean deputy foreign minister visited Poland for consultations, Krzysztof Ciebień, a former Polish consul to China and the current Polish ambassador to North Korea, said that North Korean diplomats were open to its criticism of the human rights situation in their country. On a more global perspective, on May 7, 2017, a meeting with the heads of mission of EU countries and Cataliny Devandas Aguilar, the special rapporteur for human rights for disabled people, was also held at the Polish embassy in Pyongyang.[295]

[295] *Pjongjang: Spotkanie HoMs EU z delegacją Biura Wysokiego Komisarza ds. Praw Człowieka ONZ* 2017.

Regarding humanitarian assistance, Polish humanitarian organisations, such as Polska Akcja Humanitarna (Polish Humanitarian Organisation), were present in North Korea until 2011. In 2005, its head, Janina Ochojska, visited the previously mentioned Polish Hospital in Hungnam. In 2010, some funds were collected for the modernisation of its infrastructure. The support was, however, partially monitored by North Korean entities and the Polish Humanitarian Organisation. Nutritional humanitarian support has a historical background. Since 1952, Poland has been assisting North Korea in some efforts to grow its own capabilities of food production. Polish organisations sent large quantities of rural technologies and fertilisers and trained North Koreans.

North Korean diplomats in Poland were also interested in humanitarian issues, especially with the food crises in North Korea in the 1990s. Among other things, medicines with a short shelf-life or meat that could have been frozen were researched by North Korean diplomats in Poland, such as Ri Um Rim, then collected before being sent to North Korea.[296] Medicine was also collected by the North Korean embassy in Poland.

The humanitarian cooperation was not only based on Polish support to North Korea but also on a critical approach toward the North Korean authorities. During the last 30 years, several international events took place in Poland, among others, focused on the situation of human rights in North Korea.[297] The previously mentioned event was organised by Joanna Hosaniak. She is the most prominent Polish human-rights activist on North Korea. She is a senior programme officer with the activist group Citizens' Alliance for North Korean Human Rights, dealing with these issues and based in Seoul since 2004. She organised visits by some North Korean defectors to Poland during the summer 2017, among other initiatives.

Poland also accepts North Korean defectors, but on an individual basis. One of the problems lies in the fact that some of the North Korean defectors do not speak Polish and therefore can find only manual labour jobs. The South Korean community in Poland is also not interested in providing full-time jobs to potential North Korean defectors.

North Korean foreign policy definitely changed with the nomination of Kim Jong Un as its new head of state in 2012. The traditional North Korean planned and military-based economy is now more of a reform-oriented process. Therefore, we can imagine that the North Korean leadership will promote some economic changes that may open North Korea and change the nature of the regime. The

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296 Interview with Mieczysław Dedo was held on April 4, 2010 by the author.

297 *Konferencja na temat naruszeń praw człowieka w Korei Północnej* 2004 [Conference on human rights violations in North Korea] 2004, February 29 – March 2, 2004. This conference was the first event in which many Poles heard about North Korea's concentration camps.

lack of economic expertise in the North due to a loss of knowledge transfer for 60 years has now combined with the long relations between Poland and North Korea and may have an impact on the nature of their relations. Furthermore, since 2002, North Korean bureaucrats have been authorised to receive training from abroad in some economics-related subjects.[298] What is Poland's role in such a configuration? In addition to the NGO activities, some Polish universities may opt for expanding their engagements with North Korea. We can also imagine that Polish economists may educate the future leadership of North Korea. Some Polish specialists such as Grzegorz Kołodko, a Polish professor of economics and a former finance minister between 2002 and 2003, who went to North Korea for an education project, or Jacek Miroński, who was an active participant in the conference 'Economic Reform and the Development of Economic Relations between the EU and North Korea', which took place in Pyongyang in October 2005, may participate in the elaboration of the new North Korean leadership. These specialists may be motivated to educate on entrepreneurship, free markets, and the links between economic and societal liberalisation at the relatively open-minded Pyongyang University of Sciences and Technology. The aim of Poland would be to provide some knowledge to North Korean specialists in order to enable them to change their country. In exchange, we can imagine that North Korea may give Poland access to raw materials through concessions.

## 7.2.
## CULTURAL COOPERATION

In terms of culture, there is a dynamic cooperation between both countries. Poland participates in an important number of cultural events in North Korea, and North Koreans are also visible through contests in Poland. Polish film companies participate on a regular basis in the International Festival of Cinema in Pyongyang, including the 17th edition, which took place in September 2019. During previous years of the festival, Polish films were awarded several times. In 2000, the prize for best film was given to *U Pana Boga za piecem* ('At the Lord God Behind the Stove'). Some Polish production companies, such as Chronos and Poltel, also participated in these events (Chronos and Poltel). The Polish embassy in Pyongyang is also organising exhibitions promoting Polish culture. Unfortunately, these events are forbidden for most of the North Korean population.[299] On March 23, 2017, the

[298] Beck, Reader 2010: 45.

[299] There was an exhibition of the Polish press on the premises of the Polish embassy in Pyongyang. Invited were people from the MFA, journalists from *Rodong Sinmun* and *Minju Jeoson*, and delegates from the Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, and delegates

Polish embassy in Pyongyang organised an exhibition of film posters. The event was made available to diplomats and MFA workers.[300] These kinds of events are not only made public on North Korean television[301] but also open to North Korean journalists. Some exhibitions are made public. For instance, between August 26 and 27, 2010, an exhibition of Polish art was held in a cultural centre in the city of Wonsan. The exhibition presented photographs by Czesław Czapliński. These works were related to the topic 'In the steps of Chopin in Warsaw and Mazovia'. The exhibition was organised within the framework of the Chopin year in North Korea. The exhibition was jointly arranged by the Polish embassy in North Korea and the North Korean Committee of Foreign Cultural Cooperation. In September 2017, the exhibition was shown in Pyongyang.[302]

Meanwhile, many North Koreans were educated at the famous Leon Schiller National Higher School of Film, Television, and Theatre in Łódź. Some of them participated in conceptions of Polish cartoons such as *Rex* and *Przygody Kapitana Clippera* (The Adventures of Captain Clipper). These North Korean citizens included Chon Song Chol, Kim Dog Jong, Kim Kwan Son, Kim Un Chun, Kwon Jon Kil, and a scenographer named Pak Gwang Hyon, who worked on the preparation of the Polish cartoon *Rex*. Many North Korean companies are also still subcontracted to work for European producers of children's films.[303]

There is also a Polish-North Korean Friendship Association with branches all over Poland. Members of this association defend the North Korean political model. They also translate into Polish the propaganda sent from Pyongyang. This association has branches all over Poland, which were mainly inaugurated in the 1970s. However, members of this association are sometimes considered to some extent 'useful idiots', in the communist parlance.

To the spring festival in Pyongyang, which gathers artists from all over the world, Poland has been sending some delegations (in 2002 from the Frederic Chopin University of Music of Warsaw and from the University of Music of Wrocław in 2003). During the 25th Spring Friendship Festival in April 2007, Polish singer Danuta Stankiewicz won the contest. In 2012, Poland was represented by Joanna Ławrynowicz, who participated in the spring festival on April 10–18, 2012.

On the other side, Poland promotes young North Korean scholars who want to get an education in Poland, especially in music. 2012 marked the start of new cooperation between Poland and North Korea in musical fields. Several North

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from other embassies in Pyongyang. The public is not invited to such events. *Wystawa polskiej prasy w budynku Ambasady* 2006.

300 *Wystawa plakatu filmowego w Ambasadzie RP w Pjongjangu* 2017.

301 Polish diplomats based in North Korea visit once a year the DPRK-Poland Jangsuwon Cooperative Farm.

302 *Dom Kultury Miasta Wonsan–Korea Północna* 2010.

303 Park Song Jo 2010: 287.

Korean students participated in the Chopin Contest in Warsaw and won several prizes in May 2012.[304] According to Łukasz Graban, a Polish official responsible for Korean affairs at the Polish MFA, a soccer match between Poland and North Korea was also planned.[305] A North Korean delegation visited Poland in 2016, 2018, and 2019.[306]

Regarding educational exchanges, some projects have been completed between both countries. For example, a 530-page Polish-North Korean dictionary was published in 7,500 copies in 2012. This dictionary was jointly prepared by Polish koreanists Małgorzata Terlecka, Tadeusz Korsak, and Magdalena Hornung and North Korean scholars Kim Song Il, Kim Min Chol, and Kim Jong Ho. This project was supported by the Polish Humanitarian Organisation (Polska Akcja Humanitarna) and the Polish MFA. The North Korean scholars who were involved in the project were students from the Polish Faculty of the University of Foreign Languages of Pyongyang, which was established in 2005. Jo Song Mu, the head of this faculty, received a Polish award as an expert in the Polish language in 2010.[307] Jo Song Mu is a former North Korean orphan who was educated in Poland in the 1950s during his high school and university). Some North Koreans were also granted facilities to study the Polish language at the Warsaw Centre of Polish Language and Culture for Foreigners. North Korean is also sometimes exhibited in Poland. Between September 2 and 6, 2008, there was an exhibition in Warsaw dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the opening of diplomatic relations between Poland and North Korea. Other exhibitions were held mainly in Gdańsk, where there is a major University Centre of Asian Studies. Another one was held in December 2009. The last one was held in September 2014. Some North Korean paintings from the *sansuhwa* (art of painting mountains and water) are also present in the collection of the Asia and Pacific Museum. These paintings were drawn

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304 *Sukces młodych pianistów z KRLD* 2012. At the 20th Fryderyk Chopin International Piano Competition for Children and Youth held in Warsaw, the following North Korean children were awarded: the first prize and EUR 600 went to Choe Jang Hung (7 years old); Ri Yu Jong received a distinction in the first age group; first prize of EUR 1,000 and a computer in the second age group went to Han Si Nae (13 years old); second prize of EUR 500 in the fourth age group went to Mi Yong Pak (18 years old). The young pianists together with Prof. Kim Hyang Suk and two representatives of the Committee for International Cultural Communication were in Poland as part of a study visit held at the Adam Mickiewicz Institute's villages by the Polish MFA and the AMI. The North Koreans had the opportunity to visit places related to the life and work of Fryderyk Chopin and the University of Music in Warsaw.

305 The quote was related during an open meeting with students of the University of Warsaw on November 12, 2014.

306 조선의 어린이들 제7차 쇼뺑국제뽈스까 그랜드피아노음악경연 및 축전에서우수한 성적쟁취 2018. In 2018, Ri Kwon Yun and Kim Yae Seong were sent to Poland, 사회주의교육제도의 혜택아래 꽃펴난 재간둥이들 2016. In 2016, Su Ryo Han and Sin An Ma were sent to Poland, 북한 마신아, 쇼팽 국제 청소년 피아노 콩쿠르에서도 *1*등 차지*(*연주장면 포함*)*.

307 Wojnarowski 2010.

by the most important artists from North Korea, including Hwang Pyong Ho, and an exhibit called Diamond Mountain (*Kumgangsan*). The North Korean collection of paintings numbered 140.[308] Earlier, a North Korean art exhibition took place in Bialystok in February 2005.[309]

Regarding this exhibition, it was proposed by the Polish scholar Marceli Burdelski, who regularly travels to North Korea, such as in 2013, October 3 and 8. In 2012, between August 18 and 25, he participated in an international seminar related to the situation on the Korean Peninsula. He was also invited to Pyongyang between the October 11 and 15, 2011, where he visited the Polish Faculty of the Foreign Languages University of Pyongyang and met Kim Ju Dok, a former first advisor at the North Korean embassy to Poland. Between November 23 and 30, 2010, he was in Pyongyang meeting with MFA officials, including Ri Chun Su, a former North Korean diplomat to the North Korean embassy in Poland.

Within the last several years, some events focused on North Korean orphans took place. On March 15, 2019, there was a conference focusing on North Korean orphans in Lwówek Śląski.

In terms of education cooperation, the number of North Korean students in Poland is limited. Seven North Korean students were supposed to study in Poland during the 2016–2017 academic year.[310] In 2015–2016, they were only three North Korean students based in Poland.

## 7.3. POLISH MOVIES IN NORTH KOREA

Despite being a closed country, the North Korean authorities regularly screen foreign movies. Unfortunately, these screenings are not made available beyond a selected segment of North Koreans. A similar issue was observed at a May 19, 2017, event displaying Czech movies within the framework of a Foreign Cultures Meeting, regularly organised at the Polish embassy in Pyongyang.[311] This event was open only to foreigners and selected North Korean guests.

It also must be outlined that some Polish movies participated in the Pyongyang International Film Festival (평양영화축전). The Pyongyang International Film Festival (PIFF) began in 1987. According to the organisers, the idea of the

308 Wawrzyniak 2008: 78–83.

309 *Sztuka koreańska – wystawa w Zachęcie* 2005.

310 *Studenci obcokrajowcy w Polsce* 2016.

311 *Pjongjang: Wieczór Filmowy w Ambasadzie RP* 2017. The Polish embassy in North Korea is the only embassy among the 24 based in Pyongyang that has a cinema.

festival is to promote exchange and cooperation between filmmakers based on the principles of friendship, independence, and peace.

The movie *Miasto z morza* ('City from the sea'), produced by Andrzej Kotkowski, obtained a special award at the 12th edition of the PIFF.[312] Furthermore, the movie *Mój Rower* ('My Bike'), produced by Paweł Pluciński and Marta Plucińska, received a special award, the Silver Pigeon, during the 14th edition of the PIFF, which took place between September 17 and 27, 2014.[313] Two years earlier, this movie had been shown to Kim Pyong Il, the North Korean ambassador to Poland. In September 2018, a Polish cartoon was shown at PIFF.[314] The Polish embassy in Pyongyang also organises film screenings at its premises, like that of January 29, 2016, when the movie *Bogowie* ('The Gods') by Lukasz Palkowski was screened at the Polish embassy. This movie was screened within the FFSM festival,[315] which also featured films from Bulgaria, Czechia, Germany, and the UK. *Bogowie* also participated in the 15th edition of the PIFF, which took place between September 16 and 23, 2016. On November 10, 2017, the Polish embassy in Pyongyang screened the Polish Film *Generał Nil* ('General Nil'), inaugurating the 4th edition of the FFSM. An exhibition related to Polish art was also shown to the foreign community based in Pyongyang.[316] The Polish movie industry was already featured in North Korea in the mid-1950s, especially Polish hospital films, which were screened for the population.[317]

In North Korea, the only centre for teaching Polish and distributing knowledge about Poland and Polish culture among academic-age youth is the Department of Polish Studies of the Pyongyang University of Foreign Languages. The group studying Polish in the academic year 2016–2017 is composed of five fourth-year Korean students. The next recruitment for Polish studies took place in September 2018. Since the establishment of the Pyongyang University of Foreign Languages in 2007, students are looked after by the MFA of Poland and institutions, mainly by providing teaching materials and scholarships for summer language courses organised in Poland (the last batch of didactic materials about Poland, including contemporary history, publications about Polish culture, and atlases, were given by the Polish embassy to the Faculty of Polish Studies in 2015). The Polish embassy in Pyongyang is also sponsoring visits to Poland by North Korean students learning Polish. Since 2014, a Polish conservatory has been run by an employee of the Polish embassy, limited to 90 minutes per week, which is the only form of

312 *12 Międzynarodowy Festiwal Filmowy w Pjongjangu* 2010.
313 Stocki 2016.
314 *Wełniaki podbijają Europę i… wyruszają w świat* 2018.
315 The FFSM started in 2013.
316 *Festiwal Filmowy w Ambasadzie RP w Pjongjangu rozpoczęty* 2017.
317 *Letter from the Polish Ambassador in the DPRK to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs* 1955.

direct contact with a contemporary Polish speaker for students and lecturers.[318] The Polish MFA sponsored books, computers, CDs, and dictionaries for the Faculty of Polish Language at the Foreign Languages University in Pyongyang and for Kim Chaek University.[319] The first year of study started on April 1, 2007. Eight students were enrolled, and some of them became tourist guides for Polish groups.

[318] *Zajęcia na Polonistyce Uniwersytetu Języków Obcych w Pjongjang* 2016.
[319] Martin 2004: 347.

# Chapter 8
# A review of Polish literature related to North Korea

## 8.1.
## NORTH KOREAN STUDIES IN POLAND BETWEEN 1950 AND 1980

North Korean studies in Poland emerged in parallel with Polish literature devoted to the Korean War, which constituted the driver for increasing knowledge about the Korean Peninsula among the Polish population. Before the Korean War, only a few authors wrote about the Korean Peninsula. The most famous was Wacław Sieroszewski, who wrote about the subject in the 1920s, but with no linguistical knowledge. There was also a Polish poet, Remigiusz Kwiatkowski, who dealt with some kind of Korean literature and translated it into Polish in the 1910s.

Publications related to the Korean War were skewed in favour of the PRL's own historiography, claiming that the Korean War was provoked by South Korea and 'American Imperialists'.[320] The North Korean orphans mentioned in the second chapter of this monograph inspired many books, poems, and articles.[321] This topic was widely covered, for instance, the second edition (1954) of *Dom Odzyskiwanego Dzieciństwa* ('The Home of Recovered Childhood') was published in 90,000 copies, the fifth (1956) in 10,000 copies, and the sixth (1957) in 20,000 copies. A short version, entitled *Koreańczycy z Golotczyzny* ('Koreans of Gołotczyzna') (1954), was printed in 10,000 copies in 1954.

The second topic covered by North Korean studies in Poland was the Polish Red Cross Hospital. Andrzej Braun, a writer who worked there wrote a fantastic book of 486 pages entitled *Blask ciemności* (Glow of Darkness) in which he described his nearly one year journey in North Korea.[322] Some other books were published in Poland as translations. They were related to the Korean Peninsula

320 Góralski 1979: 30; Kojlo, Dikij 1975: 55; Kunstler 1986: 139; Kim 1996.

321 The chapter referred exhaustively to these publications.

322 During their journey, 567 North Korean soldiers were returned home, 570 were operated on, and 7,543 received an X-Ray examination. Braun 1956: 483.

as a whole, such as *Zeszyt znaleziony w Sunczen* ('A Copybook Found in Sunchon'), a book written by Roman Kim, a Russian author with Korean roots, or the book entitled *Prawda o Chinach i Korei* ('The Truth about China and Korea'), related to the Korean War and written by Yves Farge.[323] It was translated in 1951 by Janusz Przymanowski, a famous Polish translator who passed away in 1998. Polish authors also look for similarities between Poland and North Korea. For instance, Andrzej Braun, a Polish writer, compared the Sino-Korean bridge on the Yalu river as the Kierbiedza Bridge in Warsaw, the Warsaw Ghetto, or the Wisłostrada road in Warsaw.[324] The geographical and environmental comparisons were also shown within the framework of the Korean-Polish Friendship Song, which underlined the beauty of Mansudae Hill in North Korea and compared it to the Vistula.[325] In fact, these comparisons were the only ones that could be made, as both nations had to a certain extent a diametrically different history.

The first Polish institute that published works related to North Korean studies during the Cold War era was the Faculty of Korean studies of the University of Warsaw. According to Christoph Janasiak, a former researcher with the faculty, the history of Korea as a subject of university study in Poland began in 1953. The most famous Polish researcher on Korean issues was Halina Ogarek-Czoj (1931–1963), whose background and biography were discussed in the previous chapter. She wrote and translated dozens of books related to the Korean Peninsula with a focus on its literature. She passed away in 2004.

In 1957, the WPK Publishing House published a book focused on the success of the Polish economy.[326] This book was divided into four chapters. The first chapter is the history of the PUWP, Chapter Two focused on the construction of friendly relations between Poland and North Korea, Chapter Three deals with the economic history of Poland, and the last chapter discuss some social issues. This book is also completed with a map of Poland, with North Korean versions of the names of cities in Poland.

Due to the political symbiosis, until the 1980s, a portion of North Korean studies was aimed at describing the North Korean communist regime as a 'friendly country' to Poles. The main authors, Marceli Burdelski, Waldemar J. Dziak, Sławomir Guzowski, and Stefan Kojło, used to write propaganda texts. All of them were only able to provide a statistical approach to the North Korean regime due to ideological reasons. All of these authors visited North Korea and some were sent as Polish delegates to the International Congress of Juche Ideology. Guzowki is also a member of the board of the Polish-Korean Friendship Association.

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323 Farges 1953.

324 Braun 1956: 17, 277, 279.

325 A translation of this song is available in the appendices of this monograph.

326 Kim 1956. The book was transferred from Beijing on April 16, 1957.

The main studies of these authors were related to the causes of the Korean War (including the rhetorical question: who started the war), North Korean orphans in Poland, relations between the countries, and North Korean ideology, such as the article entitled 'KRLD Kraj "Dżucze"' [The DPRK is the 'country of the 'Juche'], prepared by Waldemar J. Dziak.[327]

## 8.2. NORTH KOREAN STUDIES IN POLAND AFTER 1980

The oldest generation of Korean analysts (Waldemar J. Dziak, Marceli Burdelski) was working during and after the communist era. During the communist era, bilateral relations between Poland and North Korea were extremely good and the majority of Polish researchers were able to get access to North Korea.

Therefore, these researchers were able not only to go on a regular basis to North Korea but also to be in touch with different groups of North Koreans. Both of them also regularly assisted the World Juche Congress and had access to the top North Korean leadership, including Hwang Jang Yop.[328] A switch occurred with the initialisation of relations between Poland and South Korea on the November 1, 1989. Interest in North Korean studies decreased, for instance, starting in 1992, North Korean literature stopped being studied at the University of Warsaw, and was replaced by South Korean literature. Lecturers from North Korea were replaced by South Korean citizens. Interestingly, some of them travelled or studied at Kim Il Sung University in Pyongyang. But North Korea was barely mentioned by these lecturers.

Since the mid-2000s, Dziak was not allowed to travel to North Korea because of his biography of Kim Jong Il, published in Poland in 2004.[329] Dziak also changed his position on Juche ideology, balancing from devotion to Juche ideology in the 1980s to a more pragmatic approach in the 2000s.[330] Regarding Burdelski, he's still travelling to North Korea, but his last book was published in 2004. He underlined that his ability to travel to North Korea was made possible because he had not published any more books for the general public.

Between 1967 and 2018, many North Korean publications were translated into Polish. They usually were published as books or booklets. North Korean books translated into Polish were mainly made available in the 1970s when the North

327 Dziak 1979.

328 Hwang Jang Yop is a former Secretary of International Affairs in the WPK who defected to South Korea in 1997 and died in December 2010.

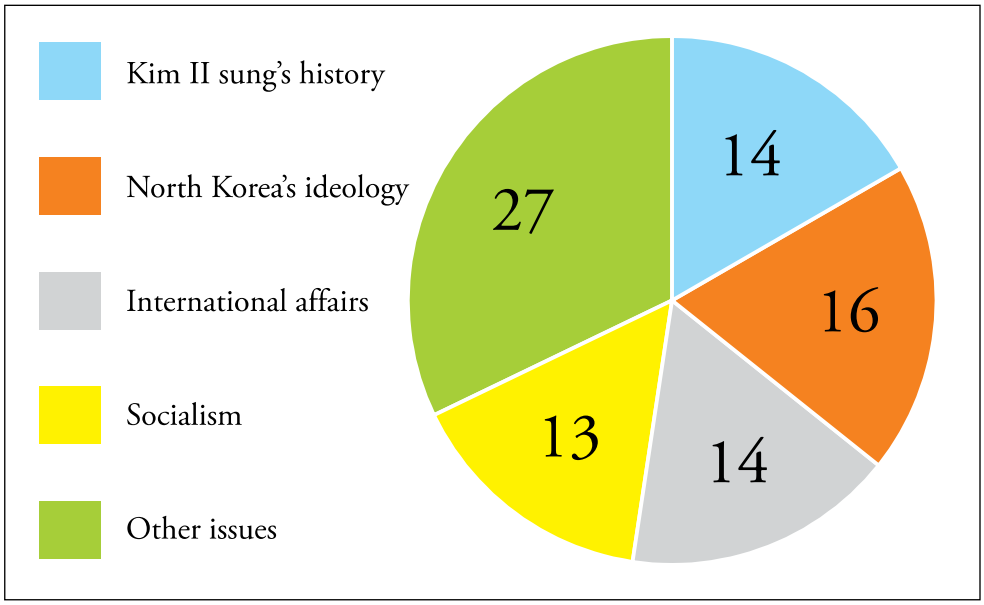
329 Dziak 2004.

330 Dziak 1983: 65–80; Dziak 2018.

Korean authorities wanted to forge the identity of their country as the leader of non-aligned states. Of the 85 books mentioned in Annex 7,54 were published in the 1970s. As a comparison, since 2006, only six books were translated into Polish, which demonstrates the lack of interest in North Korean propaganda on the Polish side. When analysing the authors of these published books, we are not surprised. The most published author is Kim Il Sung (59 publications), Kim Jong Il (15 publications), and Kim Jong Un (four publications), and one book each published by other authors (Coj Hen and Pak Du Kiong). However, it must be underlined that if Kim Jong Un stays in power for a period of time similar to his grandfather, the number of publications he has authored will increase. The books usually constitute the product of translations of publications prepared in Russian.

In recent years, except for a few books theoretically written by Kim Jong Un, the North Korean embassy prepares a regular newsletter known as *Biuletyn Ambasady Korei Północnej*. This document is either freely distributed during meetings at the North Korean embassy in Warsaw or available online at Polish pro-North Korea websites. In the 1970s, these newsletters had a higher number of pages, regularly a dozen or even several dozen, but they have decreased to about three pages. These newsletters are usually translated into Polish by Polish supporters of North Korea, although they are not specific to the Polish market, rather, while varying to some extent, can be found in other North Korean embassies.

Figure 3. Distribution of printed North Korean publications translated into Polish between 1967 and 2018




Source: *Based on the documents possessed by the author.*

The change of ideology in Poland brought with it many changes in the analysis of North Korea. Starting from 1989, the political developments turned North Korean studies more objective. A considerable portion of new books on North Korean issues started to criticise the regime or at least provide some different views on North Korea. Some researchers, such as Dziak and the author of this monograph, have provided an approach to North Korea based on the individual behaviour of the North Korean leadership. A considerable portion of new books related on North Korea aim to describe the communist regime as 'totalitarian'. Many defectors' testimonies were also translated into Polish.[331] Currently, many researchers of the youngest generation (Mateusz Danielewski, Oskar Pietrewicz, Agnieszka Śmiatacz) may face difficulties in analysing North Korea. Furthermore, like in the case of North Korean studies in South Korea, Polish research centres are not supporting North Korean studies. On the other side, Polish literature on Korean studies is very extensive, as demonstrated in the bibliography of this monograph, and Polish research centres possess a large collection of publications related to both Koreas that were publish in these countries. Also, many South Korean researchers are visiting European former communist countries. They observe the region and try to assess the development of North Korea (now, also a former communist country). Based on this, they try to draw some potential future scenarios for the development of the northern part of the Korean Peninsula. Within the same framework, several conferences have been held in recent years with a focus on North Korea. Two noticeable events can be mentioned. The first was a conference entitled *Cultures and politics on the Korean Peninsula,* held at the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences on November 22, 2016, which was highly focused on North Korean studies. Another event was the symposium on the role of Poland in the NNSC, which took place on November 18, 2019, at the Veterans' Centre in Warsaw.

[331] Demick 2012; Jang Jin Sung 2015; Kim 2012; Lee 2015; Morillot 2008; Park 2012.

# Conclusion and findings

The purpose of this book has been to present an outline of relations between Poland and North Korea over the 70-year period from 1948 to 2018. The first part of this monograph aimed to show how the relations between these ideologically and culturally distant countries looked like and whether their belonging to the socialist community meant they could really rely on each other. Between 1953 and 1989, the cooperation between the countries was especially concentrated on cultural exchange and some minor bilateral trade. Poland and North Korea were in the same ideological family but the actions of the North Korean authorities reduced the advantages Poland could take from relations with this country. In this case, it can be stated that North Korea focused on its interests and not on the interests of fraternal nations. The size, type and scope of Polish-North Korean cooperation was largely decided by Pyongyang. It decided that the movements of Polish diplomats in North Korea would require official approval of the North Korean MFA starting from 1978. It was Pyongyang that did not support the Polish embassy when it was flooded in 1967.[332] It was again Pyongyang that decided when the Polish envoy could meet Kim Il Sung. It was Pyongyang that dictated payment rules in economic transactions. Such policy changes were justified by the ideological battle against imperialism and lack of funds on the North Korean side. From a different perspective, it can be noted how much effort the Polish side made to improve mutual relations, sometimes regardless of their relative interest. From North Korea, we can denote a major calculation on the part of its leadership. This led to a negative image of the North Korean authorities among the Polish leadership and automatically to negative views concerning the North Korean population among Poles. On the other hand, the memory of people who came from North Korea during the communist era is especially present in the mind of people who were in touch with them. A perfect example illustrating this situation are the memories of the citizens of cities where North Korean orphans used to live. To a lesser extent, a similar situation can be described for those who lived closely to the Polish hospital in Hamhung.

332 After this event, the Polish embassy changed address and moved to Pyongyang North in August 1969. Levi 2012: 93.

The importance of cooperation between Poland and North Korea on the issue of orphans was a driver for the deepening of relations between both countries for the next 50 years. In a hermetic society like North Korea, these Polish and North Korean adoptees who lived or travelled abroad played the role of civilian messengers and informal diplomats. Documents released from Polish historical files in recent years have proven that North Korean citizens living in Poland were clearly in communication with Polish citizens. It has also been proven that these people were discussing their experience of living abroad after they returned to North Korea. This element is crucial as it provides a better understanding of the penetration of foreign cultures in the isolated North Korea. The past and European values were then absorbed, to a certain scale, in the consciousness of the North Korean orphans who lived in Central Europe. Therefore, there is a constant imperative to learn and debate, and to have a better chance of finding the right balance when discussing the isolation of North Korean society.

Given the uncertainties surrounding top personnel (nominations for the head of North Korea, for example) and events (the potential collapse of the North Korean system), which may influence the prospects of North Korea-Poland relations, the conclusions are split into two parts. The first is dedicated to the cultural policy of Poland toward North Korea while the second one provides two possible scenarios for how relations might develop between the countries.

First, Poland may not have a large cultural policy strategy but looking at the scope and variety of Polish cultural diplomacy and considering how many of these actions there are, we cannot but conclude that Poland is doing well and is even ahead of many Western countries in terms of cultural diplomacy toward North Korea. Most of the Polish cultural diplomacy is government-controlled. This allows the Polish authorities to carefully design their actions. On the other hand, it hampers the development of a cultural policy based on a network of independent actors. From a private perspective, there is no visible initiative to promote dialogue between Poland and North Korea but rather a wave of opposition against the North Korean government in Poland at the societal level.[333] An exhibition related to the difficult situation of North Korean workers was held in October 2018 in the Polish city of Gdansk. In 2014, there was a misunderstanding regarding the recreation of the north Korean opera *Sea of Blood* by Kim Il Sung. This opera was supposed to be a performance prepared by left-wing cultural organisations and co-sponsored by the North Korean embassy in Poland. The controversy about the opera's staging was over its attempt at defending Juche ideology.[334]

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[333] In November 1999, in cooperation with the now-defunct Krakowska Foundation of Journalists *Mercury*, North Korean cultural days were organised in Krakow. The famous Polish chef Robert Makłowicz was invited to participate in the event by writing a few words about Korean cuisine, but in the end he politely declined, as he refused to be associated with the North Korean regime.

[334] See Szpala, Zubik 2014.

It should be underlined that a deep knowledge of the other's culture can be the first step towards the improvement of international relations. From the North Korea side, this may involve the former North Korean students who passed through Polish education centres, numbering in the thousands.

Secondly, regarding the future of relations between the countries, we may apply two potential scenarios. The first is stagnation: North Korea continues to pursue provocations and practice a nuclearization policy that will rebuff Polish efforts to develop long-term economic cooperation between the countries. In this scenario, the cooperation may be limited to some kind of cultural exchange. Unfortunately, by discouraging progress on nuclear talks, withdrawing from international treaties (such as the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, NPT), the North Korean authorities are discouraging any important progress in their relations with foreign partners like Poland. The second scenario is harmonisation: after a period of North Korean aggressive policy, this country would withdraw from its nuclear ambitions. This development may lead to the diplomatic engagement of North Korea and cooperation with various partners. The cooperation between North Korea and Poland may be improved in political, cultural, and economic matters. Chapter 7 demonstrated that economic relations between Poland and North Korea have a substantially greater non-commercial component through cultural cooperation.

Globally speaking, despite the misunderstandings between the North Korean and Polish authorities discussed in Chapter 6, and because of the minor consequences of these issues, economic relations between the countries have real potential. In the current situation, Polish companies face many challenges and must find new markets. North Korea is an interesting option because its local tariffs are lower than China's and North Korea's population of wealthy people is increasing.

The emotional factor is a determinant of deepening relations between countries. It has been demonstrated several times in this monograph that the organisation of joint events between these nations was made possible through the initiative of Poles involved in relations between the countries. In other words, we can risk the conclusion that with no support from the Polish side, several of the mentioned exhibitions would never have taken place. In the past, this emotional factor was justified within the framework of a similar state-level ideology. Now, as of 2020, there is no longer a common ideology, so we must consider that the number of joint events may decrease over the coming years.

In other words, due to historical and constructive relationships and its experience, Poland should be a pioneer in terms of prosperous relations with North Korea. Investment in North Korea should be considered not a risky venture or bet, rather it should be envisioned as a kind of new frontier for business development

by Polish companies. However, major obstacles to this include North Korea's aggressive behaviour, its nuclear activities, internal legal instability, and issues regarding human rights. Nevertheless, we can hope that under Kim Jong Un and the profound economic changes he is enacting through a more open policy, we will see a new path concerning relations between North Korea and foreign countries. I believe, these relations may result in a bright future for the North Korean nation.

# List of Acronyms

| | |
|---|---|
| CPVA | Chinese People's Volunteers Army |
| DPRK | Democratic People's Republic of Korea |
| DMFA | Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs |
| DMZ | Demilitarised Zone |
| EBA | European Business Association |
| EU | European Union |
| FLPH | Foreign Languages Publishing House |
| FMFS | Festival of Movies of the Foreign Society |
| KFA | Korean Friendship Association |
| MFA | Minister of Foreign Affairs |
| MOFA | Ministry of Foreign Affairs |
| NNRC | Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission |
| NNSC | Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission |
| PIFF | Pyongyang International Film Festival |
| PLN | Polish New Zloty |
| PLZ | Polish Old Zloty |
| PRP | People's Republic of Poland |
| PUWP | Polish United Workers' Party |
| SUPS | Socialist Union of Polish Students |
| SUR | Soviet Rouble |
| ROK | Republic of Korea |
| SPA | Supreme People's Assembly |
| USSR | Union of Soviet Socialist Republics |
| WPK | Workers' Party of Korea |

# Additional documents

## 1. CHRONOLOGY OF NORTH KOREAN AMBASSADORS TO POLAND

| Identity | Korean transcription | Diplomatic position | Period |
|---|---|---|---|
| Choe Il | 최일 | Ambassador | 1951–1953 |
| Choe Bin | 최빈 | Ambassador | 1953–1954 |
| Ho Guk Bon | 허국본 | Ambassador | 1954–1958 |
| Jae Myong Su | 제명수 | Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* | 1958–1959 |
| Kim Hak In | 김학인 | Ambassador | 1959–1962 |
| Ri Dok Hyon | 리덕현 | Ambassador | 1962–1968 |
| Kwon Bong Ryong | 권봉령 | Ambassador | 1968–1970 |
| Kim Hi Sun | 김히순 | Ambassador | 1970–1973 |
| Jeon Ju Ji | 전주지 | Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* | 1973 |
| Jong Jong Ryu | 정정류 | Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* | 1973–1974 |
| Paek Nam Sun | 백남순 | Ambassador | 1974–1979 |
| O Man Sok | 오만석 | Ambassador | 1979–1987 |
| Pak Sang Am | 박상암 | Ambassador | 1987–1989 |
| No information available | No information available | Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* | 1989–1997 |
| Pak Sang Am | 박상암 | Ambassador | 1997 |
| Kim Pyong Il | 김평일 | Ambassador | 1998–2015 |
| Ri Gun | 리근 | Ambassador | 2015–2020 |

Source: *Prepared by the author based on Polish MFA information.*

## 2. CHRONOLOGY OF POLISH AMBASSADORS TO NORTH KOREA

| Identity | Diplomatic position | Period |
|---|---|---|
| Stanisław Dodin | Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* | 1948–1950 |
| Juliusz Burgin | Ambassador | 1950–1951 |
| Marcin Drewniak | Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* | January 1951 |
| Ryszard Deperasiński | Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* | April 1951 |
| Stanisław Kiryluk | Ambassador | 1952–1954 |
| Jerzy Siedlecki | Ambassador | 1954–1959 |
| Józef Dryglas | Ambassador | 1959–1964 |
| Władysław Napieraj | Ambassador | 1964–1968 |
| Józef Dryglas | Ambassador | 1968–1971 |
| Tadeusz Białkowski | Ambassador | 1971–1978 |
| Jerzy Pękała | Ambassador | 1978–1981 |
| Leon Tomaszewski | Ambassador | 1981–1985 |
| Mieczysław Dedo | Ambassador | 1986–1990 |
| Ryszard Baturo | Ambassador | 1991–1995 |
| Mieczysław Dedo | Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* | 1996–2001 |
| Wojciech Kałuża | Ambassador | 2001–2005 |
| Roman Iwaszkiewicz | Ambassador | 2005–2009 |
| Edward Pietrzyk | Ambassador | 2010–2014 |
| Krzysztof Ciebień | Ambassador | 2014–2019 |

Source: *Prepared by the author based on Polish MFA information.*

## 3. BIOGRAMS OF NORTH KOREAN AMBASSADORS TO POLAND

**Choe Il (unk.)**
Born in the 1920s. Educated in China. North Korean ambassador to Poland between 1951 and 1953.

**Choe Bin (unk.)**
North Korean ambassador to Poland between 1953 and 1954.

**Ho Guk Bon (unk.)**
North Korean ambassador to Poland between 1954 and 1958.

**Jae Myong Su (unk.)**
North Korean Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* to Poland between 1958 and 1959.

**Jeon Ju Ji (unk.)**
North Korean Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* to Poland 1974.

**Jong Ryu (unk.)**
North Korean Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* to Poland between 1973 and 1974.

**Kwon Bong Ryong (unk.)**
North Korean ambassador to Poland between 1968 and 1970.

**Kim Hak In (unk.)**
North Korean ambassador to Poland between 1959 and 1962. Deputy minister of Finance in the 1970s.

**Kim Hi Sun (unk.)**
North Korean ambassador to Poland between 1970 and 1973.

**Kim Pyong Il (1955–…)**
Born in Pyongyang. Graduated from Kim Il Sung University and Kim Il Sung military academy. Military attaché at the North Korean embassy in Yugoslavia. North Korean ambassador to Hungary. North Korean ambassador to Bulgaria. North Korean ambassador to Finland between 1989 and 1997. North Korean ambassador to Poland between 1998 and 2015. North Korean ambassador to Czechia since 2016. Kim Pyong Il definitely left Prague in July 2019 and returned to Pyongyang.

**O Man Sok (unk.)**
Diplomat at the North Korean mission in Singapore in the 1970s. North Korean ambassador to Poland between 1979 and 1987.

**Paek Nam Sun (1929–2003)**
Graduated from Kim Il Sung University. Deputy chairman of the Foreign Culture Liaison Committee and president of foreign language publishers in the late 1960s. He served as Ambassador to Poland from 1974 till 1979. Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1998 till 2007.

**Pak Sang Am (unk.)**
Counsel at the North Korean embassy in Warsaw in 1981. North Korean ambassador to Poland between July 1987 and October 1989. Pak Sang Am was the North Korean ambassador to Hungary for one month in March 1989. Between February 1990 and December 1997, North Korean ambassador to Romania, and roaming ambassador to Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia. In 1997, nominated for a few months as the new ambassador to Poland. In March 1998, appointed as the North Korean ambassador to Hungary.

**Ri Dok Hyon (unk.)**
In the 1940s, Ri Dok Hyon was a member of the Kapsan faction, the communist group led by Kim Il Sung. North Korean ambassador to Poland between 1962 and 1968.

**Ri Gun (1946–…)**
Graduate of the Faculty of German language of Kim Il Sung University. In the mid-1970s, Director of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the People's Armed Forces. In the 1980s, employee at the North Korean embassy in Zimbabwe. Between 1993 and 1996, carrier at the US department of the North Korean MFA. Between 1997 and 2002, North Korean representative to the United Nations. Between 2003 and 2006, jointly with his position as director of US affairs at the North Korean MFA, Ri Gun was the North Korean representative on the six-party nuclear talks. Since 2015, Ri Gun has been the North Korean ambassador to Poland. He completed his mission in Poland in 2020. Ri Gun was replaced by Choe Il.

## 4. BIOGRAMS OF POLISH AMBASSADORS TO NORTH KOREA

**Baturo, Ryszard (1933–1996)**
Born in Vilnius (Lithuania). Graduate of the former School of Foreign Protocol. PhD in Law obtained at the Institute of Law of the Polish Academy of Sciences in 1968. Starting from 1975, Baturo worked at the Polish MFA. Director of Archives of the Polish MFA between 1988 and 1991. Ambassador of Poland to North Korea between 1991 and 1995. Died in 1996. Buried in Warsaw.

**Białkowski, Tadeusz (1920–2010)**
Born in Jaworów. Graduate of the Maritime Faculty of the High School of Economics and of the Central Party School of Łódź. After World War II, he made

a career in the political structures of the Polish communist party. Ambassador of Poland to North Korea between 1971 and 1978. Died in 2010.

**Burgin, Juliusz (1906–1973)**
Born in Otwock. Graduate of the Free Polish University. Communist family background. Later, a Polish communist activist and high-ranking officer in the Ministry of Public Security (including director of the minister's cabinet). Military officer. In 1947–1948, he was the editor-in-chief of *Głos Ludu* ('The Voice of the People'), he organised the first *Wyścig Pokoju* ('Peace Race'), a race. In the years 1948–1949, he was the director of the Cabinet of the Minister of Public Security, then from 1949 to 1950, the head of the First Inspectorate of the Ministry of National Defence. From February 1950 to July 1951, he was the first ambassador of the PRL to the People's Republic of China, and from September 1950, he was appointed the Polish ambassador to North Korea. From July 1951 to February 1957, he was the deputy minister of road and air transportation. From 1959 to 1963, the president of the publishing house Książka i Wiedza in Warsaw. Author of the book *Wielki Skok Chiny* ('Great Leap Forward'), which focused on the campaign in China.[335] He was a co-founder and secretary-general of the Polish--Chinese Friendship Society and a member of the presidium of the Association of Atheists and Freethinkers. Retired in June 1971. Died in 1973. Buried in Warsaw. Korean medal awarded (unknown date).

**Ciebień, Krzysztof (1955–…)**
Born in Lublin. Graduate of the faculty of political science of the University of Warsaw. Employed at the Polish MFA since 1981. Diplomat at the Polish embassy in Beijing between 1986 and 1990. From 1992, he was the head of the Consulate General in Hong Kong. Since 2000, deputy head of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Bangkok. Since 2005, the deputy head of the Polish Embassy in Beijing. In 2009–2014, he was the Consul General of the Republic of Poland in Guangzhou. Nominated as the ambassador of Poland to North Korea in 2015. He was removed from his position on January 31, 2019.

**Dedo, Mieczysław (1931–2014)**
Born in Żołków. Graduate of the Catholic University of Lublin. He also obtained a degree in oriental studies from Jagiellonian University (1955). He obtained an additional qualification at the Foreign Service College of the Higher School of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the PUWP in 1979. He was a translator in the Foreign Division of the Central Committee of the PUWP.

[335] Juliusz Burgin, *Wielki Skok Chiny*, Warszawa: 'Książka i Wiedza', 1959.

From 1954 to 1955, he worked at the International Commission of Supervision and Control in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, and then was the attaché of the Embassy of Poland in Turkey (1956–1958), attaché, second and then first secretary of the Embassy in Iraq (1959–1962) and *chargé d'affaires ad interim* (1962–1963). Between 1964 and 1967, he was the head of the Department of Cultural and Scientific Cooperation of the Polish MFA. In 1967, he was nominated as the Polish ambassador to Nigeria, then ambassador to Zaire (1979–1982). From 1986 to 1990, he served as the Polish ambassador to North Korea. He represented Poland in North Korea again between 1996 and 2002. Died in 2014. Buried in Jasło (Poland).

**Dodin, Stanisław (unk.)**
Polish ambassador to North Korea between 1950 and 1951 (Poland's first diplomatic representative to North Korea). Diplomat at the Polish embassy in Berlin in the 1950s.

**Dryglas, Józef (1926–…)**
Polish ambassador to North Korea between 1978 and 1981.

**Iwaszkiewicz, Roman (1950–…)**
Born in Jarosław. Graduate of the Military University of Technology (Warsaw) in 1979 and from the Military Academy of Engineering and Aircraft of Moscow in 1982. Later, he continued his career as a military officer. Among others, he was the deputy commander (head of logistics) of the Air Forces and Air Defences in Warsaw in 1997, and the director of the Department of Armament and Military Equipment with the Ministry of National Defence in Warsaw between 1997 and 1999. Later, he was deputy director of the Department of Armaments and Resources of the International Military Staff of the IMS in Belgium until 2002. Between 2002 and 2005, he obtained the position of director of the Armament Policy Department with the Ministry of National Defence in Warsaw. Between 2005 and 2009, he served as the Polish ambassador to North Korea.

**Kałuża, Wojciech (1948–2010)**
Born in Ryczeń. Graduate in political science from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, where he obtained a doctoral degree. In 1971, he started work at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was, among others, head of the Department for South and Southeast Asia. He had stints at consulates in Guangzhou and Shanghai, the embassy in Beijing (1972–1982), including during the Chinese Cultural Revolution. He was deputy ambassador to Australia (1985–1989). In 1992–1998, he was delegated to the UN mission. From

September 6, 2001 to 2005, he was the ambassador to North Korea. He was the first ambassador after a six-year period of lowering representative offices to the level of *chargé d'affaires*. Died in 2010 in Thailand. Buried in Warsaw.

**Kiryluk, Stanisław (1911–1997)**
Born in Ostrówek. From 1924, he joined the communist youth. Soldier in the Red Army during World War II. Student at a military academy in the USSR. Member of the PUWP in 1948. Cadre in the Polish army between 1948 and 1950. From 1952 to 1959, he was ambassador of Poland to the PRC and, until 1954, to North Korea as a roaming ambassador. Between 1959 and 1963, first deputy director of the State Institute of International Affairs. From 1963 until 1969, ambassador to Iran. Died in 1997. Buried in Warsaw.

**Napieraj, Władysław (1929–…)**
In the mid-1950s, he was a diplomat at the Polish embassy in the USSR. From 1964 to 1968, the Polish ambassador to North Korea. In the 1970s, *chargé d'affaires* at the Polish embassy in Moscow and then director of the first Department of the Polish MFA between 1980 and 1986. Polish ambassador to Bulgaria between 1986 and 1990.

**Pękała, Jerzy (1929–…)**
Born in Wieprz. Graduate of the Faculty of Political Economy of the University of Nicholas Lomonosov in Moscow. Polish politician, mayor of Krakow, deputy to the Sejm of the 6th parliament. Member of the PUWP. In 1973, nominated as the president of the city of Krakow, where he led several urbanisation projects. After dismissing the function of the chairman of the presidium of the National Council of the city of Kraków, he was re-directed to diplomacy. Served as Poland's ambassador to North Korea between 1978 and 1981.

**Pietrzyk, Edward (1949–2021)**
Born in Rawa Mazowiecka. Graduate of the Military University of Technology of Warsaw and the Military Academy of Artillery of Moscow, and later from the General Staff Academy of Moscow. In 1988, he became the deputy commander of Polish artillery and rocket forces of the Warsaw Military Area. In 1990, nominated as deputy chief of operations of the General Staff. Between 1998 and 2000, he was the deputy commander of the Multinational Corps North East composed of forces of Poland, Czechia, Denmark, Estonia, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, and Slovakia. Between 2000 and September 2006, he was the commander of the Land Forces of Poland. In 2000, he graduated from the National War College in Washington. Between April 2007 and January 2010, Pietrzyk served as Polish

ambassador to Iraq. From January 2010 to 2014, he served as the ambassador of Poland to North Korea.

**Siedlecki, Jerzy (1907–1996)**
Born in Warsaw. Member of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine in the 1930s. Member of the PUWP starting in the 1940s. Between 1944 and 1954, he worked as an officer with Polish Secret Policy. Between August 1953 and February 1954, member of the Polish delegation to the NNRC. Polish ambassador to North Korea between 1954 and 1959. Siedlecki cooperated with Prof. Halina Ogarek--Czoj, making pictures for her book *Pradzieje i legendy Korei* ('Korean Prehistory and Legends'). Died in 1996. Buried in Warsaw.

**Tomaszewski, Leon (unk.)**
Served at the General Consulate to Kiev between 1975 and 1978. Polish ambassador to North Korea between 1981 and 1985.

## 5. LIST OF AGREEMENTS SIGNED BETWEEN POLAND AND NORTH KOREA

| Type of agreement (original title in Polish) | Type of agreement (English translation) | Signing date | Implementation date | Issue |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Umowa między Rządem Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej a Rządem Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo-Demokratycznej w sprawie utworzenia szpitalu Polskiego Czerwonego Krzyża w Korei Północnej.* | Agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of Poland and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the establishment of the Polish Red Cross hospital in North Korea. [Signed in Warsaw] | 8 May 1953 | 8 May 1953 | Medical Assistance |
| *Umowa między Rządem Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej a Rządem Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo-Demokratycznej w sprawie transportu poczty i komunikacji.* | Agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of Poland and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on postal transportation and communication. [Signed in Warsaw] | 30 May 1955 | 30 May 1955 | Economy |

| Type of agreement (original title in Polish) | Type of agreement (English translation) | Signing date | Implementation date | Issue |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Umowa o współpracy kulturalnej między Rządem Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej a Rządem Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo-Demokratycznej.* | Agreement on cultural cooperation between the Government of the Polish People's Republic and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. [Signed in Pyongyang] | 11 May 1956 | 31 January 1957 | Culture |
| *Porozumienie o współpracy naukowo--technicznej zawarte między Rządem Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej a Rządem Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo-Demokratycznej.* | Agreement on scientific and technical cooperation concluded between the Government of the Polish People's Republic and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. [Signed in Pyongyang] | 17 April 1957 | 17 April 1957 | Technology |
| *Porozumienie między Rządami PRL i KRLD o wzajemnym przyznaniu praw do użytkowania działek przeznaczonych pod budowę budynków Ambasad.* | Agreement between the Governments of the PRL and the DPRK on the mutual granting of rights to use plots of land intended for the construction of embassies | 10 May 1966 | 10 May 1966 | Diplomacy |
| *Umowa między Rządem Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej a Rządem Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo-Demokratycznej w sprawie utworzenia Komisji Konsultacyjnej ds. kwestii naukowo--technicznych i ekonomicznych.* | Agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of Poland and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the establishment of a Consultative Commission for Economic and Scientific--Technical Affairs. [Signed in Warsaw] | 4 October 1972 | 12 February 1973 | Trade |
| *Umowa między Rządem PRL a Rządem KRLD o komunikacji lotniczej.* | Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the DPRK on air transportation [Signed in Warsaw] | 28 August 1978 | 27 January 1979 | Air Transportation |

| Type of agreement (original title in Polish) | Type of agreement (English translation) | Signing date | Implementation date | Issue |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Konwencja Konsularna między Polską Rzeczpospolitą Ludową a Koreańską Republiką Ludowo-Demokratyczną.* | Consular convention between the People's Republic of Poland and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. [Signed in Warsaw] | 3 August 1983 | 30 June 1983 | Diplomacy |
| *Umowa między Polską Rzeczpospolitą Ludową a Koreańską Republiką Ludowo-Demokratyczną o współpracy w produkcji śmigłowców MI-2 w Korei Północnej.* | Protocol between the Government of the Polish People's Republic and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the supply of goods and payments related to the production of MI-2 helicopters [Signed in Warsaw] | 27 March 1986 | 27 March 1986 | Military |
| *Umowa między Polską Rzeczpospolitą Ludową a Koreańską Republiką Ludowo-Demokratyczną o pomocy prawnej w sprawach cywilnych, rodzinnych i karnych.* | Agreement between the Polish People's Republic and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on legal assistance in civil, family and criminal cases [Signed in Pyongyang] | 28 September 1986 | 20 June 1987 | Law |
| *Umowa o handlu i płatnościach między rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a KRLD.* | Trade and Payment Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the DPRK. [Signed in Warsaw] | 12 May 1992 | 3 June 1994 | Trade |
| *Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem KRLD o współpracy w dziedzinie rybołówstwa.* | Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and of the DPRK on co--operation in the fishery industry. [Signed in Pyongyang] | 2 October 1997 | 3 February 1998 | Trade |

| Type of agreement (original title in Polish) | Type of agreement (English translation) | Signing date | Implementation date | Issue |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Protokół między Rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a Rządem Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo--Demokratycznej w sprawie obowiązywania dwustronnych umów międzynarodowych w stosunkach między Rzeczpospolitą Polską a Koreańską Republiką Ludowo-Demokratyczną.* | Protocol between the Government of the Republic of Poland and North Korea on validity of bilateral international agreements in relations between the Republic of Poland and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. [Signed in Pyongyang] | 1 February 2007 | 27 February 2014 | Diplomacy |
| *Umowa między Rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a Rządem Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo--Demokratycznej w sprawie uregulowania zadłużenia Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo--Demokratycznej wobec Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej.* | Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regarding the settlement of the debt of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the Republic of Poland. [Signed in Warsaw] | 1 June 2011 | 1 June 2011 | Debt |
| *Protokół między Rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a Rządem Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo--Demokratycznej w sprawie obowiązywania dwustronnych umów międzynarodowych w stosunkach między Rzeczpospolitą Polską a Koreańską Republiką Ludowo-Demokratyczną.* | Protocol between the Government of the Republic of Poland and North Korea on validity of bilateral international agreements in relations between the Republic of Poland and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. [Signed in Pyongyang] | 15 June 2015 | – | Diplomacy |

| Type of agreement (original title in Polish) | Type of agreement (English translation) | Signing date | Implementation date | Issue |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Umowa między Rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a Rządem Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo--Demokratycznej o współpracy w dziedzinie nauki, edukacji i kultury.* | Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for cooperation in the field of science, education and culture. [Signed in Pyongyang] | 17 June 2015 | – | Culture |

Source: *Prepared by the author based on Polish MFA information.*

## 6. BIOGRAMS OF POLISH RESEARCHERS FOCUSED ON NORTH KOREAN STUDIES

**Burdelski, Marceli (1952–…)**
Assistant professor at the National Defence University of Warsaw. Graduate of the Faculty of Journalism and Political Science at the University of Warsaw. Consultant and former adviser to the minister of foreign affairs. Regularly invited to events held at the North Korean embassy in Warsaw. Burdelski travels regularly to North Korea. Author of three books related to the Korean Peninsula.

**Dziak, Waldemar (1952–2019)**
Professor at the Institute of Political Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Graduate of the Faculty of Journalism and Political Science at the University of Warsaw. In 2004, his political biography of Kim Jong Il made him permanently forbidden to enter North Korea. Author of eleven books related to the Korean Peninsula. Died in 2019. Buried in Warsaw.

**Levi, Nicolas (1981–…)**
Assistant professor at the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Graduate of the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences. A graduate of the Korean Unification for Junior International Experts Expert Programme conducted by the South Korean Ministry of Unification. Member of the management board of the Boym Institute. Consultant for private and governmental organisations. He is the editor-in--chief of *Acta Asiatica Varsoviensia*. Author of seven books related to the Korean Peninsula.

# 7. SELECTED PRINTED NORTH KOREAN PUBLICATIONS TRANSLATED INTO POLISH

## a-Books

| | Publication Year | Author (original spelling) | Title in Polish | Translated title in English | Additional remark(s) | Publishing House | City of Publication | Pages | Subject |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1967 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Dzieła wybrane. 1 | Selected works. 1 | – Book<br>– First edition | FLPH | Pyongyang | 732 | Kim Il Sung's biography |
| 2 | 1969 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Koreańska Republika Ludowo--Demokratyczna – sztandarem wolności i niepodległości naszego narodu, potężnym orężem w budownictwie socjalizmu i komunizmu | Democratic People's Republic of Korea – the banner of our nation's freedom and independence, a powerful weapon in the construction of socialism and communism | – Book | FLPH | Pyongyang | 106 | Socialism |
| 3 | 1970 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Jeszcze konsekwentniej wcielimy w życie rewolucyjnego ducha samodzielności, niezależności i samoobrony we wszystkich dziedzinach działalności państwowej | We will implement the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, independence, and self-defence, in all areas of state activity even more consistently | – Book | FLPH | Pyongyang | 93 | North Korean ideology |

| | Publication Year | Author (original spelling) | Title in Polish | Translated title in English | Additional remark(s) | Publishing House | City of Publication | Pages | Subject |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | 1970 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Obecna sytuacja i zadania naszej partii: referat wygłoszony na konferencji Partii Pracy Korei 5 października 1966 roku | The current situation and tasks of our party: a paper delivered at the conference of the Workers' Party of Korea on 5 October 1966 | – Book | FLPH | Pyongyang | 133 | WPK |
| 5 | 1970 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | O budownictwie socjalistycznym i rewolucji południowo-koreańskiej w KRL-D | On socialist construction and the South Korean revolution in the DPRK | – Book | FLPH | Pyongyang | 77 | Socialism |
| 6 | 1970 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Odpowiedzi na pytania zadane przez dziennikarzy zagranicznych | Answers to questions asked by foreign journalists | – Book | FLPH | Pyongyang | 85 | International affairs |
| 7 | 1970 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | O niektórych teoretycznych problemach socjalistycznej ekonomiki | About some theoretical problems of socialist economics | – Book | FLPH | Pyongyang | 38 | North Korea's economy |
| 8 | 1970 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Wielki antyimperialistyczny czyn rewolucyjny narodów Azji, Afryki i ameryki Łacińskiej jest niezwyciężony | The great anti-imperialist revolutionary act of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is invincible | – Book | FLPH | Pyongyang | 22 | International affairs |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9 | 1970 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Wzmożemy walkę antyimperialistyczną i antyamerykańską | We will intensify the anti-imperialist and anti-American struggle | – Book | FLPH | Pyongyang | 14 | International affairs |
| 10 | 1971 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Ideowe wychowanie młodzieży, podstawowe zadania organizacji Demokratycznego Związku Młodzieży: przemówienie na III zjeździe Demokratycznego Związku Młodzieży Korei Północnej 13 listopada 1948 r. | Ideological upbringing of young people, the basic tasks of organising the Democratic Youth Union: speech at the Third Congress of the Democratic Youth Union of North Korea on 13 November 1948. | – Book | FLPH | Pyongyang | 15 | North Korean ideology |
| 11 | 1971 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | O dalszym wzmożeniu wychowania klasowego wśród członków partii: referat na plenum KC Partii Pracy Korei, 1 kwietnia 1955 roku | On further intensification of class education among party members: paper at the Plenum of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea on 1 April 1955 | – Book | FLPH | Pyongyang | 35 | WPK |

| | Publication Year | Author (original spelling) | Title in Polish | Translated title in English | Additional remark(s) | Publishing House | City of Publication | Pages | Subject |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12 | 1971 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | O polityce naszej partii ukierunkowanej na dalszy rozwój rolnictwa: przemówienie końcowe na Plenum KC Partii Pracy Korei 3 listopada 1954 roku | On our party's policy aimed at further agricultural development: final speech at the Plenum of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea on 3 November 1954 | – Book | FLPH | Pyongyang | 39 | North Korea's economy |
| 13 | 1971 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | O problemach okresu przejściowego od kapitalizmu do socjalizmu i dyktatury proletariatu: przemówienie do pracowników prowadzących działalność partyjno-ideologiczną, 25 maja 1967 | On the problems of the transition period from capitalism to socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat: a speech to employees engaged in party and ideological activities on 25 May 1967 | – Book | FLPH | Pyongyang | 17 | Socialism |
| 14 | 1971 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | O wykorzenieniu dogmatyzmu i formalizmu i ustanowieniu Dżucze w pracy ideologicznej: przemówienie do pracowników propagandy i agitacji partyjnej 28 grudnia 1955 roku | On the eradication of dogmatism and formalism and the establishment of Juche in ideological work: a speech to the employees of propaganda and party agitation on 28 December 1955 | – Book | FLPH | Pyongyang | 40 | North Korea's ideology |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15 | 1971 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Referat sprawozdawczy Komitetu Centralnego Partii Pracy Korei na V zjazd partii, 2 listopada 1970 r. | Report of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea for the 5th Party Congress on 2 November 1970 | – Book | FLPH | Pyongyang | 173 | WPK |
| 16 | 1971 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Tezy w sprawie socjalistycznej kwestii agrarnej w naszym kraju: przyjęte na VIII plenum KC Partii Pracy Korei czwartej kadencji 25 lutego 1964 r. | Theses on the socialist agrarian question in our country: adopted at the 4th term of the 8th Plenum of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea on 25 February 1964 | – Book | FLPH | Pyongyang | 72 | North Korea's economy |
| 17 | 1971 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Triumfują wielkie idee Lenina o narodowo--wyzwoleńczej walce w koloniach Wschodu: artykuł opublikowany z okazji 100-lecia urodzin W. I. Lenina w organie KC KPZR *Prawdzie* z dnia 16 kwietnia 1970 r. | Lenin's great ideas about national liberation struggle in the colonies of the East triumph: an article published on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin in the CC of the CPSU *Pravda* of 16 April 1970 | – Book | FLPH | Pyongyang | 17 | Marxism |

| | Publication Year | Author (original spelling) | Title in Polish | Translated title in English | Additional remark(s) | Publishing House | City of Publication | Pages | Subject |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18 | 1971 | Coj Hen, Pak Du Kiong | Wspomnienia antyjapońskich partyzantów | Memories of anti--Japanese partisans | – Book | Institute of the History of the Party of the CC WPK | Pyongyang | 134 | North Korean history |
| 19 | 1971 | – | Zarys historii działalności rewolucyjnej towarzysza Kim Ir Sena | Outline of the history of revolutionary activity of comrade Kim Il Sung | – Book | FLPH | Pyongyang | 277 | Kim Il Sung biography |
| 20 | 1972 | – | O aktualnych wytycznych politycznych i ekonomicznych Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo--Demokratycznej i o niektórych problemach międzynarodowych | On current political and economic guidelines of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and on some international problems | – Newsletter | North Korean Embassy in Poland | Warsaw | 30 | International affairs |
| 21 | 1972 | – | Towarzysz Kim Ir Sen, wielki wódz prowadzący rewolucję i budownictwo do zwycięstwa | Comrade Kim Il Sung, a great leader leading revolution and construction to victory | – Special newsletter to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the birth of Kim Il Sung | North Korean Embassy in Poland | Warsaw | 34 | Kim Il Sung biography |
| 22 | 1973 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Dzieła wybrane. 1 | Selected works. 1 | – Book<br>– Second edition | FLPH | Pyongyang | 732 | Kim Il Sung biography |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 23 | 1973 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Jeszcze bardziej umocnimy ustrój socjalistyczny w naszym kraju: przemówienie na I Sesji Najwyższego Zgromadzenia Ludowego KRL-D V kadencji, 25 grudnia 1972 roku | We will further strengthen the socialist system in our country: speech at the First Session of the 5th term of the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK, on 25 December 1972 | – Book | – | Warsaw | 66 | Socialism |
| 24 | 1973 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Konsekwentnie rozgromimy agresję i ingerencję imperializmu amerykańskiego w Azji | We will consistently crush the aggression and interference of American imperialism in Asia | – | North Korean embassy in Poland | Pyongyang | 15 | International affairs |
| 25 | 1973 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | O aktualnych wytycznych politycznych i ekonomicznych KRL-D i niektórych problemach miedzynarodowych | On current political and economic guidelines of the DPRK and some international problems | – Book | North Korean embassy in Poland | Warsaw | 30 | International affairs |
| 26 | 1973 | Kim Il Sung | Przemówienie noworoczne towarzysza Kim Ir Sena | New Year's speech of the comrade Kim Il Sung | – Book | North Korean embassy in Poland | Warsaw | 9 | North Korean ideology |
| 27 | 1973 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Zapobiegamy rozbiciu narodu, zjednoczymy Ojczyznę | We will prevent the nation from being broken up, we will unite the homeland | – Book | North Korean embassy in Poland | Warsaw | 11 | Korean Unification |

| | Publication Year | Author (original spelling) | Title in Polish | Translated title in English | Additional remark(s) | Publishing House | City of Publication | Pages | Subject |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 28 | 1974 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Główne sprawy w pracy partyjnej – wychowywać, reedukować i zespalać wszystkich ludzi: przemówienie na ogólnym zebraniu organizacji partyjnej wsi Richenri w dzielnicy Syncha miasta Phenian, 23 stycznia 1961 r. | The main issues in the party's work – educate, re-educate and unite all people: a speech at a general meeting of the party organisation of the village of Richenri in the Syncha district of the city of Pyongyang, on 23 January 1961 | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 40 | WPK |
| 29 | 1974 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Niezawodnie odniesie zwycięstwo wielkie dzieło rewolucyjne narodów Trzeciego Świata kroczących naprzód wznosząc wysoko sztandar samodzielności | The great revolutionary work of the nations of the Third World, moving forward raising high the banner of independence, will win without fail | – | North Korean embassy in Poland | Pyongyang | 18 | International affairs |
| 30 | 1974 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Odpowiedzi na pytania delegacji Narodowego Stowarzyszenia Dziennikarzy Senegalu: 21 sierpnia 1974 r. | Answers to questions from the Senegalese National Association of Journalists: 21 August 1974 | – | North Korean embassy in Poland | Pyongyang | 15 | International affairs |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 31 | 1974 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Odpowiedzi na pytania redaktora naczelnego jugosłowiańskiego dziennika *Wieczorne Nowości* 22 lutego 1974 roku | Answers to questions from the editor-in--chief of the Yugoslav daily newspaper *Vecerne Vesti* on 22 February 1974 | – | North Korean embassy in Poland | Pyongyang | 15 | International affairs |
| 32 | 1974 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Odpowiedzi na pytanie generalnego sekretarza Towarzystwa Peruwiańsko--Koreańskiej Przyjaźni i Łączności Kulturalnej | Answers to question from the general secretary of the Peruvian--Korean Friendship and Cultural Communication Society | – | North Korean embassy in Poland | Pyongyang | 20 | International affairs |
| 33 | 1974 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | O dalszym zwiększeniu roli nauk społecznych zgodnie z obecnymi wymogami naszej rewolucji: rozmowa z pracownikami wydziału nauki i oświaty KC Partii Pracy Korei, 30 grudnia 1963 r. | On further enhancing the role of social sciences in accordance with the current requirements of our revolution: conversation with employees of the department of science and education of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea, on 30 December 1963 | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 12 | WPK |

| | Publication Year | Author (original spelling) | Title in Polish | Translated title in English | Additional remark(s) | Publishing House | City of Publication | Pages | Subject |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 34 | 1974 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | O osiągnięciu nowego ożywienia w budownictwie gospodarczym socjalizmu: przemówienie na Ogólnokrajowym Zjeździe Przemysłowym 7 marca 1974 r. | On achieving a new recovery in the economic construction of socialism: a speech at the National Industrial Congress on 7 March 1974 | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 39 | North Korea's economy |
| 35 | 1974 | Kim Il Sung | Osiągniemy dalsze utrwalenie i rozwój wielkich zdobyczy w budownictwie wsi socjalistycznej: przemówienie na Ogólnokrajowym Zjeździe Rolniczym 10 stycznia 1974 r. | We will achieve further consolidation and the development of great gains in the construction of the socialist village: a speech at the National Agricultural Congress on 10 January 1974 | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 40 | Socialism |
| 36 | 1974 | Kim Il Sung | Osiągniemy poprzez walkę zjednoczenie ojczyzny i pokój na całym świecie | We will achieve unification and peace throughout the world through struggle | – | North Korean embassy in Poland | Warsaw | 15 | International affairs |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 37 | 1974 | Kim Il Sung | O stworzeniu rewolucyjnej literatury i sztuki: wystąpienie na spotkaniu z pracownikami w dziedzinie literatury i sztuki 7 listopada 1964 | On the creation of revolutionary literature and art: a speech at a meeting with employees in the field of literature and art on 7 November 1964 | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 28 | North Korean ideology |
| 38 | 1974 | Kim Il Sung | O wychowaniu komunistycznym: wystąpienie na Ogólnokrajowym Seminarium dla agitatorów miejskich i państwowych komitetów partyjnych, 20 listopada 1958 r. | On communist education: a speech at the National Seminar for city agitators and state party committees, 20 November 1958. | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 38 | WPK |
| 39 | 1974 | Kim Il Sung | Przemówienie noworoczne | New Year's speech | – | North Korean embassy in Poland | Warsaw | 14 | Other texts |
| 40 | 1974 | Kim Il Sung | Zadania komunistów koreańskich: artykuł opublikowany w organie Koreańskiej Armii Ludowo--Rewolucyjnej *Sogwan* 10 listopada 1937 | Tasks of the Korean communists: article published in *Sogwan*, the organ of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army, 10 November 1937 | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 58 | North Korean ideology |

| | Publication Year | Author (original spelling) | Title in Polish | Translated title in English | Additional remark(s) | Publishing House | City of Publication | Pages | Subject |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 41 | 1975 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Dzieła wybrane. 2 | Selected works. 2 | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 653 | Kim Il Sung biography |
| 42 | 1975 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Dzieła wybrane. 3 | Selected works. 3 | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 660 | Kim Il Sung biography |
| 43 | 1975 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Odpowiedzi na pytania dziennikarzy zagranicznych | Answers to questions from foreign journalists | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 183 | International affairs |
| 44 | 1975 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | O ideach Dżucze i zagadnieniu zjednoczenia Korei | On Juche ideas and the issue of the unification of Korea | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 127 | Korean Unification |
| 45 | 1975 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Wszystkie siły dla zdobycia szczytu ośmiu milionów ton zboża: przemówienie na Ogólnokrajowym Zjeździe Rolniczym 15 stycznia 1975 roku | All forces to reach the summit of eight million tonnes of grain: speech at the National Agricultural Congress on 15 January 1975 | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 31 | North Korea's economy |
| 46 | 1976 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Przemówienie noworoczne | New Year's speech | – | North Korean embassy in Poland | Warsaw | 14 | Other texts |
| 47 | 1976 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Przemówienia wygłoszone podczas wizyty za granicą | Speeches delivered during foreign trips | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 75 | International affairs |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 48 | 1976 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Z okazji 30 rocznicy utworzenia Partii Pracy Korei: referat na jubileuszowym posiedzeniu poświęconym 30-leciu Partii Pracy Korei 9 października 1975 roku | On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the creation of the Workers' Party of Korea: a paper at the jubilee meeting devoted to the 30th anniversary of the Workers' Party of Korea on 9 October 1975 | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 43 | WPK |
| 49 | 1977 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | O dżucze w naszej rewolucji | About the Juche in our revolution | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 572 | North Korean ideology |
| 50 | 1977 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Wywiad z dyrektorem generalnym – redaktorem naczelnym japońskiej gazety *Jomiuri Simbun* i towarzyszącymi mu osobami: 23 kwietnia 1977 roku | Interview with the CEO – editor--in-chief of the Japanese newspaper *Jomiuri Simbun* and accompanying persons on 23 April 1977 | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 16 | International affairs |
| 51 | 1977 | – | Towarzysz Kim Ir Sen, wielki wódz prowadzący rewolucję i budownictwo do zwycięstwa | Comrade Kim Il Sung, a great leader leading revolution and construction to victory | Special newsletter to celebrate the 65th birthday of Kim Il Sung | North Korean embassy in Warsaw | Warsaw | 21 | Kim Il Sung biography |

| | Publication Year | Author (original spelling) | Title in Polish | Translated title in English | Additional remark(s) | Publishing House | City of Publication | Pages | Subject |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 52 | 1978 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Dzieła wybrane. 5 | Selected works. 5 | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 598 | Kim Il Sung's history |
| 53 | 1978 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Jeszcze bardziej umocnimy władzę ludową: przemówienie na 1 Sesji Najwyższego Zgromadzenia Ludowego KRL-D VI kadencji: 15 grudnia 1977 roku | We will strengthen the people's power even more: speech at the 1st Session of the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK of the 6th Term: 15 December 1977 | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 31 | North Korean ideology |
| 54 | 1977 | – | Towarzysz Kim Ir Sen, wielki wódz prowadzący rewolucję i budownictwo do zwycięstwa | Comrade Kim Il Sung, a great leader leading revolution and construction to victory | Special newsletter to celebrate the 65th birthday of Kim Il Sung | North Korean embassy in Warsaw | Kim Il Sung's history | 34 | North Korea's economy |
| 55 | 1978 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | O Kodeksie ziemi przemówienie na VII sesji Najwyższego Zgromadzenia Ludowego piątej kadencji 29 kwietnia 1977 roku | Speech on the Code of Land at the 7th session of the Supreme People's Assembly of the 5th term on 29 April, 1977 | – 10,000 copies – Printing company: ZGPW | FLPH | Pyongyang | 19 | North Korea's economy |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 56 | 1978 | Kim Il Sung | Tezy o kształceniu socjalistycznym: opublikowane na XIV Plenum KC Partii Pracy Korei piątej kadencji, 5 września 1977 roku | Theses on socialist education: published at the 14th Plenum of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea of the 5th Term, 5 September 1977 | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 63 | Socialism |
| 57 | 1980 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Referat sprawozdawczy Komitetu Centralnego Partii Pracy Korei na VI Zjazd Partii 10 października 1980 roku | Report of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea for the 6th Party Congress on 10 October 1980 | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 128 | WPK |
| 58 | 1985 | Kim Jong Il | O ideach Dżucze: artykuł skierowany do uczestników ogólnokrajowej konferencji naukowej, poświęconej ideom Dżucze i otwartej z okazji 70-lecia urodzin wielkiego wodza towarzysza Kim Ir Sena 31 marca 1982 roku | On the ideas of Juche: an article addressed to the participants of a national scientific conference dedicated to Juche ideas and opened on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the birth of the great commander, Comrade Kim Il Sung, on 31 March 1982 | – | FLPH | Pyongyang | 81 | North Korean ideology |

| | Publication Year | Author (original spelling) | Title in Polish | Translated title in English | Additional remark(s) | Publishing House | City of Publication | Pages | Subject |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 59 | 1987 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Historyczne doświadczenie budownictwa Partii Pracy Korei: wykład wygłoszony dla wykładowców i słuchaczy Wyższej Szkoły Partyjnej imienia Kim Ir Sena 31 maja 1986 roku z okazji 75 rocznicy urodzin wielkiego wodza towarzystwa Kim Ir Sena | The historic experience of the construction of the Workers' Party of Korea: a lecture for lecturers and students of the Kim Il Sung Higher Party School on 31 May 1986, on the 75th birthday of the great leader of society, Kim Il Sung | – | North Korean embassy in Warsaw | Warsaw | 137 | WPK |
| 60 | 1988 | Kim Jong Il (Kim Dzong Il) | O ideach Dżucze naszej partii | About the ideas of the Juche of our party | – | FLPH | Warsaw | 143 | North Korean ideology |
| 61 | 1989 | Kim Jong Il (Kim Dzong Il) | Trwale ustanowić oparte na Dżucze poglądy na rewolucję: rozmowa z odpowiedzialnymi pracownikami KC Partii Pracy Korei 10 października 1987 roku | Permanently establish Juche--based views of the revolution: an interview with responsible employees of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea held on 10 October 1987 | – | FLPH | Warsaw | 32 | North Korean ideology |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 62 | 1989 | Kim Jong Il (Kim Dzong-Il) | Wyżej wznosząc sztandar walki antyimperialistycznej, energicznie kroczymy naprzód drogą socjalizmu i komunizmu: rozmowa z odpowiedzialnymi pracownikami KC Partii Pracy Korei 25 września 1987 roku | Above raising the banner of anti-imperialist struggle, we vigorously move forward along the path of socialism and communism: a conversation with responsible employees of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea on 25 September 1987 | – | – | Warsaw | 35 | Socialism |
| 63 | 1992 | Kim Jong Il | Historyczna lekcja budownictwa socjalizmu i generalna linia naszej partii: rozmowa z odpowiedzialnymi pracownikami KC Partii Pracy Korei 3 stycznia 1992 roku | A historic lesson in socialist construction and the general line of our party: conversation with responsible employees of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea on 3 January 1992 | – | – | Warsaw | 50 | Socialism |

| | Publication Year | Author (original spelling) | Title in Polish | Translated title in English | Additional remark(s) | Publishing House | City of Publication | Pages | Subject |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 64 | 1992 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Osiągnijmy wielkie zespolenie naszego narodu: rozmowa z odpowiedzialnymi pracownikami Komitetu Pokojowego Zjednoczenia Ojczyzny i członkami Sztabu Północnej strony Ogólnonarodowej Ligi Zjednoczenia Ojczyzny – 1 sierpnia 1991 | Let us achieve the great unification of our nation: an interview with responsible employees of the Peace Committee of the Unification of the Fatherland and members of the Staff of the North Side of the National League of the Fatherland Unification – 1 August 1991 | – | – | Warsaw | 24 | Korean Unification |
| 65 | 1992 | Kim Jong Il | Historyczna lekcja budownictwa socjalizmu i generalna linia naszej Partii, rozmowa z odpowiedzialnymi pracownikami KC Partii Pracy Korei 3 stycznia 1992 roku | A historic lesson in socialist construction and the general line of our Party, conversation with responsible employees of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea on 3 January 1992 | – | – | Warsaw | 50 | Socialism |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 66 | 1992 | Kim Jong Il | Zwycięży socjalizm naszego typu, służący interesom mas ludowych: rozmowa z odpowiedzialnymi pracownikami KC Partii Pracy Korei 5 maja 1991 roku | Our type of socialism will prevail, serving the interests of the masses: conversation with responsible employees of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea on 5 May 1991 | – | North Korean embassy in Poland | Warsaw | 57 | Socialism |
| 67 | 1993 | Kim Il Sung | Dziesięciopunktowy program Wielkiej Konsolidacji całego narodu w imię Zjednoczenia Ojczyzny (6 kwietnia 1993 r.) | The 10-point programme of the Great Consolidation of the entire nation in the name of the Unification of the Fatherland (6 April 1993) | – | North Korean embassy in Poland | Warsaw | 6 | Korean Unification |
| 68 | 1993 | Kim Jong Il | O podstawowych problemach budownictwa partii rewolucyjnej, artykuł poświęcony 47 rocznicy utworzenia Partii Pracy Korei 10 października 1992 | On the basic problems of revolutionary party construction, an article devoted to the 47th anniversary of the founding of the Korean Labour Party on 10 October 1992 | – | North Korean embassy in Poland | Warsaw | 54 | WPK |

| | Publication Year | Author (original spelling) | Title in Polish | Translated title in English | Additional remark(s) | Publishing House | City of Publication | Pages | Subject |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 69 | 1993 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | Rękojmią zwycięstwa wielkiego dzieła samodzielności – podnoszenie roli mas ludowych: przemówienie na przyjęciu, wydanym przez Rząd KRL-D 15 kwietnia 1992 roku | Guarantee of victory of the great work of independence – raising the role of the masses: speech at a party issued by the Government of North Korea on 15 April 1992 | – | – | Warsaw | 11 | Socialism |
| 70 | 1994 | Kim Jong Il | Szkalowanie socjalizmu jest niedopuszczalne. Wywiad udzielony organowi KC Partii Pracy Korei czasopismu *KylŁódźa*, czasopiśmie teoretycznym KC PPK, 1 marca 1993 roku | Defamation of socialism is unacceptable. Interview given to the CC of the Korean Workers' Party, the magazine *Kulloja*, a theoretical journal produced by the CC of the WPK, 1 March 1993 | Published on the occasion of the 52nd birthday of Dear Leader Comrade Kim Jong Il | – | Warsaw | 31 | Socialism |
| 71 | 1994 | Kim Jong Il | Socjalizm – To nauka | Socialism – This is a science | This article was initially published in the *Nodon Shinmun* newspaper, a body of the CC of the Korean Workers' Party, 1 November 1994 | – | – | 32 | Socialism |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 72 | 1996 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | W wirze stulecia: pamiętniki. 1. [Antyjapońska rewolucja] | In the whirl of the century: diaries. 1. [Anti-Japanese revolution] | – | North Korean embassy in Poland. Prepared by Jo Chol Yong and translated from Russian by Aleksandra Dominik | Katowice | 419 | Kim Il Sung biography |
| 73 | 1999 | Kim Jong Il | Urzeczywistnimy zjednoczenie ojczyzny w sposób samodzielny i pokojowy na podstawie wielkiej konsolidacji całego narodu | We will realize the unification of the homeland in an independent and peaceful way on the basis of the great consolidation of the entire nation | – | North Korean embassy in Poland | Warsaw | 22 | Korean Unification |
| 74 | 2000 | Kim Jong Il | Partia Pracy Korei – Partia Wielkiego Wodza Towarzysza Kim Ir Sena | Workers' Party of Korea – The Party of the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung | Printed by Cieszyńska Drukarnia Wydawnicza | – | – | 28 | Kim Il Sung biography |

| | Publication Year | Author (original spelling) | Title in Polish | Translated title in English | Additional remark(s) | Publishing House | City of Publication | Pages | Subject |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 75 | 2002 | Kim Jong Il | Zachować charakter oparty na ideach Dżucze i narodową specyfikę w rewolucji i budownictwie nowego społeczeństwa: 19 czerwca 1997 roku | Maintain a character based on Juche ideas and national specificity in the revolution and building a new society: 19 June 1997 | – | North Korean embassy in Poland | Warsaw | 45 | North Korean ideology |
| 76 | 2003 | Kim Jong Il | Filozofia Dżucze – samoistna Filozofia Rewolucji | Juche philosophy – the independent philosophy of the revolution | Interview given to *Kulloja*, the theoretical journal of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea on 26 July 1996 | – | – | 23 | North Korean ideology |
| 77 | 2004 | Kim Jong Il | Konsekwentnie wcielać w życie testament wielkiego wodza towarzysza Kim Ir Sena w sprawie zjednoczenia ojczyzny | Consistently put into practice the will of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung on the unification of the homeland | – | – | – | 25 | Kim Il Sung biography |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 78 | 2005 | Kim Il Sung (Kim Ir Sen) | W wirze stulecia: pamiętniki. 2. [W latach poszukiwania nowej drogi] | In the whirl of the century: diaries. 2. [During the years, looking for a new road] | – | North Korean embassy in Poland. Prepared by Jo Chol Yong and translated from Russian by Aleksandra Dominik | Katowice | 415 | Kim Il Sung biography |
| 79 | December 2005 | Kim Jong Il | Szanować starsze pokolenie rewolucji – najwyższy moralny dług rewolucjonistów | Respect the older generation of the revolution – the highest moral debt of the revolutionaries | Interview given to the body of the CC of the Korean Labour Party, the newspaper Rodon Shinmun, 25 December 1995 | | | 33 | North Korean ideology |
| 80 | 2009 | Kim Jong Il | Koreańska Republika Ludowa Demokratyczna – państwo socjalistyczne Juche o niezniszczalnej sile | Democratic People's Republic of Korea – Juche socialist state with indestructible power | Interview for the party newspaper Rodong Shinmun and the government body Minju Joson on 5 September 1997 [Juche 2008] | FLPH | Pyongyang | 30 | North Korean ideology |

| | Publication Year | Author (original spelling) | Title in Polish | Translated title in English | Additional remark(s) | Publishing House | City of Publication | Pages | Subject |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 81 | 2012 | Kim Jong Un | Będziemy wcielać w życie patriotyzm Kim Jong Ila dla przyspieszenia procesu budowy bogatej i potężnej Ojczyzny | We will implement the patriotism of Kim Jong Il for the acceleration the process of building a rich and powerful homeland | Meeting with the leadership of the CC of the Korean Workers' Party July 26, 2011 Juche (2012) | – | Warsaw | 19 | Kim Jong Il biography |
| 82 | 2013 | Kim Jong Un | Wyżej wnosząc sztandar songun, prężnym krokiem naprzód dojdziemy do ostatecznego zwycięstwa | Higher by raising the songun banner, we will come to a final victory with a vigorous step forward | Speech at the military parade, Dedicated to the 100th birthday of Grand Commander Generalissimus Kim Il Sung 15 April, 2011 Juche (2012) | – | Warsaw | 19 | North Korean ideology |
| 83 | 2014 | Kim Jong Un | Wielki Kim Il Sung – Wieczny Wódz naszej partii i narodu | Great Kim Il Sung – The Eternal Leader of our party and nation | Article published on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Kim Il Sung's birth on 20 April 101 (Juche 2012) | – | Warsaw | 32 | Kim Il Sung biography |
| 84 | 2018 | Kim Jong Un | Okryjmy wieczną chwałą wielkie idee i zasługi towarzysza Kim Jong Ila dla Rewolucji Songun | Let us cover with eternal glory the great ideas and merits of Comrade Kim Jong Il for the Songun Revolution | – | – | Warsaw | 29 | Kim Jong Il biography |

Source: *Prepared by the author based on North Korean documents.*

b-Selected Newsletters of the North Korean embassy in Poland

| | Publication Year | Author (original spelling) | Title in Polish | Translated title in English | Additional remark(s) | Publishing House | City of Publication | Pages | Subject |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1993 | Kim Il Sung | Odpowiedzi na pytania dyrektora japońskiej agencji telegraficznej 'Kiodo Tsusin', 1 czerwca 1991 | Answers to questions of the director of the Japanese telegraph agency Kiodo Tsusin, 1 June 1991 | – | – | Warsaw | 2 | International affairs |
| 2 | June 2003 | – | Wybitny polityk Kim Dzong Il | Prominent Politician Kim Jong Il | On the occasion of the 39th anniversary of the beginning of the employment in the CC WPK by Marshal Kim Jong Il | 2 | – | – | Kim Jong Il biography |
| 3 | July 2003 | – | Prezydent Kim Ir Sen wiecznie żyje razem z narodem | President Kim Il Sung lives forever with the people | On the occasion of the 9th anniversary of the death of Kim Il Sung | – | – | 2 | Kim Il Sung biography |
| 4 | October 2003 | – | Prezydent Kim Ir Sen i Partia Pracy Korei | President Kim Il Sung and the Workers' Party of Korea | On the occasion of the 58th anniversary of the creation of the Workers' Party of Korea | – | – | 2 | Kim Il Sung biography |

| | Publication Year | Author (original spelling) | Title in Polish | Translated title in English | Additional remark(s) | Publishing House | City of Publication | Pages | Subject |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | December 2003 | | Kim Jong Il broni socjalizmu dzięki niezwyciężonej potędze militarnej | Kim Jong Il defends socialism through invincible military force | – | – | – | 2 | Kim Jong Il biography |
| 6 | December 2003 | | Bohaterska Kim Jong Suk żyje w pamięci narodu | Heroic Kim Jong Suk lives in the memory of the nation | – | – | – | 2 | Kim family |
| 7 | February 2004 | – | Trzy aspekty wiary Przywódcy Korei Kim Dzong Ila | Three aspects of the faith of Korean leader Kim Jong Il | – | – | – | 3 | Kim Jong Il biography |
| 8 | April 2007 | | 75-letnia droga rozsławiona przez wybitnych dowódców | A 75-year road made famous by prominent commanders | – | – | – | 2 | North Korea's army |
| 9 | July 2010 | Kim Ir Sen | Obowiązki matek w wychowaniu dzieci | Obligations of mothers in raising children | Speech at the National Mothers' Meeting in Pyongyang on 16 November 1961 | – | – | 7 | Social Issues |
| 10 | July 2010 | – | Kim Il Sung – twórca Koreańskiej Republiki Ludowo--Demokratycznej | Kim Il Sung – founder of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea | – | – | – | 2 | Kim Il Sung biography |
| 11 | July 2010 | – | Nowe perspektywy budowy mocarstwa gospodarczego | New perspectives for building an economic power | – | – | – | 3 | North Korea's economy |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12 | August 2010 | – | Kim Jong Il – polityk wybitny | Kim Jong Il – an excellent politician | – | – | – | 3 | Kim Jong Il biography |
| 13 | November 2003 | – | Kto jest prowokatorem? | Who is the provocateur? | Edited by KFA Polska | – | – | 2 | North Korea's army |
| 14 | April 2011 | – | Ojciec narodu koreańskiego | The father of the Korean nation | – | – | – | 4 | Kim Il Sung biography |
| 15 | April 2012 | Kim Jong Il | O umocnieniu Ludowej Armii – stworzeniu w społeczeństwie atmosfery priorytetu kwestii militarnej | Strenghtening the People's Army – Creating an atmosphere of giving priority to military issues in the society | Interview with officers of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea on 4 February 1992 | North Korean embassy in Poland | Warszawa | 6 | North Korea's Army |
| 16 | March 2013 | – | Oświadczenie rzecznika prasowego Naczelnego Dowództwa Koreańskiej Armii Ludowej | Statement by the spokesperson of the Supreme Command of the Korean People's Army | Edited by KFA Polska | – | – | 4 | North Korea's army |

Source: *Compiled by the author.*

# 8. TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT OF THE NORTH KOREAN-POLISH FRIENDSHIP SONG

| | North Korean Version | Polish Version | English Translation |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Title** | 조선-뽈스까친선 의 노래 | Pieśń Przyjaźni Koreańsko-Polskiej | The Song of Korean-Polish Friendship |
| **Content** | 친선의 노래 울리 여가네 조선-뽈스까. | Rozlega się pieśń przyjaźni Korei i Polski. | A song of friendship between Korea and Poland is heard. |
| | 친선의 노래 울리 여가네 조선-뽈스까. | Rozlega się pieśń przyjaźni Korei i Polski. | A song of friendship between Korea and Poland is heard. |
| | 만수대 언덕 에서 위슬라 강까지. | Od wzgórza Mansudae, do brzegu Wisły. | From Mount Mansudae to the banks of the Vistula. |
| | 친선의 노래 울리 여가네 조선-뽈스까. | Rozlega się pieśń przyjaźni Korei i Polski. | A song of friendship between Korea and Poland is heard. |
| | 친선의 노래 울리 여가네 조선-뽈스까. | Rozlega się pieśń przyjaźni Korei i Polski. | A song of friendship between Korea and Poland is heard. |
| | 인류의밝은 미래 꽃퍼워나가며 | W upiększaniu świetlanej przyszłości ludzkości | In embellishing the bright future of humanity |
| | 하나도뭉친우리의 마음 조선-뽈스까. | Zespolone są w jedno, nasze serca Korei i Polski. | They are united into one, our hearts of Korea and Poland. |
| | 단결의 노래 울리 여가네조선-뽈스까. | Rozlega się pieśń przyjaźni Korei i Polski. | A song of friendship between Korea and Poland is heard. |
| | 세열은 흘러가고 강산은 변해도<br>반제의 길에 함께 있네 | Chociaż upłynęły lata, zmieniły się rzeki i góry, nadal są razem na drodze antyimperialistycznej | Although years have passed, the rivers and the mountains have changed but are still together on the anti-imperialist path |
| | 조선-뽈스까. | Korea i Polska. | Korea and Poland. |
| | 영원한 노래 울리 여가네조선-뽈스까! | Rozlega się wieczna pieśń Korei i Polski! | The eternal song of Korea and Poland is heard! |

Source: *The Polish translation was provided by Polish State Television. The North Korean-Polish Friendship Song was performed by the Mansudae Art Group in Poland on April 15, 1988. The English translation was prepared by the author.*

## 9. LINGUISTICAL ISSUES

| **English version** | **Polish version** | **North Korean version** *Pronunciation in brackets* | **South Korean version** *Pronunciation in brackets* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jaruzelski, Wojciech | Jaruzelski, Wojciech | 보이쩨흐야루젤쓰끼 (Pojchehyarujaelski) | 보이치에흐 야루젤스키 (Pojchehyarujaelski) |
| Poland | Polska | 뽈스까 (Ppolseukka) | 폴란드 (Pollanteu) |
| Trybuna Ludu | Trybuna Ludu | 뜨리부나 류드 (TeulipunaLjudu) | 뜨리부나 류드 (TeulipunaLjudu) |
| Warsaw | Warszawa | 와르샤와 (Wareusjawa) | 바르샤바 (Palesjapa) |

Source: *Prepared by the author based on North Korean documents.*

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## 5. LIST OF INTERVIEWS

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- Interview of the author with Krzysztof Darewicz. Former Beijing-based correspondent for the Polish News Agency PAP in the 1990's. The interview was held on 9 September 2019.
- Interview of the author with Mieczysław Dedo. Former Polish diplomat who was twice the Polish representative to North Korea. The interview was held on 4 April 2010.
- Interview of the author with Kazimierz Wróblewski. Mayor of the Polish army, worked at the NNSC between 1993 and 1994. The interview was held on 19 March 2010.
- Interview of the author with Kim Ju Dok. Counsel to the North Korean embassy in Warsaw. The interview was held at the Asia and Pacific Museum in January 2016.
- Interview of the author with Stanislaw Tokarski. Professor of Philosophy. Interviews were hold on 8, 20, 29 October and 12 November 2019.

## 6. Polish websites fully focused on North Korean issues

| **Website Addresses** | **Description** |
|---|---|
| http://krld.pl | A propaganda website |
| http://nkreports.com | A website focused on the North Korean leadership and economy |
| http://pozdrzkrld.com | A website focused on travels to North Korea |

# Illustrations

**Illustration 1. The remaining building that served as an orphanage for North Korean children in Otwock.**

The photo shows one of the buildings that served as an orphanage for North Korean orphans in Otwock at Komunardów 10. The pine trees in the picture were planted by North Korean orphans in the orphanage garden.

**Source:** The photo was taken by the author.

**Illustration 2. A monument commemorating the presence of North Korean orphans in Poland.**

This is a monument commemorating Polish-North Korean friendship. The inscription can be translated as 'We were living happily in this house between 1951 and 1959. We will remember forever the motherly support of the nation of Poland'. The stela was present in the building at 10 Komunardów Street. In the 2010s, this stela was sold to a private person.

**Source:** The photo was taken by the author.

**Illustration 3. A stela commemorating North Korean orphans in Poland.**

Another stela commemorating the presence of North Korean orphans in Otwock with several inscriptions in Polish and (North) Korean celebrating the friendship between the two countries. The stela is still present in the garden of a retirement house at 13 Bernardyńska Street in Otwock.

**Source:** The photo was taken by the author.

**Illustration 4a. Cover pages of a Polish book dedicated to North Korean orphans brought up in Poland.**

Cover page of the book *Dom odzyskanego dzieciństwa* ('The home of recovered childhood'), authored by Marian Brandys. The cover page is from the 1957 edition.

**Source:** The photo was taken by the author.

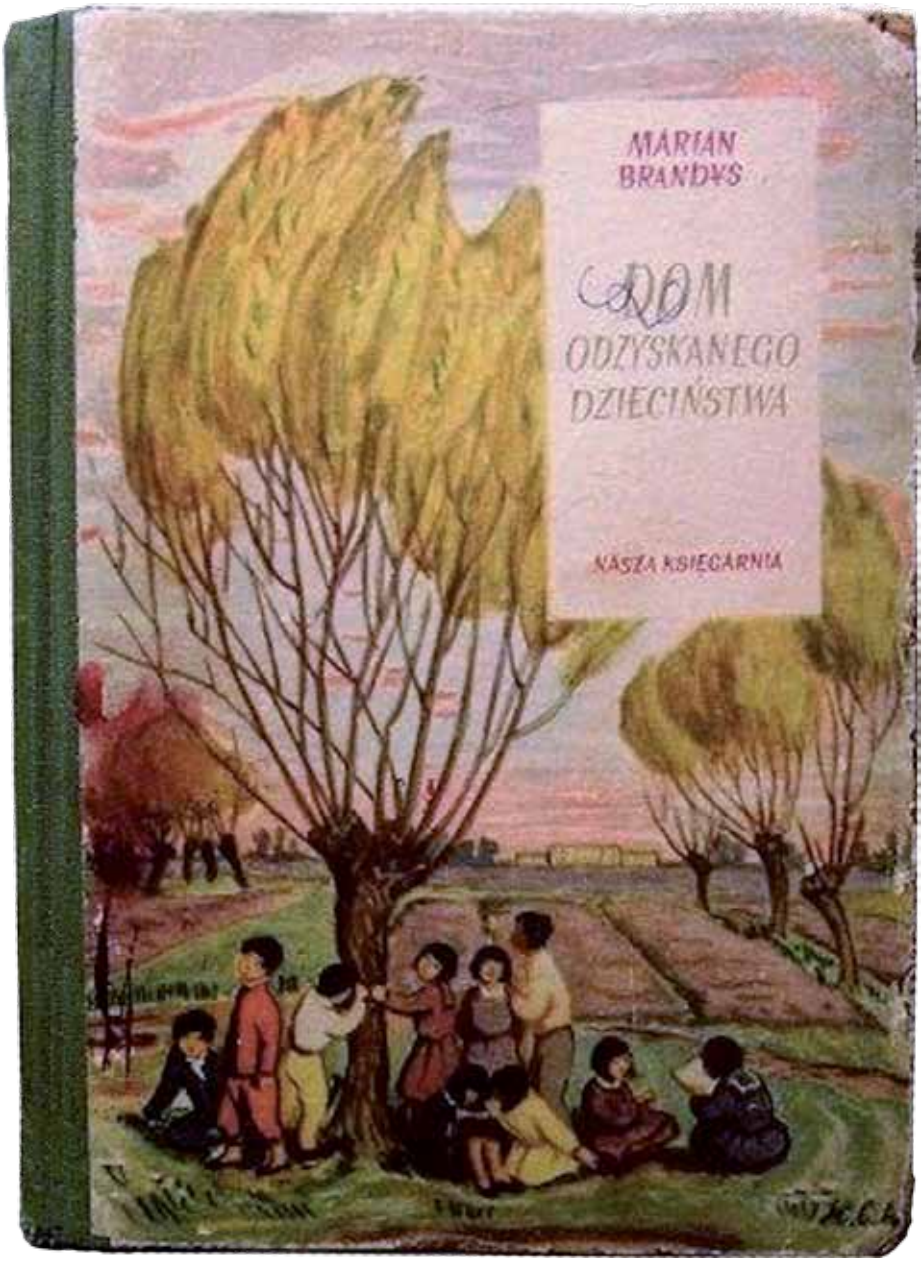


**Illustration 4b. Cover pages of a Polish book dedicated to North Korean orphans brought up in Poland.**

Cover page of the book *Dom odzyskanego dzieciństwa* ('The home of recovered childhood'), authored by Marian Brandys. The cover page is from the 1956 edition.

**Source:** The photo was taken by the author.

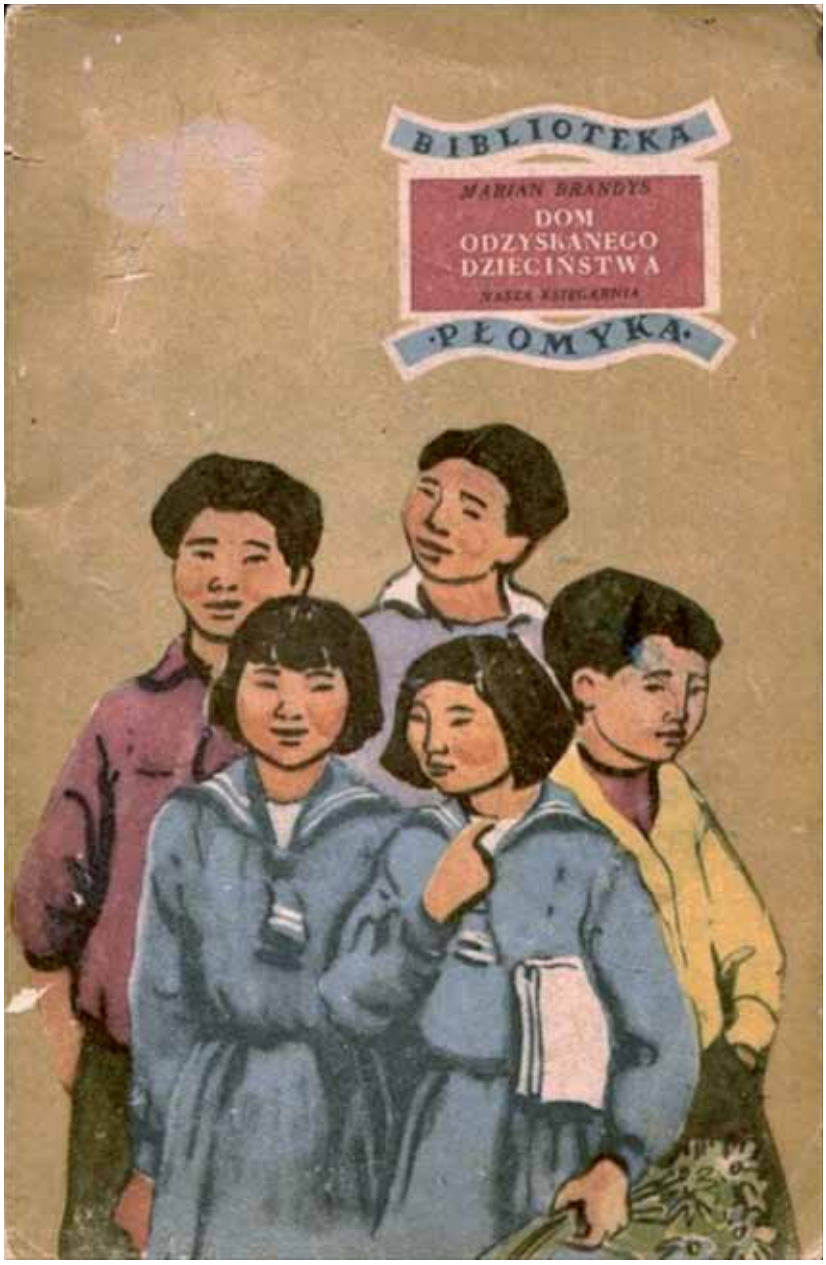


**Illustration 4c. Cover pages of a Polish book dedicated to North Korean orphans brought up in Poland.**

Cover page of the book *Dom odzyskanego dzieciństwa* ('The home of recovered childhood'), authored by Marian Brandys. The cover page is from the 1954 edition.

**Source:** The photo was taken by the author.

**Illustration 5. Korean street in Warsaw.**

The Polish-North Korea friendship was reinforced by the inauguration of Korean Street in Warsaw in 1963. The street is in the Saska Kępa district of Warsaw.

**Source:** The photo was taken by the author.

**Illustration 6. A North Korean stamp celebrating Poland (1/2).**

This stamp celebrates the Polish ship *Dar Młodzieży* ('Gift of Youth').

**Source:** The photo was taken by the author.

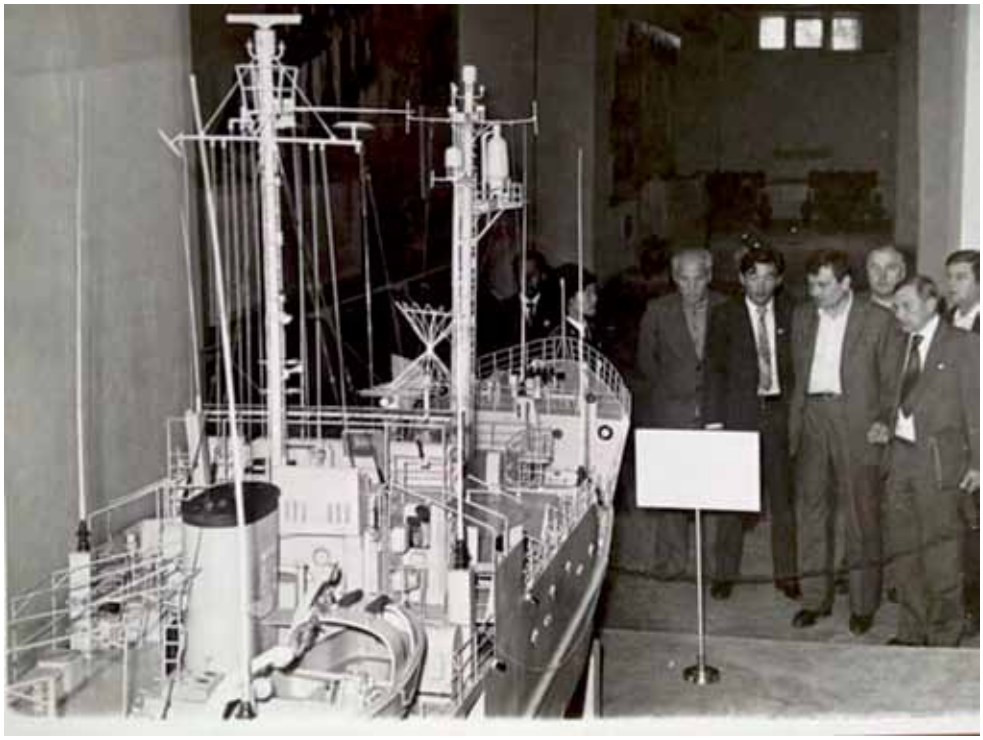

**Illustration 7. A delegation of the Polish-North Korea cooperative in North Korea.**

A picture illustrating the visit of the Polish delegation of the Polish-North Korea cooperative, which is visiting the Pyongyang metro. The translator is Kim Ju Dok, who later served as the North Korean political council in Warsaw between 2004 and 2017.

**Source:** The photo was provided by 'Pacyna – ocalić od zapomnienia' ('Pacyna – to save from oblivion'), an association for the remembrance of the county of Pacyna.

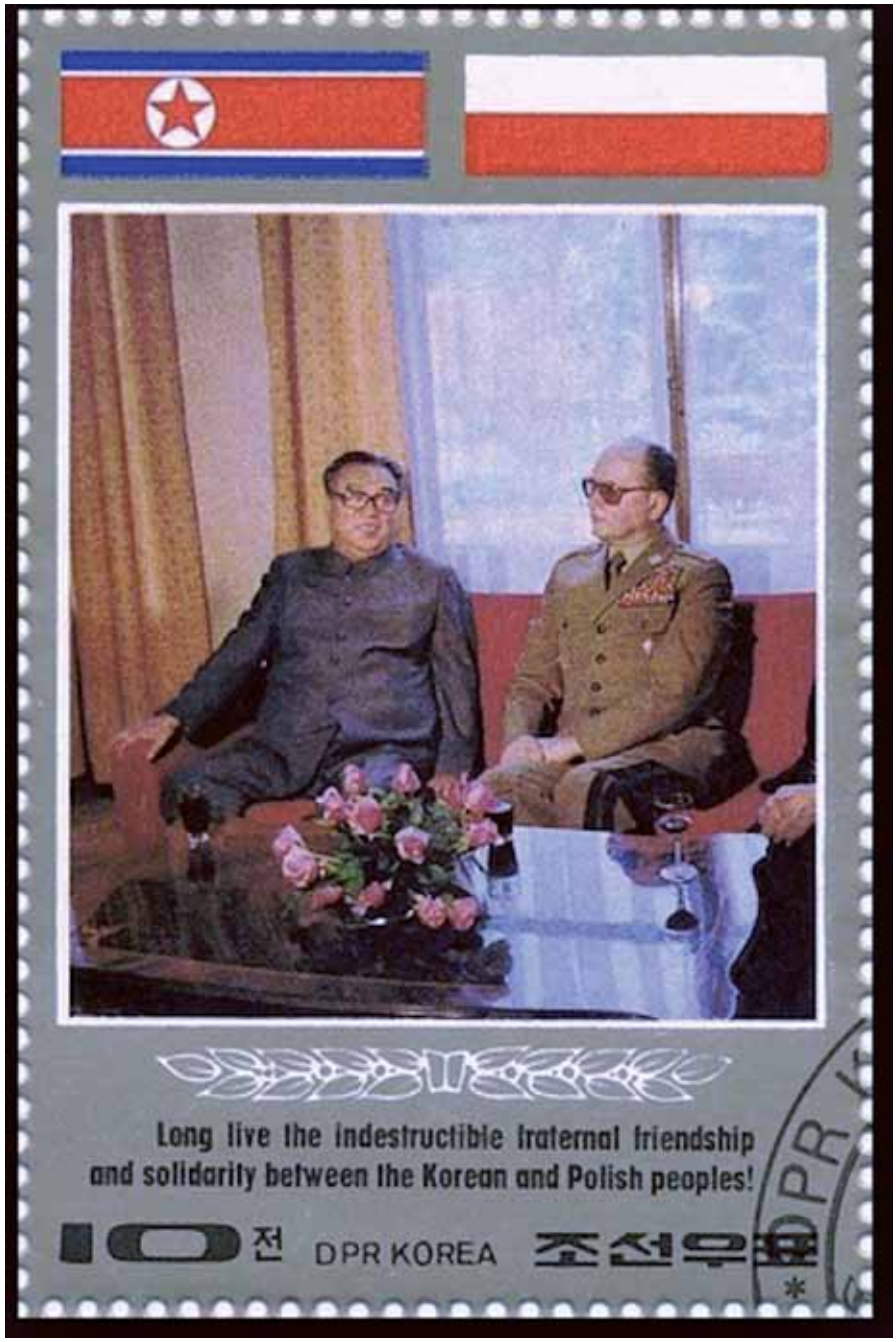


**Illustration 8. A North Korean stamp celebrating Poland (2/2).**

This stamp celebrates the visit of Kim Il Sung to Poland in May 1984.

**Source:** The photo was taken by the author.

# 3rd Polish Youth Brigade named after KIM JONG IL here

The Third Polish Youth Brigade named after Kim Jong Il headed by Witold Fioreck, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rural Youth Union of Poland, visited the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from September 26 to October 6.

While in Korea the youth brigade visited Mangyongdae where the great leader, President Kim Il Sung, was born and other places in Pyongyang, such as the Tower of the Juche Idea and the Arch of Triumph, and made a tour of local cities including Nampo, Wonsan and Kaesong.

After visiting Mangyongdae, the head of the youth brigade made the following entry in the guest book: "Through our visit to Mangyongdae we have become acquainted more clearly with the revolutionary achievements of Comrade Kim Il Sung and the deep respect of the Korean people for him."

When he participated in work at the construction site of Kwangbok Street in honour of his visit to this street he said: "I cannot repress my admiration at the fast construction speed of Korea. Such construction is hardly thinkable apart from the great economic potentiality, bold operation and wonderful organizing skill."

In addition, he dwelt on the successful promotion of the construction projects for the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students such as Kwangbok Street and emphasized: "This owes to the wise leadership of dear Comrade Kim Jong Il".

After the inspection of Panmunjom, the head of the brigade made the following entry in the guest book: "Our visit to Panmunjom has enabled us to see with our own eyes the Korean people's sufferings caused by national division.

"We express firm solidarity with the Korean people's struggle for the country's peaceful reunification."

During its sojourn in Korea the brigade attended colourful functions, such as rally, friendship joint meeting, meeting, joint performance, etc.

In his speech at the rally of Pyongyang youth and students to welcome the Polish Youth Brigade and the joint meeting of friendship with the Pyongyang youth and students the head of the brigade stressed: "Pyongyang city has sprung up magnificently as seen today. This is thanks to the wise leadership of the great leader, Comrade Kim Il Sung, and the dear leader, Comrade Kim Jong Il, and to the revolutionary spirit of fortitude displayed by the Korean people and youth and their energetic endeavours."

Kye Ung Tae, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, met the leading members of the brigade.

Han Nam Su

☆ ☆

**The Third Polish Youth Brigade named after Kim Jong Il volunteers to work in the construction site of Kwangbok Street**

☆ ☆

**Illustration 9. The work of the Polish brigade named after Kim Jong Il, in Pyongyang in 1986.**

This photo shows how young Polish people participated in construction projects in Pyongyang in support of the solidarity between the Polish and North Korean nations.

**Source:** 1986: 3rd Polish Youth Brigade named after KIM JONG IL here, *The Pyongyang Times*, 4 October.

**Illustration 10. Polish presence on Juche Tower.**

This photo shows the stone added by the Poland-North Korea Friendship Association to Juche Tower in Pyongyang.

**Source:** The photo was taken by the author.

**WARSZAWSKIE KOŁO STUDIÓW IDEI DŻUCZE**
**AMBASADA KRL-D W POLSCE**
**WYDZIAŁ DZ. I N.P. UW**

**ZAPRASZAMY**

na spotkanie z przedstawicielem korpusu dyplomatycznego Ambasady Korei Północnej w Warszawie

**Radcą Ambasady Panem Ri Un Rimem.**

tematem spotkania będzie:

**„KOREA PÓŁNOCNA KRAJ IDEI DŻUCZE - KRAJ CZHOLLIMA"**

**9 kwietnia 2003r. godz. 17.00**

sala 310, Wydział Dziennikarstwa i Nauk Politycznych UW
ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 3

***Serdecznie zapraszamy wszystkich zainteresowanych!***

**Illustration 11. Advertisement for a Juche meeting in Warsaw.**

This photo is an advertisement for a meeting inviting Warsaw residents to meet with a North Korean diplomat based in Poland. These meetings were usually jointly organised by the Juche Association of Warsaw and the North Korean embassy in Warsaw.

**Source:** The photo was taken by the author.

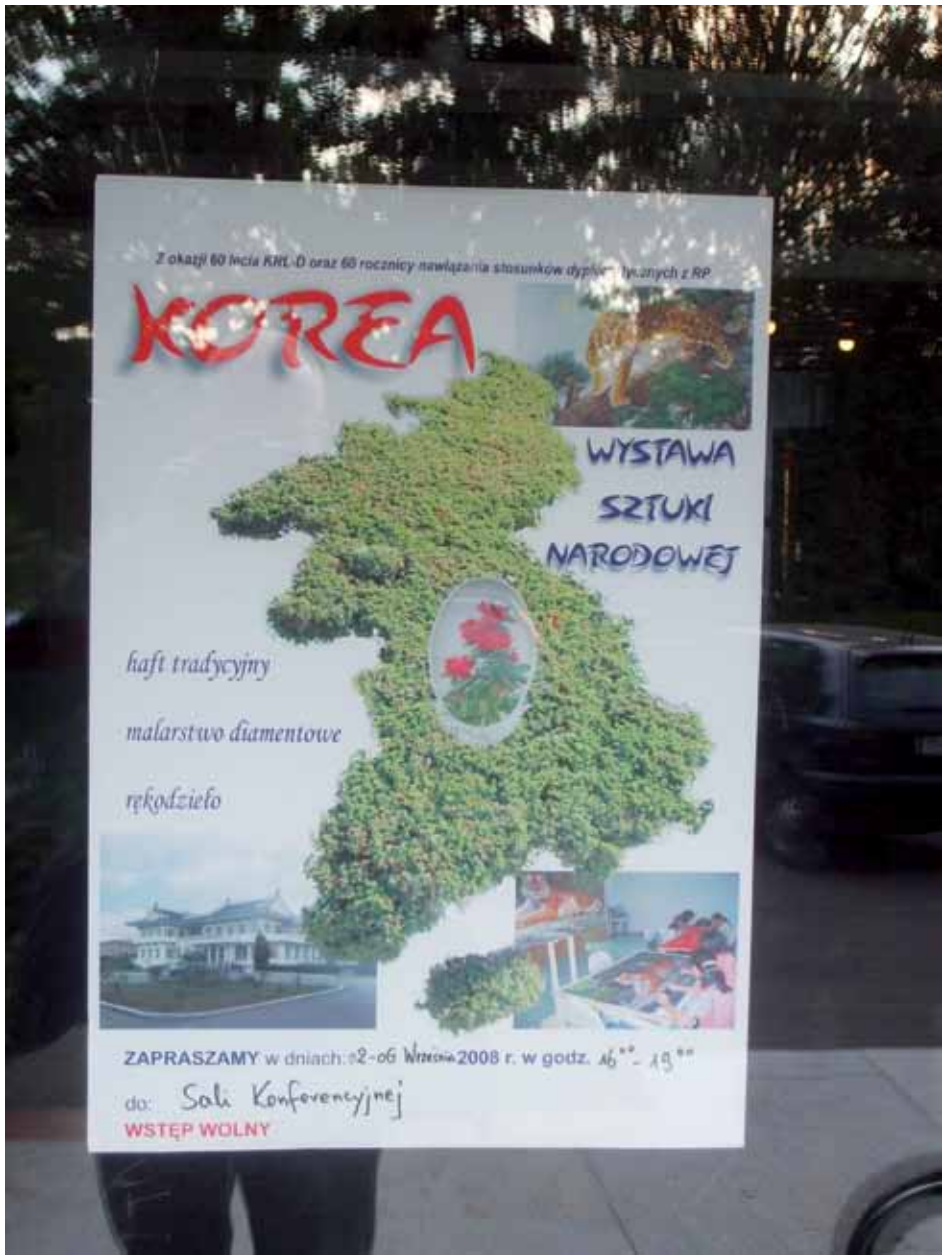


**Illustration 12. North Korean art exhibition in Poland.**

This photo is a poster for a North Korean exhibition that was held in Warsaw. Despite the closed nature of the North Korean regime, several North Korean exhibitions were held in Poland. These events were often organised by sympathizers of the North Korean regime.

**Source:** The photo was taken by the author.

**Illustration 13. The cultural theatre of the North Korean embassy in Poland.**

This building served as a cultural centre at the North Korean embassy in Warsaw. It played not only North Korean movies but hosted propaganda meetings defending Juche ideology.

**Source:** The photo was taken by the author.

**Illustration 14. Art painting at the North Korean embassy in Warsaw.**

The North Korean embassy has also a mural illustrating North Korean beaches. This mural was painted by North Korean artists in 1984.

**Source:** The photo was taken by the author.

**Illustration 15. Human Rights demonstration in front of the North Korean embassy in Poland.**

A photo of a demonstration organised during the conference on human rights violations in North Korea, held in Warsaw between February 29 and March 2, 2004. This demonstration took place in front of the North Korean embassy in Warsaw.

**Source:** The photo was taken by the author.

**Illustration 16. Kim Pyong Il and the author.**

Kim Pyong Il was not only the North Korean ambassador to Poland between 1998 and 2015 but also a son of Kim Il Sung.

**Source:** The photo was taken during a reception at the North Korean Embassy in Warsaw in 2005.

**Illustration 17. Professor Waldemar Jan Dziak and the author.**

Prof. Waldemar Jan Dziak was the Polish researcher who wrote the most extensively about North Korea. Less commonly known was that he used to be a member of the management board of a waste company in Poland.

**Source:** The photo was taken during a projection of the movie *Defilada* produced by Andrzej Fidyk.