

North Korean Perceptions toward Traditional Dietary Customs and Policies for Their Protection*

Youngsun Jeon
Konkuk University

* This work was supported by the National Research Foundation of Korea (NRF) grant funded by the Korean government (NRF-2019S1A6A3A01102841) in 2019.

Abstract

This study is to compare perceptions of the two Koreas' traditional dietary cultures and the policies enacted to protect these cultures with a view to predicting the potential collisions that could occur during the process of unification and to presenting a direction for integrating the dietary cultures of the two countries. The dietary cultures of the two Koreas have been perceived as conspicuous joint cultural assets formed over 5,000 years. North Korea has made efforts to preserve the traditions of Korean national culture. After the Kim Jong-un regime gained power in 2012, the country took efforts to unearth its intangible heritage, whose significant portion was related to dietary culture. North Korea has designated four elements of dietary culture as national intangible cultural heritage: (1) daily food available nationwide; (2) seasonal food related to holidays; (3) traditional alcohol; and (4) local food. North Korea has held various cooking competitions and has made efforts to unearth elements of traditional Korean dietary culture with a view to promote this culture. There are very similar aspects to how the two Koreas make value judgments and promote industrialization policies regarding cultural heritage that is related to traditional dietary culture. There are policy-related similarities in regards to the positive evaluations that the two Koreas make toward dietary culture, along with the proactive efforts to unearth, along with national efforts to preserve, that culture. That being said, there are differences in the specific elements of culture that the two Koreas aim to inherit and preserve. There are differences in the systems of the two Koreas in terms of the objectives and orientation of unearthing traditional culture and the criteria used to evaluate its value. These differences suggest there will be clashes between the two Koreas in living culture (*saenghwal munhwa*). During exchanges between the two Koreas, there is an imperative to establish human and material infrastructures to allow the active exchange of information, joint investigations, academic exchanges, and communication in regards to living culture, including dietary culture.

Keywords: North Korea, dietary culture, Korean cooking, Korean food, K-food, intangible cultural heritage, traditional culture

Introduction

This study compares perceptions of the two Koreas' traditional dietary cultures and the policies enacted to protect these cultures with a view to predicting the potential clashes that could occur during the process of unification and to presenting a direction for integrating the two countries. Dietary culture is one sphere of society that best reflects a nation's uniqueness and orientation. Dietary culture goes beyond just simple foods; it is a product of a nation's overall culture, reflecting its politics, economy, society, and history. In the two Koreas, dietary culture has been perceived as an asset formed over 5,000 years that is shared by the two countries. Meetings between the two Koreas, including through presidential summits, have highlighted food as a device to confirm commonalities shared by the two countries.

We can confirm the commonalities in dietary culture between the two Koreas across many foods, including kimchi, *toenjang*, and *kanjang*. There are, at the same time, also differences in their dietary cultures. The dietary cultures of the two Koreas have not developed through history as finished products. Following Korean division, the everyday dietary cultures of the two Koreas diverged due to differences in industrialization and governing systems. After the Korean War, an increase in flour-based food in South Korea due to large amounts of flour being imported from the United States and the increase in consumption of meat in line with economic growth led to rapid Westernization of the country's dietary culture.

The food and dietary culture of North Korea, officially the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), is also undergoing changes. Food shortages during the 1990s famine period, known as the Arduous March, led to many deaths. After the Arduous March, however, the country's economy gradually recovered, leading to an improvement in dietary conditions and the emergence of various kinds of food and food culture. Since the beginning of the Kim Jong-un regime, the government has made the country's food issue a priority, calling it the "main force at the frontlines of the economy," and

has been promoting an agricultural policy aimed at solving its food issues. Along with this, the country is unearthing new food resources, developing products using resources manufactured in North Korea, and placing a focus on its food industry as a source of tourism. Since Kim Jong-un came to power in 2012, the country has strengthened legal protections surrounding its “intangible culture heritage.”¹ North Korea has held cooking competitions aimed at promoting its dietary culture, including “national cooking contests,” along with local cooking competitions, to bring local foods to light. Those foods judged to be “outstanding” are being designated as “national intangible heritage.”

North Korea’s efforts to unearth, protect, and mass-produce traditional dietary culture shares common threads with South Korea. In the 1960s, South Korea promoted policies aimed at protecting dietary culture as part of broader efforts to preserve Korean national culture. Traditional Korean food again gained attention from the country’s food industry. The South Korean food industry promoted globalization of traditional Korean food as it gained attention through the “Korean Wave” (Hallyu). The globalization of traditional Korean food has not only heightened the status of South Korea but has also gained attention from an economic perspective. Moreover, traditional Korean food plays a strong role in diplomacy as a cultural product that symbolizes South Korea. As part of efforts to promote and protect the country’s dietary culture, South Korea has introduced a certification system to recognize culinary masters or has designated foods as intangible cultural heritage.

The two Koreas share commonalities in how they have handed down positive value judgments about dietary culture and moved to actively highlight dietary culture and protect it. That being said, in regards to specific elements of dietary culture that the two Koreas aim to inherit and preserve, there are differences in interpretations toward tradition, perceptions toward the modernization process, and criteria used to evaluate the value of prominent dietary traditions. These differences suggest that there will be clashes between the two Koreas in the process of understanding, communicating, and integrating dietary culture. As part of the process of identifying

¹ “Non-physical cultural heritage” is a term used in North Korea’s Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage enacted in 2012, which corresponds to South Korea’s intangible cultural heritage. North Korea’s policy to protect cultural properties is divided into “physical cultural property,” which is tangible cultural property, and “non-physical cultural property,” which is intangible cultural property. For non-physical cultural properties, including intangible cultural assets, the law emphasizes “developmental succession” with an emphasis on “current meaning.” On the other hand, “physical cultural properties,” which correspond to tangible cultural properties, was carried out with an emphasis on “protection.” The Law on the Protection of Cultural Relics of 1994 enacted legislative measures related to the protection of cultural properties in North Korea. As the name of the law suggests, it was a law to protect “cultural relics.” Legal protection measures for non-physical cultural heritage were reorganized into a legal system with the Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage in 2012 during the Kim Jong-un era.

commonalities between the dietary cultures of the two Koreas, this study aims to examine North Korean perceptions of dietary culture and policies enacted to protect this culture with a view to predicting areas of conflict between the two Koreas' dietary cultures and present a direction for integrating the dietary cultures of the two countries.

North Korean Policies to Preserve Intangible Cultural Heritage

North Korea's national cultural policies can be divided into two kinds of policies: those related to tangible culture and those related to intangible culture. North Korea enacted measures to protect tangible culture right after liberation from Japan. On the other hand, the country's efforts regarding intangible cultural heritage have been focused more on scholarly efforts than legal protections.²

² For a discussion on North Korea's cultural heritage policies and management, see C. Jung (2012).

Perceptions and evaluations toward intangible culture changed in the 2000s. The government emphasized a correct attitude toward national cultural heritage through "patriotism education efforts." This correct attitude was linked with Kim Jong-il's achievements: "Education efforts through national cultural heritage are important efforts that use the tangible and spiritual assets created by our forefathers to increase socialist patriotism and class awareness among the working masses." After Kim Jong-il's death, the government emphasized the proper management of national cultural heritage as one way to express "Kim Jong-il patriotism." A legal system was established for intangible cultural heritage in 2012, following the start of the Kim Jong-un regime. As evident in the term "cultural heritage" used in the Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage enacted in 2012, the act was aimed at protecting both "physical" cultural heritage and "non-physical" cultural heritage as regulated in the Law on the Protection of Physical Culture. The Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage essentially expanded protections limited to "cultural artifacts" in the Cultural Artifacts Protection Act" to include "cultural heritage." The scope of the law's protections

shifted from “artifacts” to “heritage,” bringing not just “tangible culture” but also “intangible” culture under protection of the law. In short, North Korea expanded the sphere of its legal protection of cultural assets to include “artifacts” (tangible cultural assets and monuments) and “cultural heritage” (intangible cultural assets and spiritual products).

With the enactment of the Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage in 2012, North Korea systematically constructed a way to unearth, conduct historical research about, review, register, protect, and manage intangible cultural heritage. In August 2012, the National Heritage Preservation Agency was created to manage the protection of intangible cultural heritage. Revisions made to the Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage led to the expansion of the scope of intangible cultural heritage, which, in turn, led to the creation of related organizations and reorganizations in the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Public Health, Ministry of Sports, the Academy of Social Sciences, the Central Committee, and people’s committees in cities and counties. Education on national cultural heritage is being conducted at Kim Il-sung University, Kim Hyong Jik University of Education, Jang Cheol Gu Pyongyang Commercial University, and colleges of education and teachers training colleges in each province. Each year, North Korea expands the scope of what is considered and registered as intangible cultural heritage and is actively promoting efforts to register these intangible cultural heritages onto the World Heritage List.³

The 2012 Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage was succeeded by the 2015 National Heritage Protection Act. In an October 24, 2014, speech to high-level cadres in the Central Committee of the Workers’ Party of Korea, entitled “Minjok yusan boho saōp-ūn uri minjok-ūi ryōksa-wa chōnt’ong-ūl pinnaeinūn aeguk saōp-ida” [National heritage protection efforts are patriotic and aimed at illuminating our nation’s history and traditions], Kim Jong-un emphasized the significance of national heritage. This speech, which was released around the 20th anniversary of the restoration of the Mausoleum of Tangun (October 29, 1994) by Kim Jong-il, highlighted his inheritance of national cultural heritage protection policies of his father and grandfather.⁴

³ *Rodong Sinmun*, “Minjok-ūi chōntong-ūl kosu-hago husedūle-ge chōndal: hwalbalhi pōrōjinūn pīmūljil munhwa yusan poho saōp” [Adhering and passing down the nation’s traditions to our descendants: actively spreading efforts to protect intangible cultural heritage], March 26, 2018.

⁴ Kim Jong-un, “Minjok yusan boho saōp-ūn uri minjok-ūi ryōksa-wa chōnt’ong-ūl pinnaeinūn aeguk saōp-ida” [National heritage protection efforts are patriotic and aimed at illuminating our nation’s history and traditions], *Rodong Sinmun*, October 30, 2014.

Kim Jong-un's speech led to the enactment of the National Heritage Protection Act in 2015. The enactment of this law was aimed at expanding the definition of intangible heritage and the active use of this heritage. Later, in 2019, North Korea revised the National Heritage Protection Act, expanding the scope of intangible culture to include: legends and myths; traditional arts and medical practices; social customs, ceremonies, and holiday events; knowledge and customs related to the universe and nature; and even the skills and techniques used in traditional handicrafts.⁵

⁵ According to a *Chosun Shinbo* article on November 20, 2018, titled, "Ch'oe-gŭn n'yŏn'gan sŏnggwa iruk'ago innŭn pimuljil munhwa yusan boho hwaldong" [Non-physical cultural heritage protection activities, which have achieved results over recent years], "In August of Juche 101 (2012), after the establishment of an administrative organization in charge of the protection of non-physical cultural heritage, non-permanent national heritage protection committees were organized at the central level, each province, city (district), and county to protect non-physical cultural heritage. Excavation, historical research, review, and evaluation projects are being carried out on a regular basis. So far, more than 100 objects have been discovered, collected, and registered as national and local non-physical cultural heritage, and national wrestling competitions involving large bull statues, national food exhibitions, and farm dance performances of agricultural workers across the country are in progress, giving off a strong national flavor."

The term "non-physical (cultural) heritage," which is contrasted with the "physical (cultural) heritage," began to be used by North Korea with the enactment of the National Cultural Protection Act of 2012, following the establishment of the Section for the Non-Physical Heritage under UNESCO in 1982. North Korea defines cultural heritage as "valuable assets of the nation permeated with the ancient history and brilliant cultural traditions of our people."

Chapter 2 of the Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage defines non-physical heritage, stating that it "includes language, oral literature, performing arts, social traditions and customs, various ceremonies and holiday events, knowledge and experience related to nature and society, traditional handicrafts, medical knowledge, national cooking, and traditional folk games that have significant historical, artistic and scientific value."

The concept of "non-physical heritage" defined in Article 2 of the Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage is also present in the same form in the National Heritage Protection Act, with an expanded scope of intangible heritage under its protection.



Figure 1. North Korean broadcasts introducing national bean pastes.

The National Heritage Protection Act enacted in July 2015

states, “non-physical cultural heritage includes oral traditions and expressions, traditional arts, social customs, ceremonies and holiday events, knowledge and practices related to nature and the universe, and traditional handicrafts.” The act includes “traditional games” along with “knowledge and experience about nature and society” in the scope of intangible cultural heritage. Through the expansion of its definition, North Korea’s “non-physical cultural heritage” became almost identical to South Korean provisions related to intangible cultural assets.⁶

⁶ According to South Korea’s Cultural Heritage Protection Act, folklore resources are “customs or traditions related to food, clothing, housing, trades, religion, annual observances, etc., and clothing, implements, houses, etc. used therefor which are essential for understanding changes to the life of nationals.”

The focus of North Korea’s efforts to protect its intangible heritage is to inscribe them on the World Heritage List. In 2012, North Korea applied for UNESCO intangible heritage status for the traditional Korean folk song “Arirang,” and in 2013, it applied for the same status for kimchi-making. In 2014, “Arirang” was granted intangible heritage status by UNESCO, followed by North Korean-style kimchi-making in 2015. With the revision of the National Heritage Protection Act in 2015, North Korea created a new clause related to registration to the World Heritage List, stipulating that specific plans be established for the “inscription on the World Heritage List.” The Central Institution for the Preservation of National Heritage stipulated that active efforts be made to promote inscription on the World Heritage List, saying, “Efforts to inscribe our country’s outstanding physical, non-physical, and natural heritage as World Heritage must be carried out in a long-term, systematic manner.”⁷ In 2018, North and South Korea merged their applications to inscribe *Ssireum* (*ssirŭm* in McCune–Reischauer romanization), or traditional Korean wrestling, as an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity of UNESCO, applications for which had previously been made separately by the two Koreas. Following this, in 2019, North Korea applied for intangible cultural heritage status for Chosŏn-ot (Hanbok in South Korean language).

⁷ Kwon (2019, 220-221) states, “Broadly speaking, the number of designated cultural heritage items has increased since 2015, when North Korea amended the Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage enacted in 2012 to the National Heritage Protection Act in 2015, and the detailed classification of intangible ethnic heritage is the same as that of the UNESCO Convention on Intangible Heritage, showing that it was a time when the interest in policy in this field was very high.”

North Korean Perceptions toward Traditional Dietary Culture and Policies for Its Protection

North Korean Perceptions toward Dietary Culture

North Korea's policies regarding intangible cultural heritage express a positive perspective toward Korean dietary traditions. The sense of pride toward national culture can also be found in food culture. Generally speaking, "traditional food" refers to food developed over generations by Koreans in tandem with traditional culture well-suited with Korea's living conditions. Specifically, traditional food includes royal household food, food of the yangban class, food of ordinary people, and local food.



Figure 2. North Korean broadcasts highlighting food.

North Korea focuses attention on national culture relevant to people's living culture rather than foods eaten by the royal family or *yangban*.⁸ The country even refers to and promotes traditional cooking using the expression *minjok yori* (national cooking). North Korea's evaluation of *minjok yori* is extremely positive, saying that *minjok yori* has its own history and tradition formed culturally over a long period of time.⁹ The country says that there are five outstanding principles inherent to *minjok yori*.

First, animal-based ingredients and plant-based ingredients are mixed in a suitable manner. Most traditional side dishes are made with an appropriate mix of meat from livestock, wild animals, fish and other animals, and from vegetables, mountain greens, sea greens and other plants.

Second, five kinds of flavors are harmonized with each other to create unique and distinctive tastes. These

⁸ North Korea believes that national culture can develop under socialism. National culture under bourgeois rule is "bourgeois in content and national in form, with the purpose of poisoning the masses with the poison of nationalism and consolidating the rule of the bourgeoisie, whereas national culture under the dictatorship of the proletariat is socialist in content and national in form, with the purpose of educating the masses in the spirit of internationalism" (State Academy of Sciences DPR Korea 1961, 53).

⁹ In his *Rodong Sinmun* article of April 11, 2021, titled "Minjok-ŭi hyanggiga nŏmch'yŏnage" [Allowing the scent of the nation to overflow], Pang writes, "We must actively promote and develop national food."

five flavors refer to sourness, spiciness, bitterness, sweetness, and saltiness, and are called the “Five Flavors.” In short, saltiness and sourness, sourness and bitterness, bitterness and sweetness, sweetness and spiciness, spiciness and saltiness all have a close relationship with each other and complement one another to create a Korean style of cooking that is unique and distinctive. Kimchi is an example of harmony between sourness and saltiness, while red pepper paste is a marriage of spiciness and sweetness.

Third, *minjok yori* uses the elements of the five flavors that suppress each other in a way that takes advantage of the principles of flavor. Bitterness is suppressed by spiciness, while spiciness is suppressed by sourness. Sourness is suppressed by bitterness, creating uniquely flavored food. Our people use these principles in a way that has allowed them to eat various kinds of national foods.

Fourth, eating one part of an animal’s body can be eaten to help the same part of a human’s body. “Eating an organ from an animal that corresponds to the same organ in a human being can prevent that organ from ailing and lead to a long life. That is why people have eaten the bone marrow of animals when their brains have grown weak, and why people have made dishes made of animal lungs, hearts and livers to keep their own lungs, hearts and livers strong.”

Fifth, food has been made in a way that is beneficial for health. No matter how good an ingredient tastes, food has been made to protect people’s organs through the suppression of flavor.¹⁰

¹⁰ “Chōnt’ongjōgin minjok ūmshik ryori wōlli” [The principles of cooking traditional national food], *Radong Simmun*, January 31, 2010.

North Korea’s places its pride toward its national culture in food culture, which, in turn, leads to positivity about its national food. North Korean claims that “the Korean nation is a wise and capable nation that has made major contributions to the cultural development of humanity and is a nation that has created its own native dietary traditions and achieved praiseworthy traditions.” It goes on to say that the nation’s natural geographic conditions, local characteristics, physical constitution, personality, preferences, and morals are all reflected in the national food (Compilation Committee of the Korean Folk Traditions Series 1994).

Moreover, North Korea explains that dietary norms have been maintained over a long period of time, which has led them to become customary. Etiquette regarding dietary traditions is explained as follows: (1) dietary traditions reflect respect shown to elders. Elders are given rice, soup, and side dishes first and are provided with their own tables so they can eat their meals slowly, and when novel foods are introduced, elders are given them first. Only when elders have first put down their utensils can those below them in age raise their utensils to start their meal; (2) people did not make sounds with their spoons or dishes when eating; (3) people did their best to provide guests with plentiful food to eat; and (4) meals were conducted in a sanitary and clean manner.¹¹

¹¹ “Kosanghan shiksa ryejŏl” [Refined meal customs], *Rodong Sinmun*, March, 4, 2018.

North Korea’s Dietary Culture as Intangible Cultural Heritage

Based on the Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage, North Korea began registering major cultural heritage as “national non-physical heritage.” In August 2012, the country inscribed “Arirang” as the first item on its National Domestic Non-Physical Heritage List before expanding this list.¹² The dietary culture that North Korea has designated national-level intangible cultural heritage includes: “customs related to the making of kimchi,” “making rice wine,” “making fermented soybean paste,” “Pyongyang Raengmyon (cold noodle),” “royal hot pot,” “crafting *kamhongno* (a traditional Korean-style alcohol),” “making rice cakes,” “making red-bean gruel for the summer solstice,” “making *roktujijim* (mung bean pancakes),” “crafting *paek’wasul* (a traditional Korean liquor),” “making rice cake flavored with mugwort,” “crafting alcohol made of the root bark of various araliaceous shrubs,” “persimmon punch,” “terrapin-related cooking,” “flavored glutinous rice mixed with honey and dates,” “Hamgyŏng Province-style dog meat,” “Hamhŭng-style potato starch noodle soup,” “pollack spicy soup,” “scorched rice water,” “making *kamju* (a sweet rice drink),” “Korean-style stew,” “loach soup,” “making tofu,” “the crafting of *iganggo* (a kind of traditional Korean-style alcohol),” “the crafting of *munbaeju* (a traditional Korean liquor),” “Koryŏ medicine and food practices,” “Korean folk

¹² According to a *Rodong Sinmun* article on March 26, 2018, titled, “Minjok-ŭi chŏntong-ŭl kosu-hago husedŭl-ege chŏndal: hwalbalhi pŏrŏjinŭn pimuljil munhwa yusan poho saŏp” [Adhering and passing down the nation’s traditions to our descendants: actively spreading efforts to protect intangible cultural heritage], “Amid the active protection of intangible cultural heritage, Joseon has excavated more than 100 heritages, including the folk song “Arirang,” the custom of making kimchi, the custom of making jokes, the custom of dressing in a skirt and jacket, wrestling, and Pyongyang Raengmyon. It was registered as a local non-material cultural heritage. Last year alone, more than 30 heritages, including the *gayageum* making technique, the *jeodae* making technique, *sungnyung*, white porcelain making, Hoeryong Oji making, hotpot, and seaweed were registered as intangible cultural heritage.”

remedy of drawing blood from one's palm to fight against disease (*charanaegi*),” and “the making of salted shrimp.”

North Korea has increased registration of intangible heritage at the national every year since the registration process began in 2012. There are differences in the lists and registration years of national intangible heritage designated by North Korea depending on which sources are consulted; however, most of those registered as intangible heritage is related to food culture.¹³ The food culture designated by North Korea as national intangible cultural heritage can be categorized as follows.

First, there is common food-related culture present throughout the country. This culture includes: “customs related to the “making of kimchi,” “making fermented soybean paste,” “Pyongyang Raengmyon,” “customs related to the making of mung bean pancake,” “persimmon punch,” “terrapin-related cooking,” “pollack spicy soup,” “scorched-rice water,” “stew,” “ground loach in hot bean paste soup,” “the making of tofu,” “Korean folk remedy of drawing blood from one's palm to fight against disease (*charanaegi*),” and “the making of salted shrimp.”

Kimchi, soy sauce, fermented soybean paste are obvious examples of traditional foods. Koreans traditionally make kimchi when winter begins, while fermented soybean paste is usually made around the end of winter. The making of kimchi and fermented soybean paste were the most important traditions for survival practiced by households during the Chosŏn dynasty. Soybeans are a rare crop native to the Korean Peninsula and were used from long ago to significantly develop various kinds of soybean paste dishes. There are two kinds of pastes that use soybeans. The first involves long periods of fermentation where blocks of fermented soybeans are created and then the soy sauce and fermented soybean paste are separated from each other, while the other is fast-fermented bean paste that is fermented in a short period of time (J. Park 1992, 135).

Pyongyang Raengmyon is the most widely known dish on the intangible cultural heritage list. Already by the 18th and 19th centuries, there were cold noodle restaurants in Pyongyang, and from the late 1910s, ice could be obtained

¹³ Kwon (2019, 220) states, “Among North Korea's intangible cultural heritage, one area that is showing remarkable growth is food culture. In the first year and the following year when the non-physical cultural heritage registration system was implemented, “making kimchi, making rice wine (*makkŏlli*), making soy sauce, and Pyongyang Raengmyon” were registered immediately. Since then, based on North Korean documents and related reports, “making mung bean pancakes,” “ways to manufacture fruit juice,” “making red bean gruel for the summer solstice,” “crafting alcohol made of the root bark of various araliaceous shrubs,” “and ways to craft Tan'gun alcohol” were registered. Then in January 2017, “persimmon punch,” “terrapin-related cooking,” “flavored glutinous rice mixed with honey and dates,” “royal hot pot,” and “Hamgyŏng Province-style dog meat” and “Hamhŭng-style potato starch noodle soup” were registered. This was followed in May with the registering of “pollack spicy soup” and “scorched-rice water.” In 2018, North Korea registered “loach soup,” “Koryŏ medicine and food practices,” the “Korean folk remedy of drawing blood from one's palm to fight against disease (*charanaegi*),” and the “making of salted shrimp” as intangible cultural heritage. It is now estimated that up to 20% of the country's intangible heritage is related to food.

¹⁴ Rice cakes were originally food eaten on Lunar New Year's day in the Seoul region, but later became customary to eat nationwide (see Joo 2021, 125).

¹⁵ A *Rodong Sinmun* article titled, "Makköllli mandŭnün pangbôp" [How to make rice wine], published on July 12, 2009, states: "First, wash the white rice with clean water, boil it in water for 3 hours, then steam the water before crushing the lora and immediately inoculate 0.2% of the raw material with yeast. The, incubate for 36 to 48 hours in a *nuruk* culture room with a relative humidity of 90% or more and an indoor temperature of 30°C. Yeast is cultivated at the same time as yeast culture. The first soaking is done by putting water and yeast culture solution on the cultured *nuruk*. After fermenting this for about 48 hours at a temperature between 17°C and 22°C, the second soaking is done. This is fermented for 5 days while stirring once a day at a temperature between 22 and 25°C. When fermentation is complete, filtering is conducting using a filtering device, and then the alcohol concentration is adjusted according to the standard technical indicators to create a sweet taste. At this time, taste and aroma adjusting substances may be added according to the characteristics of each variety of rice wine. Then, filter again, sterilize at 60°C for 20 minutes, and store in a freezer at 0 to 4°C. When sealed in a bottle or a certain container, it can be sterilized at 65°C for 20 minutes and then distributed as a product."

¹⁶ *Chosun Shinbo*, "Sul, maekchuboda makköllli: minjok chŏnt'ong ūmshik-ül chŭlginün p'ungjo" [Rice wine is better than beer: enjoying national traditional food], August 10, 2009.

¹⁷ *Chosun Shinbo*, "Sul, maekchuboda makköllli: minjok chŏnt'ong ūmshik-ül chŭlginün p'ungjo" [Rice wine is better than beer: enjoying national traditional food], August 10, 2009.

even during the middle of summer, which allowed the dish to be eaten regardless of the season. There were more than 100 employees of cold noodle restaurants who joined the "Noodle Restaurant Labor Union," which was formed in Pyongyang in January 1925 (Joo 2021, 125).

Ch'uŏt'ang (loach soup) was also available to eat wherever one lived on the Korean Peninsula. The dish was made differently depending on the region. Broadly speaking, there have been two cooking methods: one that keeps the original form of the fish, while another that eliminates the original form of the fish (J. Park 1992, 96).

Second, seasonal foods related to holidays, which include "making rice cake soup,"¹⁴ "making red bean porridge," and "flavored glutinous rice mixed with honey, dates, and chestnuts." North Korea emphasizes that these foods are part of traditional culture and are part of what makes Korea unique. The country also emphasizes that people must adhere to the national culture of putting on traditional Korean clothing and eating Korean-style food during holidays.

Third, there is traditional alcohol, which includes "making rice wine," "the technique of making *kamhongno*," "the technique of making *paek'wasul*," "the technique of making alcohol made of the root bark of various araliaceous shrubs," "making *kamju*," "the technique of making *iganggo*," and the "technique of making *munbaeju*." What is noteworthy here is rice wine. North Koreans make rice wine at various proofs and with various kinds of additives, rather than following traditional ways of making the drink.¹⁵

The flavor of rice wine in North Korea differs depending on the restaurant. The country also holds rice wine competitions. North Korean media has stated that "various restaurants in the capital are creating their own kinds of rice wine to serve to customers."¹⁶ Munsu Restaurant's rice wine received outstanding reviews at a rice wine contests for having employed new techniques to produce the drink that revive the flavors, scents and sourness associated with rice wine while reducing the period needed for fermentation and increasing its producibility.¹⁷ Along with Munsu Restaurant's rice wine, the Rakwon Department Store's Rakpaek Rice Wine, Kanggye Rice Wine, and Samilpo Rice Wine have all be

reviewed favorably. The Rakpaek Rice Wine produced by the Rakwon Department Store consists of White Rice Wine, Corn Rice Wine, and Black Glutinous Rice Wine.¹⁸

Fourth, there are local foods. North Korea has highlighted local foods such as “Hamgyōng Province-style dog meat” and “Hamhŭng-style potato starch noodle soup,” and designated them national intangible heritage. “Hamgyōng Province-style dog meat” is dog soup native to Hamgyōng-do province. “Dog soup is a traditional soup well-known among the people for its nutritiousness and protecting the body during the hottest months of the summer.”¹⁹ North Korea says that dog soup is a national dish that has been widely enjoyed on the Korean Peninsula and that there are slight differences in how dog soup is made depending on the region of the country. In Hamgyōng-do province, salt has been used, while Chōlla-do and Kyōngsang-do provinces have used vegetables, mountain greens, and flour to thicken the soup.

North Korea's Policies Aimed at Promoting Its Dietary Culture

The common way in which North Korea highlights and protects dietary culture is through cooking competitions. These contests play a major role in uncovering and developing “national cooking” as intangible heritage. Cooking competitions, cooking technique contests, and exhibitions are held during the country’s major holidays. Cooking competitions include participation by major restaurants like Ongnyugwan and Ch’ongnyugwan and major hotels like Pyongyang Hotel and Ch’anggwangsan Hotel, which serve as venues to show off various kinds of dishes suitable for the theme at hand.²⁰

The most prominent event used to highlight the country’s dietary culture is the “National People’s Food Exhibition.” It is a major event, gathering around 600 cooks selected from approximately 150 workplaces, including the People’s Service General Bureau, central government agencies, and province-level food service organizations. Around half of the food presented at the event makes it on the national intangible cultural heritage list, showing how important the exhibition is

¹⁸ “Rakpaek rice wine” has a higher alcohol content than rice wine (*makkōlli*) from other regions. After drinking a full cup of ‘Rakpaek rice wine,’ you feel alert and happy. Corn rice wine, which is white and yellowish, has the limelight for its indescribable savory taste, where the taste of green corn and the savory taste of polished corn go well together” (see *Tongil News*, “Puk’an aejugadūl-i chūlgyō ch’annūn rakpaek makkōlli” [North Korea’s alcohol lovers enjoy Rakpaek Rice Wine], August 9, 2010).

¹⁹ Hwang Ch’ōl-min, “Uttūm-ganūn sambokch’ōl poyang ūmshik: tan’gogijang” [The best food for the summer: dog meat], *Rodong Sinmun*, July 12, 2009.

²⁰ *Rodong Sinmun*, “Minjok ryori kisul paljōn-ūl ch’udonghan ūiūi kip’ūn kyegi: che 9 ch’a kwangmyōngsōngjōl ryorigisul kyōngyōnjang-ūl torabogo” [A very significant start for the development of national cooking techniques: an overview of the 9th cooking technique competition celebrating the Day of the Shining Star], February 19, 2019.

for discovering dietary traditions (Kwon 2019, 221).

Apart from this event, there are various competitions held to highlight national food that span the range of foods and beverages, including “kimchi-making” competitions, “rice wine competitions,” “sweet rice drink competitions,” and “mudfish dish competitions.”²¹ Cooking competitions also have the effect of showing that North Korea’s dietary environment has improved. One of the most prominent competitions held in the country is the mudfish dish contest. North Korea has actively promoted the cultivation of mudfish as part of its efforts to solve the country’s food shortages. “Mudfish cultivation bases” have been established through the country, including the capital Pyongyang, and as production of the fish has increased, the North Korean government held a cooking contest focused on mudfish with a view to celebrating the designation of “mudfish soup” as intangible heritage.²²

²¹ A *Rodong Sinmun* article by Kim Sŏng-ryong on December 31, 2017, titled “Nanari paljŏn-hanŭn uri-ŭi ūmshik munhwa” [The ever-developing food culture of our country] states, “As people’s interest increases in loach, which is good for health and treatment of disease, the National Mudfish Cooking Contest held in Pyongsong further develops the loach cooking method and raises the enthusiasm of the cooking service units to achieve good results in their service activities. In addition, the kimchi competition of volunteer units and housewives in Pyongyang, held at the Cooking Festival on Ryŏmyŏng Street, showed how high social interest is in the ever-developing traditional kimchi-making method and custom of making kimchi.”

²² *Rodong Sinmun*, “Yangŏ-wa ryori-rŭl irŏk’e paljŏn-shik’ini ōlmana chou’n’ga: p’yŏngyangshi mikkuraji ryori kyŏngyŏngjang-ŭl torabogo” [How good things are now that fishing farming and cooking have become so developed! An overview of the Pyongyang Mud Fish Cooking Competition], May 18, 2019.



Figure 3. Captured images from a North Korean movie highlighting national cooking and food, entitled *Sŏlp’unggyŏng*.

The ways in which North Korea highlights and protects its traditional dietary culture through legislation is similar to South Korea’s efforts to preserve dietary culture. The South Korean government began protecting cultural assets, including dietary culture, with the enactment of the “Cultural Assets Protection Act” in January 1962. This act designated the Jongmyo Jeryeak, or the Royal Ancestral Ritual Music in the Jongmyo Shrine, as the country’s first Important Intangible Cultural Property on December 7, 1964, which led to the start of the country’s efforts to register intangible cultural assets at

²³ Jung (2011, 125-126) writes, “Based on the Cultural Heritage Protection Act, the government selects and protects intangible cultural heritage that is at high risk of extinction or deterioration among intangible cultural heritage with great historical, artistic, or academic value and designates them as important intangible cultural assets of the state. In this process, some traditional dances, including folk dance, court dance, mask dance, shamanic dance, and farm music, were designated as cultural assets, inspired by the excavation of Korean traditional dance heritage and the government-led national culture promotion project. In this process, a number of traditional dances, including folk dance, court dance, mask dance, shamanic dance, and farmers’ dance, were inspired by the discovery of Korean traditional dance heritage and the government-led national culture promotion project, and were designated as cultural assets.”

the national level.²³

South Korea began holding the Korea National Folk Arts Contest to uncover outstanding cultural elements existing among the Korean people. The contest has led to the spread of folk arts to the people, the discovery of folk traditions, and has served as a driver of government efforts to designate important intangible cultural properties (Youn 2010, 61-62).

In terms of North Korea’s traditional dietary culture, one notable food is Pyongyang Soju, which was designated as the “national alcoholic drink” (*kukchu* 國酒)—one of the country’s national symbols—in 2014. While there are well-known alcoholic drinks that exist throughout the world, it is rare for a country to designate an alcoholic drink as a national symbol. Indeed, many countries may refer to well-known

alcoholic drinks as “famous” or “representative” alcoholic beverages; however, they do not explicitly call them national symbols (Yee, Lee, and Jeon 2021, 56).



Figure 4. North Korea’s national alcohol, “Pyongyang Soju.”

alcoholic drinks as “famous” or “representative” alcoholic beverages; however, they do not explicitly call them national symbols (Yee, Lee, and Jeon 2021, 56). In North Korea, however, the popular Pyongyang Soju has been designated the national alcoholic drink and has been actively promoted through the country’s major websites aimed at foreign audiences. Pyongyang Soju is made through the dilution of spirits at the Taedonggang Brewery. It is noteworthy that, instead of designating traditional alcohol as national intangible cultural heritage, the North Korean government designated diluted soju as a national symbol. This suggests that North Korea has been trying to raise the competitiveness and status of the “Pyongyang Soju” brand for foreign audience (Yee, Lee, and Jeon 2021, 58).

Expected Clashes between the Two Koreas in Regards to Dietary Culture

The Objectives of Cultural Heritage Policies

North Korea states that the Korean people have a “long history of half a millennium and outstanding cultural traditions” and that “we have maintained our nation’s native and outstanding traditions” through the long history. It also claims that the Korean people have a culture outstanding even by global standards, with a splendid national culture that includes “metal and bronze tools from the ancient times, grave wall paintings of the Goguryeo period, Goryeo celadons, Cheomseongdae (astronomical observatory in Gyeongju, South Korea), metal type and metal rain gauges, and turtle ships.” In terms of intangible culture, North Korea states that the Korean nation boasts a national culture that has an “etiquette and morality system that places emphasis on wisdom and bravery, shows distaste for injustice, shows love for justice and truth, and shows respect for morality and loyalty”; that “the national food has long been passed down in direct relation to our dietary traditions”; and that intangible culture includes “the Lunar New Year’s Day, Ch’usök (the harvest festival day celebrated on the 15th day of the 8th month of the lunar calendar), and other national holidays,” “the national dress, exemplified by the wearing of white-colored clothing,” “Korean painting, Korean folk songs, Korean dance, traditional arts, and other cultural arts,” and “the national language, which reflects our nation’s history and traditions.” Of these intangible cultural elements, North Korea emphasizes that the Korean nation’s food culture has a characteristic that distinguishes the Korean people from other peoples and is a prominent and outstanding element of Korean culture that continues to be actively maintained even to this day.

North Korea has political aims that it wants to achieve through emphasis on the protection of national cultural heritage. North Korea claims that efforts to protect national heritage are efforts of a “patriotic nature that aim to inherit

²⁴ Kim Jong-un, "Minjok yusan boho saöp-ün uri minjok-üi ryöksa-wa chöntong-ül pinnaeinün aeguk saöp-ida" [National heritage protection efforts are patriotic and aimed at illuminating our nation's history and traditions], *Rodong Sinmun*, October 30, 2014.

²⁵ About North Korea's patriotism education through national cultural heritage, refer to "Minjok munhwa yusan-ül tonghan aegukjuui kyoyang-ül kanghwa-haja" [Let's strengthen our patriotism education through national cultural heritage], *Minjok munhwa yusan* [National Cultural Heritage] 3 (Autumn 2001).

²⁶ Kim Jong-un, "Minjok yusan boho saöp-ün uri minjok-üi ryöksa-wa chöntong-ül pinnaeinün aeguk saöp-ida" [National heritage protection efforts are patriotic and aimed at illuminating our nation's history and traditions], *Rodong Sinmun*, October 30, 2014.

and develop upon the valuable spiritual and physical heritage achieved by our predecessors with a view to further adhering to and illuminating our nation's history and traditions."²⁴ In short, efforts to protect national heritage in North Korea have resulted from guidance and instructions regarding cultural heritage emanating from Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il. North Korea claims that properly understanding the nation's history and culture and maintaining its outstanding culture is an effort to inherit the legacy of the Suryöng (Supreme Leader), and serves as the basic condition of being a patriot. That is because "only when we properly know our own country's history, customs, and culture, and has a correct attitude toward those things, can we have national pride, self-respect, and enthusiastic love for the fatherland." As such, North Korea teaches its people that "all sectors and work units must hold a correct attitude toward national cultural heritage and show deep interest toward educational activities that use it."²⁵

North Korea's emphasis on education for people about national cultural heritage is connected with "education focused on the greatness of the Suryöng." Teaching people about national heritage is part of the country's political indoctrination program given the fact that the government states, "All of the scenic spots and historical sites that have significance as national treasures are engraved with the sacred footprints and magnificent achievements of the great men of Paektusan."²⁶ North Korea teaches its people how the Suryöng inherited and developed the nation's history and culture during the process of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, and "the noble achievements made in the process of inheriting and developing on the nation's cultural heritage provides, through concrete realities, justification supporting the Suryöng's ideology and theory, vitality, and his wisdom of leadership regarding the nation's long-held treasures, which has allowed the Korean people to gain a wide and deep knowledge of the greatness of their Suryöng through the living of their lives" (Compilation Committee of the Korean Folk Traditions Series, 1994). In short, North Korea uses the highlighting and protection of cultural heritage as a way to internalize people's "trust toward their leader and loyalty toward the system" (Lee 2011, 304-305).

The Criteria of Legitimacy for Dietary Cultural Heritage

Kwon (2021) points out the commonalities and differences in how the two Koreas turn food culture into cultural heritage. He argues that North Korea's process of designating national food as "non-physical cultural heritage" is like South Korea's process of commercializing local food in and around 1988. Kwon notes, however, that North Korea's efforts to expand intangible cultural heritage is being done in a completely different context to efforts conducted by South Korea. He argues that the food-related cultural traditions in North Korea are tailored to meet the "inheritance of daily life." While there are cases of intangible cultural heritage being promoted that have been developed by a particular individual, such as "the techniques to make Tangun alcohol," most of the food designated by North Korea as intangible cultural heritage, such as "pollack spicy soup" and "scorched-rice water" cannot be said to have been developed by a specific person (Kwon 2021, 97-98).

This contrast in how the two Koreas designate intangible cultural heritage stems from the difference in how the two countries interpret and place significance on elements of national culture. The sort of cultural heritage evaluated highly in North Korea is "culture that is progressive and centered on the people." North Korea views all culture as inevitably possessing class-related characteristics because culture "cannot remove itself from the class-based perceptions and interests that create it" and "inevitably speaks for, supports, and defends the perceptions of certain classes." In short, North Korea emphasizes national culture centered on the masses in connection with the principle that the Workers' Party speaks for the interests of the laborer class.

There is a significant difference in how North and South Korea interprets traditional culture, namely what they consider worthy of designating cultural assets. This author expects a significant level of clashes between the two Koreas when it comes to recognizing legitimacy because they have different criteria regarding dietary traditions and contrasting ways in how they evaluate dietary culture. Ultimately, the two

²⁷ *Kyeonggi Ilbo*, "'Chegwa myōngjang' chagidūl mōttaero ssūgo ton gōrae-do ... kukka chijach'e yusa myōngjang-e sosong kōrōya" [Fake "Pastry Masters" use the title and even make money as they wish ... Central and local governments should sue fake masters], August 21, 2021, <http://www.kyeonggi.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=2376503>= (accessed January 22, 2022).

Koreas face the same complexity in determining the criteria of evaluating master cooks and artists as the international community faces in determining international standards.²⁷

North Korea, for its part, sets its standard as the national sentiments of the people, not the culture of the ruling class. As a result, it claims that "South Korea's designation of the first national intangible cultural asset in 1964 as the Jongmyo Jeryeak was based on the belief that the act by the highest ruling class of the feudal dynastical Chosun of worshipping unscientific ghosts is of the highest value. The Jongmyo Jeryeak is nothing more than the vestige of an anti-people, feudal heritage" (Pae 2019, 37). Based on North Korean criteria on what is important in dietary tradition, South Korea's 1971 designation of "Chosun Dynasty Palace Food" as the country's 38th national intangible cultural asset would be insignificant.

The Subjectification and Globalization of National Culture

The cultural policies of the two Koreas contrast with each other in terms of what their objectives are. North Korea's cultural policies are based on the "independent, socialist construction of national culture." The principles of the construction of socialist national culture were presented in Kim Il-sung's teaching of October 15, 1949, entitled, "We must properly preserve our national cultural heritage," and these principles have been maintained up until today. North Korea states, in short, that each nation has its own native culture because culture is developed with the nation at its center. The country claims that emphasis on cultural universality and cultural globalism are nothing more than the "reactionary opinions" of modern bourgeois theorists.²⁸ North Korea states that it is impossible to prevent the infiltration of the ideological and cultural influence of the imperialists without properly understanding and protecting national culture.²⁹

This perspective serves as the basis for how North Korea evaluates the value of national culture. The rhetoric that North Korea uses in regards to national culture employs a great deal of language related to "purity." Frequent rhetoric used includes: "clean," "purity," "clear and soft," "elegance," "noble,"

²⁸ *Rodong Sinmun and Källoja*, joint editorial, "Chegukchuū-ūi sasang munhwajōk ch'imt'u-rūl paegyōk" [Let's fight back against the imperialist's invasion of ideology and culture], June 1, 1999.

²⁹ A *Rodong Sinmun* article titled, "Chegukchuū-ūi sasang munhwajōk ch'imt'u ch'aehtong-ūl chitpusyō-bōryōya handa" [We must destroy the invasion of ideology and culture by the imperialists], published on January 20, 2018, states, "Imperialists are spreading their rotten reactionary ideological culture through various means of propaganda, boasting that ideological and cultural infiltration operations can achieve effects that surpass military operations at a low cost. Imperialists, including the United States, put special emphasis on the use of 'flexible force' in invading other countries. It is aimed at conquering other countries easily without shedding any of their own blood. One use of this technique is the invasion of reactionary ideology and culture."

³⁰ *Rodong Simmun*, “Kukka pimuljil munhwa yusan: tan’gun cherye” [A national non-physical cultural heritage: the Tangun ceremony], October 3, 2017.

“natural,” “harmony,” “sophisticated,” “beauty,” “clear and concise,” “flexible and clear.” North Korea also emphasizes that “[Kim Il-sung says that] the entire nation, including North and South Koreans as well as overseas Koreans, are the singular blood descendants of Tangun, and thus should adhere to a common perception regarding historical issues from a nation-centered perspective, and there must be a great deal of scholarly exchanges in regards to national cultural heritage.”³⁰ In fact, one area of significant inter-Korean cooperation has been the field of national cultural heritage.

That being said, there are differences in the objectives of North and South Korean culture. Unlike the emphasis on purity of national culture in North Korea, South Korea’s national culture has focused on globalization, leading to fusion with other cultures. This difference has led to stark differences in the dietary cultures of the two countries. There are, in fact, significant differences between the dietary cultures of the two Koreas. North Korea, for its part, has emphasized the nation as a fundamental unit of politics. Since the mid-1980s in particular, North Korea has stipulated that the nation is a central element of the North Korean-style socialist system and has employed national culture in political ways.

In the 2000s, North Korea propounded on the “state,” and under Kim Jong-un, the country has made the ideology of “our state comes first” as a national agenda. However, North Korea has cemented its identity of being an “independent, socialist state.” The country places particular emphasis on the purity of its culture as part of efforts to confirm its independence; and this purity is emphasized in dietary culture as well. In contrast, changes in food culture due to economic development and promotion of its food service industry have naturally led to a globalized dietary culture.

Conclusion: Plans and Tasks for Inter-Korean Cooperation and Exchanges

National cultural heritage refers to heritage of the past and future cultural assets. The culture of the Korean people has been formed over a long time on the Korean peninsula. The

two Koreas, which have inherited one set of national cultural traditions, have the joint duty to properly preserve their national cultural heritage to pass on to their descendants. The food, clothing, and shelter-related culture that forms the nation's cultural identity continues to act to this day as the most powerful commonality between the two Koreas, despite their almost 80 years of division. Dietary culture, in particular, has become one of the clearest indicators that confirm inter-Korean cultural commonality, just as cold noodle soup became a hot topic of conversation during the 2018 inter-Korean summit.

North Korea has also made continued efforts to preserve the traditions of its national culture. Since coming to power in 2012, the Kim Jong-un regime has moved to highlight intangible heritage, with dietary culture forming the majority of this intangible heritage. In South Korea, policies aimed at promoting national culture, including the enactment of the Cultural Heritage Protection Act in the 1960s, have led to standardization of Korean food. After the 1990s, the country moved to industrialize Korean food, promoting it as a food industry. South Korea is enhancing the capacity of traditional dietary culture to survive as an industry. The popularity of “K-food” has risen due to the spread of the Korean Wave across the globe.

The ways how the two Koreas make value judgments and establish industrialization policies in regards to traditional dietary cultural heritage have significant similarities. However, the intangible cultural heritage protection policy promoted by the Kim Jong-un regime is based on the ideology of “Our State First.” In short, North Korea is placing weight on the state in the process of shifting importance from the nation to the state. The highlighting and preservation of national culture is conducted in connection with political indoctrination, which, in turn, is linked with patriotism as espoused by the Suryŏng, or Supreme Leader. There are also differences in how the two Koreas view national culture. North Korea has designated “royal hot pot” and other dishes as national intangible culture, but nation culture considered “outstanding” is reserved for those enjoyed by the popular masses, including “pollack spicy soup” and “scorched-rice water.” As a result, food eaten by

royalty or temple food is not included in North Korea's scope of traditional culture.

This situation suggests that, during the process of unification, there are likely to be conflicts and clashes between the two Koreas in regards to stipulating the legitimacy of national culture and evaluating its value. The clashes that may occur during the process of unification can be resolved through proactive inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation. The issues surrounding the definition of national culture and the recognition its legitimacy are different ones from the political imperative to come together as one homogeneous unit. Even within South Korea, there are a diverse range of master artisans recognized by the state in the sphere of dietary culture. The Ministry of Employment and Labor designates "Korean Master Hand," the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs hands down designations of "Korean Food Grand Master," while the Ministry of Oceans and Fisheries designates "Korean Seafood Grand Master." There are also several organizations that deal with master food artisans, including the "Korean Food Grand Master," "Global K-Food Association," and "Korean Traditional Food."

It is imperative that the traditions of living culture be adhered to while making efforts to create new industries to match the era and simultaneously advance forward industrialization in diverse directions. During the process of unification, the two Koreas must discuss criteria and objectives. The two countries must avoid determining whether to move forward based on policy debates or political situations. As such, the two Koreas must make agreements and conduct cooperation. North and South Korea should establish a "basic plan" for the long-term and share this plan. This basic plan can determine the scope, stages, and detailed methods of exchanges and cooperation in regards to cultural heritage.³¹ Inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation in regards to cultural heritage is a sphere that requires expertise regarding inter-Korean relations in the process of advancing toward unification. The two countries must clearly set the principal agents of the basic plan and advance forward with a system exclusively devoted to advancing the basic plan.³²

The following tasks will be required for the two Koreas

³¹ The Act on the Promotion of Inter-Korean Social and Cultural Exchanges, which was put forward by the National Assembly in 2005, is an example of the effort to establish and operate a basic plan for inter-Korean cultural heritage exchange and cooperation. The "Act on the Promotion of Inter-Korean Social and Cultural Exchanges," proposed by 22 members of the National Assembly in 2005, contained content related to the promotion of social and cultural exchanges between the two Koreas. The main points of the bill submitted included: the establishment of the Inter-Korean Social and Cultural Exchange Promotion Committee within the Ministry of Unification; the establishment of the Inter-Korean Social and Cultural Exchange Promotion Agency; support for inter-Korean social and cultural exchange promotion projects; and the designation of related professional training institutions. This act was abolished following its expiration, and discussions regarding social and cultural exchanges have not moved forward since that point in time.

³² A report titled, "Nambuk munhwa kyoryu chinhung-ül wihan pôpche yong'u" [A study of the legislation for the promotion of inter-Korean cultural exchanges], which was submitted by Jeong Sang woo and others to the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism in 2013, suggested Minister of Culture, Sports and Tourism to lead the establishment of a basic plan for inter-Korean cultural exchange. The report is the output of a study on the laws for the promotion of inter-Korean cultural exchanges and argues that a new legal system is needed for "the continuation of cultural exchanges and the promotion of common cultural assets of the people." It presents the "purpose, definition, responsibilities of the state and local governments for the promotion of joint assets related to national culture; relationships with other laws; a basic plan; an annual implementation plan; special ordinances for inter-Korean cultural exchange; creation of an inter-Korean cultural exchange committee; registration for establishment; investigation; creation of a database; and promotion of understanding of common cultural assets of the nation, including the establishment of a promotion agency, support for production of cultural contents, cultural exchanges through international organizations, and support for expenses" (see Jeong et al. 2013).

to engage in exchanges and cooperation in regards to living culture, including dietary culture. First and foremost, there is an imperative to collect accurate information about North Korea's cultural heritage. The two Koreas will need to cooperate with each other to record and understand the current state of dietary traditions. Second, there is an imperative to expand inter-Korean joint efforts to uncover cultural heritage. The two Koreas must engage in active exchanges to discover national traditional culture and engage in exchanges. Third, North and South Korea must systematically establish a human infrastructure that can plan and advance exchanges and cooperation in related fields. Fourth, there is an imperative to establish plans to conduct research on dietary cultural traditions and establish a cluster for industrialization in the Kaesong Industrial Complex or on the inter-Korean border.

References

- Compilation Committee of the Korean Folk Traditions Series, ed. 1994. *Chosŏn-ŭi minsok chŏnt'ong* [Korean folk traditions]. Vol. 1. *Shiksaenghwal p'ungsŭp* [Dietary customs]. Pyongyang: Science Encyclopedia Publishing Co.
- Chung, Youngchul. 2020. "Puk'anŭ-i 'uri kukka cheiljuŭi': kukka-ŭi chaedŭngjang-gwa 'ch'eje chaegŏnsŏl'-ŭi ideollogi" ["Our state first" in North Korea: reappearance of the state and the ideology of "system-rebuilding"]. *Hyŏndae buk'an yŏn'gu* [Review of North Korean Studies] 23 (1): 8–38.
- Hwang, Ch'ŏl-min. 2009. *Uttŭm ganŭn sambokch'ŏl boyang ūmshik: tan'gogijang* (The best food for the summer: dog meat). *Rodong Sinmun*, July 12, 2009.
- Jeong, Sang woo, et al. 2013. *Nambuk munhwa kyoryu chinhŭng-ŭl wihan pŏpche yŏn'gu* [A study of the legislation for the promotion of inter-Korean cultural exchanges]. Seoul: Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism.
- Jeong, Un-suk. 2012. *Makkŏlli iyagi* [The story of rice wine]. Seoul: Sallim.
- Joo, Young-ha. 2021. *Ūmshik-ŭl kongbu-hamnida* [Studying food]. Seoul: Humanist Publishing Group.
- Jung, Chang-hyun. 2012. "Puk'an-ŭi munhwa yusan chŏngch'aek-kwa kwallich'egye" [North Korea's cultural heritage policies and management system]. *T'ongil inmunhak* [Unification Humanities] 53: 223–251.
- Jung, Sung-Sook. 2011. *Kukka minjokchuŭi tamnon ha han'guk ch'um-ŭi paljŏn yangsang koch'al* (1961–1992) [A study on the development of the dance under the discourse of nationalism (1961–1992)]. *Han'guk muyong yŏn'gu* [The Journal of Korean Dance] 29 (2): 123–146.
- Kim, Jong Yup 2016. "80 nyŏndae-ŭi mŏkkŏri munhwa: samgyŏpsal-gwa yangnyŏm t'ongdak" [The food culture in the 1980s: grilled pork belly and seasoned chicken]. In *Han'guk hyŏndae saenghwal munhwasa, 1980 nyŏndae* [The history of Korean life and culture in the 1980s], edited by Seong Bo Kim, 63–92. Paju: Changbi.

- Kim, Kyöng-suk. 2004. “Minjok munhwa yusan-ül t’onghan öböi suryöngnim-üi widaesöng kyoyang-ül kanghwa-haja” [Let’s strengthen the greatness education of our Father Supreme Leader through national cultural heritage]. *Minjok munhwa yusan* [National Cultural Heritage] 15 (Autumn 2004): 4–5.
- Kwon, Hyeokhui. 2019. “Puk’an-üi pimulji munhwa yusan chöngch’aek-üi pyönhwa-wa t’üksöng” [Changes and characteristics of North Korea’s intangible cultural heritage policies]. *T’ongil chöngch’aek yön’gu* [Unification Policy Studies] 28 (1): 209–228.
- . 2021. “Puk’an chönt’ong munhwa-üi munhwa yusanhwa kwajöng-gwa chumin ilsang-üi pyönhwa: pimuljil munhwa yusan chijöng-gwa chumin saenghwal munhwa-üi pyönhwa-rül chungshim-üro” [The process of turning North Korean traditional culture into cultural heritage and changes in people’s daily lives: focusing on the designation of intangible cultural heritage and changes in people’s daily lives]. *Hyöndae buk’an yön’gu* [Review of North Korean Studies] 24 (3): 70–106.
- Lee, Hyun Joo. 2011. “Puk’an jiptanjuüi chöngch’i sahoehwa-üi shimnijök yoin-e kwanhan yön’gu” [A study on the psychological factors of collectivistic political socialization in North Korea]. *Puk’an yön’gu hak’oebo* [North Korean Studies Review] 15 (2): 291–325.
- Pae, In-gyo. 2019. “Puk’an-üi chönt’ong ümak kwallyön muhyöngyusan-üi chönsüng-gwa nambuk’an hyömnyök pangan” [The inheritance of North Korean traditional music-related intangible heritage and plans for inter-Korean cooperation]. *Muhyöng yusan* [Korean Journal of Intangible Heritage] 7: 31–52.
- Pang, Gyöng-ch’an. 2021. “Minjok-üi hyanggi-ga nömch’yönage” [Allowing the scent of the nation to overflow]. *Rodong Sinmun*, April 11, 2021.
- Park, Jeongbae. 1992. *Hanshik-üi t’ansaeng* [The birth of traditional Korean food]. Seoul: Sejong Books.
- Park, Sang Hee. 2021. “Puk’an-üi ‘chöngch’ijök p’unggyöngghwa’ yön’gu: kiök-kwa manggak-üi chöngch’ijök changch’i” [A study on the “political landscape” in North Korea: the political device of memory and oblivion]. *T’ongil inmuhak*

[Unification Humanities] 88: 223–261.

- Park, Young Jeong. 2019. “Puk’anŭ-i muhyŏng munhwa yusan chŏngch’aek tonghyang yŏn’gu” [A study of the trends of North Korea’s intangible cultural heritage policies]. *Muhyŏng yusan* [Korean Journal of Intangible Heritage] 7: 5–29.
- State Academy of Sciences DPR Korea, ed. 1961. *Chosŏn rodongdang-ŭi munye chŏngch’aek-kwa haebang hu munhak* [The cultural policies of the Workers’ Party of Korea and literature after liberation]. Pyongyang: State Academy of Sciences DPR Korea.
- Yee, Ji-Sun, Lee Mookyoung, and Jeon Youngsun. 2021. *Kukka sangjing-ŭi munhwajŏk hyŏngsang-gwa puk’an-ŭi pŭraendŭ chŏllyak* [The cultural formation of national symbols and North Korea’s brand strategy]. Seoul: Korea Institute for National Unification.
- Youn, Duckkyung. 2010. “Han’guk chŏnt’ongch’um chŏnsŭng-gwa pojon-e kwanhan hyŏnhwang-gwa kwaje” [The current status of and the tasks related to the preservation and transmission of Korean traditional dance]. *Han’guk muyong yŏn’gu* [The Journal of Korean Dance] 28 (2): 57–76.