

President Kim Il Sung and Juche Idea
(In the Historic Days of External Activities)

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Preface

President Kim Il Sung, the founder of the Juche idea conducted energetic external activities unprecedented in the human history of diplomacy during his whole life.

President Kim Il Sung's external activities are preeminent ones which cannot be compared with any other famous great men in the history, for his contributions made to the era and the development of human thought, concentrating the focus of the world press.

As in the past, so at present, lots of the world newspapers and radios continue introducing widely the President's historic external activities.

During the whole period of his external activities, the President led energetically the world people who aspire for independence and progress to the successful struggle for a new free and prosperous society.

In those days, the President received many figures from several countries of the world and explained the principles of the Juche idea and precious experiences and successes achieved in its application encouraging them so that they could push forward the cause of Juche.

The President's sayings on the implementation of the people's cause of independence are collected in the "Kim Il Sung Works" and other booklets issued by the Publishing House of the Workers' Party of Korea.

His works are translated in many languages and spreading now all

over the world with strong attraction.

Reading the President's works, broad people of the world refresh their strength and courage in the struggle to develop their independent life and build a new society.

This book edited according to subjects the sayings made by the President on the principles of the Juche idea, the practical experiences made in its application, the Korea's reunification and the global independence when he received figures from many countries of the world, among those collected in "Kim Il Sung Works."

Great Leader President Kim Il Sung, the Prominent Thinker and Theoretician

The world progressive people keep in their mind the unforgettable great image of President Kim Il Sung, the prominent thinker and theoretician who led the times and mankind to the road of enlightenment and progress.

Looking back the last 20th century, many people of the world visited the DPRK and had meaningful and impressive meetings with President Kim Il Sung, the prominent great leader of the world revolutionary movement.

Busy as he was with leading the revolution and construction, the President met many foreign people. He met a total of more than 70 000 foreign people including over 136 heads of state and government and over 400 party leaders from immediately after liberation to the last period of his life.

Those who were received by the President unanimously admired and respected him as the peerlessly great man who made big contributions to giving brilliance to the 20th century as the century of independence.

They highly praised the President as the prominent thinker and theoretician of the 20th century who possessed of outstanding ideological and theoretical intelligence.

Admiration became ardent as days went by, and the President's image of a prominent great man was kept in the minds of the world

progressive people.

Even today, that is, before the 20s of the 21st century, the world progressive people keep the image of President Kim Il Sung, the great thinker and leader who founded the Juche idea and led wisely the DPRK and the world with the Juche idea.

This book mentions every small part of the President's great image where foreign figures of the world had unforgettable impressions.

This book will be helpful for you in understanding the President's sayings to be mentioned below.

Independence Is the Almighty

Many foreign figures of the world had strong impression from President Kim Il Sung who regarded independence as the almighty and maintained the strong independent stand.

All words made by him began with the issue of independence and were consistent with the maintenance of the independent stand.

Whenever he received the foreign people, the President always told that country and nation as well as man must have independence and stressed that the independent stand must be adhered to in any conditions and circumstances. He told that it is necessary to hold the banner of independence before realizing sovereignty and it is important to continue holding the banner of independence even after sovereignty and that independence must be applied not only in one field of society but in all fields of politics, economy, military and culture. He said that the more difficult and complicated one's situation is and the smaller

one's country is, the more firmly one should defend his independent dignity and honour.

Precious words made by the President that the independent stand must be maintained gave hope and confidence, energy and courage to the people who are struggling against domination and subjugation in the past century where flunkeyism, dogmatism and domination, hardline and arbitrariness of imperialists and dominationists were predominant.

That's why the head of the Burkina Faso government delegation expressed his feeling as follows when he was received by the President during the visit to the DPRK.

“Through the words of Your Excellency I could be keenly aware that we can surely achieve success if we do everything with our conviction instead of depending on others.

Independence is our life and soul, indeed. The only way out for us to live on is to maintain independence. We go home with the precious key Your Excellency gave us.”

Indeed, President Kim Il Sung regarded independence as the almighty and maintained the strong independence stand.

Creative Insight and Profound Knowledge

The President is the prominent politician who possessed of the strong independent stand, creative insight and profound knowledge and the great thinker and theoretician who were well versed in everything.

The President approached all problems arising at the talks with

creative insight.

As a matter of fact, the question raised by the foreign figures could not be done in the past nor mentioned by no one.

The questions were included by the issue of achieving freedom and independence and bringing about social progress and prosperity in a country, the issue of opposing war and aggression moves of imperialists and dominationists and providing the world peace and security, the issue of establishing the fair international order and others.

In order to give explanations to those issues never found in the preceding classics, the issues originated from new socio-historical conditions, it was necessary to approach everything with new insight free from dogmatism and established ideas.

With excellent analysis and judgment President Kim Il Sung dissected the complicated problems arising in the world politics to elucidate the essence and the key to their solution.

He always emphasized that it is impossible for all countries to make revolution with one prescription because revolutions are conducted in different socio-historical conditions and that revolution cannot be exported nor imported and therefore it is important not to resort to the established formulae and swallow other's experiences as a whole but to find one's own strategy and tactics suited to one's detailed conditions and reality and thus to solve all problems in the revolution and construction by oneself.

The President gave clear explanation to all problems also with profound knowledge.

All his ideas and theories were profound. His ideas and theories

included not only the fields of politics, economy, military, and culture but history, culture and national living customs of individual countries.

Depth and width of his knowledge was so unlimited that his was as same as an encyclopedia and he always answered promptly the questions arisen by the foreign figures. So they were surprised by and admired his profound knowledge.

“I have learned a lot from Your Excellency who is the best teacher.

I think I can assess myself to be an industrious student.

I became much conscious politically and ideologically thanks to Your Excellency President.”

This is the sincere words made by Bruno Kraiski, the former premier of the Republic of Austria, the honorary chairman of the Social Party of Austria and vice-chairman of the International Social Party in the 1980s when he was received by President Kim Il Sung.

Words of Perfect Logic and Popular Style

Whenever he had talks with the figures from several countries of the world, President Kim Il Sung always said plainly with words of perfect logic and popular style.

His words were logic and clear.

While having talks with foreign figures from several countries and regions of the world with different ideas and political views, different colours and languages and different histories and national living customs, the President made the talks the appealing ones suited to the

logic of their life and characters, thus instantly judging their painful situation. He also clarified the essence of their problems and the key to their solution however difficult and complicated the problems were.

Foreign figures were impressed with his analysis, judgment and fluency when they had talks with the President who explained convincingly with realistic validness, scientific accuracy and logic of life and history.

His words were popular ones that can be easily understood by the people in every part of the world.

The President's speeches were popular style of speech with popularity and life that anyone could easily understand.

Although they were social problems, complicated and hard to understand and solve, the President explained easily with interesting historical episodes and ordinary tales, popular idioms and proverbs, jokes and humours instead of difficult political terms or crude conception.

That the President explained all problems plainly can be found in the impression made by Fidel Castro.

He said "Comrade Kim Il Sung, you explain everything easily with rich contents. But I cannot explain anything in such a profound way.

You are my teacher and outstanding leader."

This was the admiration made by him, the authorized revolutionary who built the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere and the one well known as a man of wide knowledge and a great talker who does not feel exhausted even though makes speech for

400 days a year.

Keeping his words in their minds with big excitement and expectation, all progressive figures found the true path to be followed by them and renewed their confidence and courage, thus conducting the struggle to build a new society and create their genuine life

Prompt and Witty Answers

Majority of the people who visited the DPRK to be received by the President were those who had had difficult problems in achieving independence and building a new society. As they tried to find the correct solution to their problems for a long time, they ardently wanted to be received by the President, and when they had chance to be with the President, they asked several questions in a candid manner.

In the 1970s when they were received by the President, a head of a socialist country talked frankly to the President saying that he was troubling himself with pressure and slander in building socialism and a figure from Africa asked the President to give an advice regretting that he was suffering from serious result because he imitated others' line instead of his own after independence. A politician from a capitalist country earnestly asked the President to explain the WPK's stand toward the important international issues.

All questions by them were serious ones to be solved urgently.

Though they were serious and complicated, the President gave prompt and witty answers to all questions with the firm will based on Juche-oriented faith, intelligent analysis and reasonable judgment.

Following is a memory of Andropov, the former secretary of the CPSU central committee who admired the President's greatness.

One day in 1982, he recollected January 1963 when he was received by the President.

“I have been to the DPRK when the USSR-DPRK relationship was very bad. That day the President made analyses of the problems faced by many parties. His analyses were perfect. That's why we highly appreciate feats performed by President Kim Il Sung and respect him.”

Candid Conversations

Among those who came to visit President Kim Il Sung, there were politicians who had joined the imperialist anti-DPRK moves and committed crimes and people who had fallen in the anti-Republic propaganda with it as their creed, in the past.

Their political faith and career were different and they had committed crimes, but the President did not differentiate them from others but treated them candidly.

The President took account of the minds of them who travelled long journey with new determination and will and always treated them kindly with broad magnanimity and warm personality.

“I feel as if I had a dream. How can I dare to be a friend of Your Excellency President who is revered by the world people. I think it is imprudent for me, a simple journalist.”

This is the sincere words made in 1989 by Illario Piore, the head

of the Beijing branch office of the Italian Radio and TV Company when he was moved by the President's traits.

Received by the President, many figures of the world were moved by the boundless affection and warm personality of him who showed meticulous concern not only about social issues of their countries but about the future, health and living conditions of them and their families.

Indeed, all people who were received by President Kim Il Sung were really captivated by his wide magnanimity and warm personality at the first glance of him.

Firm Confidence in the Juche idea

President Kim Il Sung always analyzed the questions asked by foreign people and gave explanation to them on the basis of the Juche idea.

His detailed explanation on the principles of the Juche idea and the practical problems in their application enabled them to renew their confidence in vitality and validity of the Juche idea.

He said that, in the contemporary world where the whole world demand independence, independence is life and soul of a nation and therefore, everything should be done in conformity with one's special reality by relying on one's people strength, that if one expects other's help and relies on it, he will ruin, but if one believes in one's own strength and relies on the masses, he will win with sure, that the most important is the build an independent national economy after political

independence, that not capitalism but socialism can bring about prosperity of country and nation and liberate the masses from all sorts of exploitation and oppression. He also gave them concrete ways for their implementation. His sayings grasped their hearts with their truthfulness and validity.

They highly appreciated him by saying that “President Kim Il Sung is a great thinker and theoretician fully embodied the Juche idea,” “the Juche idea is a great idea that gives the most scientific answer to the present time” and “the Juche idea is the idea that continuously put man’s dignity and value on a high phase.”

Meeting the President, they had the same decision and will.

The world and the humankind must advance along the road indicated by the Juche idea, and the road is the road for the countries and nations to live on, the road for their prosperity.

The mankind can achieve complete independence, the aspiration and desire of the world and achieve global peace and prosperity only when it advances along the road indicated by the Juche idea.

This was the confidence the world progressive people had when they were received by President Kim Il Sung.

1. Carving out of Man's Destiny and the Juche Idea

As the man-centred philosophical thought founded by President Kim Il Sung at the beginning of the 1930s, the Juche idea gives correct scientific answers to all theoretical and practical problems in carving out man's destiny and pressing ahead social and historical development.

Followings are some of President Kim Il Sung's sayings on the origin and contents of the Juche idea, the man-centred philosophical thought.

1) Origin of the Juche idea and Its Vitality and Validity

The Juche idea is an idea whose validity and vitality have been verified not in a silent office but in the huge revolutionary practice.

On October 6, 1972 when he had a talk with the managing editor of the Japanese politico-theoretical magazine *Sekai* and other occasions, President Kim Il Sung gave answers to the origin of the Juche idea and its validity and vitality.

Two Events Witnessed in Younger Days

To illustrate how I came to form the Juche idea, I must mention two events which I witnessed while I was young. Of all the things which I saw when I was still young, particularly when I was a student, there were two which I thought most unjust.

One of them was the fact that the communists and nationalists who professed themselves to be engaged in the national-liberation movement of Korea were divorced from the masses; a few top-level personalities simply playing with words and quarrelling, instead of arousing the masses to the real revolutionary movement. It was essential to organize and mobilize all the masses to assure success in the revolutionary movement. But those people, isolated from the masses, were only scrambling for power and indulging in “theoretical” arguments with each other, each claiming that he was right. Their “theory” was not for the advancement of the revolution, but was a sophism that had nothing to do with revolutionary work. So I wondered how they could ever lead the revolution to success merely by getting together and indulging in controversy all the time without developing a mass movement, and began to take a critical view of these things.

The masters of the revolutionary struggle are the masses, and only when they rise will it be possible to win the struggle. Yet, a handful of leaders, divorced from the masses, were just talking nonsense. What was the use of this? We considered the matter seriously. Those people ought to have gone amongst the masses and awakened them so that they became masters in the revolutionary struggle. No problem could

be solved while a few people in leading positions did nothing but indulge in word play. This led us to attach great importance to Juche, to the viewpoint that the masses themselves were the main factor in solving all problems.

Another fact I faced was that there were many factions within the Korean communist movement at that time. I am not sure whether this was because of a lack of understanding of the communist movement or a scramble for power or flunkeyism. But our country had many factions then, such as the M-L group, the Tuesday group and the North Wind Association group. All these factions sent their representatives to the Communist International in an attempt to obtain its recognition. If they had conducted the communist movement well, they would have been recognized without taking such trouble. However, they formed their own groups by collecting together three or five persons and busied themselves in gaining the recognition of the Communist International, instead of carrying out of revolutionary movements. Each of the groups insisted that it was the only “orthodox” and genuine Marxist group. As a result, the Korean Communist Party was expelled from the Communist International in 1928, and was finally dissolved. We thought it a disgrace to the Korean nation. If one conducts the revolutionary movement well, one will be recognized by others without going to all the troubles of asking for their recognition. Is a Communist Party regarded as such only when it has obtained the recognition of other people? We need not get approval of others before starting our revolutionary movement. We carry it out if we want to. When we do so properly, what does it matter whether others give us approval or not?

As long as we make revolution well, others will give us recognition naturally. What is the need of rushing around to gain other people's recognition?

These two factors--the serious factional strife in the Korean national-liberation and communist movements and the leadership divorced from the masses--strongly convinced us that we must not carry out our revolution in that way. We keenly felt that we must mix with the masses and rely on them in our struggle, that we must solve our problems by our own efforts, and that if we worked well, the recognition of others would be of no importance.

The two aspects mentioned above had a great influence on the development of my revolutionary thinking. From then on we emphasized that the people are the masters of revolution, and accordingly, we must mix with them and that if we step up the revolution of our own country by our own efforts in a responsible manner, whether or not recognized by others, we will naturally gain sympathy, recognition and assistance from other countries. We can say this was the starting point of our Juche idea.

Validity and Vitality, Verified in the Revolutionary Struggle

Embarking on the revolutionary struggle I regarded the masses as masters of the revolution and expounded an idea that we should carry out the revolutionary struggle by our own efforts, relying on the masses. Guided by this idea we relied on the masses in the more than 20 years

of hard-fought battles against Japanese imperialists, in the building of a new country after liberation and in the three-year Fatherland Liberation War against the aggressors of US imperialism, in the postwar reconstruction and also in the socialist revolution. Through different stages of the protracted revolutionary struggle we had the correctness of the Juche idea tried and tested.

Hewing out the thorny path of revolution on the basis of the review and analysis of the historical experiences of the Korean revolution, we obtained the Juche idea that the masters of the revolution and construction are the popular masses and that they are also the motive power of the revolution and construction; and we further developed and enriched this idea through the revolutionary struggle and work of construction.

Through the revolutionary struggle we also understood the real truth that only when we oppose flunkeyism and dogmatism and establish Juche, maintain independence instead of blindly following others, and rely on ourselves, not on others, can we carry out the revolution and construction victoriously.

2) General Understanding of the Juche Idea

In 1981 when he met the editor-in-chief of the *Ghana Times*, organ of the government of Ghana, President Kim Il Sung explained the Juche idea concisely and systematically.

Followings are some of President Kim Il Sung's sayings on the essence, basics and demands of the Juche idea, the original

man-centred idea.

Man-centered Philosophy--Essence of the Juche Idea

Juche idea is a man-centered philosophy. This means that the Juche idea is a philosophy which puts man in the centre of its study and regards it as its mission to give an answer to the problem of man's destiny.

Juche idea defines the essential character of man and his position and role in the world. In doing so it provides a scientific and revolutionary view of the world which shows a correct way of carving out man's destiny.

Philosophical Principle That Man Is the Master of Everything and Decides Everything—Basis of the Juche Idea

The Juche idea treats man as the master of everything and the maker of all decisions. This concept is the basis of the Juche idea.

That man is the master of everything means that he holds the position of a master who dominates the world. Because he is an independent being, man does not live in subjugation to the world which surrounds him, but by dominating nature and society. Man is the only living creature who has independence and, accordingly, he is the sole master who rules the world.

That man decides everything means that he plays the role of transforming and changing the world. Because man is a creative being, he does not adapt himself to the world about him, but changes and transforms nature and society. Man is the only living creature with creative power and he acts purposefully. Therefore, he is the only creator who changes and reforms the world.

That Man Is the Master of his Own Destiny—Truth Clarified by the Juche Idea

Because man holds the position of master who rules the world, he is the master of his own destiny. Furthermore, because man plays the role of changing and transforming the world, he also plays a decisive role in shaping his own destiny. In the final analysis, the Juche idea clarifies the truth that man is the master of his own destiny. That man is the master of his own destiny is the pith of the Juche idea and here lies the revolutionary essence of the Juche idea.

Juche Idea Requires That Man Is Placed in the Center of All Thinking and Everything Is Made to Serve Man

The Juche idea requires that man is placed in the center of all thinking and everything is made to serve man. This is the most universal methodology which must be followed in recognizing and changing the world.

Placing man in the center of all thinking and making everything serve him means to give priority to man and view and approach all the things and phenomena in relation to him and make everything in nature and society contribute to accomplishing his independent aspirations and demands.

Man is the most precious being in the world. Everything in the world has value only when it benefits man and serves him. Therefore, it must be established as the supreme principle to defend man's independent rights and interests and everything in the world must be subordinated to bringing about man's independent aspirations and demands.

Man is the most powerful being in the world and everything in the world can only be changed in his favor by his creative activities. Therefore, in all the activities to transform nature and society the first process must be to train man to be a more powerful being, and all problems arising in the revolution and construction must be solved by increasing man's creative role.

3) Man's Intrinsic Nature Clarified Newly

The Juche idea newly clarified the intrinsic nature of man.

The first scientific explanation on man—herein lies the originality of the Juche idea that is different from the preceding revolutionary ideas and the extraordinariness of President Kim Il Sung's ideological and theoretical intelligence.

The President said that man is a social being with independence,

creativity and consciousness at the talks with the director of the RSS NEWS AGENCY of Nepal on June 22, 1982 and other figures.

Man Is Social Being with Independence

Man is a social being possessing self-determination.

Self-determination is intrinsic to the nature of man who wants to live freely as the master of the world. Because of his ability of self-determination, man is an independent being who opposes all restraints and subordination and dominates everything. Self-determination is the lifeblood of man, the social being. Consequently a man denied the ability for self-determination is as good as dead.

There is a song in our country which has been sung since the time when we started the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. Our young people enjoy singing the song even now. It has passages which say: “Men are called men, for they are born equally free. Without the right of freedom men are as good as dead, so they can lay down their lives but not freedom.”

If he loses independence in society, he cannot be called a man; he differs little from an animal. We might say that socio-political life is more valuable to a man than physical life. He is a social being. If he is forsaken by society and deprived of political independence although he seems alive, he is virtually dead as a social human being. That is why the revolutionaries deem it far more honorable to die in the fight for freedom than to remain alive slavery.

Ignoring independence is tantamount to ignoring man himself. Who likes to live shackled to others? Why did people fight to overthrow the feudal system in former days and why are the working class fighting against the capitalist system today? Needless to say, the working people wanted to extricate themselves from feudal slavery just as they want to free themselves from capitalist exploitation and oppression. We are fighting against imperialism in order to liberate our nation completely from its yoke and enable it to enjoy freedom as a sovereign nation.

Man Is Social Being with Creativity

Man is a social being with creativity.

Creativity is intrinsic to the nature of man who transforms the world in conformity with his independent aspirations and needs. Because he is endowed with creativity, man is a creative being who transforms nature and society purposefully, instead of adapting himself blindly to the outer world.

Along with independence, man has creativeness. This means that he has the creative power to transform nature and society in accordance with his will and wishes.

Independence and creativeness constitute the most essential attributes of man. Because he has independence and creativeness, man becomes the master of everything and the factor that decides everything.

Man's independence and creativeness are closely interrelated and

they are manifested in a unified process. Only when man has independence can he display creativeness, and only when he displays creativeness can he maintain independence. If man has no independence, he cannot display creativeness, and if he cannot display creativeness, he cannot achieve independence.

Because he has independence and creativity man is a special being who differs from all other beings in the world, in which he holds a special position and plays a distinctive role.

Consciousness, an Important Attribute of Man

Self-determination and creativity are guaranteed by man's consciousness. Man's self-determination and creativity are attributes which are manifested in conscious actions. All his independent and creative activities are of a conscious nature. Therefore, consciousness is an important attribute of man.

The possession of self-determination, creativity and consciousness set man apart as a being who occupies a special place and plays a special role in the world. In other words, through the possession of these qualities, man becomes the sole master who dominates the world, and the sole creator who transforms and changes the world.

4) Principle of Society and Revolution

The Juche idea not only discovered newly the intrinsic nature of man but clarified the laws of the development of society and the principles of the revolutionary movement with the popular masses as the central factor.

President Kim Il Sung said it at the meeting with the director of the RSS NEWS AGENCY of Nepal on June 22, 1982 and on other occasions.

Social Movement Is Realized by the Popular Masses, the Motive Force of History

The Juche idea clarifies the laws of the development of society and the principles of the revolution with the popular masses as the central factor.

The popular masses are the subject of history. This means that they are the central figure in history and that social movement is realized by them.

Society does not mark time but moves and progresses continuously. Society moves forward as the position and role of the masses, the subject of history, are enhanced.

The popular masses are responsible for social movement, and they are also the motive force of social progress. Their activity underlies social movement, and society develops owing to their independence

and creativity. The independence and creativity of the masses develop and this result in the movement and development of society. This is the law-governing process of social development.

The social movement is caused by the masses who desire independence, and it is impelled forward by their creative ability. It is a law-governed process of social development that their desire for independence and their creative ability increase steadily and that, in accordance with their increase, society is transformed and changed.

Revolution Is the Masses' Struggle to Champion and Win Their Independence

A revolution is, in essence, the masses' struggle to champion and win their independence. Outdated social relations and systems are transformed and changed by revolution, and the masses' social position and role are enhanced in the process of revolutionary struggle.

... ..

The ultimate aim of the revolution is for the masses to win their complete independence. If they are to attain this end, they must end class and national domination and subjugation, wipe out all the remnants of the outdated society in the ideological, technical, cultural and all other areas of social life, and develop social relations and productive forces to the highest degree.

From the revolutionary principle that the masses are the masters of the revolution and constitute its motive force is derived the conclusion that the people of each country are the masters of the revolution in that

country and that their efforts are the factor for victory in that revolution.

5) Important Guiding Principles to Be Maintained in Applying the Juche Idea

The Juche idea is not a mere theory but a powerful weapon of practice.

President Kim Il Sung found out some guiding principles important for carving out and developing destiny of the country and nation in applying the Juche idea in the Korean revolutionary practice.

According to the President, the important guiding principles are to establish Juche in ideology and realize independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-reliance in defence.

Establishing Juche in Ideology

All man's activities are governed by his ideological consciousness. Therefore, in order to give full play to the conscious enthusiasm and creative initiative of the working masses in socialist construction, it is necessary, first of all, to solve the question of guiding the working masses to take part in the revolution and construction as masters, conscious of being the masters of revolution. That is to say, the question of establishing Juche in ideology.

To establish Juche means, in short, to live by your own

intelligence and your own strength without following others blindly or trying to live on assistance from others. It means to hold a consistent position in tackling everything in conformity with your own actual circumstances, in the interests of the revolution of your own country.

The Juche idea calls for an independent and a creative stand in the revolution and construction. Establishing Juche means having the attitude of a master towards the revolution and construction; this means, in the final analysis, that the working masses maintain an independent and a creative stand in the revolution and construction. Juche must be firmly embedded in the revolution and construction if they are to be successful.

Adhering to Independence in Politics

A country without political independence cannot be called a genuine independent state even though it has a President and a Parliament. Such a country is vulnerable to domination again by other countries.

A country without independence cannot really be called an independent state. Such a country cannot in any way represent the interests of the nation and defend its independence.

Adherence to independence is the only means not only to defend national independence but also to rouse the people to efforts to construct a rich and strong country.

In addition, only the maintenance of independence prevents the war which the great powers want to ignite. If each country becomes an

independent and sovereign state and refrains from acting under the control of any big power, the big powers will not be in a position to carry on a feud. Therefore, maintaining independence is also extremely important for universal peace. When every country adheres fast to independence, no war will break out and world peace will be preserved for ever.

The masters of revolution in each country are its people. They should have the attitude of masters towards the revolution in their country and solve all problems arising in the course of revolution and construction by their own efforts in keeping with the interests of its people and the specific conditions of their country. Our experience shows that it is very harmful to apply foreign experience mechanically in the building of socialism. This can be compared to the fact that food can be digested well only when one chews it well, but if one swallows it without chewing, one will suffer from indigestion. One chews food and swallows it if it suits one, but should spit it out if it does not. Likewise, one must accept foreign experience when it meets the interests of one's people and the specific conditions of one's country and must reject it when it does not.

Building of an Independent National Economy

If a man is to be a completely independent social being, he must stand on his own feet. Likewise, if a country is to be an independent sovereign state, it must stand on its own feet. If a man walks supported by others, he will not feel free, nor will he be able to walk fast.

Economic self-support is the material base of independence. A country which depends on others economically cannot but follow others politically, too. An economically dependent nation can neither escape its destiny as colonial slave nor do or say what it wants. If non-aligned countries are to firmly maintain independence, they must become economically self-supporting by building an independent national economy.

Economic self-sufficiency constitutes the material basis of political independence and sovereignty. Only when a nation is economically self-sufficient, can it consolidate its independence, exercise complete sovereignty, and give the people a full material guarantee for their independent and creative lives.

If a nation is to be economically self-sufficient, it must build an independent economy.

It is most important to build an independent national economy. The defense of political independence depends on whether or not an independent national economy is built. The economy supports politics. The political independence of a country cannot be maintained unless it is supported by an independent national economy. This is a proven truth. Therefore, it is vital for a country to build an independent national economy in order to maintain its political independence.

The most important aspect of building an independent national economy is to open up and develop an industry based on domestic raw materials and fuel.

The lessons of history show that the imperialists offer neither political independence to their colonies nor self-reliant economies to

developing countries. Developing countries must build independent national economies by their own efforts instead of trying to benefit from the IMF.

There are two ways for developing countries to be self-reliant in the economy; one is to make the maximum use of their internal resources by displaying the spirit of self-reliance and fortitude, and the other is to realize South-South cooperation on the principle of collective self-reliance. In the long run, the one and only way for them to survive independently is by believing in their own strength.

South-South cooperation is a noble way for developing countries to realize self-reliance in the economy by teaming up with each other economically and technically. The development of South-South cooperation will make it possible for them not only to build independent national economies successfully but also to destroy the old, unfair international economic order, and establish a new, fair one.

Self-reliance in Defence

An independent and sovereign state should always be self-reliant in national defense. Self-reliance in defense is indispensable for safeguarding national independence and revolutionary gains against all forms of imperialist aggression and interference.

Realizing self-reliance in national defense means approaching the issue with the attitude of masters in building a defense capability.

As long as imperialism exists in the world, any independent and sovereign state must have a strong defense capability of its own,

capable of repelling enemy aggression. Without one, it would be impossible to preserve national independence and safeguard the achievements of the revolution and construction. A self-reliant defense capability is a sure military guarantee for political independence and economic self-sufficiency.

2. Korean Revolution and the Juche Idea

The course of the glorious and victorious Korean revolution is run though with the application of the Juche idea.

President Kim Il Sung saw that the Workers' Party of Korea led the Korean revolution on the basis of the Juche idea and apply it thoroughly in the revolution and construction.

WPK's Lines and Policies Emanated from the Juche Idea

All the lines and policies of our Party and the Government of our Republic emanate from the Juche idea and are the application of this idea. All the successes which our people have achieved in revolution and construction are the brilliant results of their struggle to implement the Juche idea.

The Workers' Party of Korea is the revolutionary party of Juche that has grown from the deep root of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle; it is a veteran party which has rich struggle experience and seasoned leadership capability. Our Party is leading the cause of socialism along the road of victory with correct fighting objectives and revolutionary policies based on the Juche idea.

The Juche idea is the guiding ideology of the Korean revolution formulated by us in conformity with the requirement of this revolution and on the basis of its historical experience. All the lines and policies of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of our Republic

are based on the Juche idea and embody it. The correctness and vitality of the Juche idea have been fully confirmed in the whole course of our revolution and construction.

Embodiment of the Juche Idea, the Guiding Ideology of the Korean Revolution and Its Triumph

Our Party has taken the Juche idea as its steadfast guiding ideology right from the start of the Korean revolution and embodied it in all spheres of the revolution and construction. It has been the foundation of our triumph.

Guided by the Juche idea, our people have established Juche in all fields of the revolution and construction. As a result a great victory has been achieved in the struggle for a new society. Our country, once a destitute and backward colony, has been transformed into a powerful socialist state, politically independent, economically self-sufficient and self-reliant in defense. Our people's brilliant victory in the building of a new society is graphic proof of the correctness and vitality of the Juche idea.

1) Victory in the Anti-Japanese Revolutionary Struggle and Building of New Democratic Korea

Victory of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and big successes achieved in building a new democratic Korea was a historic

event that brought drastic change to the Korean people's life.

This great historic event is inconceivable without the Juche idea founded by President Kim Il Sung and its guiding role.

(1) Anti-Japanese Revolutionary Struggle Won Victory under the Banner of the Juche Idea

The Korean people's anti-Japanese armed struggle organized and conducted from the early 1930s under the leadership of President Kim Il Sung was the arduous and crucible one made without any state rear and foreign aids. However, it could be victorious under the wise leadership of the President who held high the banner of the Juche idea, the banner of self-reliance.

The President mentioned about the major activities made under the banner of the Juche idea in the period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle at the meetings with the director of the Syrian Magazine JEICH AL SHAAB and others.

Followings are some of President Kim Il Sung's sayings on the fact that he put forward the line of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, strengthened the internal revolutionary forces and enabled them to cement blood-sealed ties with the masses upholding the banner of the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance.

Formulation of the Juche-oriented Line, the Line of Anti-Japanese Armed Struggle

During armed struggle against the Japanese we were faced with innumerable hardships and trials. However, we were able to surmount them and march triumphantly on to the road of revolution because we relied on a revolutionary line and fighting policy which we formulated ourselves in accordance with the principle of Juche, and which were suited to the specific realities of our situation.

Early in the 1930s we formulated the Juche-oriented line of the Korean revolution, the line of armed struggle against the Japanese, after making a scientific analysis of our country's situation. The policy of armed struggle against the Japanese accurately reflected the legitimate and necessary requirements of the national-liberation movement in our country. It provided an impeccable revolutionary line for the effort to overthrow the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism and achieve national liberation through the efforts of the Korean people themselves, through an organized armed struggle. We founded the Korean People's Revolutionary Army and organized the anti-Japanese armed struggle in accordance with this line. As a result we were able to deal a crippling blow to the Japanese imperialist aggressors and win a historic victory.

Our experience shows that the oppressed people must fight resolutely against their oppressors in order to achieve the country's liberation and national independence, and that armed combat is the most active and the most decisive form of that struggle.

History has not yet seen any example of the imperialists making a

gift of independence to colonial peoples, nor any case of a people deprived of their country who received independence from others without waging a struggle themselves. That is why, in order to restore the lost country and achieve genuine national freedom and independence, the oppressed people need to discard all illusions about imperialism. Only by fighting resolutely against imperialism can they advance the revolution and accomplish the cause of liberation.

The imperialists leave no stone unturned in maintaining their colonial rule and, with the approach of their doom, they become all the more desperate. The imperialists cruelly and ruthlessly suppress the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples by using all the machinery of power and violence at their disposal. That is exactly what the Japanese imperialists did in Korea in the past. Therefore, the Korean communists had to take up arms and fight for the restoration of the fatherland and we finally won victory after waging a long, arduous armed struggle. Violence must be countered with violence and counter-revolutionary forces must be smashed by revolutionary violence. The experience of the people's liberation struggle shows that a struggle which begins on a small scale develops gradually into a massive struggle and can emerge victorious in the end.

Consolidation of the Internal Revolutionary Forces

Our primary concern was directed, first of all, at strengthening the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army politically, ideologically and militarily, in order to consolidate the revolutionary forces. We endeavored to ensure the organizational and ideological purity and unity of purpose of

the anti-Japanese guerrilla ranks and equip all the guerrillas with the firm consciousness of Juche, ardent patriotism and warm revolutionary comradeship and voluntary discipline. Also, we improved the military equipment of the guerrilla army with weapons captured from the enemy in the course of continuous battles with him. We further expanded and developed the guerrilla ranks.

While strengthening the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, we strove to lay the firm mass basis of revolution and unite all the masses who loved the country and nation, to organize and mobilize them in the revolutionary struggle.

In view of the fact that the armed struggle was being waged in the form of guerrilla warfare, it was very important that we strengthened the ties between the anti-Japanese guerrillas and the mass of the people, induced the people to give every possible support and encouragement to the guerrillas and organized and mobilized them in the anti-Japanese struggle.

... ..

The founding on May 5, 1936 of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland, the first organization of the anti-Japanese national united front in our country, was an event of epoch-making significance in consolidating the mass basis of revolution. With the founding of the association, the anti-Japanese national united front movement developed in a more organized, systematic and rapid way on a nationwide scale in close combination with the anti-Japanese armed struggle. It became possible to organize and mobilize all the anti-imperialist forces more firmly in the struggle to liberate the

country.

The strengthening of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, consolidation of the mass basis of revolution, close combination of the anti-Japanese armed struggle with diverse forms of mass struggle--all these constituted an important factor in our victory in the anti-Japanese national-liberation struggle.

Revolutionary Spirit of Self-reliance

While waging the armed struggle against the Japanese imperialists, we received no assistance from outside. Nowadays the countries fighting for national liberation get assistance from abroad, but in those days the situation was different. At that time we had to secure everything, including weapons, for ourselves. We took weapons from the Japanese imperialists to arm ourselves.

Another reason we were able to succeed in overcoming so many difficulties and ordeals in the course of the anti-Japanese armed struggle was that we fought in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, relying entirely on the strength of the popular masses.

During this struggle we placed our faith entirely in our own efforts and in the strength of the popular masses. We secured weapons, ammunition, provisions, clothing and everything else we needed in our struggle through our own efforts, by capturing them from the enemy, or with the help of the people.

Blood-sealed Ties with the Masses of the People

When a few comrades and I began the struggle against the Japanese imperialists with only a few weapons at our disposal, we were a very weak force. During the anti-Japanese armed struggle the Japanese imperialists said that we were merely a “drop in the ocean”. The Japanese imperialists jeered at us, saying we could never oppose the great empire of Japan, that our forces were merely a few grains of millet scattered in the wide ocean, and they launched many campaigns of false propaganda against us. Nevertheless, we did not yield and we were not deceived by the Japanese imperialists’ threats and blackmail and false propaganda. Although we were very few numerically and our weapons were worthless, we waged a long and arduous struggle, in the firm conviction that we could definitely emerge victorious if only we fought in unity with the people and relied on their strength and we could eventually defeat Japanese imperialism and achieve national liberation.

All the successes we have achieved in our country are, in fact, the product of the great strength of our people.

We always believe in our people’s strength. When respecting the people’s will and depending on their strength, we can do anything.

By believing in and drawing on the strength of the popular masses, we defeated both the Japanese imperialists and the US imperialists and built socialism on the debris after the war. You asked me which war was more difficult for us. Although both wars were difficult, I would say that the anti-Japanese war was the more arduous.

... ..

The cunning Japanese imperialists resorted to every conceivable scheme to separate us from the people. They spread rumors about my death several times. Once they hung up a person's head and put up posters, trying to deceive people by spreading the rumor that something disastrous had happened to me. People went to read the advertisement not in the daytime but by night and ascertained the truth of the rumor, and then, they spread word that the Japanese imperialists had lied. I think I shall live long, because I survived several rumors about my death in the past. Though the Japanese imperialists tried in every way to separate us from the people, they could not weaken the people's support for us.

The power of the people is truly great and unfathomable. This is a truth which I have experienced keenly in the course of waging the revolutionary struggle to the present day. I have fought the Japanese and US imperialists, carried out a socialist revolution and the projects of socialist construction and in the course of this work, I have demonstrated the true might of the popular masses.

(2) New Road for a Liberated Korea

On August 15, 1945 Korea was liberated from the colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists, but after liberation the Korean people were faced with many complicated and hard tasks for democracy.

The situation was difficult but the people didn't know what to do and where to go.

At that time, President Kim Il Sung, the great leader of the

Korean people stated quite clearly the direction Korea should take and led wisely the struggle to found the Party, the state and the army and press ahead all democratic reforms with success.

The President mentioned it at the talks with the people from Syria and Mozambique.

New Type of Democracy, the Road to a Korean Democracy

At that time, on the basis of the peculiarities of our country's historical development and specific conditions, I stated quite clearly that the direction Korea should take was the road to a new type of democracy, a Korean democracy, neither US "democracy" nor USSR socialism. This was the most reasonable approach to the building of a new country in accordance with our people's aspirations and hopes.

It was unthinkable to establish a bourgeois republic, a regime of landlord and capitalist classes, on land which we had regained at the cost of our blood but, for all that, neither could we immediately establish a socialist system, skipping over an entire stage of historical development. Our liberated country was at the stage of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. We therefore had to eliminate the remnants of Japanese imperialism and feudalism as quickly as possible and follow the path of building a genuinely democratic society, which would defend the interests of the broad masses of the people. This alone enabled us to build a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state and bring genuine freedom, rights and happiness to our people.

We made clear to our people the road that Korea had to take, and

roused them to participate in a vigorous struggle to build a democratic, independent and sovereign state. The high passion and fighting spirit of the popular masses was the basis on which we founded our Party, established the people's government, and successfully introduced all of our democratic reforms, including agrarian reform and the nationalization of industries, within a short space of time. As a result, a genuinely popular democratic system was established in the northern half of our country and we entered on the high road to the socialist revolution.

Party Building, the Most Important Thing

After defeating Japanese imperialism and liberating our country, we were faced with important questions; how to found a party, build a government, set up mass organizations, and how to build an army. The most important thing in this regard was the building of a party, state and army. Of these, the building of a party was the highest priority. Immediately after liberation, the elimination of the colonial remnants of Japanese imperialism and its evil ideological aftereffects was also an important matter.

While ruling over our country for 36 years, the Japanese imperialists had forbidden our people to speak or write the Korean language. In the days of Japanese imperialist rule, all institutions served for the good of Japan's Emperor; all the ways of life were of a Japanese style.

Just before their defeat, the Japanese imperialists forced large numbers of Koreans to betray their fellow countrymen. This was

particularly true of intellectuals. In those days few of our intellectuals were university graduates and most of them were teachers, many of whom paid “homage to shrines” and served the Emperor of Japan. Almost all the landlords and capitalists in our country served the Japanese imperialists. Of course, there were some who worked for their country.

It was very important immediately after liberation to establish who was on our side or on the enemy side. If we had thought badly of people, the number of our enemies would have increased, but if we had accepted evil-doers as good people, they would have joined our ranks, with detrimental results.

This being the situation, we first founded the Communist Party with the revolutionary fighters, who had taken part in the anti-Japanese armed struggle, as its core, taking in people who had been engaged in underground activities at home. The problem of the hard core is extremely important in Party building.

The conditions in which we founded the Communist Party were extremely complicated.

As soon as Japanese imperialism was defeated, different political parties—the Communist, New Democratic, Democratic, and Chongu Parties—appeared everywhere and many people claimed to have been “heroes”. These parties devoted themselves to expanding their own forces.

...

On a scientific analysis of the prevailing situation, we merged the Communist Party with the New Democratic Party into a mass political

party—the Workers' Party.

Because our country was a backward, colonial, semi-feudal society in the past, the working class was still young, the number of competent communists was small and the people lacked a correct understanding of communism immediately after liberation. That being the situation, if people had been admitted to the Communist Party according to its Programme and Rules, we would have allowed only thousands of them to join it, preventing it from taking root among the broad working masses.

We founded the Communist Party on October 10, 1945, and its membership was small then. The Young Communist League also had only a few members. On the contrary, the Democratic Party had a great number of members. This party represented the interests of the propertied classes and most of its leaders believed in Christianity and worshipped the US imperialists. The New Democratic Party, representing the interests of peasants and intellectuals, also had tens of thousands of members.

In this situation, we held an enlarged joint meeting of the Central Committees of the Communist Party of North Korea and New Democratic Party of Korea and decided to amalgamate the two Parties into a Workers' Party. The Inaugural Congress of the Workers' Party of North Korea was opened in August 1946, and it proclaimed the foundation of the Workers' Party, a united party of the working masses, through the merger of the Communist and New Democratic Parties and adopted a new Programme and Rules.

In the Party Programme we set it as the immediate objective to

destroy the pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation, landlords and comprador capitalists, to emancipate the country completely from foreign imperialist subordination and to build a democratic, independent and sovereign state. In addition, the Rules of the Party regulated that every progressive element of workers, peasants and working intellectuals who approved of its Programme and Rules could join the Workers' Party. We lowered the demands of the Programme and Rules to some extent like this, with the result that the Party grew very quickly. In a short time it grew to be a very large party with 450,000 members and was able to strike deep roots among the broad masses. In consequence, our Party overpowered the Democratic Party.

Building of the Korean People's Army, the Self-defensive Regular Armed Forces

An independent and sovereign state must have its own army. On February 8, 1948 we founded a regular army with sons and daughters of the workers, peasants and other working people, with the fighters who had participated in the anti-Japanese armed struggle, as its backbone.

Successful Democratic Reforms

Immediately after we defeated the Japanese imperialists, we carried out the democratic revolution in the northern half of the country. The basic task at this stage of the revolution was to eliminate the feudal remnants and the colonial residue of Japanese imperialism and ensure the democratic development of the country. To this end, we carried out

the agrarian reform and confiscated all the industrial establishments, which had formerly belonged to the colonial rulers and comprador capitalists, and nationalized them. At the same time as carrying out economic reforms, we introduced democratic reforms which were geared to do away completely with the remnants of Japanese imperialist colonial rule in all spheres of social life and fully guarantee democratic freedom and rights to all the working people. As a result of the successful democratic revolution, the feudal remnants and the colonial survivals of Japanese imperialism were eliminated, the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses increased and wide sections of the people could take part in the administration of the state as masters of power.

In order to build a sovereign and independent state, we encouraged those with physical strength to offer their strength, those with technological knowledge to contribute their technology and those with money to donate their money. As a result, everyone—the intellectuals who had served in the old society and medium and small industrialists, not to speak of the workers and peasants, took part in the building of a sovereign and independent state.

2) Victory in the Fatherland Liberation War and Postwar Reconstruction

President Kim Il Sung recalled the most difficult days of the Fatherland Liberation War and postwar rehabilitation on several

occasions of meeting the people from many countries of the world.

During the difficult days, the President believed in validity and might of the great Juche idea, the inexhaustible strength of the Korean people.

(1) Fatherland Liberation War Victorious by the People's United Efforts and the Juche-based Tactics

The war between the DPRK and the US who boasted itself as the strongest in the world, that is, the confrontation between the brutal aggressive army with nuclear bombs and the KPA with rifles--this was the fight incredible indeed in level and size of military equipment. What was the secret of victory in the war?

President Kim Il Sung said about it when he met the general secretary of the Workers' Party of Ireland, the delegation of American Popular Revolutionary Alliance of Peru and others.

Even Small Country Can Win Victory in Firm Unity

You said that the Korean people's great victory over the US imperialist aggressors showed the world that people would be fully able to defeat imperialist invaders if they fought in firm unity, no matter how small their country. You are right.

Our Party advanced the militant slogan, "Everything for victory in the war!", and proceeded to reorganize the whole country on a war footing. The Party roused all its members, the entire state, the entire army, and all the people to join in the just and sacred war against the

US imperialist aggressors. The officers and men of the People's Army and all the people rose in answer to the Party's militant call. Valiantly they fought as one in the righteous Fatherland Liberation War to safeguard the independence of the country and the honor of the nation and achieve national reunification.

Needless to say, at that time our People's Army was incomparably weaker than the enemies in numbers of troops. The People's Army numbered merely scores of thousands. The US imperialists hurled hundreds of thousands of men from the US army and armies of 15 satellite countries to the Korean front. However, we were not frightened by this invasion by the US imperialists and their stooges. By then, the strength of our people was incomparably stronger than in the times when we waged the armed struggle against Japanese imperialism. We had the experience of defeating the Japanese imperialists by using small forces, and we had regular, revolutionary armed forces which had inherited the brilliant traditions of the anti-Japanese revolution. We had also excellent people who possessed boundless faith in our Party and Republic and loved our social system with warm enthusiasm.

We could emerge victorious in the war against the US imperialists, a big power, because we had powerful unity among our people. They all came out and fought heroically, convinced that our system was a most excellent system for the people and that the people's committee represented genuine people's power. They fought determined to win the war in response to the call of the Workers' Party and as taught by General Kim Il Sung, in order to defend the benevolent system and people's power, which gave land to the peasants and made all people

well-off.

Juche-based Tactics of the Korean Method

In the Fatherland Liberation War, we felt even more keenly the need to hold fast to the banner of the Juche idea against dogmatism and flunkeyism.

After liberation we sent many students to foreign countries to build a new Korea and called back home quite a few Koreans who had been active abroad. Flunkeyism and dogmatism found expression among them. Those who had studied abroad as well as those who had returned home from abroad preferred foreign things to ours, trying to copy foreign things mechanically. When fighting the enemy during the war, they proposed to apply foreign methods, without taking into consideration the specific situation of our country. We were opposed to such a tendency. At the time of the Second World War, hundreds of tanks were employed at a time to attack the enemy in wide plains of Europe, but such a tactic did not conform to our country's terrains. Our country had not many tanks, and even if we had had many, we could not have used many of them at a time to attack the enemy in our terrain conditions. Our country has few plains but many mountains.

As the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army at the time, I stressed that we had to fight by Korean tactics to conform with our terrains, instead of employing foreign tactics. We developed the guerrilla tactics created in the anti-Japanese armed struggle to meet the needs of a regular war and worked out various new tactics suitable for our specific situation.

During the Fatherland Liberation War, the Americans considered that if they attacked the northern half of Korea with large military forces they could conquer it quickly, as our country is small, and they launched a large-scale offensive. At the beginning of the war the units of our People's Army had to go through considerable difficulties because they were not well versed in tactics that suited the geographical conditions in our country. So our People's Army had no alternative but to retreat temporarily when the huge US army invaded our country.

We promptly reviewed the experience and the lessons we had gained in the first stage of the war and created new methods suited to our country's conditions. Using the topographical conditions in our country which is marked by many mountains, our People's Army soldiers would lie hidden in mountain forests to crush the pursuing enemy in the valleys. As a result, the Americans who were trying to conquer our country quickly, deluding themselves, lost a lot of soldiers.

When we launched the anti-Japanese armed struggle we formed the guerrilla army with only a few hundred people; then, in the course of the struggle we gradually expanded it into a force thousands and tens of thousands strong. In our battles against the enemy, too, we did not try to annihilate large enemy forces at one stroke, but employed the tactics of destroying small units one by one. In this way we defeated large enemy forces and finally emerged victorious.

During the Fatherland Liberation War against the Americans we also employed this method. At that time the Americans were superior to us militarily and technically. In that situation we destroyed the

enemy one platoon or company after another, instead of trying to defeat several divisions at one stroke. As time went by, the Americans' losses mounted, so they became aware that the longer the war lasted the more unfavorable their situation would be and proposed an armistice. The Americans had attacked Korea in an attempt to swallow it up in one gulp, but their experience was bitter. They confessed that they were defeated in the Korean war for the first time in the history of American warfare.

(2) Korean People's Spirit Demonstrated in the Postwar Reconstruction

Due to the US indiscriminate bombing and shelling, all Korea's industrial facilities were destroyed and the cities and rural areas were changed into ashes. Moreover material and fund situation was very poor.

The US imperialists clamored that Korea would be unable to rise again even in a hundred years. At that time Korea was in such a difficult situation as the Korean people did not know what to reconstruct and how to reconstruct.

But the Korean people were not disappointed and did not hesitate.

Though everything was destroyed into ashes, the Korean people rose up to the postwar reconstruction with the firm confidence that they can surely restore the destroyed economy and build a new society where the people are well off as long as they have the leader, the land, the Party and the people's government.

President Kim Il Sung said to several foreign people that the entire people believed in their strength and rose up as one to the struggle for postwar reconstruction to finish it in a short period of 3 years, thus demonstrating the Korean people's spirit to the US imperialists who clamored that Korea would be unable to rise again even in a hundred years.

By Relying Mainly on Ourselves

Both when we were fighting the Japanese imperialists and the US imperialists and when we were building socialism, we received little help from others.

Of course, we received some aid from the socialist countries in the Fatherland Liberation War and during postwar reconstruction, but, we still relied mainly on ourselves rather than on foreign aid. Foreign aid was of secondary importance.

During the Fatherland Liberation War, towns, villages and everything else in our country were reduced to ashes by the bombing of the American imperialists. At that time we were left with nothing but empty hands. We had to rebuild the country by our own efforts on the ruins. Needless to say, we received some aid from other countries, but that was insignificant. Our own strength was the basic factor in the reconstruction of our country.

With a view to electrifying the railways after the war, we planned to make electric locomotives for ourselves. At that time the ambassador of a European nation to our country said: "How can you make electric locomotives in your small country? You stand as much as chance of

making one as I do of walking through the eye of a needle.”

Nonetheless, our young and old technicians worked out designs by themselves and made an electric locomotive. All the electric locomotives now in operation in our country have been made by us.

Because we believed in our own strength and relied on our own efforts, we were able to defeat the Japanese imperialists and then the US imperialists and after the war rebuild socialist Korea excellently on the ashes as we see today.

During the Fatherland Liberation War, the US imperialists bombed our cities and villages and reduced them to ashes. When the war was over, not a house in our country remained undamaged. In Pyongyang, for instance, only two or three half-damaged buildings remained.

When the war ended all our people turned to me. I said to them our people are not dead, that we had people hardened by war, the territory, the people’s government, the Party and the leader, and that if we believed in our own strength and struggled in solid unity, we would be perfectly able to reconstruct the country quickly.

The US imperialists clamored that Korea would be unable to rise again even in a hundred years, but they miscalculated. Our people stood up by themselves and reconstructed everything many times better than it had been before the war in less than two decades. We have constructed beautiful cities, towns and villages and erected many monumental structures in Pyongyang. The city that had a population of 370,000 in the past has now become a large modern city.

... the strength of the masses is really enormous. If we believe in

the people, unite them and rouse them, nothing will be impossible for them. They build houses, develop technology and do everything. If we help them to increase their creative power and organize them properly, they will be fully able to build a new society with success. Thinking of conquering those who believe in the people and administer the state by relying on their strength would be a miscalculation. We fought and defeated the US imperialists because we believed in our people and relied on their strength. We will also triumph in this manner in the future.

By Enlisting the Masses' Strength

After the ceasefire we had to carry out reconstruction, but our officials only sighed; they were at a loss as to what to do. When the people were hesitating over how to carry out reconstruction, I appealed to them: As long as we have the land, the people, the people's government and the correct leadership of the Party, we can rise up again even on the debris. Is it impossible to carry out reconstruction when we have defeated the US imperialists, who boasted of being the "strongest" in the world? Let us all come out for reconstruction. By powerfully drawing all the people into the struggle for reconstruction, we rebuilt the destroyed towns, farm villages and factories in a short span of time and won a great victory in the postwar reconstruction.

The years of postwar reconstruction were very trying. Though we defeated the US imperialists, the postwar situation in our country was very difficult. Everything had been destroyed during the three-year-long war.

Before the war Pyongyang had a population of 370,000 and during the war the US imperialists dropped more than 400,000 500-kg and one-ton bombs on Pyongyang. It means that they dropped more than one bomb for every citizen. Just after the war not a single house remained intact in Pyongyang. Only three concrete buildings were left, albeit half destroyed. They were the town hall, the bank and Hwasin Department Store. During the war not only Pyongyang but also all the other cities and villages in our country were reduced to ashes. When the war was over, the US imperialists, who had so severely devastated our country, said that our country would never rise again even in a hundred years.

After the war our people watched me, as they themselves were at a loss how to reconstruct the country. I told them that although everything in the country had been destroyed, we were fully able to rise again as long as we had our territory, the people and the Party and government. Our people rose up again with confidence and rebuilt the whole country, including Pyongyang, much more beautifully than it was before the war in less than twenty years, not in one hundred years. Through the practical struggle we convinced ourselves that nothing would be impossible for our people, who were firmly united and displayed their creativity and devotion.

One very difficult period was when our people embarked on the First Five-Year Plan after successfully fulfilling the postwar Three-Year Plan.

In the First Five-Year Plan we set the ambitious target of laying the complete foundations for socialism in our country, but at that time

we lacked funds, manpower, equipment and materials. To make things worse, our political situation, both internal and external, was very tense and complicated. The US-led imperialists were intensifying their aggressive maneuvers intended to provoke war and promoting vicious anti-communist campaigns in all parts of the world. Meanwhile, the forces of Right and “Left” opportunism were emerging in the international communist movement and raising obstacles in the course of our people’s revolutionary struggle and construction. In the southern half of our country the US imperialists and their stooges stepped up preparations for war and created great noise about “the march north”, claiming that they would invade the northern half of our Republic. At the same time, the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists concealed within our Party took advantage of our difficult situation to raise their heads and openly oppose the line of constructing an independent national economy.

Consequently, our people were confronted with a serious dilemma as to whether they should implement this line or not.

At the time we made up our minds to extricate ourselves from the crisis through the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and by placing our faith in the strength of the masses, as we have always done at each hard stage of the revolutionary struggle when there have been obstacles and difficulties to surmount.

We went out among the workers and other laboring people to inform them of the country’s difficult situation and explain to them the demands of the revolution and the Party’s intentions. We consulted with them on ways and means to cope with the hardships and

difficulties and boost production. And we called upon them to bring about another great step forward in the building of socialism, by full exploiting every latent reserve and possibility.

Our working class and other laboring people defended our Party resolutely. They responded magnificently to the Party's call. They introduced innovations and performed miracles in production, displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance to the full. They outstripped the old established production capacities and fixed norms, creating new ones. Through the redoubled energy and devotion of the masses, various obstacles that had been cast in our path were cleared away and a great revolutionary upsurge in the building of socialism was brought about. This was the origin of the Chollima Movement that is so famous all over the world. In the long run, we turned misfortune to our advantage in our endeavors to extricate ourselves from the crisis.

By Relying on Our National Cadres

In this the national cadres who were trained during the war proved their great worth. In the grim days of the Fatherland Liberation war we trained technical personnel by sending students to study in fraternal countries and fostered national cadres at universities run in tents which were pitched in the mountains. These cadres played a great part in postwar reconstruction. Although everything was utterly destroyed in the war, we could carry out the postwar reconstruction somewhat more easily because we had our own cadres, than when we restored the economy immediately after liberation.

3) Socialist Revolution and Construction

Another big historical change was brought about in Korea who had just been free from the debris after the war, surprising the world people.

That was the socialist revolution and construction.

The Korean people advanced in the Chollima spirit and thus accomplished the socialist revolution successfully and implemented the historic cause of socialist industrialization in a short period of only 14 years.

This was the great reform unprecedented in the history.

President Kim Il Sung saw that the Juche idea was fully displayed its great vitality, thus bringing an epochal change to Korea and moving the world.

(1) Socialist Revolution Made Centring on the Motive Force

When the socialist revolution was made, President Kim Il Sung considered it as the important issue related with the destiny of the Korean revolution to establish Juche and saw that a great ideological campaign was conducted to oppose flunkeyism and dogmatism and establish Juche.

The President saw that the Korean people conducted the Chollima Movement, the collective innovation movement and finished their own

way the agricultural cooperativization and the transformation of individual trade and industry in a socialist line.

Followings are some of President Kim Il Sung's sayings on it.

Establishing Juche in Ideological Work

The necessity of opposing flunkeyism and establishing Juche in our country posed as a more urgent problem in the postwar period. Therefore, I made a speech to Party propagandists and agitators in 1955 on thoroughly establishing Juche in ideological work. At that time, I told them that of course we should not become narrow-minded nationalists but we should not forget our country and nation and that in drawing a picture we should do for the benefit of our people and in singing a piece of song we should sing one they like. From then on we put a strong emphasis on the question of establishing Juche.

After the war we established Juche in all domains of the revolution and construction and did everything in our own way. As for the cooperativization of private farming, too, we did it not in a foreign way but in our own way, to suit the actual conditions in our country. As a result, our agricultural cooperative movement was carried out quickly and smoothly.

When we cooperativized agriculture I told the officials: We should learn from good foreign experience, but chew it and see whether or not it suits the specific situation of our country and the interests of our revolution; if it is acceptable to our "stomach" we should swallow it, but if not, we should spit it out. Even afterwards, we stressed that of things foreign we should accept those which our people demand and

should not those which they do not demand and that even in case of adopting them we should not adopt them mechanically but assimilate them to suit the actual conditions of our country. We have always educated our officials and working people in the Juche idea in this way.

As we established Juche and did all work in our own way in the past, everything went off satisfactorily in our country.

Still today we resolve all problems in our own way, on the basis of the Juche idea. We develop industry in the Juche-oriented way and carry out construction in the Juche-oriented way. We are also developing agriculture in the Juche-oriented way to suit the specific situation of our country.

Many of our agricultural specialists studied abroad in the past. But we made sure that they did not apply the farming methods they had acquired to the reality of our country as they were, because there were differences between the actual conditions of our farming areas and those of other countries. The foreign farming methods they studied do not suit our specific situation. If we introduce the farming methods which do not fit in with our situation we cannot farm well.

Once our universities of agriculture taught students with the textbooks used at foreign agricultural universities which were translated into Korean. But, today we teach our students with new textbooks written to meet the requirements of the Juche farming method.

If you see the performances by our artists you will realize that we sing songs in our own way and also develop operas in our own way.

True, the world has many fine musical works such as

Tchaikovsky's. But, however fine they may be, foreign pieces do not well suit the feelings of our people. Our people like the art national in form and socialist in content. We oppose both the tendencies to ignore our own things and copy foreign things mechanically and restore the obsolete things of the past as they are. We adhere to the principle of developing literature and art national in form and socialist in content.

In a word, Juche industry, Juche agriculture, Juche construction and Juche literature and art are quickly developing in our country today.

If we are guided by the Juche idea, everything goes off well.

... ..

In fact, we did not apply Marxism to our reality as it is. If one applies it mechanically, one cannot win the revolutionary struggle.

Marx advanced his revolutionary theories on the basis of the analysis of capitalist society while working in developed capitalist countries like Germany and England. He considered that revolution would break out continuously in the major capitalist countries of Europe and predicted that communism would triumph soon on a worldwide scale. But there is not a single country where communism has been realized, though over a century has passed since Marx and Engels made public *The Communist Manifesto*. Capitalism still remains in England.

Capitalists are very cunning. They leave no stone unturned to maintain their position. They rear labor aristocrats among the working class and put them up to disorganize the ranks of the working class movement. Here lies one of the major reasons why revolution does not

break out in the developed capitalist countries now.

We should not consider that once the ranks of the working class increase, a revolution will break out of itself, nor should we consider that we can make revolution only with the working class. In former colonial and semi-colonial countries which did not go through the normal stage of capitalist development, workers are not so many, whereas the peasants and handicraftsmen form the overwhelming majority of the population. In these countries the revolution can emerge victorious when even the peasants and handicraftsmen are organized.

... ..

Marx's works do not specify the method of the revolution for each country. Communists in each country should use their own brains to seek the means and ways for accomplishing the revolution to meet the interests of their people and the actual conditions of their country. The party of a country knows well about the national reality. You know better than anybody else about the Peruvian revolution, and we about the Korean revolution. As for the theoretical and practical problems arising in the revolution and construction of each country, its party can offer the correctest conclusion.

There can be no immutable formula in making revolution. There are formulas in mathematics, but not in making revolution. If there is any formula that must be observed in revolution, it is that one should think everything with one's own brains and deal with it by one's own efforts. There can be no other formula. We reached this conclusion through our protracted revolutionary struggle.

Start of Chollima Movement, the Collective Innovation Movement

In the December 1956 we held a plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee at which we adopted the decision to bring about a great revolutionary upsurge in socialist construction. In the course of our efforts to implement this decision, the Chollima Movement was started. Since then, socialist construction has continued at a fast pace in our country.

The first to light the torch of the Chollima Movement were the workers of the Kangson Steel Plant. We built the Chollima Statue in Pyongyang to commemorate this movement.

Over the past 20 years the advances made by our people have been rapid. As we look back to that time now, we could have had no idea that our people would make such rapid advances.

In our country, revolutionary struggle and the work of construction have been conducted in all fields as a mass, popular movement. We have succeeded in all the huge and difficult tasks of revolution and construction by relying on the high degree of revolutionary zeal and creative energy of the people. An important key to the rapid progress of our socialist construction lies precisely in the fact that we have solved all our problems by the revolutionary method of relying on the masses and rousing them to action.

When we met major difficulties and trials in socialist construction, we placed faith in the masses of the people, went amongst them, and had serious discussions with them on means of solving problems and effecting innovations. Through this, the working masses came to understand the Party's intention and started a movement for collective

innovation, carrying through the Party's lines and policies. This developed into the well-known Chollima Movement of Korea.

The Chollima Movement is our people's mass innovation movement to accelerate socialist construction to the maximum. It is the most brilliant embodiment of our Party's mass line in socialist construction, and through this very movement all the wisdom, enthusiasm and creative energy of our people have been brought into full play. With the spread of the Chollima Movement, innovations have taken place in all spheres of our economy, culture, ideology, and morality, and splendid achievements have been accomplished in our socialist construction.

All our victories are the great victories of our Party's Juche idea and, at the same time, the brilliant victories of its revolutionary mass line.

Our experience shows that when Juche is firmly established as an ideology and is thoroughly embodied in all domains of revolution and construction and when the creative zeal and talents of the masses are brought into full play, it is possible, in any country, however backward it was in the past, to build a new, rich and strong society rapidly, rout any imperialist aggressors and defend national independence and the dignity of the people and achieve prosperity for the country and the people.

Socialist Agricultural Cooperativization of Our Way

The socialist revolution in the northern half of the Republic raised many new problems which needed original solutions. We had to follow

an untrodden path and create an unprecedented line.

We can take agricultural cooperativization as an example. Another country transformed the private peasant economy along socialist lines only after carrying out industrialization to such an extent that farming could be mechanized. However, this was impossible in the postwar situation of our country when not only the poor peasants but even the rich peasants had to be helped by the state. We had to change the private peasant economy along socialist lines before effecting industrialization and thus open the road for the development of agricultural productive forces.

We put forward the line of transforming the economic form along socialist lines prior to technological change because we considered it much better to work with joint efforts than to work single-handed, even though the rural economy had been destroyed.

People in some countries sneered at us when they heard that we were carrying out agricultural cooperativization. Until that time the East European socialist countries had not introduced full-scale socialist transformation of the private peasant economy. We carried out the agricultural cooperative movement energetically in accordance with the Party's line without caring about what people in other countries did.

... ..

We could complete the socialist transformation of the outdated production relations successfully without any divergencies in a very short period. This could be attributed to the correctness of our Party's policy.

In agricultural cooperative movement we categorically rejected

forcible methods; we strictly adhered to the voluntary principle and pursued many correct policies. In order to strengthen the economic foundations of those cooperatives which were formed of poor peasants, the state issued long-term loans to them so that they could get farm implements and draught cattle. It also defined a lower ratio for the cooperatives than for private peasants in the payment of agricultural tax in kind. Furthermore, it supplied the cooperatives with a larger quantity of fertilizers at a lower price than it did for private peasants. It also carried out irrigation and supplied water to the cooperatives on a priority basis.

Thanks to these measures adopted by the state, the living standards of the cooperative peasants improved rapidly. When the superiority of the cooperative economy became clearly apparent, private peasants volunteered to join cooperatives, aware that it would be better for them to farm by combining their efforts than when they did it single-handed.

The state issued loans to the urban private traders and industrialists so that they could form and run producers' cooperatives or marketing cooperatives.

We think that all the policies which were pursued by our Party and the Government of the Republic at that time were fully justifiable.

When we launched the agricultural cooperative movement in the postwar years, some argued that agricultural cooperativization was impossible in the conditions prevailing in our country. But because everything had been reduced to ashes, we could not exist without pooling our efforts. That is why cooperatives were organized in the country areas. United, the peasants were a strong force and they

showed the superiority of cooperative farming.

Transforming Private Trade and Industry on Socialist Lines

Because of the US imperialists' barbarous bombings, the urban handicraftsmen and capitalist merchants and manufacturers also lost their economic foundations completely, and they were empty-handed when the war was over. It was not the communists but the US imperialists who liquidated the capitalists in our country. Since the capitalist merchants and manufacturers had all gone bankrupt, we did not need to revive them by lending state money so as to fight them. Our Party regarded the postwar days when the private merchants and manufacturers had empty hands only as the most appropriate time for transforming private trade and industry on socialist lines, and pressed ahead with the socialist reorganization of handicraft and capitalist trade and industry.

At first we encouraged the handicraftsmen to combine their efforts. The state lent them money so that they could purchase equipment and manage their economy jointly. We also ensured that the producers' cooperatives of handicraftsmen would gradually accept small and medium entrepreneurs. In addition, we led private merchants to organize marketing cooperatives or production-and-marketing cooperatives and gradually develop them into producers' cooperatives.

(2) All-out Application of the Juche Idea in Building Socialism

By conducting dynamic struggle to apply the Juche idea, the Korean people greeted a new historical turning point of all-out socialist construction.

In such a historical turning period the Korean people pushed ahead the all-out socialist construction with the three revolutions of ideological, technical and cultural, the new and peculiar mode unprecedented in the history.

The three revolutions were made dynamically and all fields of society including politics and economy, ideology and culture reformed as required by the Juche idea.

Based on the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses which can never be witnessed in other countries, the Korean people built the independent national economy which is not moved by any world economic upheavals and developed the socialist national culture and education comprehensively.

President Kim Il Sung mentioned about the all-out application of the Juche idea and the precious experiences and brilliant achievements made in the application on several occasion when he met the people from many countries of the world.

Changed into a Socialist Industrial State

... our country was formerly a colonial, semi-feudal society. Our people inherited a backward economy and culture from the old society,

and even these were totally destroyed during the three-year war started by the US imperialists. In addition, we faced the task of building a new society in a country divided into north and south, face to face with the US imperialist aggressors.

Although they were faced with many difficulties and ordeals as they advance, the Korean people, always deeply convinced of the justice of their cause, fought an unyielding battle. They thus put an end to age-old backwardness and poverty and rapidly built a new, decent socialist society. Today, an advanced socialist system under which all people work and live happily, helping each other, has been established in our country where exploitation and oppression once prevailed. Our country has become a socialist industrial state with modern industries and a developed agriculture.

Under the correct leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, our people successfully carried out the postwar rehabilitation of the national economy in a little more than three years by demonstrating a high degree of creative enthusiasm and patriotic devotion, and brilliantly accomplished the historic task of socialist industrialization in a very short time—only 14 years—through an uninterrupted dynamic struggle. As a result, our country, once a backward colonial agricultural state, has now been turned into a socialist industrial state with a powerful heavy industry, a modern light industry and a developed agriculture, which can develop the people's lives and manage the economy on its own.

This great victory won by our country is the fruit of the dedicated struggle undertaken by the entire nation to carry through the Party's

line for the building of an independent national economy by giving full play to their revolutionary spirit of self-reliance.

For our country, once far removed from modern technological civilization, it was no easy task to build an independent, comprehensive economy by its own efforts. Moreover, since the country was divided into the north and the south and US imperialism and its stooges were constantly trying to provoke war, our people faced innumerable obstacles and hardships. However, our people had the revolutionary consciousness that they were responsible for their destiny and that they should hew it out by themselves; thus, they forged ahead valiantly along a difficult and rugged path to build a new life and successfully laid the foundation for an independent national economy.

The establishment of the socialist system in our country represents the greatest victory in the protracted revolutionary struggle of our people, and it is the sure guarantee of their happiness and brighter future.

A major achievement in our people's struggle for a new life is the abolition of economic backwardness and the building of an independent national economy.

It was a very backward and dependent economy that our people took over from the old society, and even this was devastated in the three-year war.

Giving full play to the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and bravely overcoming immeasurable difficulties and hardships, our people, under the correct leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, carried out with credit the historic task of socialist industrialization in a

very short time—14years—through vigorous economic construction. As a result, our once backward and poor colonial agrarian country has now been converted into a socialist industrial state with powerful heavy industry, modern light industry and a developed agriculture capable of looking after the people's lives and the country's economic affairs through its own resources.

Ideological, Technical and Cultural Revolutions, the Main Orientation of Socialist Construction

The major aspect of the successful building of socialism in our country is to undertake the three revolutions, a task put forward by the Party at its Fifth Congress. These three revolutions are the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions.

The technical revolution aims to reduce arduous labor and to free all the working people from backbreaking work.

The most important task of the cultural revolution is to make everyone intellectual. We have achieved great success in bringing up a large army of intellectuals one million strong by concentrating great efforts on training our own cadres. In order to take socialist construction onto a higher level and consolidate the independent national economy in the future, all working people should possess advanced scientific and technical knowledge. Therefore, we are working hard to see that everyone reaches the cultural and technical standard of a senior middle-school leaver initially and then that of a university graduate.

The ideological revolution is a struggle to imbue everyone with

the qualities of the working class and the revolutionary.

Carrying out the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions is the main orientation and basic target of our socialist construction.

In 1970 we held the Fifth Party Congress where we adopted the magnificent programme of the Six-Year Plan, and in 1971 we embarked on its implementation.

In this way, we have carried out the socialist revolution and construction for 20 years since the war. However, our people's struggle for socialism and communism is not yet over. If we are to build them, it will still take us a considerable time. This is because our country is not yet reunified and the present international situation is changing in a very complicated way. In particular, this is due to the fact that in the past our country was a very backward colonial semi-feudal society.

The socialist revolution did not take place first in the developed European capitalist countries where Marx had thought it would when he developed the revolutionary theory. It first broke out and triumphed in backward capitalist countries and in colonial and semi-colonial countries. In these countries a long time is needed for building socialism after the establishment of the socialist system.

For the successful building of communism, two fortresses, that is, the ideological and material fortresses, must be conquered. Communism cannot be built if one tries to capture only the material fortress.

If one is to take both the ideological and material fortresses of communism, one must carry out the ideological, technical and cultural revolution thoroughly. One must not put the accent on the technical

revolution alone, instead of carrying out these three revolutions. In that case one will not be able to take the ideological and material fortresses of communism. For this reason we have put forward the slogan of the three revolutions—ideological, technical and cultural—and are strongly pressing ahead with them in the urban and rural areas.

The three revolutions—Ideological, technical and cultural—are now making good headway in our country.

Our ideological revolution is not a revolution to purge the counter-revolutionaries.

The important thing in the ideological revolution is to reduce everyone to work like a master. It is also of importance to eliminate fear of progress and conservatism. Science is a closed book to the uninitiated, but it comes easy to the initiated. Therefore, in order to develop science and technology, superstition must be eliminated and people inspired to believe in their own all-round capacity, shedding the erroneous idea that something which is new to them is hard to tackle and so is beyond their power.

In the ideological revolution we also lay stress on the intensification of political work to encourage people to oppose indolence and extravagance, live an industrious and frugal life and participate to a man in the struggle for further consolidating the independent national economy.

The technical revolution is aimed at freeing the working people from hard labour. In the technical revolution we have placed strong emphasis on the mining industry which still has many backbreaking operations. As a result, many problems have been solved in this branch

during the Six-Year Plan.

The basic theme of the technical revolution is the mechanization, semi-automation and automation of production processes. It can be said that the technical revolution is precisely a mechanical revolution. That is why we shall continue to give priority to the development of the machine-building industry and thus press ahead with the technical revolution more vigorously.

The three-revolution teams now operating at factories and enterprises are making a major contribution to the technical revolution. These teams include not only Party workers but also tutors and students about to graduate from colleges and universities as well as able technicians. Scores of three-revolution team members sent to each factory help its workers to promote the technical revolution.

The cultural revolution is also making good headway.

As you know, compulsory 11-year education is now universal in our country. As I mentioned in the report at the recent meeting for the 30th anniversary of the Party, we are going to carry out the policy of putting the whole of society in the future on an intellectual level.

In the first place, we are striving to have all the working people acquire the knowledge of senior middle school graduate and above.

Most of our people under 45 have completed senior middle school. But those over 45 had no schooling in the past, so working people's middle schools have been set up to enroll them. According to officials of the Education Commission, people over 45 will all complete working people's middle schools within a few years.

We are not content with this. In the cultural revolution it is

important to train cadres on a large scale. Only when the cultural and technical standards of the working people are high, can the ideological and technical revolutions also be successfully carried out. The cultural revolution is closely related to the ideological and technical revolutions.

Single-hearted Unity of the Leader, Party and the Masses Achieved

All the people in our country today have rallied firmly around the Party and their leader and live like members of one family. To have fully achieved the single-hearted unity of the leader, Party and the masses is our great victory.

The single-hearted unity of the leader, Party and the masses can be likened to a peach. In the flesh of the peach is a stone in which there is a seed. The seed of the peach is the Headquarters of our Party, the stone the Party and the flesh the masses. Our Party is a powerful party with seasoned leadership ability and our people, rallied firmly around the Party, are a great people.

In our country the leader, Party and people are united single-mindedly. Our people hold their leader in high esteem and put their wholehearted trust in their Party, while our Party holds dear its people and takes loving care of them. I always go among the people to mix more intimately with them. Comrade Kim Jong Il also likes to go among the people. We always go among the people to learn their demands and opinions before reflecting them in Party policy. Consequently, our people accept the Party policy as their own.

Solid Independent National Economy

Our Party's line of building an independent national economy is the embodiment of the Juche idea in economic construction.

By relying largely upon our own technical skills and resources, and using our own cadres and people, we have maintained the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. This has been our principle in developing the country's economy. Our Party's line of building an independent national economy illustrates our people's real hope for complete national independence and prosperity, and it has been behind the startling achievements in the socialist construction of our country.

Our country's economy is now independent, equipped with modern techniques and has developed all round. As a result of this, we have been able to develop the national economy at a steady, high rate and to improve the people's living conditions through our own efforts. Our independent national economy serves as a solid material guarantee for the political independence of the country and for the increase of our defense capacity.

Although implementing Juche and relying on our own efforts we do not intend to build socialism in isolation. We fully recognize that it is necessary for states to supply each other's needs and cooperate with each other, and we are working hard to expand and develop such relations. We believe that mutual cooperation between states should be conducted with a view to building an independent national economy in each country. This factor alone makes it possible to expand and develop economic cooperation between states on the principles of complete equality and mutual benefit.

In addition to political independence, it is likewise important to maintain a self-sufficient economy. The economy is the material basis of social life. To have full political independence, it is imperative to be economically self-reliant, and to achieve economic self-reliance it is necessary to build a national economy developed in a diversified way, with its own solid raw material base and equipped with modern technology. We have turned our once backward colonial agrarian country into a socialist industrial state with the solid foundations of an independent economy in a very short time by carrying through the line of building an independent economy—a line of constructing an economy which enables us to manage the economic affairs of the country and of the people by ourselves using our own resources, technology and our people's labor.

Some people maintained that in developing our power industry we should build oil-fuelled power stations. Our Party decided, however, that operating power stations on oil purchased from other countries was too precarious, and adopted the line of solving the energy problem through utilization of our rich hydroelectric resources and coal. As a result, the economy today is not influenced by the worldwide fuel crisis. We have stood staunchly by the policy of meeting more than 70 per cent of our raw material needs on our own in all branches of industry.

The fact that our economy has continued to advance at a high speed in recent years, completely unaffected by worldwide economic upheavals, shows clearly how correct is our Party's line of building an independent economy and how powerful are our independent economy and our Juche-oriented industry.

Political independence must be guaranteed by an independent economy. An independent national economy is essential for the consolidation of political independence and national prosperity and for providing the people with an affluent material standard of living.

The success which we have achieved so far, means no more than having laid solid foundations for the independent national economy.

We are not conceited about our success, but take great pride in having laid the foundations for the independent national economy from scratch. If a man is to be a completely independent social being, he must stand on his own feet. Likewise, if a country is to be an independent sovereign state, it must stand on its own feet. If a man walks supported by others, he will not feel free, nor will he be able to walk fast.

We suffered many difficulties in the past, but now we can advance independently. The people, the Party and the country can now advance on their own. It is scores of years since some countries started building a new society, but they are still unable to advance independently. When we compare our country with them, we feel greater pride. As we stand on our own feet, we can advance faster if we want to.

We have a bright future. But our way is beset with many difficulties. We have traversed a rough and difficult path, and I think we shall have to continue to follow this path during the years ahead. Our people have the strength to overcome the difficulties in their way by themselves.

We are educating our people to produce what they lack, to make up for what they do not have, to learn what they do not know, to

overcome the difficulties in their way and to value the products which they have made, although their quality is somewhat low.

Our shops stock no foreign goods; they are well stocked with homemade goods. It is characteristic of our shops that they do not sell foreign goods. Admittedly, the quality of our goods is still a little low. But we are not disappointed at this. We often tell our people how praiseworthy it is for them, who had nothing in the past, to make things to meet their own needs and produce textiles to provide themselves with clothing. But this in no way means that we follow a policy of isolation. We do not close our doors. We only follow the policy of not importing consumer goods.

If there are any foreign goods in our country, they are machinery and equipment. We import some machines from abroad.

When we were importing them in the postwar years, some people found fault with us, asking if we were going to eat machines. Then I told them that if our country was to develop into an independent country quickly, we had to import machinery and build industry.

Of course, we received some assistance from the fraternal countries for our economic construction. This was not the main thing, however. Our Party persisted in relying on its own internal forces for economic construction.

Now we can say that we have succeeded in building a completely independent national economy. Our economy is not only able to stand firmly on its own feet but also has the foundations to develop more rapidly in the future. Today our nation's economy is powerful enough to advance independently and confidently, unaffected by any

worldwide economic fluctuations. This has been proved by events.

For our country, once far removed from modern technological civilization, it was no easy task to build an independent, comprehensive economy by its own efforts. Moreover, since the country was divided into the north and the south and US imperialism and its stooges were constantly trying to provoke war, our people faced innumerable obstacles and hardships. However, our people had the revolutionary consciousness that they were responsible for their destiny and that they should hew it out by themselves; thus, they forged ahead valiantly along a difficult and rugged path to build a new life and successfully laid the foundation for an independent national economy.

Our Party has strictly adhered to the revolutionary principle of solving all problems arising in the construction of the socialist economy by relying on our people's efforts.

If one lacks the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, one tends to lose faith in one's own strength and does not attempt to tap one's own national resources, with the result that the national economy cannot be developed quickly. Of course, foreign aid is necessary. But, only when one relies mainly on one's own efforts in all circumstances, can one accelerate revolution and construction to the utmost. Our Party, therefore, put forward the line of building a rich and powerful country using our own efforts and domestic resources, opposing dependence on others, and energetically organized and mobilized the masses to implement this line.

The popular masses are masters of the revolution and construction and it is they who carry them out. The success of revolution and

construction depends, in the final analysis, on how their creative efforts are mobilized. Our Party has been able to work great miracles in socialist economic construction by giving full scope to the inexhaustible creative energies of the masses. When our revolution and construction encountered difficulties and trials, the Party had faith in the masses and surmounted them by enlisting their strength and wisdom.

Our experience has shown that to rely on the broad masses of people and set them in motion is the most revolutionary, positive method to turn to account all potentials and possibilities and hasten the revolution and construction to the maximum, and that herein lies the secret to the tremendous promotion of economic construction.

Comprehensive Flourishing of Socialist Education and National Culture

The cultural revolution is also going ahead favorably in our country.

Our cultural revolution differs from that in other countries. An important task of our cultural revolution is to raise the intellectual level of all the working people as soon as possible through intensive study.

Under the slogan “The Party, the people and army must all study!”, everyone in our country is now studying. Through study, we refashion the people’s thinking and also carry out the task of the cultural revolution.

Our country has a very large number of pupils and students. The number of pupils and students who are now studying at different levels

from primary school to university amounts to 4,600,000. Of course, the number of students attending universities, colleges and higher technical schools alone is 240,000. We are bringing up nursery and kindergarten children and giving education to all pupils and students at different levels at state expense.

By carrying through our Party's educational policy our country has achieved many successes in education the young people and children and in training the nation's cadres.

We had few technical personnel of our own immediately after liberation. Today, however, we have 600,000 graduates from universities and colleges or from higher technical schools.

The Japanese imperialists in their day did not teach Koreans technology. Immediately after liberation our country had only a few dozen university graduates. During Japanese imperialist rule our country had just one university—in Seoul. Even this university had only literature and law faculties, but no technological faculty. So we had only a few lawyers and doctors but no scientists or technicians of our own.

After liberation we fostered and took good care of that small number of intellectuals. Although they came from wealthy families, they had an anti-imperialist consciousness and a national revolutionary spirit, because, while studying, they had been subjected to national discrimination by the Japanese imperialists. Therefore, we generously received and educated them to serve their nation and their people.

The intellectuals whom we educated took an active part in building a new country and did a considerable amount of work,

particularly in training the nation's technicians. As a result, we have a large army of our own cadres today.

Using our own cadres, we now conduct education, manage factories and enterprises and run the state and society very well. We are very proud of this. This success which we have achieved is a brilliant victory for the correct educational policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic.

Over the past years our people have also attained great success in wiping out cultural backwardness and developing a socialist national culture.

With the establishment of a most advanced and popular education system in our country, all pupils and students—from primary school children to university students—receive free education, and children below school age are growing up happily in nurseries and kindergartens at state and public expense. In particular, thanks to the introduction of universal compulsory ten-year education which provides ten years of schooling, plus one year of compulsory preschool training, our rising generation are receiving eleven years of perfect education from the state. Adults who were denied the right to education in the former exploiting society are studying to the best of their ability, according to their desire and aptitude, under the educational system of studying while working. Consequently, our country has now turned into a veritable “land of education”, “land of learning” where all the people study.

Meanwhile, in our country revolutionary and popular literature and art are flourishing brilliantly and Juche-based science and

technology are developing rapidly.

It is because the Workers' Party of Korea adopted the Juche idea as its immutable guide and embodied it thoroughly in the campaigns to build a new society that such far-reaching social and economic changes have been brought about in our country in a historically very short period.

4) Struggle for the Cause of National Reunification

National Reunification is the biggest long-cherished desire for the Korean people who have experienced the pain of national division for several decades.

Much were the efforts and energy of President Kim Il Sung who devoted himself to the biggest desire of the Korean nation.

Thanks to his efforts and energy, the original and reasonable national reunification idea and policies were put forward and historical events made foreseeing the future of national reunification.

(1) Understanding of Korea's Reunification

Korea's reunification issue was caused not by the Korean nation itself but by the foreign forces.

President Kim Il Sung had the most correct view on the national reunification issue. The President clarified it whenever he met the foreign people.

Occupation of South Korea by US Imperialists—Root Cause of Korea's Reunification Issue

In origin, our nation is a homogeneous nation which has existed with one culture and one language throughout its long history which spans several thousand years. Our country was divided into north and south by foreign forces after the Second World War and has not yet been reunified because of foreign interference. Outside forces are the real authors of the partition of our nation and form the main obstacle to our country's reunification.

Our nation, which had for ages lived in the same territory with one culture and one language, found itself divided because of the occupation of south Korea by the US imperialists after liberation. The territorial division and national split caused the people in the southern half of our country to remain as before with the status of colonial slaves even after liberation, and placed grave difficulties in the way of our revolution.

An analysis of the events that led to the division of our country and the reason why our country has not yet been reunified shows that foreign forces are mainly responsible for this state of affairs. If Japan had not occupied Korea and had not brought it under her colonial rule, the question of division or reunification would not have arisen. If the world powers had not dealt with the Korean question on the basis of the conflict between East and West after the end of the Second World War, our country would not have been divided.

National Reunification, the Greatest Desire and National Task of the Korean People

The Korean people's desire today is to reunify their divided country as soon as possible.

Korea is a homogeneous nation. It is an abnormal state of affairs and a great national tragedy that the Korean nation has been divided for so long time. Not only the people in the northern half of the country but also the south Korean people aspire to the reunification of the country. Putting an end to the tragedy of national division and reunifying the country is the unanimous desire of all the Korean people.

However, our country still remains divided into the north and south; it has not been reunified although 27 years have passed since liberation. Our people who are suffering from territorial division and a national breach unanimously desire the peaceful reunification of the country. The aspiration for peaceful national reunification is rising rapidly not only amongst the people in the northern half of the Republic, but also amongst the south Korean people.

The greatest national task confronting the Korean people is to drive the US imperialist aggressors out of south Korea, accomplish the national-liberation revolution and bring about the reunification of the country.

Although a new generation has grown up, not even contact and travel between north and south Korea have been established, to say nothing of the reunification of the country, the long-cherished aspiration of the nation; the artificial barrier of national partition remains unchanged.

As the days go by the gap between the north and the south is growing wider in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life, and even the national characteristics common to our people, a homogeneous nation formed during a long history, are gradually becoming diverging.

The division of the nation rules out the possibility of coordinated mobilization and use of the national wealth and the strength of the people for the development of the country; it brings unbearable sufferings to all Korean people.

The division of Korea into north and south brings immeasurable misery and misfortune, particularly to the living conditions of the people in south.

The prosperity of the whole nation cannot be hoped for and the people in south Korea cannot be rescued from their wretched plight unless the division of our country is terminated and reunification is achieved. It is natural that in south Korea today, the broad masses of the people are crying out that they cannot live unless the country is reunified, and many public figures who possess a national conscience are fighting courageously for the reunification of the country.

This is an urgent national task which cannot be postponed any longer.

Ensuring National Sovereignty--Essence of National Reunification

Our country's reunification is essentially a question of taking back territory and population stolen by the foreign imperialists and ensuring complete national sovereignty for the whole country.

The question of our country's reunification is in all respects an internal affair of our nation and the solution is within the competence of the Korean people who have the right to self-determination. This question should be settled only by the Korean people themselves, who are the masters of Korea. No foreign force has the right, or can be permitted, to interfere in this matter.

The internal affairs of a nation can be settled successfully in its own interests and in accordance with the will of its people only when they are tackled by the forces of that nation on the principle of national self-determination. The Korean people have enough ability and wisdom to solve the internal affairs of their own nation. Foreign forces have no grounds or pretext whatsoever to meddle in the question of our country's reunification.

Anti-foreign Intervention, Efforts of the Korean People Themselves and Peaceful Means—Main Solution for National Reunification

We have consistently held that the country's reunification must be achieved by the efforts of the Korean people themselves, through peaceful means, in keeping with their will and interests, without any interference by outside forces.

US Occupation of South Korea, the Main Disturbance of Korea's Reunification

The reunification of north and south, the long-cherished desire of the whole nation, has not yet been accomplished simply because the US imperialists are occupying south Korea, interfering in the internal affairs of our country and pursuing the policy of dividing the nation. If they had not unlawfully occupied south Korea and had not obstructed our people's cause for national reunification, we would have reunified the country long ago and the 40million Korean people would have enjoyed a happy life in the reunified land extending for three thousand *ri*. Their occupation of south Korea and policy of aggression are the source of all the miseries of our nation and the main obstacle to Korea's reunification. If Korea is to be reunified, therefore, the US imperialist aggressors must first quit south Korea.

Korea's Reunification Fundamentally Different from That of East and West Germany

The case of our country is not the same as that of Germany. Germany invaded other countries in the past and was defeated. But we are not a country which invaded other countries, nor are we a defeated nation. The north and south Korean people all want reunification.

At present, people in a certain country are asking whether it is not advisable for Korea to enter the UN as two countries like Germany. We can never do this.

The situation in our country is different from that of Germany.

Germany was an invader and was defeated in the last war. For this

reason, Europeans do not like Germany being united because they are afraid that it will appear as a dangerous aggressive force again if it is united.

Our country was neither an invader nor a defeated nation in the last war. Even if it is reunified, it will never become a force which threatens its neighbors. Therefore, Asians are not afraid of Korea being reunified. All the Korean people unanimously and sincerely desire the country's reunification.

Our case is fundamentally different from that of East and West Germany. Both of them want separation. Formerly Germany was an aggressor nation. As a result of the war, it was divided into two; one became a worker-peasant state, and the other a monopoly-capitalist state. The maintenance of the worker-peasant state in East Germany will, in the long run, serve to waken the strength of monopoly capital in West Germany. In addition, the neighboring European countries do not want Germany to reunite and become a strong militarist power, because, then, Germany could re-appear as a force of aggression.

But our case is quite different. We have never invaded any country. Our country was formerly a colony, and then it was liberated. Our neighbors do not consider that our country would invade others when reunified. Neither the Chinese nor the Soviets nor the Japanese think so. For the Asian countries, a reunified Korea would be more beneficial than two Koreas antagonistic to each other. The Japanese people hold this view, and so do the Chinese and Soviet peoples.

The most important thing here is that the Korean people both in the north and south do not want the division of their country. Koreans

are a homogeneous nation which has a long history as a unified state. That is why they do not want to be divided.

The United State is attempting to make Korea similar to Germany, but the Korean question is not the same as the German question.

... ..

Germany was defeated after invading other countries as a fascist state. If Germany is reunified, the countries of Europe may be threatened by her. That is why many European countries do not want her reunification.

However, our country was a colony in the past and the Korean people were oppressed. Our country has never invaded any other country. The Korean people have lived together as a homogeneous nation for 5,000 years. There is no condition for our country to be divided.

Even after reunification our country will not pose a threat to any other countries.

The countries that neighbor us are all major powers. Do you think that our country, when reunified, will threaten China or the Soviet Union, Japan or the United States?

On the contrary, our country is being intimidated by other countries. It is in danger of being split by the major powers. Is not south Korea the victim of major power? That is why our country must be reunified at all costs.

Politically, the Korean question differs in nature from that of Germany. Germany is a vanquished nation in World War II which she had provoked. But our country is neither a provoker of a war of

aggression nor a vanquished country. Korea had been a colony of Japanese imperialism till the end of the Second World War and in the meantime the Korean people had waged a forceful national-liberation struggle against Japan. Even after the reunification Korea will not invade other countries or menace the surrounding nations. No nation will be threatened by one Korea. Neither China nor the Soviet Union nor Japan will be threatened by our country.

(2) WPK's Reasonable Policies for National Reunification

The WPK's policies for national reunification are the brilliant embodiment of the national reunification idea planned and matured for long by President Kim Il Sung.

From the first day of the national division, the President put forward the reasonable policies for national reunification that reflected the desire and will of entire Korean people and made energetic activities for its realization.

Followings are some of his sayings on it.

General Elections throughout the North and the South

The basic way of national reunification we have consistently proposed is to establish a united and democratic central government by means of free general elections throughout the north and the south following the withdrawal of all foreign troops. In the postwar period alone we advanced such a proposal repeatedly at the 1954 Geneva conference for the peaceful solution of the Korean question and the

sessions of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Our proposal presupposes the withdrawal of foreign troops. It is self-evident that the nation's independence and the masses' freedom of declaration of their intentions can not be ensured as long as foreign troops occupy our territory.

In north Korea today there are no foreign troops. The question is to make the US withdraw its army which is occupying south Korea in the guise of "UN Forces".

The north-south general elections must be conducted on the condition that foreign troops should be withdrawn and all forms of foreign interference removed, while the complete freedom of activities of political parties as well as the liberties and rights of the popular masses are fully guaranteed. It should be ensured that all political parties, organizations and individuals can conduct political activities freely anywhere in north and south Korea, that the people can see the realities of the two regions without restraint and judge everything for themselves, and that they can discuss at will which way to follow for the independence and prosperity of the nation and make relevant conclusions on their own.

If, on the basis of creation of these conditions, we hold general elections in the north and the south in a way of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot, we will be able to establish a united and democratic government which fully reflects the general will of the popular masses of all levels. We firmly believe that this proposal is a most fair and reasonable one, and today, too, we are doing our best to

bring it about.

As the south Korean people and the people of the whole world have already been told, it is our unalterable desire to reunify Korea by peaceful means. Our programme for national reunification is to establish a unified central government by holding a general election throughout the north and the south on a democratic basis without any foreign interference after the withdrawal of the US imperialists from south Korea.

This position of ours is most correct and reasonable. This is because our programme for the country's reunification reflects all the Korean people's strong awareness of national independence and offers the possibility of solving the reunification question in a democratic way in accordance with the free will of the people from all walks of life, irrespective of their Party affiliations, political views, property status, educational standards, religious beliefs or sex.

Three Revolutionary Forces for National Reunification

The unswerving policy pursued by our Party and the Government of the Republic to achieve national reunification consists of strengthening the three revolutionary forces. In other words, our Party and the Government of the Republic have adhered to the policy of striving, first, to strengthen the revolutionary forces of the northern half of the Republic, secondly, to strengthen the revolutionary forces of south Korea and, third, to strengthen the international revolutionary forces and increase solidarity with them in order to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

A decisive guarantee of national reunification is the strengthening of the revolutionary forces in the northern half of the Republic.

Under the conditions in which the country was divided after liberation, our Party put forward the line of turning the northern half of the Republic into a solid base of the Korean revolution and pressed ahead with the revolution and construction there.

In the past years the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic have led the popular masses to carry out the democratic and the socialist revolutions successfully and to press ahead with the building of socialism in the northern half of the Republic. This has meant that our revolutionary forces have been developed solidly in all fields of politics, the economy, culture and military affairs and that the north has been turned into a powerful base of the Korean revolution, into a socialist base.

We have established an advanced socialist system and done away with the sources of exploitation and poverty once and for all in the northern half of the Republic. Freed from exploitation and oppression for ever, the working people of our country enjoy a contented, independent and creative life as the masters of the country. Today all the working people of our country are armed firmly with the Juche idea and are closely united around the Party with one mind and one will. This is our most valuable success and a decisive guarantee of new victories in the revolution and construction.

Although many difficulties and obstacles still stand in the way of our country's reunification, we have the capacity and strength to remove them and accomplish the cause of national reunification. That

strength lies in the three revolutionary forces, namely the revolutionary force of the northern half of the Republic, the revolutionary force of south Korea and the international revolutionary force. Accepting that the decisive guarantee for national reunification is to strengthen the revolutionary force of the northern half of the Republic, the revolutionary force of south Korea and the international revolutionary force, we have in the past worked energetically to strengthen these three revolutionary forces, and we are still doing so.

As soon as our country was divided, we put forward the policy of building up the northern half of the Republic as the base for the Korean revolution, and have worked persistently to implement this. As a result, the revolutionary base of the northern half of the Republic has now become solid in all respects-political, economic and military. We can safely say that we have built up a firm revolutionary base which enables us to meet the great event of national reunification in a state of full preparedness, whenever it comes.

It is very important to increase the revolutionary force of south Korea in achieving the cause of national reunification. The south Korean people are the immediate victims of exploitation and oppression by the US imperialists and their stooges. It will only be possible to drive out the US imperialists, democratize south Korean society and create favorable conditions for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country when they awake and rise in revolt.

Three Principles of Independence, Peace and Great National Unity

In 1972, when the July 4 North-South Joint Statement was issued, we proposed the three principles for national reunification.

The first of the three principles of national reunification is that the country should be reunified independently.

Why should we settle the question of the reunification of our country by depending on foreign forces and not by the efforts of our own nation? We must reunify our country by our own efforts. The US imperialist aggressive forces must stop interfering in the internal affairs of our country and withdraw from south Korea. The occupation of south Korea by the US armed forces is totally illegal, and their presence in south Korea is the major obstacle to the reunification of our country.

The second of the three principles of national reunification is that great national unity should be promoted, regardless of thoughts, ideas and systems.

There are differences between the north and the south in their thoughts, systems, political views and religions, but, the whole nation must achieve unity of purpose by transcending these differences in order to bring about national reunification. Different countries and different nations are on friendly terms and live together in harmony, in spite of their beliefs and systems. Why, then, should these differences prevent the same nation from uniting? If we do not force the socialist system on south Korea, and if the south Korean authorities refrain from imposing the capitalist system upon us, we can achieve great national unity, leaving the existing social systems in the north and the south as

they are.

If the people in the north and the south cooperate with each other, visiting each other and trading with each other, both the north and the south will be able to make rapid progress and provide all the people with a good life. The northern half of the Republic is rich in resources and has developed heavy industry, and south Korea has a large area of arable land. Every year a large number of fields in south Korea are left uncultivated because of inadequate irrigation. If the north and the south undertake irrigation construction in cooperation, south Korea will be able to increase agricultural production rapidly and will not have to import rice. If they cooperate, the two halves of the country will be able to undertake joint fishing operations, and the north will be able to supply industrial raw materials to south Korea. South Korea will find it much more advantageous to develop industries by using the raw materials available at home than by importing them from foreign countries.

The north and south will be able to deepen mutual understanding in the course of visits and interchange and, then establish a north-south Federation and, further, hold north-south general elections for the complete reunification of the country.

The third of the three principles of national reunification is that the country should be reunified peacefully without either side resorting to armed force.

We do not intend to “invade the south”. The Korean people are one and the same nation, and the north and the south must not fight against each other and must reunify the country peacefully.

Our Party and the Government of our Republic have consistently maintained the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity in their struggle for national reunification.

These three principles represent the standpoint and will of our own nation with regard to the question of national reunification. The three principles of national reunification are the most reasonable programme for national reunification that accords with all Koreans' desire for independence and their fundamental interests and also conforms with the trend of our times and the aspirations of the world progressive people.

Proposal of Establishing a Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo

At the Sixth Party Congress which was held last year(1980), we put forward a new proposal on effecting national reunification through the establishment of a Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo.

Our proposal on the establishment of a Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo means reunifying the country as an independent and democratic, neutral and non-aligned state by setting up a united national government in which the north and the south would participate on an equal footing on the basis of recognizing and tolerating the different ideas and social systems which exist in the two parts of the country.

The new proposal on national reunification put forward by our Party is a most reasonable and feasible one which reflects the unanimous desire of our people to bring about national reunification as early as possible. It also takes account of the specific situation of our

country, that there are differing ideas and social systems in the north and the south. It is a just proposal which can be accepted by anyone who truly loves the country and nation and desires the country's reunification.

At present the proposal on setting up a Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo enjoys the unanimous support and approval of all the Korean people. People in south Korea and Korean compatriots who live abroad, including those in the United States and Japan, not to mention the people in the northern half of the Republic, give full support to this proposal and are working energetically to reunify the country by the united efforts of the whole nation.

Our Party's new proposal on national reunification is warmly welcomed by the world's people. The Ghanaian people and other peace-loving people of the world actively support the proposal on establishing a Democratic Federal Republic, and even many people in political and social circles and other people in the United States have also expressed great sympathy for our Party's new proposal on national reunification.

In order to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country as early as possible we deem it necessary to institute a north-south Federation for the present.

The north-south Federation we propose involves the formation of a supreme national council with representatives of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the "Government of the Republic of Korea" to solve political, economic, military and cultural problems arising between the north and south and thereby

achieve national unity, while maintaining the present political systems of the north and south as they are. There is a difference in systems between them. But, if both the north and south abide by the principle of not forcing their social systems on each other, there is no reason why they should not institute a north-south Federation.

Once the Federation is established, there will be more contacts and visits and economic and cultural communication will also be effected more smoothly between the north and south. If the north and south work together economically and conduct interchange it will be possible to improve the economic situation of south Korea rapidly by utilizing the developed heavy industry and rich underground resources in the northern half of the Republic and it will benefit the people in both parts of Korea a great deal. Sportsmen and performers can visit the north and south holding sports meetings and giving art performances, and form single north-south teams and single art troupes to participate in international sports competitions and international art festivals. Journalists can also travel freely for news coverage; and it will be possible to set up press centres of newspaper bureaus in Pyongyang and Seoul and exchange newspapers and journals between the north and south.

If a north-south Federation is instituted and broad interchange and visits are effected in economic, cultural and all other spheres, distrust and coldness between the north and south will be removed and a climate of mutual understanding and trust will be created and national unity easily attained.

When the “UN Command” is disbanded and the US imperialist

aggressor troops are all withdrawn from south Korea, the complete reunification of the country will be achieved through the medium of the north-south Federation.

It would be good if we could hold north-south general elections immediately after the withdrawal of US troops from south Korea so as to achieve the country's reunification. But it might be difficult to hold north-south general elections at once because the country and the people have been kept divided into north and south for 30 long years. Therefore, it would be advisable to establish a north-south Federation under the single name of the Federal Republic of Koryo for the time being as a transitional step towards complete national reunification. Matters of national interest could then be discussed jointly and settled in a coordinated way. The formation of the north-south Federation will promote contacts and exchanges between north and south, create an atmosphere of trust and bring about national harmony in all political, economic and cultural fields. Then we would be able to hold north-south general elections on democratic principles and establish an all-Korea unified government.

There are various ways of reunifying the country. We consider the most reasonable way conforming to the interests of the Korean nation and the will of our people is to bring about the country's complete reunification by way of a north-south Federation after the "UN Command" is dissolved and the US army is withdrawn from south Korea.

Five-point Policy of National Reunification

Following the publication of the North-South Joint Statement, the separatists at home and abroad stepped up their actions to prolong the division. Under the circumstances we set forth a new five-point policy in June last year to promote the cause of the independent and peaceful reunification of the homeland. The essence of this policy is to eliminate the military confrontation between north and south and ease the tension, to establish multilateral cooperation and exchange between both sides, hold a Great National Congress comprising representatives of people of all levels, political parties, and public organizations in both parts of the country, institute a north-south Federation under the name of the Federal Republic of Koryo, and to enter the UN under this name.

The basic stand of our Republic for national reunification and its five-point policy which is a concrete expression of this stand, are strongly supported and welcomed by all the people of north and south Korea and by progressive people the world over.

10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation

Our Party and the Government of our Republic are exerting all possible efforts to achieve the historic cause of national reunification in the 1990; last year we advanced the *10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for the Reunification of the Country*. This programme reflects the unanimous desire of all Korean compatriots in the north and south of the country and abroad to achieve national reunification and prosperity, by firmly uniting as one, transcending the differences in ideas, ideals and social systems.

If the proposal on the establishment of a Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo is to be effected as soon as possible, the great unity of the whole nation must be achieved.

This is the way to guarantee the establishment of a Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo and overcome the difficulties which stand in the way of national reunification.

To achieve the great unity of the whole nation, all the Korean compatriots in the north, the south and abroad must give priority to the common national interests irrespective of the differences in their ideas, social systems, party affiliation and political views. They must take the stand of subordinating everything to the noble cause of national reunification. All those who care about the future of the nation must not argue about each other's past and present history, but take an active part in forming a great national united front.

In order to reunify the country through the establishment of the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo, it is essential to achieve great national unity.

The proposal on the establishment of the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo is designed to attain national reunification. Accordingly, it presupposes great unity of the entire nation. National reunification is inconceivable apart from the cooperation and unity of all our people, and the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo cannot be set up without great national unity. All Koreans in the north, the south and abroad should firmly unite under the banner of national reunification transcending differences in ideology and social system, party affiliation and political views, and should play active roles in the

formation of a great national united front.

(3) Struggle for National Reunification and Its Prospect

The Worker's Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic put forward many constructive and peaceful proposals proceeding from the desire to achieve national reunification with peaceful means from the first day its national division and made sincere efforts for their realization.

The North-South Joint Statement adopted and published on July 4, 1972, was one of the remarkable achievements made by the Korean people in the historic struggle for national reunification.

President Kim Il Sung mentioned about the contents of Joint Statement and the prospect of national reunification when he met the people from several countries of the world.

Publication of July 4 North-South Joint Statement

From the first day of national division, we set forth a number of reasonable proposals and worked tirelessly to reunify the fatherland through our own efforts, by peaceful means on democratic principles. Thanks to the consistent and sincere efforts of our Party and the Government of the Republic, a dialogue was started between north and south, and the North-South Joint Statement was published in July 1972, in which our fundamental stand with regard to national reunification was set out.

The publication of the North-South Joint Statement, the keynote of

which is the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity proposed by us, and the start of negotiations between north and south, were a milestone in our people's fight for national reunification. Therefore, the entire Korean people in north and south as well as people all over the world overjoyed at this and followed the north-south negotiations with great hope and expectation.

When a representative came from south Korea in 1972 to take part in the high-level political talks between the north and the south, he said that the north and the south could never join together because they are like the two poles of the earth. I told him that our nation should not be divided into north and south permanently but be reunified into one Korea because the north and the south are a homogeneous nation sharing the same blood, and that we should reunify the country on the principle of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity. Great national unity means that the whole nation unites, going beyond the bounds of thinking and ideals, social systems and religious beliefs. At that time, I told him that we would not force our socialist system and communist ideology upon south Korea, nor should the south Korean authorities force their social system upon us or force us to give up communism, and that following this principle we could achieve the great national unity of the whole nation. The representative of the south agreed to the three principles of national reunification that we proposed and said that their highest authority might agree, too.

After the representative of the south returned from Pyongyang, our representative visited Seoul. When he was leaving, I told him that if the highest authority agreed to the three principles of national reunification

of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity, he should propose to publish a North-South Joint Statement with these principles as its basic content. When our representative arrived in the south and met the highest authority of south Korea, he said that he agreed to the three principles of national reunification that we advanced with no questions asked, but it was difficult to publish a North-South Joint Statement at once. Some time after our representative returned from Seoul, the south Korean side expressed its approval to publishing the North-South Joint Statement. As a result, the historic North-South Joint Statement whose basic content is the three principles of national reunification of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity was published.

After the North-South Joint Statement had been published every possible effort was made on our part to give effect to it and achieve national reunification as early as possible. But here we ran up against a large obstacle because of the schemes of internal and foreign divisive elements to perpetuate national division.

The south Korean authorities agreed on the three principles of national reunification which we had proposed.

After the south Korean delegate's visit to the northern half of the Republic, our delegate visited south Korea and negotiated with the high-ranking authorities there.

In the course of a number of high-level political negotiations, we and the south Korean side agreed that the north and the south should refrain from slandering each other, that the armies of both sides should not fight against each other, that both sides should conduct exchange in

many areas, for the implementation of the three major principles of national reunification, and that, in order to discuss and coordinate these matters from time to time, a North-South Coordination Commission should be formed and operated.

As a result of the north-south high-level political negotiations, a historic North-South Joint Statement, the keynote of which is the three principles of national reunification, was finally published.

Optimistic Prospect for National Reunification

In brief, the prospects for reunification are optimistic. Needless to say, the road to reunification is still beset with great difficulties owing to the obstacles created by US imperialism and its lackeys. Many problems must be solved before the country is reunified. But we are not in the least pessimistic about the prospects for reunification; we are hopeful. Although the US imperialists and their stooges are trying to perpetuate the division of our country by all possible means, no actions of our enemies will be able to prevent Korea's reunification. The positive struggle of all the Korean people and the pressure of people all over the world will check and frustrate the actions of the internal and external separatists and will surely bring about the reunification of our country.

The Korean people is a homogeneous nation with a common culture and language, that has lived for thousands of years in the same land. Our country should not be divided into "two Koreas", and our nation cannot live divided permanently. Today all the people in north and south Korea hope to live together in a reunified country and are

working actively for reunification. In our country today only a handful of south Korean reactionaries and US stooges are opposed to national reunification and are plotting to divide the country.

The Korean people's struggle to reunify their country which has been artificially divided by foreign forces, has the active support and encouragement of progressive people the world over. The US imperialists and the south Korean reactionaries, on the other hand, who are hampering Korean reunification, are repudiated and find themselves more and more isolated on the international stage. They are incurring the hatred and condemnation of people everywhere.

All the people in north and south Korea will wage an energetic struggle to reunify their divided country with the active support and encouragement of people all over the world and thereby frustrate the plans of the internal and external separatists to create "two Koreas" and accomplish the historic cause of national reunification without fail.

We are struggling to reunify the country in the lifetime of our generation and hand the reunified country down to posterity. Of course, it will not be easy to achieve this goal. Many difficulties and obstacles stand in the way to national reunification.

However, we are optimistic about national reunification prospects.

The country's reunification is the supreme task and burning aspiration of all our nation. All the Korean people in the north, south and overseas eagerly desire national reunification, and the trend towards reunification is mounting higher with every passing day. No force can ever check the unanimous aspiration and all-out struggle of a homogeneous nation, with a 5,000-year-long history, to reunify their

country, which was artificially divided by foreign forces.

The reunification of Korea should be viewed as a task, which should be carried out by the common desire and efforts of the nation, rather than under someone's leadership. We have our nation's common programme for reunification. The three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity are the basic principles of reunification, agreed upon by north and south. We have proposed the reunification of the country as a federation, based on one nation, one state, two systems and two governments. This is the fairest and most feasible proposal, which enjoys active support and approval of the compatriots in the north, south and overseas. Now that all the nation desires reunification, thanks to strengthening reunification forces and its common programme for reunification, our country's reunification is bound to be realized by the united force and joint effort of the nation.

Intensifying the International Support and Solidarity for Korea's Reunification

The Korean people's struggle for national reunification enjoys active support and encouragement of many friends of the world, and Korea's reunification becomes a big concern of the world people who love justice and peace.

This is the international condition favourable for Korea's reunification.

President Kim Il Sung conducted energetic external activities to create international conditions favourable for national reunification. The President mentioned about it as follows.

President Kim Il Sung said.

The Korean question is part of world affairs, and the Korean people's cause of reunification can only succeed with international support and encouragement. It is important, therefore, to increase world support and solidarity with our cause of reunification and isolate the US imperialists and their lackeys, the south Korean puppet clique, internationally. If the peoples of many countries in the world including the American people give full support and encouragement to our people's just struggle, the US troops will be compelled to get out of south Korea.

Now, if the problem of Korea's reunification is to be solved, it is important to rouse the support of world public opinion and to expose the outrages committed by the American imperialists in south Korea to the inspection of the whole world.

It is essential to work harder to rouse world opinion on the Korean question so that more of the world's people can understand the distress and misery the Korean people are suffering through the division of their country.

The authorities want south Korea to become just as fascist as even Spain was under Franco, but that is just a dream.

In future we shall expose to the whole world the criminal barbarities which the American imperialists have perpetrated in south Korea and what the south Korean people suffer under this fascist tyranny, and stir up world feelings on the Korean question. The world is still too ignorant of what is happening in south Korea.

Only by rousing world opinion to support more fully the Korean

people's cause of reunification, can we prevent war in Korea, preserve peace in Asia and achieve the peaceful reunification of Korea. We must work harder to rouse world feelings on the Korean question so that Korea becomes the focus of attention in Asian affairs and globally.

Once world opinion is stirred up on the Korean question, the south Korean people, democratic figures in particular, will acquire a greater political understanding and their fighting spirit and courage will be fortified as a result. A strong solidarity movement in Japan supporting the Korean people's fight for national reunification will be a particular encouragement to the south Korean people's democratic movement.

The Korean people demand the solution of the Korean question by themselves and, at the same time, value international discussion on this question.

The Korean people are desirous of convoking quickly a Far Eastern conference of countries concerned with broad participation of Asian nations, and hold that the conference discuss the Korean question. The Indian Government supports this actively. We also deem it necessary for countries concerned with the Korean question to endeavor for a peaceful solution and assume the obligation of ensuring peace in Korea.

Our slogan for peaceful reunification is absolutely correct and has won active support from the people around the world. The more the people of the world support our call for peaceful reunification, the greater terror it will strike into the hearts of the enemy. But, because of the misleading US imperialist propaganda against our country, some people do not have a correct understanding of our people's just struggle

for national reunification. In this situation, it is important for progressive people like you to work hard to build up support for our people's struggle for national reunification amongst people throughout the world.

We are convinced that, with the active support of the people of the world, our people will accomplish the cause of national reunification.

The overwhelming majority of countries in the world also desire Korea's reunification and strongly support and encourage the struggle of our people for national reunification. The Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Nations held in Algeria several days ago unanimously adopted "A resolution on the Korean question" to the effect that all forms of foreign interference in Korea's affairs should be ended, that the foreign troops occupying south Korea under the UN flag be withdrawn, that the "UNCURK" be dissolved and Korea's entry into the UN be effected under a single name either after the complete reunification of the country or following the establishment of the north-south Federation.

No matter how hard the US imperialists try to create "two Koreas", it will be of no avail. With the full support and encouragement of the progressive people all over the world and with their united efforts, our people will resolutely smash the moves of the US imperialists to create "two Koreas" and reunify the country independently and peacefully, come what may.

Thanks to the correct foreign policy of our Party and the Government of our Republic, the international solidarity of our revolution has been strengthened immensely. The international position

of our Party and the Government of our Republic has been greatly enhanced, and the peoples of the socialist countries, the peace-loving people of the world, and the peoples of the third world in particular, are explicitly supporting and encouraging our people's just struggle for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country. This is giving a great stimulus to the revolutionary struggle of our people.

With the united efforts of all the people of north and south Korea and the active support and encouragement of the peoples of the world, we shall sooner or later remove all domestic and foreign obstacles to national reunification and finally accomplish the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

Our people's international solidarity with the progressive people of the world has also grown stronger. Today our people have numerous supporters and sympathizers for our revolution in all parts of the world.

All this is a solid guarantee for the victory of our people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

We firmly believe that through the united efforts of all the people in north and south Korea and the active support and encouragement of the progressive people of the world, we will crush the attempts of the US imperialists and the south Korean puppet clique to provoke a new war and to create "two Koreas" and will accomplish the historic cause of national reunification before long.

Our people highly value the international support and encouragement given by many peoples of the world for our struggle for national reunification.

We feel sure that as in the past, so in the future, the people

throughout the world who love peace and justice will express strong solidarity for our people's struggle to force the US imperialist armed forces of aggression out of south Korea, forces which are there under the guise of "UN forces". We also hope that the voices of international solidarity will grow ever louder throughout the world, thoroughly isolating the US imperialists and the south Korean puppet clique, denouncing their moves towards aggression and national division, and actively supporting and inspiring the south Korean people in their campaign for democracy.

3. Global Independence and the Juche Idea

President Kim Il Sung made energetic activities in his whole life to lead the world progressive people to road of social progress and prosperity.

The exploits of President Kim Il Sung who led the people's cause of independence with the Juche idea will be immortal along with the history of humankind.

1) Present Is the Age of Independence

The world changed its image with the 20th century as a turning point. Hurricane of independence against domination and subjugation swept rapidly over the world. The hurricane of independence spread not to a confined country or region but to the whole world of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe.

President Kim Il Sung, the founder of the Juche idea gave the correct formulation that the 20th century in which huge change was being made is the age of independence.

We can read in the following the sayings of President Kim Il Sung who appreciated the 20th century as the age of independence.

(1) Independence—Characteristic of the Contemporary World Political Situation

The characteristic of political situation in the 20th century was that the people struggle for anti-imperialism and independence got strengthened whereas the imperialists' move of war and aggression to maintain and expand their domination struggle became more naked, as the days went by.

Age of Independence

Ours is the age of independence.

After World War II many countries achieved independence. The time is gone when such countries as France, Britain, Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands with their many colonies dominated various continents of the world. Now nearly all countries which were under the colonial yoke in the past have been liberated.

The exploited and oppressed peoples who had groaned for a long time under imperialist, colonialist tyranny have bravely fought for freedom, liberation and national independence. As a result, ours is now changing into an era in which the oppressed and maltreated peoples are taking their place on the stage of history as masters, whereas the imperialists are destined to sink like the setting sun.

Ours is an age of independence. Many countries aspire to independence and fight every manner of domination and enslavement. People's desire for independence and many countries' advance along the road of independence are the main trend of our times, which no

force can ever check. All nations round the world must respect, cooperate with one another and make joint efforts to achieve the common prosperity of mankind, on the principles of international justice and equality, in accordance with the trend of our times towards independence.

Powerful Current of Independence Sweeping over All the Continents

The people who were once oppressed and mistreated have emerged as masters of the world and are pushing forward the wheel of history, and the powerful current of independence is sweeping over all the continents. The main trend of our time is that the people are demanding independence and advancing along the road of independence.

Whole World Demands Independence

The voice for independence is now ringing even more strongly from among the newly-emerging peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America. I have met state leaders and many other people from a number of Asian and African countries, who all want to take the road of independence.

At present many of the world's countries are demanding independence. The countries of the third world are demanding independence, as are the socialist countries. The people of the developed capitalist countries are also calling for independence and trying to move towards it. Now no country is willing to be subjugated

by another.

This is the age of independence, and people throughout the world desire independence. Even some capitalist countries, to say nothing of socialist countries and the newly-emergent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, demand independence. France calls for independence and Japan, too, is trying to free herself of the control of the United States; Canada also is loath to be directed by her. Of course, the Japanese reactionaries do not claim to adhere to independence, but public and press circles in Japan are calling for it. There are many people even within the ruling party in Japan who want independence. The development of history will benefit from many countries calling for independence.

Many peoples in the world today are advocating independence and are resisting any form of subordination. The exploited and oppressed peoples who had groaned for long years under the tyranny of imperialism and colonialism have emerged as masters on the stage of history and are carving out their own destinies independently. Today, on the international scene, even some capitalist countries, to say nothing of the socialist countries and the third world nations, are making a bid for independence. This indicates that it is the trend of the time that the people of the world are moving towards independence.

I consider it natural for people throughout the world to claim independence. No more wishes to live in subordination to others and no one can tolerate the violation of the dignity and sovereignty of his nation.

(2) Global Independence—Main Trend of the Era and Common Cause of Humankind

It is the main trend of our era that the people who held their destiny in their hands oppose all kinds of domination and subordination and advance along the road of independence, and to struggle for global independence is the common cause of the world people aspiring for independence. President Kim Il Sung motioned about it in detail in the following sayings.

Global Independence, Broad Avenue for Durable Peace of the World and New Society

Making the whole world independent is the only way to prevent a new global war, maintain lasting world peace and establish the broad foundations on which all countries and nations can build an independent and prosperous new society and bring about the complete independence of the masses.

It is the common aspiration of the world's people and a historic task of the present times to build a free and peaceful new world where there is neither domination nor subjugation, aggression nor war.

The cold war, which hindered historical progress, has come to an end, but the old force which tried to dominate the world by means of its strength, contrary to the trend of independence, still remains. The contradictions inherent in imperialism, which had been temporarily hidden by the confrontation between the superpowers during the years of the cold war, have come to the fore with the end of the cold war and

are producing a variety of problems. Now in the Western world movements to form new blocs have appeared in the complex relations of mutual rejection and alignment, motivated by self-interest, and the manoeuvres to expand spheres of political, economic and military domination are becoming more blatant. In addition, the imbalance between the rich developed capitalist countries and the poor developing nations is daily increasing. We must remember that the nuclear weapons, military blocs, money, reactionary bourgeois culture and all other means in the hands of the old force are being used as an instrument of domination and plunder, aggression and intervention mainly against the non-aligned and developing countries, to make a victim of them.

In order to build the independent new world which is aspired to by humanity, it is imperative to sweep away the remnants of the age of the cold war, which were negated by history, to thwart any attempt at turning back the tide of history and to make the international community democratic so that all countries and nations exercise their rights to independence on an equal basis in the international arena.

Realization of Independence in the European and the 3rd World Countries

What is important in achieving global independence is to realize the independence in Europe where are concentrated developed countries.

At present, a vigorous anti-war, anti-nuclear peace movement is under way in Europe to oppose the production and deployment of

neutron weapons and nuclear war. It is also interesting to note that in recent years Socialist Parties and Social Democratic Parties have come into power one after another in many European countries including France.

I met cadres of Socialist Parties and Social Democratic Parties from many European countries who visited our country and told them about the problem of making Europe independent. They all recognized the urgent necessity of European independence.

After taking power, Socialist Parties and Social Democratic Parties in many European countries have held views different from America's on a series of international questions and do not blindly follow the US policy. It is quite welcome.

We hope to see a completely independent Europe. In other words, we hope the European countries will pursue independent policies against war, instead of seeking a war policy in the wake of great powers.

It would be more welcome if the capitalist countries in Europe, while implementing independent policies, respond to the demands of the developing countries, the third world countries, for the establishment of a new international economic order. The European capitalist countries would easily tide over the present economic crisis and give a great help to the developing and third world countries in their efforts to build independent national economies, if they strove to establish a new fair international economic order together with the latter.

Another important thing in achieving global independence is to

realize the independence of the third world countries.

The voice for independence is now ringing even more strongly from among the newly-emerging peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America. I have met state leaders and many other people from a number of Asian and African countries, who all want to take the road of independence.

You must be well acquainted with the Latin-American situation. It seems to me that since the Falkland incident anti-US sentiments have mounted in many Latin-American countries and their tendency to independence has increased. We hope all Latin-American countries to advance independently. If they get independent, the US will be finally isolated in that part of the world. A Korean saying has it that a general without an army is no general. This means that one cannot be a general by himself. The US would be quite powerless, if it goes alone.

Strengthening Solidarity and Unity in Action among Anti-imperialist Independent Forces

The solidarity and cooperation of the Asian, African, and Latin-American peoples are those among the peoples oppressed by the imperialists and colonialists as well as those in the sacred struggle for national independence and prosperity and against the aggression of US-led imperialism. We can fully understand each other's situation, have sympathy for each other and cooperate closely on a truly equal and reciprocal basis. Our solidarity and cooperation contribute greatly to the solidarity and common cause of progressive people the world over.

Under the banner of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism all the oppressed peoples should unite and support and encourage each other. The liberated countries should constantly expand and develop political, economic and cultural ties and cooperation among themselves. If all of us make a joint effort, this solidarity and cooperation will continue to grow stronger day by day and produce greater power.

The US imperialists are more afraid of the united strength of the revolutionary peoples of the world than of anything else. That is why they are resorting to all kinds of tricks to obstruct the formation of an anti-US united front and are using the strategy of conquering small, weak countries one by one. This strategy of US imperialism must be thoroughly frustrated. The Asian, African and Latin-American countries have differing social systems, and there are many parties and groupings with divergent political views there. But all these countries, parties and groupings—except the stooges of imperialism—have common interest in opposing the imperialist forces of aggression headed by US imperialism. The difference in social systems and political ideas can never be an obstacle to united struggle and concerted action against US imperialism. No one must be allowed to divide the anti-US united front or refuse joint action, claiming primary importance for his own specific national or partisan interests. Such an act will only benefit imperialism led by US imperialism and harm the revolutionary peoples.

It is very important in the joint struggle against imperialism to defend the revolution which has already triumphed.

Development of South-South Cooperation

The developing countries, the third world countries, should realize the South-South cooperation in order to achieve economic independence through the building of independent national economies.

We believe the South-South cooperation will be quite possible. Generally speaking, it is decades since the third world countries achieved national independence, and they have been building a new society. So each of them has more than one or two useful techniques and experiences and has laid definite economic foundations. If they strengthen economic cooperation and exchange the good experiences and techniques among themselves relying on the economic foundations already laid, they will be able to develop their economies quickly even without the help of developed countries.

Developing countries should abandon the worship of developed countries and strive to develop South-South cooperation.

South-South cooperation will also bring pressure to bear upon developed countries. If developing countries achieve economic independence and develop their education and culture quickly through lively exchange programmes and cooperation, the developed countries will change their current attitude to us.

If the developing countries organize efficient exchanges and cooperation between themselves in the areas of education and culture, they will be successful in these fields, too.

South-South cooperation is very important for the third world countries in overcoming their current economic difficulties, in attaining economic independence and in establishing a new international

economic order.

The developing countries have great potential for South-South cooperation. They have rich natural resources, and each possesses valuable experience and techniques of one kind or another for building a new society. If they make the most of the potential of mutual cooperation and expand and develop South-South cooperation in various ways, basing themselves on the principles of collective self-reliance and satisfying each other's needs, the developing countries will be able to develop their economies and cultures without incurring any debts to big powers, eradicate the hunger, poverty, diseases and illiteracy which menace the lives of the people, and also expeditiously solve the many difficult and complex problems rising in the building of a new society.

The non-aligned and other developing countries should all strive to work out effective measures for expanding and developing South-South cooperation in many fields and to put them into practice.

(3) Juche Idea Sympathized by the World People and Suited to Their Aspiration

Present is the era of independence. That is why it is deserved and natural that the Juche idea conforms to the aspiration of the world people and enjoys big sympathy among them.

We can understand it in the following sayings of President Kim Il Sung.

President Kim Il Sung said.

Today the Juche idea is gaining great sympathy amongst many people of the world. I think this is primarily because this idea conforms with the aspirations of the world's people for independence.

Ours is an era when peoples demand independence. Today even the peoples of capitalist countries, to say nothing of the socialist countries, want to take the road of independence and, especially, the people of the third world who were exploited and oppressed by the imperialists over a long period are advancing under the raised banner of independence.

The Juche idea is an idea we were the first to propound, proceeding from the requirements of the Korean revolution and basing ourselves on the experience of the Korean revolution. But it also fully accords with the aspirations of people the world over.

In my opinion, the Juche idea is also evoking a great response amongst the third world people, because it shows them the most correct way of building a new life.

Today the third world peoples are faced with the task of consolidating the national independence they have won and achieving prosperity for their countries. The principle question here is whether to take the road to capitalism or the road to socialism. If the third world countries take the road to capitalism, they may be enslaved again by the imperialists. This is why many countries of the third world are now aspiring to socialism.

If they are to take the road of socialism, it is necessary for the third world countries to learn from the experience of social countries. However, their experience is not entirely applicable to the third world

countries. Therefore, if they want to follow the road to socialism, the third world countries should apply the experience of socialist countries to suit the interests of their own peoples and their specific conditions. In other words, they must take the stand of Juche.

Although the Juche idea is our own proposition based on the requirements of the Korean revolution and our people's experience, it evokes a sympathetic response in people throughout the world because it reflects the trend of our times.

... ..

What kind of idea a people will adhere to and which path they will follow will be decided by their own wishes. The Juche idea says that one is the master of one's own destiny and that one has also the capacity for hewing out one's own destiny. If the people of the third world carve out their path independently with a high consciousness that they are the masters of their own destiny, they will surely have a bright future.

To live independently, free from any form of domination and fetters, is the natural desire of social man. No one in this world wishes to live as a slave of another man. It is the common desire of all peoples to shape their destiny independently as the masters of the world; it is the requirement of this age to do away with any form of domination and subjugation and build an independent new world of which the popular masses are true masters.

The Juche idea does not stipulate that the revolution be carried on in our particular way in every country. What it does stipulate is that the revolution and construction must be conducted in each country in

keeping with the actual conditions specific to that country.

The Juche idea is necessary for socialist countries and also for other countries, because it is a just idea that offers scope for educating the people properly and successfully accelerating the revolution and construction.

Although the Juche idea has been evolved by us on the basis of our people's experience of struggle in order to meet the practical requirements of the Korean revolution, it enjoys widespread support and sympathy from people all over the world. I think this is because the Juche idea conforms with the trend of the present time towards independence in opposition to all manner of domination and subordination and with the desire of the people of our era to shape their destiny.

2) Strengthening and Development of the World Socialist Movement

President Kim Il Sung who always paid deep concern about the world socialist movement situation made energetic activities to clarify all problems arising in the practice of the socialist movement such as the strengthening of unity and solidarity among socialist countries, the cause and lessons drawn from the collapse of socialism in several countries and other problems in restoring socialism.

(1) Solidarity and Unity of Socialist Countries

The socialist movement plays an important role in implementing the cause of anti-imperialism and independence. In order to display its influence, it is, first of all, necessary for the socialist movement to achieve solidarity and unity among socialist countries.

However, in the past 20th century unsavory events, which were far from solidarity and unity, were caused within the world socialist movement resulting in unexpected aftermath.

Seeing through the seriousness and dangerousness of the events, President Kim Il Sung earnestly stated that the socialist countries should achieve solidarity and unity.

Followings are some of the President's sayings on it.

Relations between the Socialist Countries Are Comradely and Fraternal Relations

The socialist countries are cooperating closely with each other for common purposes and ideals.

The relations between them are comradely and fraternal relations based on the community of their social systems and class interests. Therefore, they are linked by the solid bonds of friendship, and their friendly and cooperative relations will continue to strengthen and develop as their socialist societies make progress.

Holding the Principle of Independence—Prerequisite to Solidarity and Cooperation

We stand for the principle of complete independence.

Ours is an age of independence. When Lenin organized the Third International, we were all young pupils of communism and learners. However, it is nearly 60 years since Lenin carried out the socialist revolution. During this period, all the young pupils of communism have grown up. They have undergone many vicissitudes and gained rich experience in the revolution and construction. They have experienced both victory and failure in the revolutionary struggle. Unlike in their youth, they can now distinguish between what is bitter and sweet, and between what is hot and cold on their own without being told by others. Even if they are not guided by others, they can now walk by themselves and know which is the right way they should follow. That is why today every party must act independently. Of course, they may make mistakes in the course of this. However, they themselves can rectify the error which they have committed while standing on their own feet. But they cannot rectify those errors which they have made in the course of following the advice of others.

The master of the revolution in each country is the party of that country. Marxist-Leninist parties know the ability of their own people better than anyone else.

Marxist-Leninist parties must respect each other's independence and refrain from interfering in each other's affairs. This is the only way to achieve the unity of the international communist movement and make it a truly comradely one.

Nowadays, many countries and parties throughout the world advocate independence.

The people start a revolution to free themselves from exploitation and oppression and from all manifestations of subjugation. Why do they start a revolution if they still remain subjugated to others even after doing so? There may be large and small countries and parties in the world, but in no way must there be higher or lower countries and parties. All countries and parties are equal.

The present international communist movement is different from that of the past. Marx propounded the revolutionary theory of the working class and Lenin applied it and achieved the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia. In those days the Comintern existed and Marxism-Leninism was disseminated.

Nowadays, however, the parties of many countries throughout the world are able to judge and deal with by themselves the matters that concern their own countries through their protracted revolutionary struggle. In other words, every party is capable of proceeding independently; they need neither guardian nor assistant.

Nevertheless, some people are still trying to subordinate the parties of other countries. This is an anachronistic act.

Even in a household, if the father instructs his grown-up children to do this or that, they feel unhappy about it. Why is it necessary to tell someone else to do this or that when he knows how to use his own hands at meals and how to do everything else?

Every party must adhere to independence and take the independent road.

Independence does not contravene internationalism, and self-reliance does not ignore international cooperation. This cooperation between countries is necessary and is also demanded. It is right and proper that international cooperation should be promoted with emphasis on self-reliance.

It is impossible for each country to make everything it needs on its own. This is also the case in our country. We manufacture by ourselves what we need a great deal of, but secure through foreign trade what we only need a small amount of or what we do not have at all.

The same holds true in the matter of the introduction of advanced technology. It will not work well if, on the pretext of self-reliance, one develops everything by using one's own technology alone, without accepting more advanced foreign techniques.

... ..

In our opinion, mutual cooperation between countries must be promoted. Cooperation is essential between socialist countries, between developing countries and between developed states and third world countries.

Four Principles for Solidarity and Unity

We united with the socialist countries on the basis of. The four principles are that the socialist countries should oppose imperialism; support the national-liberation movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries and the working-class movement in the capitalist countries; continue the building of socialism and communism; and observe the principles of noninterference in one another's internal

affairs, mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit. We advocate the principle of noninterference in one another's internal affairs.

The socialist countries must not interfere in other countries no matter what line they may follow. Even in a family every member must be left free to do what he likes—drink coffee or have tea in the morning. If they are prevented from doing so, the family cannot live in harmony.

We never interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. We do not criticize other socialist countries as long as they do not oppose socialism and follow the road of counter-revolution. Other socialist countries also do not meddle in the internal affairs of our country, and even if they dared try to do so, we would not tolerate it. As you see, it is because we respect each other and do not interfere in each other's internal affairs that we get on well. We are now on good terms with all the socialist countries.

Our Party particularly objects to the split in the international communist movement. This movement is the main force in the struggle against imperialism. Our Party, therefore, does not approve of division within it. We consider that, if the party of every country maintains the principled position of Marxism-Leninism, it will be possible to prevent division within the international communist movement and achieve its unity and cohesion.

If we are to achieve the unity and cohesion of the international communist movement, we must observe a number of principles. Our Party insists that all the socialist countries must unite on the basis of, firstly, opposing imperialism; secondly, supporting the

national-liberation movement in colonies and the international working-class movement; thirdly, continuing to advance towards socialism and communism; and fourthly, observing the principles of noninterference in each other's internal affairs, mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit. We consider it particularly important for each country's party to maintain independence and to respect other parties' independence.

(2) Cause of Collapse of Socialism in Several Countries in the 1990s

In the end of the last century, socialism was collapsed in the former Soviet Union and East European countries.

With it as a momentum, the imperialists made more nakedly the anti-socialist propaganda campaign against the world progressive forces aspiring after socialism. Furthermore, parties and progressive forces in many countries who were aspiring after socialism failed to keep confidence in socialism and abandoned socialism, thus suffering from ideological confusion.

It was very important one related with the destiny and future of the socialist movement to correct the situation without delay.

At that time, President Kim Il Sung conducted energetic ideological and theoretical activities to shoulder the destiny of socialism and save it.

They Failed to Adhere to the Basic Principle of Socialism

There are several reasons for the frustration of socialism in some countries, but it was caused above all by the fact that these countries failed to adhere to the basic principle of socialism. In socialist society the people are the masters of the country and society and this society is developed by the people's creative role. The basic principle to be adhered to in the building of socialism is to ensure that the people hold the position of masters of the country and society and play their role as such. In order to implement this principle, it is necessary to educate the people in socialist ideas, unite them in a socialist collective and develop socialist democracy in state management along the mass line and under the Party's guidance. Otherwise the infiltration of anti-socialist ideas cannot be prevented and bureaucracy will emerge, with the result that the people cannot play their role as masters of the country and society and socialism will not display its advantages. In some countries no particular attention was paid to the basic question which should be tackled first in socialist construction, with the result that socialism became invalid and the cause of socialism was frustrated.

Modern Revisionists Took Power

The former Soviet Union began to collapse after the modern revisionists took power. They abandoned the principle of party building and systematically weakened the party. Consequently, the leading elements of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, while clamouring for a "new way of thinking", at last accepted cosmopolitanism asserted by the imperialists. The US imperialists have

long since used cosmopolitanism as the ideological means for realizing their ambition for world domination. While Stalin was in power, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union fought resolutely against cosmopolitanism. No sooner had the US imperialists put forward cosmopolitanism than Stalin seemed to have already perceived that its purpose was to realize their strategy of “peaceful transition” aimed at dominating the world. When the tendency to cosmopolitanism appeared in the field of Soviet art and literature following the Second World War, Zhdanov, a follower of Stalin, went among writers, artists and the people and emphasized the need for them to fight resolutely against it.

A “new way of thinking”, asserted by the leading elements of the former Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was the capitulationist way of thinking. To give up fighting against the imperialists and to live and cooperate with them—this is precisely the content of their “new way of thinking”. Living together with the imperialists while cooperating with them in the long run means surrendering to them. The nature of imperialism never changes. Imperialism means monopolistic capitalism—this is a proposition advanced by Lenin. If imperialism based on monopolistic capital is left to its own devices unopposed, it will naturally go on invading and plundering other countries. The leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, however, preached cooperation with the imperialists, harbouring illusions about them and so leading the Soviet Union to ruin, unable to withstand the anti-socialist attack by the imperialists. It is hardly imaginable that the Soviet Union, which built socialism for over 70 years, has collapsed in

a day. The renegade socialists who ruined the Soviet Union do not have a national conscience, still less dignity as a communist. If they had had a bit of patriotic spirit, they would not have put the Soviet Union into such a state. They have destroyed the Soviet Union and are now acting as the Americans tell them.

The Soviet Union came to ruin for it pursued revisionism following the death of Stalin. The Soviet Union was a big country occupying one sixth of the world's land area and having a population of 290 million and with a party membership numbering 18 million and a history of over 70 years of socialist construction; but everything was brought to naught there overnight. In spite of its history covering over 70 years of socialist construction, the Soviet Party exercised bureaucracy, failing to undertake work with people, the main content of party work. The people, without receiving any ideological education, came to know only money, so trying their best to earn it, instead of sticking to Leninism. The party ended up falling to ruin because it had not educated the people in socialist and communist ideas, so bringing them to know only money, private cars and dachas.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in Eastern Europe was also due to the neglect of the ideological education among their peoples. These countries did not give their peoples ideological education. The modern revisionists, who came to power in the Soviet Union in the mid-1950s, discarded ideological education. They did not educate their people in the idea of socialism and communism, but clamoured only for money, private cars and villas. The neglect of ideological education in the Soviet Union for about 30

years corrupted the people ideologically and ruined the Soviet Union in the end.

They Took to Flunkeyism and the Worship of Great Power

Previously the leaders of the Soviet Union worked out party lines in a subjective and bureaucratic way and forced them on the people, merely looking at the ceiling, instead of mixing with the popular masses. Party lines cannot be implemented unless they are approved and supported by the people. It is the people who build socialism. The Soviet Union with a history of over 70 years of revolution came to ruin, for its leaders had pursued a policy of revisionism and separated themselves from the popular masses, committing themselves to subjectivism and bureaucratism. It started its journey towards destruction from the period of Khrushchev's rule, who had given up proletarian dictatorship.

The cause of the ruin of the East European socialist countries can be explained in two ways.

Firstly, the leaders of these countries took to flunkeyism and the worship of great power.

In the past these countries used to do everything the way the Soviet Union did; for example, if the Soviet Union uttered "A", they said "A", and if the former pronounced "B", they said "B". The former German Democratic Republic worshipped the Soviet Union so much that her people were said to have remarked that when it was raining in Moscow the Berliners used to take an umbrella though it was not raining in their city, in criticism of the sycophantic attitude of their

party leadership to great power. Because they followed everything the Soviet Union did, in worship of the latter, the East European socialist countries have ended up in ruin. Why should they also have to undertake “restructuring” blindly, just because the Soviet Union did it?

That they did everything the way the Soviet Union had done is due largely to the fact that the Soviet army had liberated them. The peoples of these countries had not liberated their countries by themselves. As the Soviet army had liberated these countries and gathered those who had been engaged in the communist movement and put them in power, they could not help worshipping the Soviet Union.

The former Soviet Union would frown on other socialist countries when they did not sing in chorus with her and bring pressure to bear upon them, accusing them of breaking away from socialist and internationalist principles.

But no pressure can work on us. In the past, Khrushchev told me that Korea should also take part in the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance(CMEA), but I objected to it. I said to him: “Even though we do not join CMEA, if we successfully carry out socialist construction based on self-reliance, it means precisely that we are loyal to internationalism, doesn’t it? And if we live by our own efforts without asking the Soviet Union for money, it means saving the Soviet Union a large burden, doesn’t it?”

Since then the Soviets have given us a wide berth. In the past, the Soviet Union used to put up the slogan “Long live the great socialist community” on May Day and the October Socialist Revolution Day. The socialist community referred to by the Soviet Union means the

community of the socialist member states of the CMEA. So socialist countries such as ours which were not members of the CMEA were excluded from the right to give cheers. We once told the Soviet people: “It is not right of you to shout the slogan ‘Long live the great socialist community’. If you want to, you had better hurrah for ‘socialist states’. Even though we did not join the CMEA, we are successfully building socialism.” In the long run, the East European socialist countries that entered the CMEA just to fawn upon the great power all collapsed, but we who have not entered the CMEA from the standpoint of independence are still living healthily.

In addition, the rulers in these countries resorted to bureaucratism, which was contrary to the requirements of socialism and the people’s interests. Subjectivism and bureaucratism are taboo in socialist society. The economy in capitalist countries is based on individual management, so their rulers indulging in bureaucratism does not greatly affect the management of the economy. But since the socialist economy is based on collectivist management, the leading officials of the state can do a lot of damage if they are given to subjectivism and bureaucratism. Worse still, they would be divorced from the people if out of bureaucratism they impose unwanted things upon them, encroaching upon their interests. This is why officials in socialist society must not resort to subjectivism and bureaucratism. If subjectivism is given free rein, it entails bureaucratism. Socialist government have been toppled in the East European countries because their rulers indulged in bureaucratism.

Secondly, the ruin of the East European socialist countries is due

to the fact that the leaders of these countries exercised bureaucracy in a gross way.

The leading officials in socialist society must not allow bureaucracy. In capitalist society, where the state management officials and the economic management officials are separated from each other, even if the ruling officials exercise bureaucracy, administering state affairs unskillfully, the businessmen can still make money without much interference. In socialist society, however, the situation is different. In socialist society the popular masses are the masters of state power and means of production. The leading officials must therefore always go among the masses to know their demands and manage the state and economy to meet their will and demands. However, the leaders of the East European socialist countries failed to mix intimately with the masses; instead, they administered state affairs by looking up at the ceiling of their office or asking Moscow what to do. When their subjective opinion that was not in accordance with the will of the masses or the reality, was not accepted readily by people, then they would force it down in a bureaucratic manner. Consequently, they became alienated from the people and at last produced the serious outcome of bringing socialism to naught.

It was because of such mistakes as the sycophantic attitude to great power and a bureaucratic manner that socialism has collapsed in the former East European socialist countries; it was never because the socialist system is in itself problematic. The socialist system is not bad in itself.

What is most important for a people in their revolutionary struggle

and in their work of construction is to believe in their own strength and carry them out in their own way.

...

Nobody will make you a present of the revolution. One must win the victory of the revolution by one's own struggle and effort.

Socialist countries in Eastern Europe perished mainly because their leaders, steeped in flunkeyism, had depended on others for the revolution, instead of carrying it out by believing in the strength of their own peoples and in their own way.

The leaders of these countries were extremely sycophantic towards the Soviet Union. They followed the Soviet way of doing everything and blindly accepted instructions from Moscow. They practiced bureaucratism copying the Soviet pattern. They became divorced from their peoples as they became bureaucrats, instead of working in accordance with the will of their peoples.

In the capitalist society, the rulers' bureaucratic practice does not matter. That is because of the characteristics of the capitalist society which is based on individualism. No matter how the rulers in the capitalist society practice bureaucratism, it cannot affect society much. Whether the rulers pursue bureaucratism or whatever else, money-makers will be pleased as long as they can make money, exploiters will remain exploiters, and unemployed people will remain unemployed.

However, in the socialist society, which is based on collectivism, unlike the capitalist society, the leaders must not practice bureaucratism. If the leaders of the socialist society pursue

bureaucratism, it will have serious consequences on society. Because socialist society is for the people, the leaders must always go out among the people and mix with them, getting to know what they want and how they live and work, and must administer the country in keeping with the people's desires.

... ..

On the October Socialist Revolution Day and on May Day in the Soviet Union, they used to shout the slogan, "Long live the great socialist community!" By the socialist community they meant the community of the member states of the CMEA and excluded the socialist countries that were not members of the CMEA from the objects for which they shouted long live. All the socialist countries in Eastern Europe and Mongolia joined the CMEA, but our country declined. When I met Khrushchev some time in the past, he asked Korea to join the CMEA. I said that the pact of alliance concluded between our country and the Soviet Union would do and that we would build socialism by our own efforts without joining the CMEA. Since then the Soviet leaders did not want to consider us.

The CMEA made plans and dictated them to its member nations, and the member nations had to obey its orders. If we had joined it, the CMEA would have planned, for instance, how much construction we should undertake or how much electric power we should produce, and would have dictated the plan to us, so that we would have been unable to build socialism as we pleased. The member nations of the CMEA were not free to build even a theatre without permission from the CMEA. There are now many theatres in our country. If we had

attempted to construct them with the permission of the CMEA, it would have been impossible for us to build any of them. The system of universal free and compulsory education and free medical care have long been in force at state and public expense in our country. If we had joined the CMEA, it would not have financed these undertakings. Had we joined it, we would have no alternative but to be subordinated to it. If we had been tied to the apron strings of the CMEA established by the Soviet Union, how could we have said that we are a legitimate independent country? The Eastern European socialist countries that were affiliated with the CMEA were like the republics of the Soviet Union although they were not in name. As they knew that their pressure had no effect on us, the rulers of the Soviet Union were reluctant to visit our country.

Imperialist Strategy of “Peaceful Transition”

The imperialists are now waging a war without bullets in accordance with their strategy of “peaceful transition” and are attacking socialism. Owing to this, all sorts of things are happening in the socialist movement. Some people have already been ruined, others are retreating and yet others have given up socialism and are surrendering to the enemy. It can be said that the socialist movement is now undergoing trials. However, there is no need to be discouraged because of this.

... the international communist movement has been undergoing serious trials over recent years. Caught in the trap of the imperialists’ strategy of “peaceful transition”, the Soviet Union and the Eastern

European socialist countries collapsed. This has occasioned serious vacillation among Communist Parties in capitalist countries and caused various abnormal developments. Some of these parties changed their names, some of them discarded their communist slogans, and some of them even disorganized themselves. In Latin America, however, the practice of giving up socialism has not been widespread. We are pleased with the fact that the socialist movement is advancing in Latin America under the influence of the Communist Party of Cuba.

(3) Movement to Restore Socialism

A declaration to defend and advance socialism was published in Pyongyang, the DPRK in April 1992. It tells that socialism is still alive in the minds of people and their aspiration for socialism can never be disturbed.

When he had chances to meet the world progressive, President Kim Il Sung gave the answers to the problems in dynamically accelerating the struggle to frustrate the anti-socialist moves by imperialists and reactionaries and restore socialism.

Publication of the Pyongyang Declaration

On the occasion of my 80th birthday in April last year(1992), many delegations and delegates of political parties from various countries the world over visited my country. Availing themselves of the opportunity of meeting in Pyongyang, they discussed and announced the declaration on defending and advancing the socialist cause. This was

splendid. The announcement of the Pyongyang Declaration aimed at stopping the retreat of the parties that had aspired after socialism and making preparations for advancing the socialist movement. Nearly one year has passed since the Pyongyang Declaration was published. The people of the erstwhile Soviet Union and the East European countries now regret that they have restored capitalism by discarding socialism. As a result of the revival of capitalism, they have become unemployed and beggars. They had believed that when they restored capitalism, the United States would give them a lot of aid, but it has given them nothing. The socialist movement has now got out of the state of frustration and is gradually entering the stage of reactivation. In other words, the socialist movement has stopped its retreat and is preparing for advance. The parties that had been heading for socialism in the former Soviet Union and the East European countries are now being reorganized, and in Latin America and Asia, too, the parties that had been heading for socialism have recovered their breath and are making preparations for advancing again.

Socialism Still Alive in the Minds of People

The imperialists are advertising that socialism has perished; however, socialism is still alive in the minds of people and new movements are under way for its restoration. We think that in such a time as today the parties aspiring after socialism must restir themselves up by force of unity to advance dynamically.

Model Unnecessary to Look for

In our opinion it is unnecessary for the parties aspiring to socialism to look for any model in the revolution and construction work. Each country's specific situation is different. Therefore, there is no one formula capable of copying with every specific situation of each country. Marxism is not a dogma but a creative theory. Both Lenin and Stalin objected to the dogmatic attitude to Marxism. We are of the opinion that every party in each country should independently carry out the revolution and construction in its own way. Korea must carry out the revolution and construction in her own way and Sweden, in her own way.

In view of the historical lessons of the socialist movement, it is of great importance to firmly adhere to independence in the struggle for socialism. Moreover, now is the era of independence. Each party in every country must advance confidently along the road of socialism under the unfurled banner of independence to meet the demands of the present era.

3) Strengthening and Development of the Non-aligned Movement

President Kim Il Sung made special efforts and energy for the strengthening and development of the non-aligned movement and the global independence.

In the last 20th century the non-aligned movement was expanded

and strengthened and the trend of independence got stronger, on a worldwide scale.

Imperialists and dominationists made every move to check and frustrate the ever-victorious non-aligned movement and the world independent movement, but they did not stop nor deny and obliterate them.

The non-aligned movement and the world independent movement overcame vicissitudes and sufferings and continued to make sound development. This is ascribed to the energetic ideological and theoretical activities of President Kim Il Sung, the great leader of the world revolutionary movement.

While meeting and talking in his whole life with the people of political and public circles from many countries of the world, President Kim Il Sung put forward precious proposals, ideas and theories for the strengthening and development of the non-aligned movement and the world independent movement.

The proposals, ideas and theories give scientific answers to many theoretical and practical problems that independence must be adhered to firmly, that solidarity and cooperation must be strengthened, and that the imperialist moves of division and alienation must be checked with high vigilance against them.

Role of the Non-aligned Movement in the World Revolutionary Development

The non-aligned movement mirrors the trend of the present age which aspires to independence and expresses the lofty idea of

anti-imperialism and independence.

The non-aligned movement has entered the arena of history expressing the trend of the time which aspires to independence; it has so far played a big role in the world revolutionary development and the international political life.

This movement has resolutely rejected the persistent attempt of the great powers to divide the world into blocs and spheres of influence and has waged an intense struggle against every form of aggression and interference, subordination and inequality. So far it has contributed greatly to defending the sovereignty of the people, maintaining world peace and security, assisting the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle of the oppressed people, checking the arbitrariness of the imperialists in international relations and solving international problems in the interests of the progressive people of the world.

The common anti-imperialist struggle of the non-aligned nations for independence exerts considerable influence on the international situation and the process of revolutionary reformation of the world.

The non-aligned movement is gaining in scope and strength with every passing day, and is playing an important role in the international arena. The non-aligned countries cover vast areas of the world, have a large population, and possess raw materials and fuel which can be used as an economic weapon. If they fight on in close unity, they can drive the imperialists into a tight corner and hasten their downfall. If these countries, firmly united, support each other and cooperate closely, they can successfully build a new society which is independent and prosperous, without turning to the great powers for help.

In order to relieve international tension it is imperative to expand and develop the non-aligned movement before anything else. At present two big military blocs stand opposite each other on a worldwide scale, but the non-aligned movement, as an independent political force outside the blocs, demands the dismemberment of all military blocs. If this movement is expanded and developed so as to allow more countries to become members, the Eastern and Western military blocs which are confronting each other will become quite meaningless.

I think that the non-aligned movement should strive to dismantle all the military blocs, create nuclear-free, peace zones in many areas of the world, abolish foreign military bases in many parts of the globe, withdraw foreign armies in other countries, and peacefully settle the international disputes which could give rise to a new world war. This alone makes it possible to defend the people of the world against another war holocaust and to create the conditions for the people to live well and peacefully in their independent states.

The non-aligned countries and other third world and newly-emergent countries are developing the non-aligned movement on a wide scale; this also plays an important role in preserving world peace and easing international tension.

As the non-aligned movement appeared on the arena of history as an independent political force and developed to be an extensive international movement, the anti-imperialist independent forces have been strengthened decisively and the imperialist reactionary forces extremely weakened.

Today the non-aligned movement is playing a great role in the development of the world situation and in the solution of international problems. Thanks to the united struggle of the non-aligned countries, various international issues are being settled fairly in conformity with the demand and interests of the peoples of the newly-emergent forces, and the old order whereby great powers acted tyrannically and monopolized everything, is gradually crumbling internationally. The non-aligned movement is making great contributions to defending the sovereignty of the peoples of the newly-emergent forces against all forms of domination and interference, subjugation and inequality and to safeguarding world peace and security against the aggression and war policy of the imperialists.

Strong Anti-imperialist, Anti-colonialist Bulwark

This movement is a powerful movement against the aggression and plunder of imperialism and colonialism and the non-aligned countries constitute a strong anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist bulwark opposing the imperialist forces.

These countries, once colonies of imperialism, have now won national independence. The imperialists not only cruelly oppressed and exploited these nations in the past, but continued aggression and interference there even after national independence was achieved, making vicious attempts to exploit them by neo-colonialist methods. Serious differences, therefore, still exist and a fierce struggle is in progress between the non-aligned nations and the imperialists.

Today the non-aligned countries are fighting hard against the

aggression, interference and plunder of imperialism in defence of their right to national independence and for a just solution of international problems.

While striking a serious blow against the imperialists, the expansion and development of the non-aligned movement is making a great contribution to promoting the victory of the anti-imperialist common cause of people all over the world. Moreover, this movement is giving great impetus to the struggle of the peoples of the third world for national independence and the building of a new society and promotes the unity and cooperation of many countries.

The non-aligned countries, the third world countries, are a great anti-imperialist revolutionary force of our age, standing face to face with the imperialist forces, and are a dependable ally of the socialist forces.

The third world countries are imperialism's former colonies, which have won national independence. The imperialists not only oppressed and plundered these countries ruthlessly in the past. Even after these countries attained independence, they have been attempting viciously to invade and plunder them by neo-colonialist methods. Therefore, serious contradictions exist and a fierce struggle is going on as in the past between the third world countries and the imperialists.

The third world countries are now fighting vigorously against imperialist aggression and interference and for their independent development.

Today, people throughout the world are demanding independence and opposing subjugation whatever form it takes. The peoples of the

newly-independent third world countries, in particular, which have been freed from the shackles of imperialism and colonialism are holding high the banner of independence. They are battling to frustrate the imperialists' acts of aggression, plunder and intervention, defend their political independence and economic interests, abolish the old order established by the imperialists and set up a new, fair order on the international arena. The third world peoples are the dependable ally of the socialist forces.

The ranks of the non-aligned movement embrace the third world nations demanding independence, the revolutionary countries bravely fighting against imperialism. It is of tremendous importance for many revolutionary countries to participate in this movement and develop it in scope and strength.

Anti-imperialist Independence--Basic Ideal and Principle of the Non-aligned Movement

Anti-imperialist independence is the basic ideal of the Non-aligned Movement.

In order to frustrate the new war menace and maintain genuine world peace in the present situation, the anti-imperialist struggle must be waged more energetically than ever before.

If we avoid fighting against imperialism or make unprincipled compromises with it, we cannot bring about genuine peace. Only by determined struggle against imperialism can we halt and frustrate the imperialist schemes for aggression and war and maintain world peace. The peace-loving forces of the world must not be deceived by the sham

“peace” which the imperialists proclaim, and must sharpen vigilance over their activities for aggression and war and wage a forceful struggle against imperialism.

In order to wage an anti-imperialist struggle energetically, it is essential for all forces opposed to imperialism to unite firmly and form an international anti-imperialist front.

The imperialists, led by US imperialism, have now formed a counter-revolutionary alliance to stamp out the revolutionary struggle of peoples and accomplish their aggressive ambitions. In these conditions, genuine socialist countries, the third world countries, the international communist and working-class movements, national-liberation movements in the colonies and all democratic movements which make up the international anti-imperialist forces must build up a broad anti-imperialist united front on a worldwide scale to isolate imperialism completely and give it collective counterblows in all areas and on all fronts. In this way they will force the imperialists to take the road of peace.

If the peoples of genuine socialist countries and the third world countries, and peace-loving people throughout the world wage a united energetic anti-imperialist battle, they can successfully smash the imperialist moves to provoke a new war, and defend world peace and security.

The imperialists are viciously attempting to maintain the old international economic order and plunder the wealth of the third world. The third world peoples must, therefore, continue their energetic action against imperialists, the defenders of the old international economic

order, and cement their solidarity. The militant solidarity of the third world is a sure guarantee for successfully destroying the old international economic order.

Strengthening of Solidarity and Cooperation

In order to realize the lofty ideas and objectives of the non-aligned movement, it is essential for the non-aligned countries to strengthen solidarity and cooperation. Herein lies the invincibility of the non-alignment and a sure guarantee for the victory of the common cause of anti-imperialism.

If non-aligned countries fight in solid unity, they can defeat any imperialism. They should unite to destroy the old international order set up by the imperialists and establish a new international order that will meet the interests of the world's people. The old international order is an outcome of the colonialist system and the main lever of imperialism in its rule, control, exploitation and plunder. It is on the strength of this old international order that the imperialist are trampling underfoot the sovereignty of other nations and robbing the developing countries of their resources. The old international order should be abolished and a new, just international order be established so that the imperialists can no longer act arbitrarily on the international scene, violate the sovereignty of other nations and rob them of their resources at will.

Non-aligned countries should not only firmly unite politically but also closely cooperate economically. Their close economic cooperation provides an important solution to the difficult and complicated problems arising in the building of a new society. If non-aligned

nations develop multifaceted economic and technological cooperation on the principle of satisfying each other's needs, they will be able to build an independent national economy and achieve their prosperity without being indebted to great powers.

By firmly uniting politically and closely cooperating in the economic and technological spheres, non-aligned nations should accelerate their independent development and bring nearer the victory of the common cause of anti-imperialism.

Many countries of the third world now desire socialism. Algeria and Madagascar say that they are taking the road to socialism. In these circumstances it is important for the socialist countries to unite with those which aspire to socialism.

There are also difficulties within the non-aligned movement.

The non-aligned countries should make every effort to overcome all the difficulties that arise among themselves, to achieve the unity of the movement and to rally more countries to it, holding higher the banner of independence.