KIM JONG IL

BIOGRAPHY

3

PYONGYANG, KOREA
JUCHE 97 (2008)

KIM JONG IL

BIOGRAPHY

3

Foreign Languages Publishing House
Pyongyang, Korea
Juche 97 (2008)

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 27. TURNING ADVERSITY TO GOOD ACCOUNT 1

1. Against the Vicissitudes of History 1
2. Through Ideo-Theoretical Campaign 4
3. Leadership by the Party Is the Lifeline of Socialism 7
4. Under the Banner of the Pyongyang Declaration 10

CHAPTER 28. GREETING THE 80TH BIRTHDAY OF KIM IL SUNG 14

1. Grand Celebration 14
2. To Hand Down Kim Il Sung's Achievements to Posterity 20

CHAPTER 29. TO STRENGTHEN THE DEFENCE CAPABILITIES OF THE COUNTRY 23

1. At the Helm of the Armed Forces 23
2. Building Up the People's Army 27
3. Establishing an Atmosphere of Giving Priority to Military Affairs throughout the Country 33

CHAPTER 30. ONE MIND WITH THE PEOPLE 37

1. With Politics of Love and Trust 37
2. Politics of Giving Prominence to Youths and Intellectuals 42

CHAPTER 31. BREAKTHROUGH IN DPRK-US NUCLEAR STANDOFF ... 50

1. Breach in the US Anaconda Strategy 50
2. The Whole Country, All People and Entire Army Called to a Do-or-Die Battle 57
3. Through Adroit Diplomacy 63

CHAPTER 32. MATERIALIZATION OF THE CAUSE OF IMMORTALIZING THE LEADER.....74

1. Suffering the Greatest National Bereavement.....74
2. Building the Kumsusan Memorial Palace into the Holiest Sanctuary of Juche.....82
3. To Hand Down the Revolutionary History of the Leader Forever.....87
4. As Intended by the Leader in His Lifetime.....96

CHAPTER 33. OPENING UP THE ERA OF SONGUN.....103

1. People's Army Set as the Main-Force Unit.....103
2. Endless Journey for Songun-Based Revolution.....107
   Field Inspection of the Dwarf-Pine Company.....107
   With Do-or-Die Will and Devotion.....110
3. Building Up the People's Army as Ever-Victorious Revolutionary Armed Forces.....116
   Building Up Invincible Combat Efficiency.....116
   To Further Strengthen Unity between Officers and Men and between the Army and the People.....120
   Trusting Soldiers as His Comrades in the Songun Revolution.....125
   Might of the Powerful Revolutionary Armed Forces.....132
4. To Imbue the Whole Society with the Revolutionary Spirit of Soldiers.....137
5. Songun Politics, the Basic Mode of Socialist Politics.....142

CHAPTER 34. BUILDING UP THE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL POSITION OF THE COUNTRY.....146

1. Conducting Ideological Work As Required by the Times.....146
2. Leading the Party to Become the Vanguard of the Songun Revolution.....148
   Exerting Unremitting Efforts for the Strengthening of the Party.....148
   Building the Party as a Party Supported and Trusted by the Masses.....152
3. For Continuation of the History of Single-Hearted Unity.....154
   With Noble Revolutionary Obligation.....154
   With Absolute Trust in the People.....159
   Embracing All the People.....164

CHAPTER 35. STANDING IN THE VAN OF THE "ARDUOUS MARCH" AND FORCED MARCH 167

1. For Tomorrow 167
2. Surmounting Economic Adversity by Promoting the People's Army 170
3. Creating the Kanggye Spirit 172
4. The Torch of Songgang 178

CHAPTER 36. AT THE HELM OF THE PARTY AND THE STATE 182

1. Acclaimed as General Secretary of the Workers' Party of Korea 182
2. Reelected to the Chairmanship of the National Defence Commission 185

CHAPTER 37. A FRESH TURNING POINT IN THE BUILDING OF A GREAT, PROSPEROUS AND POWERFUL NATION 189

1. Unfolding a New Blueprint 189
2. Making a Breakthrough in the Building of an Economic Power 191
   Taking Electricity and Food as Priorities 191
   To Boost Economic Production 197
3. To Provide the People with a Bountiful Life 203
   Shoring Up Light Industry 203
   To Provide the People with a Varied Diet 206
4. A New History of Land Development 212
   Land Improvement Project Worked Out on the Road of Songun Leadership 212
   To Turn the Country into a Socialist Paradise 218

CHAPTER 38. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IS A PROPELLANT FOR THE BUILDING OF A GREAT, PROSPEROUS AND POWERFUL NATION 224

1. Creating the Climate of Giving Prominence to Science and Technology throughout Society 224
2. Raising Science and Technology to a Higher Level 230
3. Korea's First Artificial Earth Satellite 233
4. Emphasis on the Training of IT Specialists 236

CHAPTER 39. DEVELOPING SOCIALIST CULTURE AS REQUIRED BY SONGUN 239

1. Music Politics in the Songun Era 239
   Developing the State Merited Chorus into the Bugler of the Songun Politics 239
   Songs Go with the Revolution and Struggle 244
2. For a Fresh Upswing in Art and Literature 248
   Production of the Multi-Part Feature Film *The Nation and Destiny* 248
   For the Creation of Masterpieces in a Greater Number 252
   To Bring Laughter and Joy to the People 255
3. Valuing the Cultural Heritage of the Nation 259
4. Prioritizing the People's Health 263
5. To Bring About a Turn in Physical Culture 266

CHAPTER 40. A TURN IN THE PROCESS OF NATIONAL REUNIFICATION AND THE MOVEMENT OF KOREAN RESIDENTS IN JAPAN 271

1. To Carry Out President Kim Il Sung's Instructions for National Reunification 271
2. Adopting the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration 276
   The Historic Pyongyang Meeting 276
   A New Era for Implementation of June 15 North-South Joint Declaration 281
3. Developing the Movement of Koreans in Japan onto a New and Higher Stage 287

CHAPTER 41. AT THE TURN OF A NEW CENTURY 297

1. A Grand Festival 297
2. Opening Up the Road of Advance in the New Century 301
   Holding Fast to the Line of Giving Priority to Arms 301
   In the Spirit of Having Overcome the "Arduous March" 304
3. Facing the Whole World 307
   Songun-Based Diplomacy 307
   For the Development of Friendship between Korea and China 312
   A New Chapter in Korea-Russia Friendship 316

CHAPTER 27

TURNING ADVERSITY TO GOOD ACCOUNT

1. AGAINST THE VICISSITUDES OF HISTORY

The last decade of the 20th century was turbulent with the sweeping storms of anti-socialism. A gust of the raging ill wind of history caused by the imperialists and renegades from socialism blew across the Soviet Union and other East European countries, leaving in its wake "political upheavals"–working-class parties and socialist governments fell apart and gave way to the revival of capitalism in these countries.

The setback faced by socialism that had been advancing victoriously as the future of mankind was an outcome of the nefarious counterrevolutionary moves of the renegades from socialism, who had long attempted the systematic degeneration of socialism in line with the anti-socialist strategy of the imperialists.

Gorbachev and his fellow advocates of modern social democracy who had taken the top positions in the Soviet party and government in March 1985, advertised a "new way of thinking" on their headlong rush to complete surrender and submission to the imperialists, and kicked up a swirl of "reform" and "restructuring" that accelerated the degeneration of the working-class party and socialist government of the Soviet Union.

One November day in 1987, Kim Jong Il, in a talk with officials, expressed his judgment that the Soviet Union would reap the whirlwind of "restructuring." Something may occur in a few years in the Soviet Union, he said. It seems to me, he continued, the flag of socialism may be hauled down in that country, followed by a gust of capitalist wind sweeping across it.

Two years later, the Soviet Union introduced a "multiparty system" in

politics, "liberalization" in ideology and "diversity" in ownership, paving the way for the revival of capitalism in its entirety in all spheres of social life, including politics, the economy, culture and external relations, and making the disintegration of the country itself the order of the day.

The revival of capitalism in other East European countries proceeded more radically, resulting in the disbandment of Communist and Workers' parties, and changes of one regime after another in a matter of a few months.

Overjoyed at such a political disturbance in these countries, the imperialists and their ideological mouthpieces made a great fuss as if capitalism had emerged "victorious" and socialism had come to an "end."

The times and history required the Korean people to make an important choice between the two–socialism or capitalism, to keep holding the banner of socialism high or to take the road to capitalism.

On January 21, 1990, Kim Jong Il summoned Secretary Ho Tam of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and said that socialism in the East European countries had collapsed, that the lesson to be drawn from the setback of socialism in those countries was serious, and that the most important of all things a country should deal with to ensure success in its revolution and construction was to thoroughly maintain Juche in revolution and construction, and hold aloft the banner of revolution.

The same day, he gave a talk to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee under the title, ***Let Us Defend Our Style of Socialism and Exalt Its Brilliance under the Banner of the Juche Idea***.

He explained that reaching final victory through manifold difficulties and trials is precisely the most worthwhile life for revolutionaries, that, as the saying goes, one appreciates a sweet taste only after having tasted something bitter, and that victory won by overcoming difficulties and trials is more valuable and worthier to revolutionaries. He said emphatically: **"Only a man with the faith, will and heart to win victory can accompany our Party along the road of revolution and follow it in the grand march of the 1990s. We must all struggle through all manner of difficulties and trials with a faith in sure victory and unbending revolutionary will, thus safeguarding and further developing our style of socialism and carving out a new brilliant history of the 1990s."**

President Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il

Kim Jong Il's determination to defend socialism was further hardened by the disintegration of the Soviet Union on December 25, 1991.

In a talk with senior officials of the Party Central Committee on New Year's Day 1992, he said that firmly defending the people-centred socialism established by President Kim Il Sung and exalting its brilliance was his unshakable will and conviction, which he was hardening all the more for the everlasting happiness of posterity. On November 14 the same year, he again met the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, and told them that whether the Korean people survived or perished, i.e., whether they would continue to lead an independent and creative life as masters of the State and society or become the slaves of others, receiving maltreatment and contempt, depended on whether they defended socialism or not. He then earnestly said, **"As the words of a song go, 'Socialism defended means victory and socialism abandoned means death.' Whatever the difficulties and trials, we must never abandon the socialism we chose and are building by our own efforts."**

President Kim Il Sung gave unreserved support to Kim Jong Il's determination to defend socialism by all means.

One day Kim Il Sung asked Kim Jong Il how he would cope with the situation in which socialism in the Soviet Union and other East European countries had fallen apart. Kim Jong Il answered that he would follow the road of socialism pioneered by Kim Il Sung, come what may. Overjoyed at Kim Jong Il's determination, Kim Il Sung said: During the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle we defeated the Japanese imperialists without any State backing; now that we have the State, the people, the Party, the government and the army, we have nothing to be afraid of, have we? We must not worry about anything at all, but defend the cause of socialism to the last.

Kim Jong Il related these words of Kim Il Sung to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee on February 17, 1993, saying that Kim Il Sung's instructions inspired him with great strength and courage, and that he was even more determined to lead the people along the road of victory for the better construction of socialism, full of revolutionary conviction and unbending will.

His revolutionary faith and unshakable will–socialism defended means

victory and socialism abandoned means death–served as the motive power which enabled Korea to staunchly support and defend its people-centred socialism and exalt its brilliance in the vortex of history.

2. THROUGH IDEO-THEORETICAL CAMPAIGN

In the early 1990s the imperialists and renegades from socialism, while raving about the "end" of socialism, were slinging mud at socialism. They asserted that the idea of socialism itself was misconceived and the socialist revolutions had been perverse, denouncing socialists as "conservatives" and socialism as "obsolete." It would be impossible to defend the idea of socialism and bring the cause of socialism into a higher gear unless the vicious ideo-theoretical offensive made by the enemies of socialism was thwarted.

Kim Jong Il made up his mind to defend socialist ideology and inspire the progressive peoples of the world with confidence in the victory of the cause of socialism by launching a powerful ideo-theoretical campaign.

The ideo-theoretical campaign in the 1990s was a difficult and complicated struggle to refute all hues of reactionary ideological assertions about the "end" of socialism, to firmly support and defend socialist ideology, and to establish a new socialist theory from its philosophical foundations while tackling practical tasks for socialist construction in all domains–politics, the military, the economy, culture, science and technology.

One morning Kim Jong Il failed to immediately distinguish the senior officials of the Party Central Committee from one another upon their entrance to his office. For his eyesight was getting dim due to his working throughout several nights in a row, particularly to his exhaustive reading of documents from 6 p.m. of the previous day through to that morning.

The officials entreated him to sleep at night by all means.

He thanked them for their concern before saying that he used to feel sleepy at midnight, but he would awake from a quick doze, frightened by his awareness that the pace of the on-going revolution might slacken due to

him slumbering. He added that he felt pride in his working nights.

Through such painstaking efforts, he wrote and published many works one after another in which he clarified the validity of socialist ideology and elucidated the true path to the accomplishment of the socialist cause.

On May 30, 1990, he delivered a speech to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, under the title, ***On Some Problems of the Ideological Foundation of Socialism***.

He said that the reality was fully testifying to the fact that the cause of socialism can be led to victory only on the basis of the Juche idea, theory and method created by Kim Il Sung. He laid bare the reactionary nature of modern social democracy that served as the ideological foundation for the degeneration of socialism and the revival of capitalism, before disclosing the identity of modern social democracy as the outcome of illusions about capitalism and surrender to imperialism, and declaring that it would inevitably fail just like the former opportunism of all hues.

Concluding his speech, he stressed, **"Building our style of socialism more successfully is a lofty historic mission entrusted to us not only for the prosperity of our motherland and the happiness of our people but also for the ultimate victory of the cause of independent humanity, the socialist cause. Bearing this in mind, we must fully equip ourselves with the Juche idea, the ideological foundation of socialism of our own style, and apply it in a thoroughgoing fashion to accelerate the revolution and construction more dynamically."**

In his talk, ***On Having a Correct Viewpoint and Understanding of the Juche Philosophy***, given to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee on October 25, 1990, Kim Jong Il referred to the need to correct wrong tendencies revealed in the explanation of the Juche idea, the ideological foundation of Korean-style socialism, before saying in the following vein: In the international arena a fierce class struggle and theoretical controversies are being conducted between revolution and counterrevolution, between socialism and capitalism; in the present grave situation, we must thoroughly defend socialism under the revolutionary banner of the Juche idea.

Also in his speech, ***Socialism of Our Country Is a Socialism of Our***

Style as the Embodiment of the Juche Idea, delivered to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee on December 27, 1990, and in his talk, ***Our Socialism Centred on the Masses Shall Not Perish***, given to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee on May 5, 1991, he explained that the advantages displayed by a socialist society depend on the guiding ideology on which it is based, and pointed out the essential qualities of Korean-style socialism, which is distinguished from those of other countries. He said, **"Socialism in our country is the socialism of our own style; it is the application of the great Juche idea, and is centred upon the popular masses."**

On March 1, 1993, Kim Jong Il published a discourse titled, ***Abuses of Socialism Are Intolerable*,** in *Kulloja*, the official magazine of the Party Central Committee, in which he clarified the background of the claim that socialism is "totalitarian," "barracks-like" and "administrative and commanding," and laid bare the reactionary nature of the critics of socialism.

He said, **"It is sophistry to call socialism 'totalitarian,' 'barracks-like' and 'administrative and commanding'."**

Analyzing that the slanders against socialism, absurd as they were, caused ideological confusion among the people, because they were not fully equipped with the socialist idea, he held that if the socialist cause is to be defended and completed, the socialist idea should be developed and perfected constantly and the masses should be equipped with it, so that they accept socialism as their unshakable conviction, and regard it as their moral duty to defend socialism.

In the final part of his discourse, he pointed out that it was extremely foolish to slander the new life of socialism by reviving outdated ideas which had already been buried by history, and concluded: The value of the new can be measured only with a new yardstick; it is ridiculous to talk about a new way of thinking, while being unable to distinguish collectivism from totalitarianism; it is a farce to revive capitalism while distorting the reality of socialism with an outmoded way of thinking and an old yardstick.

3. LEADERSHIP BY THE PARTY IS THE LIFELINE OF SOCIALISM

In the early 1990s Kim Jong Il put forward the task of strengthening the Party and enhancing its leadership role as the lifeline of the socialist cause, as an inviolable revolutionary principle.

He elucidated the matters of principle arising in further developing the Party as a revolutionary party of the Juche type, and set forth the tasks and specific ways for thoroughly maintaining the revolutionary character of the Party, defending and further consolidating the Party's unity and cohesion, and developing the organic relationship between the Party and the masses until it is rock-solid by uniting the broad masses of the people behind the Party. He also set intensifying the Party's leadership through the work with people as its major undertaking, as the fundamental way for the Party to discharge its mission and duty as the leading political organization, and clarified the matters of principle arising from the process.

He stressed the need to build up the Party organizationally and ideologically by embodying the Juche-oriented theory on Party building to the letter, and to constantly enhance its leadership role in all spheres of revolution and construction; he established the basic principles scientifically for the building of a Juche-oriented, revolutionary Party, such as the principle of organizational and ideological building of the Party and the principle of the leadership art of the Party, and put forward the tasks to be tackled ceaselessly in implementing them.

He saw to it that all Party organizations carried out ideological education among the cadres, Party members and other working people dynamically and substantially by employing a variety of forms and methods suited to the characteristics and preparedness of the objects of ideological education and by eliminating such formalistic tendencies as embellishment and exaggeration.

With a view to building up the Party organizationally and ideologically and enhancing its role, Kim Jong Il pushed ahead with the work of strengthening all Party cells.

Party cells are the grassroots of the Party and the fighting units that directly implement the Party's lines and policies. Therefore, strengthening them is the first step to the consolidation of the entire Party.

Kim Jong Il arranged a national training course for Party cell secretaries, the first of its kind in the history of the Party, and sent a letter titled, ***We Must Strengthen Party Cells***, to the participants on May 10, 1991.

The national training course for Party cell secretaries marked a new turning-point in strengthening the Party and elevating the functions and role of Party cells.

Kim Jong Il initiated the arrangement of the national conference of Party cell secretaries, the first of its kind since the founding of the Party, and resolved all problems arising in the course of its preparation.

Amidst his close concern and meticulous guidance, the national conference of Party cell secretaries took place on a grand scale in Pyongyang from the end of March to early April, 1994, involving over 10 000 Party workers and cell secretaries in the capital and local areas. The conference reviewed the success and experience gained in the previous work of the Party cells, and deliberated on the concrete tasks and ways for developing all Party cells as militant organizations devoted to staunchly supporting, defending and glorifying the cause of socialism.

Kim Jong Il directed his special concern at consolidating the close relationship between the Party and the masses until they were rock-solid, and constantly enhancing the leadership role of the Party.

In a talk to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee and Administration Council (the present Cabinet) on New Year's Day 1990, he mentioned that the Party serves the people, that all of its lines and policies are geared to the benefit of the people, and that Party officials must make a habit of mingling with the masses all the time, learning from them and sharing weal and woe with them, and regard it as their greatest honour and pride to serve the people; he earnestly said that they should not dictate to the masses but be dictated to by them.

Noting that only those who faithfully serve the people and enjoy their support and love are worthy of being called genuine Party workers of the Juche type, he said, **"The People's Army has a motto 'We serve the**

motherland!' and the motto of our Party workers must be 'We serve the people!' "

He led the Party workers to have an unshakable viewpoint that they are faithful servants of the people, and develop the habit of working devotedly for the people, sharing weal and woe with them, as required by the motto.

The matter which drew the utmost attention of Kim Jong Il in his endeavour to develop the Party into a strong party that takes root deep among the masses of the people and improve its leadership role constantly was the elimination of the abuse of power and bureaucratism revealed among Party workers.

On October 8, 1990, he reminded the senior officials of the Party Central Committee of the harmful effects of bureaucracy and abuse of power, and earnestly said that for Party workers to mix with the masses and work devotedly for them was as good as taking a tonic, whereas to be given to abuse of power and bureaucracy was as bad as swallowing poison.

Considering elimination of the abuse of Party authority and bureaucratic manner to be one of the fundamental questions concerning the fate of the Party, he laid stress on the matter on every occasion. In 1990, he took the measure of changing the terms of reference proper to an instructor of the Party organizations at all levels, including the Central Committee, into those of an ordinary staff member, in order to make a clean sweep of abuse of authority and bureaucratic manner on the part of Party workers. In addition, he set 1991 as the year for uprooting such cases among Party workers. While making sure that Party organizations at all levels identified expressions of abuse of authority and bureaucratic manner revealed among Party workers, by forms and by specific persons, educated them well and helped them correct their wrongdoings by themselves through sincere self-criticism, he arranged meetings and lectures in which exemplary Party workers who had been effectively doing work with the masses by displaying the case of a parent, without committing acts of abuse of authority or bureaucracy, were given wide publicity, so that other officials could emulate them.

On New Year's Day 1992, Kim Jong Il warned the senior officials of the Party Central Committee of a possible revival among Party workers of

abuse of authority and bureaucracy, saying that such phenomena might occur again unless combated uninterruptedly as they were expressions of lingering obsolete ideas, deep-rooted and persisting. He stressed the need for Party organizations and officials to carry on with their dynamic struggle against abuses of authority and bureaucracy without letup.

As a result of his wise leadership to the Party-wide ideological education and struggle geared to uprooting such phenomena, the Party has developed into a party which has struck deep roots among the masses of the people, and has won their absolute support and trust, a party which enjoys high prestige in its leadership of the masses of people.

4. UNDER THE BANNER OF THE PYONGYANG DECLARATION

Learning a lesson from the outcome of the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and other East European countries, reconstructing the socialist movement on a new basis and leading the cause of socialism towards an upsurge presented themselves as pressing tasks of history.

Kim Jong Il, on the basis of his retrospection of the whole historic road traversed by the world socialist movement, wrote a work, titled, ***The Historical Lesson in Building Socialism and the General Line of Our Party***. Prior to its publication, he presented it to President Kim Il Sung for the latter's opinion. After perusing the work, Kim Il Sung called it excellent.

Kim Jong Il published this work on January 3, 1992, in a talk to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, when he commented on the crumbling of socialism in some countries, saying, **"The frustration of socialism and the revival of capitalism in some countries, when viewed in the light of the main tide of historical development, is only a temporary, local phenomenon."**

As for the basic reason for the frustration of socialism in some countries, he said, **"In short, the basic reason for the frustration of socialism in some countries is that they did not put the main emphasis on**

strengthening the motive force for building socialism and on enhancing its role; they failed to understand the essence of socialism, of centring on the popular masses, the makers of history."

He also analyzed other reasons for the frustration of socialism in some countries: They failed to recognize the qualitative differences between socialism and capitalism and did not adhere consistently to the fundamental principles of socialism; they did not strengthen international solidarity based on independence in relations between the ruling parties of socialist countries.

On the basis of his comprehensive analysis of the reasons for the frustration of socialism in some countries and of its aftereffects, he concluded as follows:

"Historical experience shows that when people steadily strengthen the driving force of the revolution, with a strong conviction in socialism and a correct guideline, hold fast to socialist principles in all circumstances and strengthen comradely unity and cooperation on the basis of independence, the socialist cause will advance along the road of victory; otherwise it will suffer setbacks and frustration. This is a serious lesson mankind has learned on its road to socialism."

Kim Jong Il proved that the general line of the Party on strengthening the people's power and enhancing its functions and role constantly, and carrying out the three revolutions–ideological, technological and cultural–was a scientific and revolutionary policy for the consummation of the cause of socialism. He pointed out that the Korean people would not flinch come what may and would accomplish the cause of socialism brilliantly by implementing the Party's general line, the embodiment of the Juche idea.

No sooner had ***The Historical Lesson in Building Socialism and the General Line of Our Party*** been published than it was recognized as the guidebook for the accomplishment of the cause of socialism, and circulated quickly. Volumes in pamphlet form were published by the publishing houses of more than ten countries, including Russia, India and Portugal. Seminars on it were held at the Juche idea study groups and major science and educational establishments in several regions and countries across the world; personages in social, political and academic circles in many countries published statements on it; its message served as the underlying

motto at the conferences of political parties aspiring after socialism

Having found in it a way out for reconstruction of the socialist movement, representatives of many Communist and Workers' parties and progressive political parties all over the world visited Pyongyang on the occasion of President Kim Il Sung's 80th birthday.

While taking part in the celebration events and looking round various parts of Korea, they expressed their unshakable will and determination to strive for reconstruction of the world socialist movement on a new basis. They also perused ***The Historical Lesson in Building Socialism and the General Line of Our Party*** over and over again to work out a common fighting programme based on it.

Out of his sympathy with their endeavour, Kim Jong Il saw to it that the WPK held bilateral and multilateral contacts and talks with them.

The bilateral and multilateral contacts and talks thus arranged worked out the Pyongyang Declaration, which comprehensively reflects the standpoint and ways of defending and advancing the cause of socialism based on Kim Jong Il's Juche-oriented idea and theory on socialism.

At long last, Pyongyang on April 20 witnessed the adoption of the Pyongyang Declaration, titled, *Let US Defend and Advance the Cause of Socialism*, signed by the representatives of 70 Communist and Workers' parties and other progressive political parties, including 48 party leaders.

Beginning with the explanation of the import of its declaration, which read, "The representatives of political parties from different countries of the world that are striving for the victory of socialism publish this declaration with a firm conviction to defend and advance the socialist cause," the Pyongyang Declaration passed a correct judgment upon the temporary confusion in the progress of the socialist cause and made a scientific elucidation of the essential superiority of socialism over capitalism, the historical inevitability of the victory of socialism, and the cause of the frustration of socialism in some countries and the lesson drawn from it. It set forth common fighting tasks to be tackled by parties of all countries in defending and advancing the cause of socialism: To firmly maintain independence and build up their respective internal forces; to refrain from discarding revolutionary principles and keep up the banner of socialism at

all times and in all circumstances; and to strengthen international unity in the struggle for socialism. It called on the progressive parties and peoples all over the world to fight to the last to open up a rosy future for mankind, with full confidence in the cause of socialism.

Following the publication of the Pyongyang Declaration, Kim Jong Il arranged its wide circulation to revolutionary parties throughout the world and also its wide publicity through mass media, while dispatching the WPK delegations to make sure that the Communist and Workers' parties and other progressive parties all over the world joined in support for the declaration.

With the revolutionary parties which supported and approved the declaration multiplying with each passing day, the number of its signatory parties grew from 70 at the time of its publication to 152 in the end of 1992, to 206 in the end of 1993, to 215 in July 1994, and to more than 250 in December 2000.

Kim Jong Il also paid close attention to carrying out brisk activities to encourage and support the struggle of revolutionary parties that sprang up on the basis of the Pyongyang Declaration.

He made special efforts to illumine a road to reconstructing the revolutionary parties of the world and building them up organizationally and ideologically. On October 10, 1992, the 47th anniversary of the WPK, he published a treatise titled, ***On the Fundamentals of Revolutionary Party Building***, in which he clearly analyzed the cause of the disintegration of socialist ruling parties in some countries and the lessons to be drawn from it, elucidated all the basic principles to be adhered to in the building of the Juche-type revolutionary party on the basis of the historical experience in the building of the WPK and put forward specific tasks and ways for strengthening internationalist unity and solidarity among revolutionary parties.

In a matter of a month following the publication of his treatise, over 100 mass media of more than 40 countries gave wide publicity to it. The leaders of progressive political parties in several countries called the treatise a programme for revolutionary party building, taking measures to circulate its full text among their leadership bodies and party members for study, working out reports to annual party conferences and party congresses on its basis, and holding seminars on it on a large scale.

CHAPTER 28

GREETING THE 80TH BIRTHDAY OF KIM IL SUNG

1. GRAND CELEBRATION

President Kim Il Sung–who was born on April 15, 1912–was to celebrate his 80th birthday in 1992.

Kim Jong Il led the effort for celebrating the President's 80th birthday in a spectacular and meaningful way.

At the time of Kim Il Sung's 70th birthday, Kim Jong Il had already said that the President's 80th birthday should be celebrated more grandly and meaningfully than the 70th birthday. And entering the 1990s, he dynamically pushed ahead with the preparations to this end.

As the first step, he led the project to build modern dwelling houses for 50 000 households in Pyongyang.

At the 19th meeting of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee on December 15, 1989, he said that he was determined to have 30 000 flats newly built and 20 000 that were under construction completed on the occasion of Kim Il Sung's 80th birthday, thus solving the housing problem of Pyongyangites and adding splendour to the appearance of Pyongyang. He continued that the project was an undertaking to give pleasure to Kim Il Sung, as the latter had devoted his whole life to the well-being of the people.

With an ambition to complete the project within two years, Kim Jong Il enlisted the entire Party, the whole country and all the people for the project.

A unified command system and a strong construction force were organized, and measures were taken to provide a huge amount of building materials, like steel, cement and timber, on a preferential basis through a

nationwide campaign, and enlist to the maximum lorries, cranes, bulldozers and other building machines.

The construction of Thongil Street was designated as the central target of the project, and all efforts were concentrated on it.

To give priority to the building of the road, Kim Jong Il, on June 3, 1990, set the task of completing the road construction before the rainy season and, for the purpose, instructed the organs of the armed forces, central organs, and agencies and enterprises under the Pyongyang municipal authorities to enlist their manpower and equipment.

Rising to his instructions, servicepersons of the People's Army, officials of the central organs and many blue-collar and white-collar workers in Pyongyang laid the roadbed and built the road ahead of schedule by employing the tactics of finishing one project after another through concentrated efforts.

Whenever the project faltered in face of difficulties, he encouraged the builders not to vacillate or flinch. And whenever they chalked up remarkable successes, he praised them highly. He exhorted them to complete as soon as possible the framework for houses for 30 000 households.

One day in late December 1990, when the framework construction was at its last stage, he said that the builders of the capital city were building 200 flats a day, highly praising them as creators of a new history of construction.

He paid close attention to the construction to providing every convenience for the future occupants of the houses. When he proposed building Thongil Street, he took measures for building a reservoir for water supply to the flats and a thermal power station for heating them. He also ensured that laying a new tram line in Pyongyang was carried out along with the construction of the 50 000 flats to facilitate communications.

His leadership bore fruit: The year 1991 saw the construction project nearing completion.

Along with the project, a nationwide campaign was conducted to greet Kim Il Sung's 80th birthday with a high degree of political zeal and brilliant labour achievements.

On May 5, 1991, Kim Jong Il called the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, and said that sufficient preparations should be made to greet Kim Il Sung's 80th birthday as a meaningful festival in the history of the country and the nation, and that a letter from the Party Central Committee should be sent to all the Party members. He continued that the letter should strongly appeal to all the Party members to defend socialism to the last and add lustre to it by effecting a new upsurge in all the branches and units of socialist construction.

The letter was adopted at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee held on October 12, 1991. The letter stirred all the Party members and other working people to the implementation of the tasks advanced by it, and brought about a sweeping creative upswing across the country.

In a talk with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee on January 1, 1992, Kim Jong Il advanced the militant slogans, **"Bring greater glory to our style of socialism by the strength of single-minded unity!"** and **"Greet the great leader's 80th birthday with great political enthusiasm and splendid labour achievements!"**

He said, **"This year that marks the 80th birthday of President Kim Il Sung, we must bring about a fresh upsurge on all fronts of socialist construction, in support of the militant slogans of the Party, and display higher the advantages of our socialism."**

Kim Jong Il led socialist economic construction to a great revolutionary upsurge, so as to fully demonstrate that socialism is superior not only in political and ideological aspects, but in material and economic aspects too.

He proposed supplying new clothes to the children in nurseries and kindergartens and students and working clothes and cotton-padded shoes to the peasants as gifts from Kim Il Sung on his 80th birthday. He then led light industry to tap its productive potential to the fullest.

Apart from the various kinds of light-industry goods, like shoes, school things and candies to be presented to the children and students, clothes to be produced for them numbered tens of millions of suits. It was no easy task to produce such a great amount of goods in a few months. However, true to

Kim Jong Il's intention, the officials, workers and technicians in the light-industry sector produced them ahead of schedule through maximum operation of equipment.

On April 4, 1992, Kim Jong Il visited the place where these goods were exhibited. Kindergarteners dressed in knitwear of various colours and forms thanked him. With a smile, he said that they should express their thanks to those who had made the clothes and that he, too, would do the same. Then he closely examined the colours and forms of the knitwear for kindergarteners and the uniforms and shirts for primary and secondary school students, and the uniforms of university students, as well as the quality of the materials. After going over every article on display for a long time, he extended his thanks to the officials and workers in the light-industry sector for the strenuous efforts they had made for a grand national celebration of Kim Il Sung's 80th birthday.

The all-people drive in revolutionary zeal was crowned by an upsurge in socialist economic construction: In the countdown to Kim Il Sung's birthday, 40 major projects, including Thongil Street and the Pyongyang-Kaesong road, were completed and many factories and enterprises equipped with cutting-edge technology were put into commission; several coal and ore mines were developed or expanded, increasing the production capacity of the coal-mining and power industries; and innovation was made in the electrification of railways, a vanguard of the national economy, and in the production of electric locomotives.

In a talk to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee on January 1, 1992, Kim Jong Il clarified in detail the direction of the preparations for a meaningful celebration of Kim Il Sung's 80th birthday, and said that the entire Party and the whole country should concentrate their efforts on these preparations.

The country seethed with the preparations from the very beginning of the year.

In this atmosphere Kim Jong Il's 50th birthday, which falls on February 16, approached.

The Korean people had long wished to celebrate his birthday as one of the greatest national holidays along with Kim Il Sung's birthday. This wish

became more intense with the approach of Kim Jong Il's 50th birthday.

In reflection of the ardent desire of the Korean people, Kim Il Sung signed on February 7, 1992, the decree of the then Central People's Committee of the DPRK on celebrating Kim Jong Il's birthday as one of the greatest national holidays. The decree, however, was not made public until February 1995, due to Kim Jong Il's repeated dissuasion.

Kim Il Sung prepared significant gifts for Kim Jong Il, his successor, on the occasion of the latter's 50th birthday. From the previous year he had paid close attention to making the gifts with warm comradely affection–their seeds, contents and methods of representation. The embroidery work *The Sun of Juche*, rare metalwork *Native Home in the Paektusan Secret Camp* and jade work *Mettle of Korea* were completed into masterpieces and conveyed to Kim Jong Il on February 15, 1992.

With the intention of presenting Kim Jong Il with a more meaningful gift, Kim Il Sung composed a poem dedicated to him, carefully selecting one word after another on the morning of February 16.

Deeply moved to receive the poem in Kim Il Sung's own handwriting and permeated with his noble sentiments, Kim Jong Il read it several times ruminating on its meaning, and expressed his determination to remain faithful to the revolution, keeping every word of the poem in his mind, saying the poem was the best gift he had ever received.

Fully determined that the more Kim Il Sung's trust in and expectations from him were, the more faithful to Kim Il Sung he would be, he forbade national-scale celebrations planned for his birthday, and ensured that everything was subordinated to greeting Kim Il Sung's 80th birthday as the greatest national holiday.

He paid close attention to giving wide publicity to Kim Il Sung's revolutionary achievements.

A national seminar on the Juche idea and seminars of various sectors were held on a high political and ideological, scientific and theoretical level in Pyongyang, and intensive study sessions and public lectures were organized to bring home the revolutionary achievements of Kim Il Sung to the Party members and other working people. The *Complete Works of Kim Il Sung*, *80 Years for the People, Recollections of the Anti-Japanese*

Revolutionary Veterans and numerous other books on Kim Il Sung's achievements and revolutionary traditions were published, contributing to the education of the people.

Kim Jong Il directed great efforts to the preparation of the events to be held in celebration of Kim Il Sung's birthday.

On February 24 and March 9, 1992, he clarified the general direction, principles and methods of organizing on a high level a national meeting, mass gymnastics display, artistic performance, joint performance of the participants in the April Spring Friendship Art Festival, a banquet and various other celebration events. In his office or on the spot, he then solved all problems arising in their preparation.

As the April festival approached, the country put on colourful decorations. And amidst an ebullient atmosphere 420 delegations from 130 countries, including delegations headed by State and party leaders, came to Pyongyang, and the 10th April Spring Friendship Art Festival raised its curtain in Pyongyang on April 8, furthering the celebration atmosphere.

In reflection of the unanimous desire of the Party, army and people, the Central Committee and Central Military Commission of the WPK, National Defence Commission of the DPRK and the then Central People's Committee of the DPRK decided on April 13 to confer the title of the DPRK Generalissimo on Kim Il Sung for the imperishable achievements he had made for the country and revolution by founding and leading the Juche-oriented revolutionary armed forces.

On April 14, a national meeting was held in the Pyongyang Indoor Stadium and a grand artistic performance, titled, *Song of Wishes*, in the April 25 House of Culture.

The Central Committee and Central Military Commission of the WPK, the then Central People's Committee of the DPRK and the then Administration Council of the DPRK sent a joint congratulatory message to Kim Il Sung on his 80th birthday. This was followed by similar messages from the Central Committee of the Korean Social Democratic Party, the Central Committee of the Chondoist Chongu Party, soldiers of the Korean People's Army and people from all walks of life.

On April 15, a grand banquet was held in the Kumsusan Assembly Hall,

along with a 100 000-strong mass gymnastics display, titled, *My Country Led by President Kim Il Sung*, in Kim Il Sung Stadium, and a soiree of youth and students in Kim Il Sung Square, all in the presence of President Kim Il Sung.

Kim Il Sung received 3 000 congratulatory messages, telegrams and letters from 200 party, State and government leaders, prominent figures and persons from 160 countries and numerous international and regional organizations. And he was presented with 1 480 gifts and congratulatory banners and flower baskets from the heads of party, State and government of 65 countries, distinguished statesmen, social figures and people from all social strata of 130 countries. Many countries and international organizations conferred on him their highest orders, diplomas of honorary citizenship, commemorative municipal medals and gold medals, and named significant units after him. An international symposium on the present era and the Juche idea was held in Tokyo. Sixty preparatory committees for celebrating Kim Il Sung's birthday were formed in 40 countries with high-ranking officials of party and government as chairpersons or honorary chairpersons, and 2 500 celebration events of various kinds were held in 80 countries.

2. TO HAND DOWN KIM IL SUNG'S ACHIEVEMENTS TO POSTERITY

On April 17, 1992, Kim Jong Il had a talk with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee under the title, ***Let Us Add Glory to the Great Achievements of the Respected Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung***. In the talk he scientifically analyzed and comprehensively systematized the great personality of Kim Il Sung, who had achieved great exploits with outstanding ideological and theoretical wisdom, leadership qualifications and virtue.

Kim Jong Il pushed ahead with the work of publishing Kim Il Sung's memoirs, ***With the Century***, in large numbers.

Greeting his 80th birthday, Kim Il Sung began writing his memoirs

白头山顶 正日峯
小白水河 碧溪流
光明星诞五十週
皆賛文武忠孝備
万民稱頌齊同心
欢呼声高震天地

元九二、二月十六日 金日成

백두산마루에 정일봉 솟아있고
소백수두둔물은 굽이쳐 흐르누다
광명성탄생하여 어느덧 쉰돐인가
문무충효 겸비하니 모두다 우러르네
만민이 칭송하는 그마음 한결같아
우렁찬 환호소리 하늘땅을 뒤흔든다

1992. 2. 16 김일성

Poem written by President Kim Il Sung in his own handwriting on Kim Jong Il's 50th birthday

which he had put off for a long time. Despite his tight schedule, he managed to find time for the memoirs, writing them while revisiting his revolutionary career. The memoirs comprehensively illustrated the noble virtue and revolutionary achievements of the author, who had devoted his whole life, along with the 20th century, to the prosperity of the country and people and the happiness of mankind.

As soon as the manuscripts of the first and second volumes of his memoirs were finished, they went to press in the lead-up to his 80th birthday.

The memoirs gripped the whole world soon after their publication.

Kim Jong Il ensured that the memoirs were reprinted in great numbers and translated into nine languages and disseminated across the world within seven years after their Korean version was first published.

Kim Jong Il took measures for making a documentary film of the memoirs. On July 15, 1993, Kim Jong Il said to a senior official of the Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee that if a documentary was made by adapting the memoirs covering the author's anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and broadcast through TV, it would be conducive to the education of the Party members and other working people. He advised that the film should be arranged according to the system of the book, with the scenes shot previously by an expeditionary group to the revolutionary battlesites in China. Parts 1-3 of the documentary, titled, *For the Liberation of the Country*, were produced, followed by subsequent parts.

Kim Jong Il added glory to the feats Kim Il Sung had performed for the victory in the Korean war (1950-1953).

He ensured that measures were taken to celebrate V-Day (July 27) as a national holiday.

Determined to have a monument to the victorious Fatherland Liberation War erected, he led every process of its construction.

On April 1, 1992, he proposed the construction of the monument to greet the 40th anniversary of the victory in the Fatherland Liberation War and gave instructions in detail with regard to the site of the monument, its construction force and the supply of granite. Going over the design of the monument several times, he said that it should be built in a unique way so

that it could show the overall picture of the war through the theme sculpture *Victory* and ten subthematic sculptures.

He gave instructions on 70 occasions during the construction of the monument.

The Monument to the Victorious Fatherland Liberation War was unveiled by the picturesque Pothong River on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of V-Day.

On July 26, 1993, in company with Kim Il Sung, Kim Jong Il visited the monument.

Various colourful functions were arranged on the 40th anniversary of the victory in the war–a national meeting in the Pyongyang Indoor Stadium on July 26, 1993, and on July 27, V-Day, a parade of military academies at all levels of the KPA, Worker-Peasant Red Guards and Young Red Guards and a 1 000 000-strong mass rally in Kim Il Sung Square in the presence of President Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il, a banquet in the Kumsusan Assembly Hall and a grand soiree, *We Won*, in the May Day Stadium.

CHAPTER 29

TO STRENGTHEN THE DEFENCE CAPABILITIES OF THE COUNTRY

1. AT THE HELM OF THE ARMED FORCES

In the 1990s, as the international situation became complicated as never before and the political and military circumstances in Korea grew unprecedentedly tense, Kim Il Sung made up his mind to hand his position of Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army over to Kim Jong Il in consideration of the unanimous desire and wish of all the soldiers and people.

Kim Jong Il had displayed his military mettle and qualifications while leading the building of the armed forces together with Kim Il Sung.

One day in the early 1990s, when the United States was bringing the situation in Korea to the brink of war by conducting Team Spirit joint military exercise, Kim Il Sung called some military officers to his office and discussed with them issues of strategic importance to cope with the enemy's undisguised aggressive manoeuvres. The military officers said that the KPA would this time launch a counterattack if the enemy dared trample upon a single blade of grass of the country.

Kim Il Sung said the counterattack would lead to a war with the United States.

"Can we win if a war breaks out?" he asked.

No one had an answer to this unexpected question.

Presently, Kim Jong Il stood up and answered, **"We will surely win."**

Hearing this reply, Kim Il Sung banged the table and exclaimed with a hearty laugh, **"You are a general of generals."**

Once Kim Il Sung said to some anti-Japanese veterans and bereaved children of revolutionary martyrs:

"Kim Jong Il is possessed of unshakable will and courage, outstanding strategy and art of command as befits the supreme commander of the revolutionary armed forces. Herein lies the guarantee for the continuous development and sure victory of our revolutionary armed forces."

Kim Jong Il was elected a member of the Central Military Commission of the WPK at the Sixth Congress of the Party in October 1980 and First Vice-Chairman of the DPRK National Defence Commission at the First Session of the Ninth Supreme People's Assembly in May 1990. This was a demonstration of the respect and trust he enjoyed from the servicepersons of the KPA and the people.

Around that time, Kim Il Sung said to Minister O Jin U of the People's Armed Forces in the following vein: As I said to Ho Tam, I have never seen a leader like Kim Jong Il, who is possessed of strong faith, heroic mettle, great calibre and unbreakable will; I am going to hand over to him the position of the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army.

O replied if the KPA were led by him, it would have nothing to fear.

Kim Il Sung agreed with him.

The 19th Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Party Central Committee was convened at Kim Il Sung's proposal on December 24, 1991. The day was the anniversary of the birth of the anti-Japanese heroine Kim Jong Suk.

At the meeting, Kim Il Sung proposed appointing Kim Jong Il Supreme Commander of the KPA.

His proposal received a standing ovation.

Early in December 1994, recalling the day three years previously, Kim Jong Il addressed some officials to the following effect: It seems President Kim Il Sung set December 24 for the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee after much thought; that day is my mother's birth anniversary; I really didn't know he would convene the meeting on that day and hand the position of the Supreme Commander of the KPA over to me.

The next day, on December 25, Kim Il Sung attended the Meeting of the Company Political Instructors of the KPA, the first of its kind since the founding of the KPA, and informed the attendants of the resolution adopted at the plenary meeting, saying, **"I wish that all the officers and men of the**

Kim Jong Il on the viewing platform of the military parade held in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Korean People's Army

KPA will obey Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il's order without question, regarding it as my own, and follow his leadership with loyalty."

The attendants swore an oath to remain loyal to Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il.

On hearing the news of Kim Jong Il's appointment, the whole country overflowed with great jubilation. Every KPA unit and province, city, county, organ, factory, enterprise and cooperative farm held a rally and extended congratulations to Kim Jong Il.

State and party leaders, defence ministers, social organizations, prominent political and social figures of 70 countries, and international organizations sent congratulatory messages to him. Many foreign mass media organs broadcast the news of his appointment.

True to Kim Il Sung's trust in him and expectations of the entire army and people, Kim Jong Il hardened his faith and will to make the KPA invincible to cope with the complicated and grim international situation.

On January 1, 1992, Kim Jong Il said to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee: **"According to the proposal of President Kim Il Sung, the 19th Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Party Central Committee decided to appoint me as Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army. In pursuance of his Juche-oriented military thoughts and line, I will carry forward and brilliantly consummate the cause of army building which was pioneered by him."**

On February 4, 1992, he had a talk with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee under the title, ***On Strengthening the People's Army and Establishing a Social Climate of Giving Priority to Military Affairs***. And he developed the building of the revolutionary armed forces to a higher level, especially ensuring that the 60th anniversary of the KPA foundation occasioned a turn in strengthening the army and establishing a social climate of giving precedence to military affairs.

In the lead-up to the 60th anniversary of the founding of the KPA, the Central Committee of the WPK, the Central Military Commission of the WPK, the National Defence Commission of the DPRK and the then Central People's Committee of the DPRK adopted on April 20, 1992, a resolution

on awarding the title of Marshal of the DPRK to Kim Jong Il.

At 10 a.m. on April 25, 1992, a grand military parade was held in Kim Il Sung Square in the presence of Kim Il Sung, the founder of the revolutionary armed forces, and Kim Jong Il, its Supreme Commander, to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the KPA. O Jin U, Minister of the People's Armed Forces and a veteran in his seventies, who had devoted his life to the victory in the two revolutionary wars and the strengthening of the revolutionary armed forces led by Kim Il Sung, inspected the parade columns and reported to the Supreme Commander that the parade was ready. Kim Jong Il extended congratulations to all the participants of the parade, saying, **"Glory to the officers and men of the heroic Korean People's Army."**

The parade ground shook with the stormy cheers and chorus of "Kim Il Sung," "Kim Jong Il" and "Single-Hearted Unity."

The parade fully demonstrated the pride of the armed forces in having Kim Jong Il as the supreme commander, loyalty to the Party and revolution, strong sense of organization and discipline and invincibility of the revolutionary armed forces, including the KPA.

The respect for and trust in Kim Jong Il of the Party, army and people found clear expression in their earnest wish that he would lead directly not only the Party and army but also the overall affairs of national defence.

While leading the severe political and military confrontation with the United States to victory together with Kim Jong Il, Kim Il Sung keenly realized Kim Jong Il's qualifications and ability and the determination of the servicepersons and people to support and follow Kim Jong Il.

On April 7, 1993, the Fifth Session of the Ninth Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK opened at the Mansudae Assembly Hall. The session discussed the items on the agenda, and on April 9, the closing day, discussed organizational issues.

The Speaker of the Supreme People's Assembly proposed the election for the chairmanship of the National Defence Commission as the first item to be discussed. Enjoying the focus of the gaze of all the deputies, Kim Il Sung stood up on the platform and recommended Kim Jong Il.

The deputies responded to the proposal with stormy cheers.

In a talk with an overseas Korean on April 10, Kim Il Sung, very pleased that Kim Jong Il had been elected Chairman of the National Defence Commission, said: **"I am handing over to Comrade Kim Jong Il the important affairs of the State one after another. In order to discharge the important duty of Chairman of the National Defence Commission, I have to work hard throughout the night. However, it is difficult for me to do so, because I am advanced in years now. Therefore, I handed over to Comrade Kim Jong Il the post of Chairman of the National Defence Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea at the recent session of the Supreme People's Assembly. Comrade Kim Jong Il is now creditably administering the important affairs of the Party and the State with unremitting energy and stamina, sitting up every night."**

Thus, Kim Il Sung solved the problem of carrying forward the cause of army building in his lifetime.

The appointment of Kim Jong Il as the Supreme Commander of the KPA and his election as Chairman of the DPRK National Defence Commission served as an epoch-making event in building up the revolutionary armed forces and consolidating the self-defence capabilities of Korea.

2. BUILDING UP THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

Once, stressing the need to build up the People's Army, Kim Jong Il said, **"Building up the People's Army means making it the armed forces of the leader, of the Party and of the people. To this end, we must intensify Party leadership over the army, and thus train all servicepersons to be Juche-type revolutionaries boundlessly loyal to the Party and the leader. Once the Party leadership system is established within the army and all servicepersons are trained to be one-match-for-a-hundred combatants, we will have nothing to fear."**

Kim Jong Il advanced it as the first and foremost task to establish a revolutionary climate and strict command system within the army, and said

on several occasions that commanding officers should stand in the van in creating a revolutionary military climate, taking organizational measures when necessary.

One October day in 1993, meeting high-ranking officers of the army, he said in the following vein: The army, which has to fight the enemy by means of arms, is fundamentally different from other social groups in terms of organizational structure and mode of activities; in order to fulfil its mission and duty, the People's Army should not be concerned with what civilians do and how; it must organize its work and activities according to its peculiar features; any armed forces, however strong they might be, might disintegrate overnight if they did not create a proper military climate within themselves; what is most important in this regard is to establish a thoroughgoing command system throughout the army; the administrative system of work in the People's Army is, in essence, a system of command by means of orders; soldiers act only by orders, and their military services and work constitute exactly the implementation of orders.

This instruction became an important guideline for the commanding officers to create a revolutionary military climate throughout the army.

In December 1993, Kim Jong Il took measures to further consolidate the success achieved in the drive. And in late January the following year, summing up the success, he emphasized that soldiers of the People's Army must regard military orders as absolute and implement them without reserve. Thus, a revolutionary military climate of unconditionally accepting and implementing orders was created in the People's Army.

Kim Jong Il paid attention to building up the ranks of cadres of the army and raising their political qualifications and commanding ability.

He attached special importance to the short course for commanding officers, and on V-Day in 1991, sent a letter, titled, ***Let Us Build Up the People's Army into a Juche-Oriented Revolutionary Armed Force***, to the fourth short course. He clarified in the letter the whole range of tasks and ways for building up the People's Army into a Juche-oriented revolutionary armed force.

On February 4, 1992, he pointed out the successful results of the short course held so far, saying that the short course should serve as an occasion

for training commanding officers to be skilful in commanding and administering their respective units.

Kim Jong Il channelled great efforts into the politico-ideological education of soldiers.

Pointing out that the superiority of the People's Army over the armed forces of other countries lies in its political and ideological superiority, he ensured that education in the Party's policies, revolutionary traditions and class consciousness and other types of education in the Juche idea, with the emphasis on education in the spirit of loyalty, would be further intensified among servicepersons.

Having intensified education in the spirit of loyalty in view of the rapidly-changing situation in the early 1990s, Kim Jong Il, on the day following the 19th Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Party Central Committee, had a talk with senior officials of the Party Central Committee, and set forth the tasks and ways for giving fuller play to the politico-ideological superiority of the People's Army by improving education in this regard.

On December 23, 1992, Kil Yong Jo, a pilot, was returning from training when his plane suddenly caught fire in the air.

The command post ordered him over and over again to bail out of the plane. Learning that the plane might crash in the centre of a town where there was a statue of Kim Il Sung, the pilot managed to steer the plane engulfed in flames out to sea, and sacrificed himself along with his plane.

Kim Jong Il, who was on a field guidance tour, happened to witness the accident. Highly appreciating the pilot's heroic deed, he ensured that the title of Hero of the Republic was awarded to him, his squadron and his alma mater named after him and a bronze bust of him erected at the latter.

And he encouraged all the servicepersons to take their cue from the hero.

Kim Jong Il led soldiers to train themselves to be combatants who are capable of defeating any enemy at one stroke. Attaching importance to stepping up political and combat training, he once said: **"The People's Army must always remain watchful, direct its efforts at preparing itself for combat, and step up political and combat training with the objective of preparing every serviceperson to be a one-match-for-a-hundred combatant."**

In late May 1990, when a short course for the training officers of the Korean People's Army was organized on a large scale, Kim Jong Il sent it a letter, titled, ***Let Us Build Up the People's Army by Stepping Up Political and Combat Training***.

In the letter, he put forward four principles to be adhered to in political and combat training–Juche character, politico-ideological spirit, militant spirit and scientific accuracy. Calling on the entire army to establish a revolutionary atmosphere of training, he wrote that servicepersons should take a Juche-oriented approach towards training, and continued, **"The Juche-oriented approach towards training means a viewpoint on and attitude to training centring on the masses of the soldiers, who are the masters of the revolutionary armed forces and who are directly responsible for revolutionary war. Establishment of the Juche-oriented approach towards training by soldiers means that they regard training as a major guarantee for victory in revolutionary war, and regard devoting themselves to training as something that helps to make their lives worthwhile."**

The letter inspired the army to conduct organizational and political work for establishing a Juche-oriented approach towards training among soldiers and implementing the four principles in political and combat training.

In order to raise the qualitative level of training to a higher stage, Kim Jong Il took a series of measures aimed at improving the role and sense of responsibility on the part of the officers in charge of guiding training, and proposed holding large-scale exercises for units to grasp and further their own combat readiness and guided the process energetically.

One day in 1994, Kim Jong Il, to learn about the combat readiness of the air force, ordered all wings to take off.

Commanding officers of the air force were surprised at first; the scale of the exercise was beyond their imagination, and sleet was forecast in some regions.

Kim Jong Il made a phone call to a commanding officer of the air force, and said that the planes must take off the next day regardless of bad weather, and that the training was aimed at enabling him to review the combat readiness of the air force, adding that he had been planning such a training before.

As the commanding officer replied with confidence that he would make a splendid job of it, Kim Jong Il said with a laugh: Nothing will stand in your way if you are so confident; we cannot expect to fight the enemy only on fine days in wartime, can we? Be bold, and go ahead with the training.

Kim Jong Il stayed in the operations room the whole night, giving instructions on several occasions on the training. His instructions added zeal to the command posts and airfields of all levels, and the training achieved great success.

When the training was finished, Kim Jong Il said that the pilots were well prepared, and the experience showed that success in training is determined by the ideological consciousness of the servicepersons, not by the weather.

After Kim Jong Il's appointment as the Supreme Commander of the KPA, the armed forces organized military exercises on several occasions in real combat situations and under bad conditions, building up their combat capabilities and perfecting their combat readiness.

The company is a basic combat unit, and building it up is the central link in the whole chain of the effort for building up the People's Army as a whole. Building up companies politically and ideologically, and perfecting their combat readiness in keeping with the demands of modern warfare–this was one of the important principles of army building Kim Jong Il had maintained from the start of his leadership over the armed forces.

Determined to bring about a turning point in 1991 in building up the companies of the KPA, Kim Jong Il saw to it that conferences of commanders, political instructors and sergeants major of companies of the KPA were organized respectively that year.

On May 17, 1991, Kim Jong Il told the commanding officers of the KPA: In order to build up the People's Army, we must strengthen companies both politically and militarily; in this regard, it is important to improve the qualifications of commanders, political instructors and sergeants major of companies; you must take detailed measures for holding conferences for them within this year.

The officers buckled down to making preparations for the conferences. At first, they dovetailed the number of participants to the capacity of the

conference hall designated originally, thinking that it would be a fine thing to hold three large-scale meetings within a few months. However, this being the case, it was impossible for the commanders, political instructors and sergeants major of all the companies to attend them.

Learning about this, Kim Jong Il told them to increase the scale of the meetings so that all those concerned could attend them, and solved the problems on a priority basis. He also ensured that an atmosphere of congratulation prevailed throughout society.

The conference of company sergeants major was held in mid-October that year, the conference of company commanders a month later and the conference of company political instructors in late December, all in the Pyongyang Indoor Stadium.

In the company of Kim Il Sung, Kim Jong Il went to the conference of company sergeants major, and congratulated the participants, before posing for a photograph with them. And Kim Il Sung went to the conference of company commanders, and posed for a photograph with the latter. On December 25, Kim Jong Il, again in the company of Kim Il Sung, went to the conference of company political instructors and congratulated the participants, before posing for a photograph with them.

The conferences occasioned improvement of the sense of responsibility and role of commanders, political instructors and sergeants major of companies, thus turning all companies into units of high combat efficiency.

Later, while intensifying the strengthening of companies as required by the new stage of army building, he ensured that unity between officers and men and unity between the army and the people were displayed to the full. He said that these types of unity dated back to the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, a tradition of lasting significance for the KPA. He made sure that the atmosphere of officers treasuring their men with a feeling of kinship while the latter respected the former sincerely was created throughout the army. And he led the soldiers to love the people and defend their lives, property and interests, and the people to love and support the KPA in every possible way.

In the first half of the 1990s, following the appointment of Kim Jong Il as the Supreme Commander, the KPA was further strengthened in this way.

3. ESTABLISHING AN ATMOSPHERE OF GIVING PRIORITY TO MILITARY AFFAIRS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

Entering the 1990s, Kim Jong Il paid close attention to establishing a social atmosphere of giving priority to military affairs while strengthening the People's Army. The approach to military affairs is a serious issue on which the destiny of a country depends. It has been acknowledged that national defence is the most important matter for a country, and a country that slights military affairs is doomed to ruin. Historical experiences show that only the countries that attach importance to military affairs can safeguard their dignity. Establishing a nationwide atmosphere of giving priority to military affairs is of great significance in elevating the soldiers' feelings of pride in their service and their militant spirit.

With keen understanding of this, Kim Jong Il said in a talk with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee and the then Administration Council on January 5, 1991, as follows, **"Party organizations should realize that attaching importance to military affairs will lead to the further strengthening of the People's Army and progress of socialist construction, and solve on a priority basis the problems arising in military affairs."**

He continued in the following vein: We must never forget that we are building socialism and leading a happy life free from worries, as soldiers are defending the country reliably come rain or shine; we must love and support them the way we do our own sons and daughters; this should be all the more so for the Party organizations and officials in the regions where the KPA units are stationed.

Laying stress on giving prominence to discharged soldiers and providing them with good living conditions, he mentioned the following: These persons are engaged in socialist construction straight after their discharge from the armed forces; the ex-officers, in particular, joined the army at a

young age and devoted themselves to the defence of the Party, the leader, the country and the people for decades at posts of national defence; the Central Military Commission of the Party already issued an order ensuring good living conditions for them.

Kim Jong Il said earnestly that Party organizations should give prominence to the ex-officers and other former soldiers as intended by the Party and solve their problems so that they could live without any inconveniences.

Kim Jong Il also drew attention of the officials to the work with former soldiers who had been disabled during their military service. He said in the following vein: The disabled ex-soldiers fought heroically at the risk of their lives for the sake of the Party and the leader, the country and people; though disabled, they are still following the road of revolution, working cheerfully and faithfully at their posts; to be frank, no one would blame them for not working; but, they are working on, following the Party with a revolutionary view on life that yesterday's glory shines resplendently in today's achievements; our disabled ex-soldiers are really praiseworthy; we must respect and love them, and take good care of them lest they feel the slightest inconvenience in their lives; we must give wide publicity to those who have become their life companions–wives or husbands.

These words touched the heartstrings of the officials concerned. They brought home to the Party members and other working people the essence, significance and importance of the Party's idea of attaching importance to military affairs, and encouraged them, through brisk organizational and political activities, to give full scope to the unity between the army and the people.

Newspapers, radio and other mass media gave wide publicity to the Party members and other working people who showed themselves to be exemplary in supporting the army, the officials who were working efficiently with the ex-soldiers, and the young people who had become life companions of disabled ex-soldiers.

The people spared nothing for the sake of the servicepersons, and parents took pride in having their children serve in the army.

A woman war veteran living in Tongdaewon District, Pyongyang, made up her mind to have her sons and daughters–eight in all–join the army at the news of Kim Jong Il's appointment as the Supreme Commander of the KPA, and sent a letter to him to this effect.

Kim Jong Il ensured that her children were all enlisted in the armed forces as she desired, and on January 18, 1992, spoke highly of her to the officials of the Party Central Committee. He saw to it that wide publicity was given to her family, which had performed the civic duty proper to it.

More and more families followed suit, taking it as their greatest honour and pride to have their sons and daughters take up arms. The number of families whose siblings were serving in the army increased steadily. And there appeared a new cultural phenomenon–the people living in the areas where soldiers were stationed ran out to cheer up the servicepersons on the way to and from military training.

On February 4, 1992, Kim Jong Il had a talk with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee and said with satisfaction that recently he had been informed of an increasing number of laudable deeds of civilians aiding soldiers, and continued, **"Party organizations must show their appreciation for these laudable deeds, and give wide publicity to them so that they become part of social atmosphere."**

In early May the same year he informed the senior officials of the Party Central Committee of the news that an official in the rail transport sector had married his four daughters to disabled ex-soldiers. He held up this official as a prototype of a true official, a genuine patriot, and said that all officials and Party members must take their cue from him.

In early February 1993, it was reported to him that a girl student had started to act as a daughter to a disabled ex-soldier couple, war veterans, and had been taking good care of them. He instructed the Party organization concerned to assist her in every way, saying that it was a laudable deed and it was the Party's pride to have such a good young person.

In his effort to further the atmosphere of attaching importance to military affairs across the country in the lead-up to the 40th anniversary of

the victorious Fatherland Liberation War, Kim Jong Il saw to it that the Commemorative Medal of the 40th Anniversary of the Victorious Fatherland Liberation War was awarded to all war veterans and people of wartime merit.

In July 1993, the National Meeting of War Veterans, the first of its kind in the history of the WPK, was held in Pyongyang in the presence of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il. Meetings of the same kind were convened at the same time at all levels–provinces, cities, counties and industrial complexes.

CHAPTER 30

ONE MIND WITH THE PEOPLE

1. WITH POLITICS OF LOVE AND TRUST

With the turn of the 1990s Kim Jong Il received many letters from people of all social strata.

They referred to serious problems concerning the developments of the times and the destiny of the people. Kim Jong Il replied to them with love, trust and encouragement.

On November 1, 1990, Kim Jong Il sent a reply to a letter of Party members of the Korean Central News Agency. This exchange of a letter of loyalty and a reply of love and trust marked the historic opening of a new chapter in the ties of kinship between the leader and the people.

One day just before the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Workers' Party of Korea, the members of Party Cell No. 2 of the news agency decided to send a letter to Kim Jong Il. In the letter, they expressed their firm determination and will to follow the path of the Juche revolutionary cause in any adversity with the red flag flying high. The letter gave great encouragement to the leader.

Kim Jong Il perceived in their letter the staunch will of the journalists and pressmen who were mouthpieces and guides of social justice and of all Party members and people who were ready to defend Juche-oriented socialism to the end, firmly believing in their leader and sharing their fate with him in whatever adverse situation. He wrote in reply:

"To the Party members of Cell No. 2,

"I have received your letter. I express my thanks for your efforts. I assure you that I will redouble my efforts and remain boundlessly faithful

to the Party and our revolutionary cause, living up to your expectation.

Comradely salute,

Kim Jong Il

November 1, 1990"

In his replies to the People's Army soldiers and people from all walks of life who wrote him letters, Kim Jong Il encouraged them with words, like **"Glory to the revolutionary armed forces faithful to our Party!"** and **"Let us fight vigorously for the completion and victory of the socialist cause of our own style!"**

He received more letters after he was appointed Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army on December 24, 1991.

On January 1, 1992, Kim Jong Il told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, **"I was greatly encouraged by their letters and believe that we have nothing to fear as we have such people, such Party members and such companions, and that we will gain ultimate victory by advancing to the end under the banner of the revolution."**

Among those who wrote to Kim Jong Il were seven driver brothers of the Musan Mining Complex, a huge iron mining base in the northern region; a high-speed drilling team of the Sadong Pit of the Tokchon Coal Mine of the Tokchon Area Coal Mining Complex; a farmer family of the Jangchon Cooperative Farm in Sadong District, Pyongyang; lecturers of Kim Il Sung University and other intellectuals; veteran anti-Japanese fighters; senior officials of the Party and the State; schoolchildren; returnees from Japan and naturalized Japanese women.

Kim Jong Il received a letter even from a 4-year-old girl. She wrote, "Now I am writing to you dear fatherly leader in the Korean alphabet which I have begun to learn. I have diligently practised writing our alphabet to give pleasure to you on your birthday, February 16, the greatest national holiday of our people." She said on his birthday she was making a deep bow from afar to him in her fine rainbow-striped dress. After reading the letter with pleasure, Kim Jong Il wrote to the little girl in reply on February 20, 1992, with the blessing, **"Be a good daughter of Korea."**

He sent replies with love and trust to so many letters from people, encouraging them in their struggle to defend socialism and inspiring them to

우리당에 충실한
혁명무장력에
영광이 있으라!

김정일

1991. 2. 11.

Kim Jong Il's letter to the men and officers of the Korean People's Army Unit 525

perform still greater exploits in their work. In his replies he showed trust in and love for the people, whom he called comrades, expressing his deep appreciation and saying that he was greatly encouraged by their letters, and highly praised their good performance in work and their noble spirit displayed in the period of grim trials.

The people regarded it as the greatest honour that they had replies from him and distinguished themselves in work at their posts with redoubled courage. More people wrote him letters which brought him joy. In this course, a new trend of the times came forth in Korea for the leader and the people to commune with each other through letters and strengthen their kinship ties.

Kim Jong Il took the utmost care of those close to him who were his revolutionary soldiers, and led them to live a worthy life as revolutionaries to their last moment.

He showed tender care and great trust for Ho Tam, who was a senior official of the Party Central Committee always by his side. He had frank discussions with him about matters from the political problems of the Party and the State to the details of the latter's private life. Assigning him important tasks, the leader exerted every effort to make him an able man of action loyal to the Party, a loyalist serving the Party with high merits and work performance. On the 60th birthday of Ho Tam he expressed his trust in him with the words **"You are Ho Tam, a soldier faithful to the Party, and I am Jong Il"** entered in the man's pocketbook.

Kim Jong Il's love for Ho Tam became still deeper in the last days of the latter's life when he was suffering from an incurable disease.

Kim Jong Il did everything to save Ho Tam, but all his efforts were in vain–Ho's heart stopped beating. Looking down the body of Ho and repressing his grief with difficulty, Kim Jong Il earnestly said: Ho Tam was boundlessly faithful to me; he used all his talents and energies to assist me with loyalty at the important posts of the Party and the State; he was my revolutionary comrade, loyal, passionate and competent. His words were full of love and warm feelings for the deceased.

He made himself the chairman of the funeral committee, and saw to it that the funeral service was held most solemnly and that Ho Tam's remains were buried in the Patriotic Martyrs Cemetery.

He ensured that the lives of all the people near to him who had passed away were recorded in documentaries to honour them.

On January 26, 1992, Kim Jong Il saw the new documentary film *Benevolence That Makes Life Glorious* on the subject of revolutionary comradeship and fidelity. It was a lyrical picture of the relations of revolutionary fidelity and comradeship formed by Kim Jong Il over the past 20 years with the anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans and other deserving persons who had already died. When the film ended, he remained silent for a while before he said to his companions: The film shows many veteran fighters, but not many people of the new generation. He said that Ho Tam should be featured in the film and recalled the names of other people to be added. Among them were those of men of the new generation, business people of Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan), and distinguished writers and artistes.

The same day he gave instructions in detail about the details of the people to be newly added: Such and such films made on such and such days would be available and, as for persons without film records, their photographs might be used to make up the film. In addition, he personally chose photographs from among his albums, and sent them to the film makers.

Thanks to his loving care, the documentary *Benevolence That Makes Life Glorious* was completed with rich materials.

Kim Jong Il not only made the lives of his revolutionary associates immortalized, he also led their bereaved families to inherit their noble revolutionary spirit.

Kim Jong Il ensured that a national meeting of patriotic martyrs' families was held early in October 1992, and, together with Kim Il Sung, met the participants and had a photograph taken with them. A few days after the meeting, he told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that the meeting was of great significance in strengthening the revolutionary forces, and that there could be no force in the world able to disrupt the Korean revolution and socialist system so long as the Workers' Party of Korea firmly relied on the patriotic martyrs' families.

Kim Jong Il paid deep attention to educating the entire people in the

spirit of putting the interests of society and community before those of individuals and loving one's comrades, helping and leading one another along.

Kim Jong Il highly commended those who volunteered to work in the difficult sectors and worked with devotion, feeling genuine pride in the worthy struggle for society and community.

Early in June 1990, 19 girls of the Songchongang Clothing Factory in Hamhung volunteered for work in the Taehung Mining Complex. Though the girls were city-born, they resolved to share their lives with the young men there.

After receiving the report about their good conduct, Kim Jong Il praised them and took steps to make their great hope and resolve come into flower, while giving wide publicity to them.

The beautiful story of the girls of Hamhung who volunteered to go to Taehung touched the heartstrings of many young people. Girl triplets working at the Unryul Mine, girls of the Pakchon Silk Mill, female teachers of the Taeryon Middle School in Phanmun County and many other young people went to Taehung. The mine seethed with production with the arrival of large numbers of young people and their devoted exertion to boost mineral yields. The mine came to be renamed the Taehung Youth Mining Complex. Soon after, many other mines and coal-mining areas, including the Komdok Mining Combine, and the Anju, Sunchon and Kujang area coal-mining combines became scenes of devoted work by young people who performed feats of labour at the faces hundreds of metres down. Further, young volunteers went to work in the difficult sectors of socialist construction such as farms, power stations, railway transport and forestry. Officials of the Party, administrative and economic bodies and working people's organizations, as well as other people from all parts of the country, moved out into the farming areas with their families with a resolve to increase farm produce to advance socialism. Others went to coal-mining and metal-mining zones and construction sites.

In 1993 alone, more than 150 000 people, including youths, volunteered to go to the difficult sectors of socialist construction.

Kim Jong Il spoke highly of those who displayed a lofty self-sacrificing

spirit, donating flesh and blood and even giving their lives for their comrades and children, and showed great trust in and deep concern for them. He highly lauded a worker of a fishery station in Unjon County who lost his daughter in the course of saving the daughter of a neighbour from drowning in a river. Kim Jong Il saw to it that the worker's deed was widely publicized.

As the moral standard of the people rose and their traits of human love effloresced in full, praiseworthy anecdotes became everyday occurrences in all parts of the country. When a certain person was in a critical condition after an accident, his comrades and neighbours and even passers-by rushed to the hospital to give their flesh and blood to the patient; a man who saved a drowning child from a river at the risk of his life would go away without saying who he was; when people picked up lost valuables or purses, they were sure to return the finds to the owners; instances of such heroic deeds as saving one's comrades and inhabitants at the cost of one's life in an unexpected accident became common occurrences.

In such circumstances, Kim Jong Il ensured that a national meeting of models of communist virtue was held in Pyongyang in December 1993.

This conference marked an occasion for the population to do more good deeds, devoting their all for the benefit of society, community, country and people.

People all over the world expressed their surprise and admiration at the reality of Korea, where human love was blooming. A professor of India's Agra University said that in Korea a beautiful custom of human love never before heard of in any legends of human history was prevailing.

2. POLITICS OF GIVING PROMINENCE TO YOUTHS AND INTELLECTUALS

Youth is the valuable flower of the country and nation, the most vital force of society and the reliable heir of the revolution. The future of the revolution and the fate of the nation depend on how young people are reared and how their role is increased.

Only when they are brought up properly, can the gains of the revolution and construction be maintained and furthered and the revolution be carried on through generations.

From the start of the grand march in the 1990s, Kim Jong Il took repeated measures to create a social atmosphere of giving importance to youths in the whole society, and placed them in the van of the struggle to defend and develop socialism.

From April 8 to 10, 1990, a national meeting of young activists was held in Pyongyang with a large attendance. After the meeting Kim Jong Il said that young people like to take on and complete swiftly mighty projects, and proposed to assign them big tasks boldly. He summoned them to sites of difficult and tough work such as the Komdok Mine and other mines and major construction sites.

The young people rose to the occasion, and accomplished great labour exploits in response to his great trust. Miraculous innovations and feats were performed in succession on the main fronts of socialist construction.

From a desire to put forward and encourage the young people, Kim Jong Il designated the Youth Day, and had it celebrated every year in grand style. On May 28, 1990, he said to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee: We should study the matter of designating the Youth Day; our young people are now working hard in the difficult sectors of socialist construction; we should lead them to perform exploits in such sectors in response to the Party's appeal; to do so, we should put them in the forefront and encourage them, while educating them properly; in order to encourage them, it would be good to designate the Youth Day.

Again, on January 5, 1991, he said to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee: Strengthening youth work is of importance for the future of the country in the light of not only the traditions of the youth movement in Korea but also the position and mission of the young people in the revolution and construction; in this sense, instituting the Youth Day is of great significance. And in the middle of January, he fixed August 28 as the Youth Day.

On August 26, 1991, Kim Jong Il sent a letter under the title, ***Young Men and Women, Be the Young Vanguard Unfailingly Loyal to the Party***

and the Leader, to the youths of the whole nation who were greeting the first Youth Day. On the occasion, he arranged for them to hold colourful functions such as a festival, a soiree and sports competitions.

In their excitement at receiving the letter, the young people held celebrations in grand style. A grand national festival of youth and students was opened and a national meeting was held with the participation of 100 000 young people at the Kim Il Sung Stadium. A joint celebration of youth representatives, a central photo, picture and book exhibition, film shows, entertainments, soirees, and other colourful functions were held in the capital city, uplifting the gaiety of the festival.

On August 28, officials of the Party, army and government went out to the units of the Korean People's Army and Korean People's Security Forces, and to the factories, enterprises, construction sites, cooperative farms and other places to celebrate the festival with the young people there, congratulating and encouraging them.

On August 30, Kim Jong Il told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that the first Youth Day had been celebrated with great success.

Kim Jong Il said that influencing people with exemplary deeds is a superior education method that accords with the psychological characteristics of young people, who aspire after justice and beauty. He suggested that wide publicity be given to the countless exemplary deeds performed by the Korean people in each stage of their heroic struggle in the past and the beautiful deeds done by the Korean people and youths in contemporary times.

Kim Jong Il saw to it that the youth league organizations at all levels were firmly built up, and their functions and roles further enhanced, while the ideological education of young people was strengthened. He ensured that the ranks of the officials of the League of Socialist Working Youth were built up with energetic and promising young people who had been tempered in the practice of the revolution and equipped with rich knowledge and practical qualifications, that their qualifications were continuously improved, while the revolutionary work system and discipline were established in the league and the guidance of its members' organizational life was strengthened. In particular, he ensured that the

movement for model primary organizations of young vanguards was energetically conducted in order to enhance the functions and roles of the primary organizations, the lowest organizations of the league and the bases of organizational life.

Kim Jong Il developed the Korean youth movement to a new high on the occasion of the Eighth Congress of the League of Socialist Working Youth.

He took all measures to make full preparations for the congress. On January 5, 1993, he met the senior officials in the sector of youth work and had a talk with them under the title ***Let Us Develop Our Youth Movement to a New High***, showing the way for development of the youth movement and the success of the congress.

On February 18, 1993, the Eighth Congress of the League of Socialist Working Youth was opened in Pyongyang amid the great interest and expectations of the people, young people in particular.

Together with President Kim Il Sung, Kim Jong Il was present at the opening ceremony. The representatives of young people attending the congress greeted Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il with an enthusiastic ovation, shouting in chorus: "Kim Il Sung", "Kim Jong Il" and "Young Vanguards." On February 22, the closing day, the young attendees swore a solemn oath of loyalty to Kim Jong Il in the name of the country's five million young people that they would complete the socialist cause, united firmly around Kim Jong Il whatever might happen, even if the world should turn upside down a million times. Their voices echoed through the hall. After the written oath was read out, "Long Live General Kim Jong Il!" was shouted over and over again, and the song *No Motherland without You* was sung. Kim Jong Il spoke highly of the successful conclusion of the Eighth Congress of the youth league.

On September 20, 1990, Kim Jong Il delivered a speech, titled, ***Let Us Further Enhance the Role of Intellectuals in the Revolution and Construction***, before the senior officials of the Party Central Committee with a view to intensifying the work with intellectuals. Saying that the position and role of intellectuals in the revolution and construction are very important, he pointed out, **"Intellectuals are an integral part of the**

motive force of the revolution," and **"Intellectuals propel the revolutionary struggle and social development."**

He illuminated the tasks of the intellectuals in different fields, and also indicated that they should be revolutionized and assimilated to the working class in order for them to perform their mission and duty with credit and give full play to their wisdom and talents in the revolution and construction.

On December 25, 1990, the poets of the Korean Literary Production Company sent a pledge letter to Kim Jong Il. On December 27, 1990, Kim Jong Il sent a reply to their letter, in which he said, **"I want you to be our Party's eternal companions, faithful assistants and wise advisers in its building and activities."**

On January 5, 1991, he explained that the "Party's eternal companions" meant revolutionaries who would share their fate with the Party to the end, casting their lot with it, that the "Party's faithful assistants" meant reliable cooperators who would be faithful to its cause by achieving successes in practice, supporting and defending its intentions, plans and policies, and that the "Party's wise advisers" meant passionate thinkers and activists who would suggest constructive plans and ways to solve the problems arising in revolutionary practice with firm confidence in the jusness of the Party's cause and the victory of the revolution.

Later, Kim Jong Il sent another letter to the intellectuals, in which he urged them to be firm defenders and thorough implementers of the Party's policies.

On January 11, 1992, Kim Jong Il told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that he, who was carrying forward the revolutionary cause pioneered by Kim Il Sung, respected the writing brush, the symbol of the intellectuals.

Kim Jong Il ensured that a congress of Korean intellectuals was held with large attendance to demonstrate their steadfast revolutionary stand and indomitable conviction, and increase their role in carrying out the cause of socialism.

By then, congresses of different sectors had been held in Korea, but there had been no congress of intellectuals. True, a national meeting of scientists had been held in October 1991, but it was not, in fact, the meeting

of all intellectuals symbolized by the writing brush represented in the Party's emblem.

On July 23, 1992, Kim Jong Il said to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that it would be advisable to hold a congress of intellectuals, and that it should be one deserving the symbol of the writing brush in the Party's emblem. He added that as Korea has a contingent of 1.6 million intellectuals, so their congress should be convened in grand style.

On December 9, 1992, the Congress of Korean Intellectuals was held. Among the representatives of intellectuals at the congress were old scholars who had come over to the north across the 38th Parallel upon receiving an invitation from President Kim Il Sung immediately after liberation, intellectuals who, as soldiers during the Korean war, had been ordered back to colleges by the Supreme Headquarters and had continued their studies in wartime conditions, and young intellectuals who had rendered distinguished service to the putting of the national economy on a Juche-oriented, modern and scientific basis.

President Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il were present at the congress, and the meeting hall reverberated with shouts of "Science has no boundary, but we intellectuals have a socialist motherland," "For intellectuals, socialism represents their fate and future," and "Even if the situation turns still more grave in the future, we will safeguard socialism to the end and follow the Party forever as in the past."

After the first-day session, Kim Jong Il said that the day's meeting had come off well amid great attention of the people within and without, and went on: The report to the congress *Intellectuals Should Be Fighters Faithful to the Party and the Socialist Cause* was fine; the report has a passage that science has no boundary, but the intellectuals have their motherland and our intellectuals are inseparably linked with the fate of the socialist motherland of Juche; it has a profound meaning; the remark that science has no boundary, but our intellectuals have their socialist motherland of Juche, is a wise saying. He also said that the participants in the congress had unanimously resolved to firmly defend and advance socialism following the Party and the leader to the end, come what may, and that this was exactly what the Party demanded of them. He emphasized that

all the intellectuals, as eternal companions, faithful assistants and wise advisers of the Party, and as ardent defenders and thorough implementers of the Party's policies, should work hard for the prosperity of their people-centred socialist country, not for their own comfort and honour. To this end, work with intellectuals should be conducted well, he added.

On the closing day of the congress, Kim Jong Il, in company with President Kim Il Sung, posed for a photograph together with all the representatives, and arranged for delegates of different intellectual sectors to have an interview with the President and receive momentous teachings from him.

Appreciating that all the attendees were meritorious intellectuals who had contributed a lot to the development of the Party and revolution, he also ensured that all the representatives were awarded watches inscribed with the name of Kim Il Sung, and other gifts.

Intellectuals who matured still more ideologically and morally through the congress went on to make brilliant achievements in succession in socialist construction.

On February 17, 1993, Kim Jong Il said earnestly to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that Party organizations should conduct political work efficiently with the contents of the pledge given by the intellectuals at the congress, so that the intellectuals could all work with redoubled efforts. Then, on January 1, 1994, he said: Intellectuals, whose mission it is to defend the Party and accelerate socialist construction with their knowledge and technical skills, cannot fulfil their tasks with credit if they simply regard it as a duty; we should lead them to devote their knowledge, technical know-how, wisdom and energies to the carrying out of their revolutionary assignments with high revolutionary awareness and conscience for the Party and the revolution, the country and the people.

Kim Jong Il frequently met intellectuals, and counseled them to fulfil their mission and duty as befitting the intellectuals of the Party, while ensuring that Party organizations energetically conducted work with them in keeping with their traits of character.

In late January 1994, Kim Jong Il called creative workers and other actors and actresses to his presence. At that time, they, in compliance with

the plan of Kim Jong Il on making a film with the song *Pyongyang Is Best* as its theme which would give profound answers to the destiny of the nation, had completed the masterpieces of the multi-part film *The Nation and Destiny*, from part 1 to part 16, which were epitomes of the achievements made in art and literature, and were making continuous efforts to produce sequels to them. He greeted them warmly, and said that he had summoned them to inspire them with confidence and courage to push ahead speedily with the making of the film *The Nation and Destiny* in the New Year, and that they should make quality films to provide the Party members and working people with spiritual food.

Keeping his instructions in mind, all intellectuals have grown into vanguards of the times who devote their knowledge, skills, wisdom and energy to the Party, the revolution, the country and the people, and have fulfilled their mission and duty as eternal companions, faithful assistants and good advisers of the Party.

CHAPTER 31

BREAKTHROUGH IN DPRK-US NUCLEAR STANDOFF

1. BREACH IN THE US ANACONDA STRATEGY

Following the end of the Cold War, the United States, which had emerged as the "sole superpower," moved rapidly to try to dominate the whole world by brute force.

In his State of the Union Address in January 1991, US President George Bush stated that "a long-yearned-for opportunity" had arrived for the establishment of "a new world order," which he defined as "a world order whereby the danger of Cold War had disappeared and the market economy and democracy would prosper," i.e., a world where socialism would be extirpated and only capitalism would be allowed to exist. The "new world order" pursued by the United States was, in the long run, aimed at making the previous world, divided into two poles owing to the confrontation between the East and the West, a single world which would be a US sphere of influence, a unipolar world accepting only capitalism and under US control.

The US ruling circles considered socialist Korea a key obstacle to their ambition of world domination. For they regarded Korea as a powerful force capable of challenging the US attempt at a US-led world order face to face. A senior fellow at the Institute of International Relations, Georgetown University, Washington DC, estimated that "North Korea is the military entity capable of offering the strongest challenge to the United States in the present world" and that "the socialist entity of North Korea is the most dangerous element capable of directly making a breakthrough in the US-led international order in the new age."

To the United States, preoccupied with its ambition to set up a US-dominated unipolar world order which it could lord over as the "emperor," Juche-based Korea, towering as a powerful anti-US, independent socialist bulwark, was a thorn in its flesh. For this reason, the United States set squeezing Korea dry as its primary target for materializing its strategy for world domination; now the main theatre of global military and political confrontation following the break-up of the Cold War system had been shifted to Korea.

In an attempt to stifle socialist Korea, the United States took issue with "Korea's suspected development of nuclear weapons" and demanded nuclear inspection over Korea.

The nuclear problem on the Korean peninsula stems from the policy of the United States that shipped over 1 000 nuclear weapons into south Korea and turned the peninsula into a hotbed for a nuclear war. The US moves for shipment of nuclear weapons to south Korea, which began with its deployment of the Honest John nuclear missiles in south Korea in the second half of the 1950s, proceeded towards a grave phase in the first half of the 1980s, when it brought into south Korea neutron bombs that had been considered "evil weapons of the 20th century," reducing south Korea to a US nuclear base in the Far East.

The DPRK Government entered into the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in December 1985, in order to facilitate withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from south Korea, remove the US nuclear threat against Korea and turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone. The United States, however, built up its nuclear threat to Korea all the more, rather than implementing its duty under the NPT, which stipulates that a nuclear power should refrain from nuclear threats against non-nuclear states. As matters stood, Korea and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) failed to conclude a nuclear safeguards accord, and the nuclear inspection plan foundered.

The United States, excessively elated by its victory in the Gulf War in 1991, spearheaded its attack at Korea, while misleading the world public through its massive propaganda about Korea's "nuclear development," at the same time as kicking up a wild racket for a unilateral inspection to

pressurize Korea, accusing the latter on the cooked-up charge of having shirked its duty to the NPT. Meanwhile, the United States threatened a pre-emptive strike at Korea on the excuse of preventing the latter's "nuclear development," and staged the Team Spirit US-south Korea joint military exercise and other Korea-targeted nuclear war exercises one after the other, driving the situation on the Korean peninsula to the brink of war. It did its best to isolate Korea internationally over the issue of nuclear inspection. The reckless US attempt to isolate and stifle Korea was backed by allied imperialist forces and some international organizations, with the result that the already highly-charged situation on the Korean peninsula grew more alarming.

At this critical juncture, Kim Jong Il launched an all-out offensive to make a breach in the US isolate-and-stifle strategy towards Korea.

He arranged for a counteroffensive to drive into a tight corner the US-led forces that were bringing pressure to bear upon Korea over the nuclear issue.

On May 19, 1991, he instructed a senior official of the Party Central Committee to lay bare the sinister aim of the United States that had over 1 000 nuclear weapons deployed in south Korea, so as to arouse a strong public outcry against it worldwide.

The said 1 000-odd US nuclear weapons shipped into south Korea were posing a threat to both Korea and its neighbouring and all other Asian countries. The United States had been keeping a huge arsenal of nuclear weapons in south Korea even after the break-up of the Cold War frame, motivated by its intention to keep Asia under its control and threaten the Asian countries with the arsenal in question in case of any strained relations or hostility in this region; its clamour about nuclear inspection over Korea was aimed at justifying the fact that it had been continually keeping its nuclear weapons deployed in south Korea.

June 10, 1991, witnessed publication of a joint statement by the DPRK political parties and organizations that denounced the ever-mounting US nuclear threat to Korea. No sooner had it been released than the statement made a tremendous impact upon the world public. In a matter of less than a month of its publication, more than 400 statements followed by press

conferences, radio addresses and demonstrations were made in over 90 countries in support of it. Support for the joint statement rang out even in the United States.

In response to the US persistent demand that Korea sign the nuclear safeguards accord pursuant to the NPT as soon as possible, Kim Jong Il saw to it that Korea put forward requisite preconditions and took the offensive in a proactive manner.

The United States and its acolytes had been persisting in their brigandish demand that Korea sign the nuclear safeguards accord and accept nuclear inspections, while overlooking the nuclear weapons in south Korea and the threat to Korea therefrom.

To cope with this situation, Kim Jong Il made sure that Korea gave wide publicity to its principled position that Korea's refusal to conclude the nuclear safeguards accord was ascribable entirely to the US non-compliance with its duty as a nuclear power bound by the NPT, and that, accordingly, the United States must provide binding assurances that it would withdraw its nuclear weapons from south Korea, remove its nuclear threat to Korea and refrain from the use of nuclear weapons against Korea, so that Korea could conclude a nuclear safeguards accord with the NPT and accept nuclear inspection therefrom.

In September 1991, unable to disregard Korea's reasonable position and the ever-growing public outcry, the United States officially declared its willingness to withdraw its short-range tactical nuclear weapons deployed in foreign lands. And it made the south Korean puppet authorities publish a "declaration of denuclearization" and a "declaration on absence of nuclear weapons," in which they made public that "there exists no nuclear weapon" in south Korea. The United States itself, however, did not make public its position with regard to this issue.

Given this situation, the DPRK Government took issue with the US silence about it, and reaffirmed its position that Korea was prepared to sign the nuclear safeguards accord and accept unclear inspection in accordance with the IAEA's procedures, provided the "absence of unclear weapons" in south Korea was confirmed, before awaiting the US response to it watchfully.

As the voices in support of the DPRK Government's principled and flexible position grew louder, the United States was compelled to make an official statement that it had "no objection" to the south Korean puppet authorities' "declaration on absence of nuclear weapons."

Afterwards, the United States and south Korean puppet authorities were compelled to make a joint statement on suspending their annual Team Spirit joint military exercise as demanded by Korea, and even come up with a proposal for Korea-US high-level talks.

Previously the United States was dead set against any official contacts with or trips to Korea. Moreover, as for Korea's proposal that the nuclear issue of the Korean peninsula be settled through Korea-US negotiations, it had disregarded it in a high-handed manner, making an unreasonable assertion that the question at hand was not an issue to be addressed between Korea and the United States.

Driven into a tight corner by the recent series of Korea's offensives, however, it had to propose holding Korea-US high-level talks and, contrary to the conventional protocols and practices, ask for talks with a secretary of the WPK Central Committee, rather than with the senior officials of Korea's foreign ministry responsible for dealing with nuclear and other bilateral issues. This meant that the United States would be directly informed of Kim Jong Il's intentions by a senior official of the WPK Central Committee.

Kim Jong Il said that the United States was willing to have direct contacts with him, before arranging the Korean delegation headed by a secretary of the Party Central Committee for the forthcoming Korea-US high-level talks and giving his detailed instructions on the talks.

He exhorted the Korean delegation, being a high-level delegation dispatched by the Party, not to get involved in technical matters, but make a statement in the light of the Party's policy, telling the United States to make commitments to the withdrawal of its nuclear weapons from south Korea, suspension of its Team Spirit joint military exercise and assurances against the threat and use of its nuclear weapons against Korea, and say that if the United States did as demanded, Korea would live up to its promise, i.e., by

signing a safeguards accord and receiving IAEA inspection, and that Korea means what it says.

The Korea-US high-level talks took place in New York on January 22, 1992. The US delegation was headed by the under-secretary of the State Department for political affairs and composed of the assistant secretary of the State Department for Asia and Pacific affairs and high-ranking policymakers of the White House and the State Department.

The Korean delegation was flexible in the process of the talks, and made a strong demand that the United States refrain from its nuclear threat to Korea and give up the Team Spirit joint military exercise, which the US side could not but accept. This victory of Korea made a breach in the US strategy aimed at throttling it.

While smashing the US isolate-and-stifle policy towards Korea, Kim Jong Il saw to it that any challenge to infringe upon Korea's sovereignty and national dignity was sternly dealt with.

In February 1992, a Korean merchant vessel *Taehung* was sailing for several countries in Africa and the Middle East.

When the *Taehung* entered the Persian Gulf, the United States made a provocative statement that it would apprehend and inspect the vessel on the suspicion of carrying missiles and equipment for their production. The US President, CIA director and other high-ups all trumpeted that north Korea's deployment of missiles in the Middle East was intolerable, while the defence secretary was reckless enough to utter threats that the US navy was ready to confront the north Korean freighter believed to be heading for Iran or Syria, carrying Scud-C missiles, if ordered to do so. Scores of men-of-war and aircraft were ordered to be ready for offensive in the waters the *Taehung* was to pass through. Consequently, the *Taehung* faced a delicate decision–to continue sailing as scheduled or to return home.

At this juncture, Kim Jong Il asked a relevant official how the Americans would act. The official replied that they might pounce upon the ship recklessly.

Hearing him out, Kim Jong Il said firmly: Never will they dare to attack it; even if they dare pounce upon it, we'll not remain onlookers; whatever

they may do, they can never block our vessel's way.

Now that the issue of the *Taehung* is in the spotlight of world public, he continued, it is a golden chance to humble the arrogant United States. The US demand for coercive inspection of the *Taehung* is a brigandish act against our Republic, an independent and sovereign State, and a flagrant violation of international law. We'll not give up what we're supposed to do nor will do what we're not supposed to do, just because somebody brings pressure to bear upon us. We must make sure that the *Taehung* calls at the designated port in order to defend the dignity and sovereignty of the country.

Declaring that the current confrontation between Korea and the United States over the inspection of the *Taehung* was not a technical issue over whether or not the inspection of the vessel was tolerated but a political issue regarding the dignity and sovereignty of the country, an acute battle assuming an international character, Kim Jong Il instructed the official to completely crush the provocation of the Americans.

Thus, relevant instructions of the homeland were transmitted to the *Taehung* floating on the open sea, almost isolated by scores of US aircraft and men-of-war. The officials and the crew of the *Taehung* shouted, "Long live Kim Jong Il!" at the tops of their voices, supporting each other.

The *Taehung* continued making rapid headway along the route as designated by Kim Jong Il. The United States dispatched four warships to the Indian Ocean, to the approach to Iran's Bandar-e 'Abbas Port and a fleet of 22 warships to the Strait of Hormuz at the entrance of the Persian Gulf with a mission to make full-scale preparations for inspection. At the same time, it ordered its aircraft to fly as low as 150 metres over the *Taehung* and drop black things looking like bombs in the vessel's route. In spite of this, the *Taehung* headed straight for its destination unperturbed, the blue-and-red flag of the DPRK fluttering, proudly in the breeze.

The American challengers, who had expected an easy victory, forthwith turned tail and fled as they saw the *Taehung* rushing headlong, ringing its bell.

2. THE WHOLE COUNTRY, ALL PEOPLE AND ENTIRE ARMY CALLED TO A DO-OR-DIE BATTLE

The nefarious nuclear blackmail of the Unite States against Korea reached its extreme in 1993.

With US assurances on no nuclear threat, Korea had entered into the nuclear safeguards accord with the IAEA on January 30, 1992, and had received the IAEA's ad hoc inspections on five occasions by the end of the year. The inspections clearly proved the patency of Korea's peaceful nuclear activities to the whole world.

This notwithstanding, the United States instigated the undesirable elements of the IAEA at the end of 1992, prior to the sixth ad hoc inspection, to ask for a "special inspection" of two of Korea's military sites unrelated to nuclear activities and take issue with "inconsistency" during the sixth ad hoc inspection that started from January 26, 1993, for justification of "special inspection" of the two military sites. The IAEA went to the length of passing a "resolution" on coercive "special inspection" of the two military sites at a meeting of its Board of Governors held on February 25.

It was an unbearable infringement upon Korea's sovereignty, a flagrant interference in Korea's internal affairs and an undisguised act of hostility to crush socialism in Korea. If Korea tolerated a "special inspection," it meant justifying the practice of spying by the United States, Korea's opponent, and the starting-point of opening all its military installations, leading in the long run to its complete disarmament.

Korea flatly rejected the brigandish demand for "special inspection." The United States threatened Korea, stating that Korea might follow in the footsteps of Grenada, Panama or Iraq, and that it would take "sanctions" against Korea, stampeding towards a reckless war.

The United States and the south Korean puppet authorities made public on January 26, 1993, that they would resume the Team Spirit joint military exercise. A huge force of US aggressive troops started moving. Tomahawk

cruise missiles, F-117 stealth fighter bombers, B-1B strategic bombers, new-type fighters and warships loaded with nuclear weapons and all types of nuclear-strike means were massed on and around the Korean peninsula, and over 200 000 troops including the "quick reaction deployment force," in US mainland, Guam, Hawaii and Japan and other Asia-Pacific bases were mobilized for the war exercise. During this exercise, the US troops deployed on the US mainland and overseas were put on top alert for movement to the Korean peninsula and even the command communications system for the use of nuclear weapons was employed.

The reckless staging of the Team Spirit 93 joint military exercise drove the nuclear crisis on the Korean peninsula to the extreme.

In fact, there was no force capable of holding the arbitrary behaviour of the United States in check in the international arena. Given this situation, nothing could guarantee that the United States, given to extreme arrogance, would not switch the on-going military exercise to a real war of aggression against Korea.

Laden with growing unease and anxiety, the world community closely observed with bated breath how small Korea would respond to the wild nuclear blackmail and war manoeuvring of the single superpower.

Having made up his mind to respond to the enemy's hardline approach with a tougher attitude, Kim Jong Il summoned the whole country, all the people and the entire army to a do-or-die battle to defend the sovereignty of the country and the nation.

As the madcap US Team Spirit 93 joint military exercise entered the dress-rehearsal stage and a touch-and-go situation prevailed over the Korean peninsula, Kim Jong Il, on March 8, 1993, issued Order No. 0034 of the KPA Supreme Commander: **On Declaring a State of War Readiness for the Whole Country, All the People and the Entire Army.**

Scathingly denouncing the on-going Team Spirit 93 joint military exercise staged by the United States and the south Korean puppet authorities, Kim Jong Il said in the order: **"Our people are not frightened by the Team Spirit joint military exercise that involves hundreds of thousands of men and weapons of mass destruction, and our army will not shrink for fear of war.**

"…

"If the US imperialists and the south Korean puppets provoke another war, our people and the People's Army will fight to the death for the sake of the Party, the leader and our style of people-centred socialism that has been achieved at the cost of their blood, and will thus deal a crushing blow to the aggressors, and raise the dignity and honour of heroic Korea even further.

"The enemy must clearly understand that he shall not trample with impunity upon an inch of land or a blade of grass in the DPRK.

"In view of the grave situation prevailing in our country owing to the schemes of the US imperialists and the south Korean puppets to provoke another war, and as self-defensive measures to safeguard the security of our Republic and people, I order the following:

1. The whole country, all the people and the entire army shall, on March 9, 1993, switch to a state of readiness for war.

2. All the soldiers of the three services of the Korean People's Army–the land, naval and air forces–and of the Korean People's Security Forces, and all the members of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards and the Young Red Guards shall display high revolutionary vigilance and closely observe every move by the enemy, and shall be fully ready for action to crush the enemy at a stroke should he attack.

3. All the people shall equip themselves fully with our Party's Juche view on war and, with a hammer or a sickle in one hand and a rifle in the other, produce a great upswing in socialist economic construction."

As soon as the order of the Supreme Commander was issued, the whole country, all the people and the entire army immediately turned out for a do-or-die battle to annihilate the enemy. Now that the whole country had been put in a semi-war state on March 9, all the soldiers of the KPA's three services and the KPSF and all the members of the WPRG and YRG took up their battle positions at once in high spirits, all ready to crush any military challenge of the enemy at a stroke. That day a mass rally and demonstration involving more than 100 000 Pyongyangites took place in Kim Il Sung Square, followed by mass rallies and meetings in all provinces and all factories, enterprises, cooperative farms and universities and colleges throughout the country; all working people, farmers and intellectuals

launched a dynamic campaign to further consolidate the all-people defence system while maintaining their full readiness for battle.

Dazed by the spirit of Korea, the US war-mongers who had been running wild, wielding their nuclear stick, were frightened and at a loss what to do next.

As another blow to the United States, Kim Jong Il saw to it that the DPRK Government published a statement on March 12, 1993, on its withdrawal from the NPT.

The statement solemnly made public that Korea's withdrawal from the NPT was in order to defend the supreme interests of the country, and pointed out that it was a natural self-defensive measure against the US nuclear war moves and the unreasonable acts of some undesirable elements within the IAEA Secretariat, and that such a principled standpoint would not change until the United States gave up its nuclear threat to Korea and the IAEA Secretariat returned to its principles of independence and impartiality.

The statement was broadcast at 10:30 a.m. through Korean Central Radio. Twenty minutes later, it began to be relayed all round the world by foreign broadcasting services. All mass media in the United States, Japan, France, Britain, China, Russia and the rest of the world reported the statement as top news.

The world political, social and press circles commented that it was a "manifestation of north Korea's political, ideological and military might," and that "Korea's decision plunged the US Administration into a state of shock." Especially, they lavished praise on Kim Jong Il's ingenuity and prowess, saying: "Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il's unparalleled prowess is far greater than the determination of all the world-renowned generals combined. Even nuclear weapons are worthless in the face of his prowess." An Australian radio station reported that the "current confrontation demonstrates the acme of the north Korean leader's art of leadership."

Upon receipt of their Supreme Commander's order about a semi-war state, the KPA servicepersons adopted full combat readiness, and secured the land, seas and airspace of the country; they displayed a matchless self-sacrificing spirit in their endeavour to defend Kim Jong Il with their

very lives and safeguard at all costs socialism built at the cost of blood.

A soldier of a KPA unit did not leave his post in spite of the critical condition of his illness but stayed on, doing his utmost solely for combat readiness, till his heart stopped beating, his body remaining by his combat equipment. He was just a single example. All the servicepersons of the KPA at their battle stations firmly defended their posts with full determination to annihilate the enemy mercilessly at the cost of their very lives for the sake of the Party and the leader, if ordered by Kim Jong Il. In less than ten days since the issuance of the Supreme Commander's Order No. 0034, over 1.5 million young people and students volunteered to join the People's Army. Besides the young people, a great number of war veterans and heroes, and ex-servicepersons in all parts of the country asked for reenlistment, requesting that they be placed at the forefront in defence of the country. Other veterans of the Fatherland Liberation War and old-age pensioners expressed their determination to take the responsibility for wartime production. The members of the WPRG and YRG, with a hammer, a sickle, or a pen in one hand and a rifle in the other, made a fresh upswing in production and construction while guarding their workplaces, villages and schools, and the spirit of supporting the People's Army both materially and morally found a fuller expression than ever before throughout the country.

At the same time as commanding the do-or-die battle during the period of the semi-war state, Kim Jong Il arranged an unprecedented operation to bring Ri In Mo[1], an unconverted long-term prisoner in south Korea and an incarnation of conviction and willpower, over to the DPRK, an operation that bespoke his high degree of comradeship.

Ri In Mo had worked as a KPA war correspondent during the Fatherland Liberation War, and been wounded in the leg and arrested. Staying alive for 34 years behind bars, he had managed to overcome all manner of the enemy's cruel tortures, and remained true to his convictions and principles. After his release, he had been suffering from illness. His condition went from bad to worse in March 1993. His body was paralyzed on the left side by cerebral concussion and stroke; pneumonia combined with thoracic emphysema and various complications put his life in an extremely critical state.

Regarding it as a noble revolutionary obligation to bring home Ri In Mo who had remained faithful to his convictions, Kim Jong Il had arranged a dynamic campaign for Ri's repatriation since 1989. This time he made a resolute determination to bring him back and took a strong measure for his immediate repatriation, though he was busy commanding the confrontation with the United States. At long last, Ri In Mo's repatriation was made possible.

Kim Jong Il made sure that Ri In Mo was brought home during the period of the semi-war state, before organizing a state-level welcoming ceremony in his honour and grand-scale welcoming arrangements along the 200-km route of his return journey, and ordering a helicopter to fly over the route of his journey in consideration of his illness. On March 19, 1993, Ri In Mo came over the demarcation line, heading for Pyongyang. Both sides of the road from Kaesong to Pyongyang were filled with streams of people standing to welcome Ri In Mo, an incarnation of conviction and willpower. The senior officials of the Party and commanding officers of the army who had been assisting Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il in his leadership during the sharp political and military confrontation with the United States, as well as other cadres and soldiers of the People's Army and all the people of the country turned out to the streets to welcome Ri In Mo. Thus, Ri, who had been disabled and thought to be unable to live no longer than 20 days, recuperated in the embrace of Kim Jong Il and was able to live an honourable life as a hero, as an incarnation of conviction and will.

A newspaper in a Latin-American country carried an article with the headline, *Korea, a Land of Conviction and Will*, which wrote the following: "The repatriation of Ri In Mo was a sharp political confrontation between socialism and capitalism. It ended in Korea's victory. Pyongyang is now overjoyed as a victor at Ri's arrival. The semi-war state is not yet over, but Pyongyang is already shouting 'Hurrah.' Pyongyang, no doubt, is already emerging victorious in the on-going confrontation."

The United States, which had been going all out to bring Korea to its knees through military threats and the nuclear pressure racket, saw its nuclear stick break into pieces. Consequently, it could not but announce its suspension of the Team Spirit 93 joint military exercise ahead of schedule;

the IAEA, too, had to give up its spurious "special inspection" demand.

Kim Jong Il issued an order on March 24 on lifting the semi-war state and extended his thanks to all the soldiers of the KPA and KPSF, all the members of the WPRG and YRG, and all the Party members and other working people who had displayed their unfailing loyalty in their struggle to defend the sovereignty of the country and its revolutionary achievements.

The Korean people's political and military confrontation with the United States was an all-people do-or-die battle to defend their socialist motherland.

3. THROUGH ADROIT DIPLOMACY

When its scheme to subdue Korea with an extremely high-handed nuclear blackmail and war posture foundered, the United States arrived at an understanding that pressure or "sanctions" could not bring Korea to its knees, and resigned itself to government-level negotiations with Korea. But even sitting at the negotiation table, the United States never abandoned its ambition to throttle Korea; it merely attempted to realize its scheme by means of diplomacy. The Korea-US political and military confrontation now switched over to a fierce war without gunshots on the front of diplomacy.

The first-stage Korea-US talks took place in New York from June 2 to 11, 1993. The US side, made up of representatives of different departments including the White House, State Department, Defence Department and CIA, and veteran specialists and assistants, tried to foist its demand on the Korean side by means of pressure and appeasement.

Kim Jong Il instructed the Korean delegation in detail on the direction in which they should achieve Korea's aims by making use of a variety of tactics while maintaining the country's principled standpoint. He inspired them with strength and wisdom, whereby they would respond boldly to the US's blackmail diplomacy with plenty of guts, commercial transaction-type diplomacy with strong revolutionary

principles, so that they could steer the talks their way from the outset.

The day the talks started, the US side was foolish enough to put forth an unreasonable demand in an attempt to reinstate Korea's membership of the NPT, threatening Korea that it was now at a "crossroads" and that if its demand was not accepted, "north Korea would be driven into a tragic situation" and an "untoward incident" might occur. It was brigandish blackmail, intimating that the United States would unleash a "second Persian Gulf war" in Korea.

The Korean delegation lost no time in replying that "At the time of our withdrawal from the NPT, we anticipated US missiles." That response was a declaration of Juche-guided Korea, upon confrontation, that it was ready to counterattack if provoked by the United States with missiles.

Such a stern attitude of socialist Korea that faced up to the US's high-handed diplomacy by means of revolutionary principle was firmly backed up by the strong military might of the People's Army.

On May 29, just a few days before the Korea-US talks in New York, a Korean missile reached its target in the Pacific Ocean between Guam and Hawaii. Having tracked through a reconnaissance satellite the performance of this missile, whose speed is several times that of either the Tomahawk cruise missile, a symbol of the US's high-handed diplomacy, or the much-vaunted Patriot missile, and whose precision is very high, the United States could not but give due consideration to its attitude.

Missiles are no longer the monopoly of the United States. Gone are the days when the United States attacked other countries with missiles at will and with impunity. Korea is not what it was in the 1950s; it is a socialist power possessed of unshakable willpower and equipped with all necessary powerful means to mercilessly strike and annihilate any enemy, whoever he may be, if he ever dares trample upon its sovereignty or invade its sacred land.

The Korea-US talks, each side pursuing contradictory objectives, were a theatre of fierce battle, though without gunshots. In this battle, the US side was awakened once again to the fact that Korea is quite different from Iraq, and that blackmail diplomacy cuts no ice with Korea.

Its blackmail diplomacy having proved useless, the United States resorted to commercial transaction-type diplomacy with which to appease Korea. The United States attempted to elicit concessions from Korea, proposing that if Korea revoked its decision on withdrawal from the NPT and accepted the IAEA's full-scope inspection, it might discuss with Korea the pending issues concerning both parties and bilateral economic cooperation and, furthermore, the issue of a possible diplomatic relationship between the two countries.

Kim Jong Il had already anticipated such a bargaining form of proposal from the US side during the talks, and instructed the officials to be on their guard against being drawn into the logic of technical business, stressing that the talks should not be used as a means of trading but of discussing the political issues and policies underlying the nuclear problem. The Korean delegation sternly refuted the US logic of technical business with a logic of political weight.

The head of the Korean delegation reasoned logically that the nuclear problem had cropped up basically as a result of the US hostile policy and nuclear threat towards Korea geared at undermining Korea's socialist system. He made the strong point that no progress could be expected in the discussion about nuclear problem unless the US's hostile policy to Korea was fundamentally changed, and that priority should be given to readjustment and agreement in the matter of policy, as the starting-point of the talks at hand.

The first-stage Korea-US talks got nowhere in the course of heated exchanges of different viewpoints for nearly 50 hours, but drew to a close with the announcement of a Korea-US joint statement on June 11, just a day before Korea's withdrawal from the NPT was to come into force automatically.

The joint statement made public the agreement of the two sides on the principles of assurances against the threat and use of force, including nuclear weapons, peace and security on a nuclear-free Korean peninsula, including impartial application of full-scope safeguards, respect for each other's sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and support for the peaceful reunification of Korea. It also noted that Korea

had decided unilaterally to suspend as long as it considered necessary the effectuation of its withdrawal from the NPT.

He saw to it that the Korean side proposed at the second-stage Korea-US talks the introduction of light-water reactor (LWR) power plants as a turning-point in the solution of nuclear problem.

The second-stage Korea-US talks took place in Geneva, Switzerland, from July 14 to 19, 1993.

With the talks just round the corner, the United States put massive pressure on Korea in an attempt to create an atmosphere favourable for it to elicit concessions from the latter. President Clinton on a visit to south Korea went as far as the Military Demarcation Line, and trumpeted about a war, raving that if north Korea ignited a war, the United States would destroy it. Chiming in with the US moves, both the south Korean puppet authorities and Japanese reactionaries kicked up a great fuss about a forthcoming terrible event if Korea rejected the nuclear inspection demand.

Kim Jong Il induced the Korean delegation to launch a strong counterattack from the outset of the talks to put the United States on the defensive and take full control of the whole process, before raising the LWR matter in big relief in the light of the political aspect of the talks, thus pushing the talks ahead in Korea's favour.

Before engaging in full-dress talks, the Korean delegation delivered a broadside at the US side, making a political issue of the provocative, threatening remarks of US officials about Korea. Surprised by this, the US side was at a loss and thrown on the defensive, and had to make an official apology.

Then the Korean side put forward a proposal for the introduction of the LWR project, and launched a full-scale offensive to get it accepted.

Korea's proposal for replacement of its graphite-moderated reactors (GMRs) and related facilities with LWRs was innovative in that it opened the way to a final solution to the nuclear problem on the Korean peninsula. A graphite-moderated reactor fuelled by natural uranium turns out a larger amount of plutonium than an LWR fuelled by enriched uranium in the course of re-processing. Plutonium can be

used either for the peaceful purpose of producing electricity or for the military purpose of manufacturing nuclear weapons. Now that the United States was letting loose a rumour about Korea's "suspicious nuclear activities," claiming that Korea would use plutonium for the production of nuclear weapons, the proposal was an optimal means of showing off Korea's willingness towards denuclearization and the transparency of its nuclear activities. Meanwhile, the United States, for its part, would not be able to help improving all aspects of its abnormal relationship with Korea politically, economically and legally if it was to supply LWR technology and equipment to the latter.

Korea's innovative and fair proposal rendered the US proposal for the IAEA's inspection worthless, and the US side could not but support and welcome it as a "well-designed, constructive and daring proposal."

During the second-stage talks Korea elicited US support for its proposal and promise of supply of LWRs, and created conditions favourable for the settlement of the nuclear issue and for the improvement of bilateral relations between the two countries.

Kim Jong Il gave leadership to Korea's active smashing of the repeated attempts of the United States to bring pressure to bear upon it after the second-stage talks, while arranging the third-stage talks.

According to the agreement reached during the second-stage talks, both sides would resume the talks in two months. Contrary to this, however, the United States began to stall for time, putting out a precondition that the third-stage talks could be held only when Korea accepted the IAEA's inspection and resumed inter-Korean talks, while, at the same time, stepping up its unreasonable pressure and "sanctions" against Korea more blatantly. Consequently, the third-stage talks were not held even after the lapse of several months, and the Korea-US talks reached a stalemate.

At this juncture Kim Jong Il put forward a policy of obviating the US precondition by proposing a package deal.

In line with this policy, a statement by the Vice-Minister of the People's Armed Forces, the gist of which was "We'll respond to talks with talks, war with war," was published on November 3, 1993, followed by a statement by

the head of the Korean delegation to Korea-US talks in which a proposal for the settlement of problems concerning both Korea and the United States by means of a package deal was put forward.

The US side, at a loss what to do in the face of Korea's principled and hardline attitude, was compelled to give a positive appreciation and response to Korea's proposal for a package deal, which it accepted on December 29 the same year during Korea-US contacts in New York. In the course of these contacts the US side made an official expression of its intention to suspend the Team Spirit 94 joint military exercise as part of its action to remove the nuclear threat to Korea, and the Korean side decided to receive relevant inspections required for the continuity of the Safeguards Accord, instead of routine or ad hoc inspections, in accordance with its special status of having set a moratorium on effectuation of its withdrawal from the NPT, and to positively examine south Korea's proposal, if any, on working-level contacts for an exchange of special envoys. Both parties to the talks also agreed to hold the third-stage talks to resolve as a package deal all problems required for the settlement of the nuclear problem.

Following this, however, the United States was despicable enough to go back on its promise and instigate the IAEA to insist on full-scope inspection; worse still, it again called for "special inspection" of Korea's two military establishments, although they were completely unrelated to nuclear activities. At the same time, it inveigled the south Korean puppet authorities, Japanese reactionaries and its allies in the West into putting collective, massive pressure upon Korea.

Kim Jong Il ensured that the spokesman of the DPRK Ministry of Foreign Affairs published a statement of Korea's resolute attitude on January 31, 1994, saying that if the United States went back on its promise to Korea and was unwilling to hold talks with Korea, the latter, for its part, would not remain bound by its promise to the United States, but would give up its idea of talks with the United States and choose a way to counter any US options. At the same time, Kim Jong Il saw to it that Korea undertook the exchange of fuel rods of the 5-megawatt-capacity experimental reactor in May as scheduled, in spite of the unjust interference and hindrance of the

United States. He also made sure that in response to the IAEA's demand for the opening of two of Korea's military establishments and its action of "suspension of technical cooperation" with Korea, on the excuse of the nuclear issue, Korea declared its immediate withdrawal from the IAEA, on June 13, and made public its unshakable position, stating that given the situation that the United States was attempting to steamroller the UN into passing a resolution on "sanctions" against Korea by mobilizing its allies, Korea would regard "sanctions" as a declaration of war, in which Korea would not show any mercy.

Korea's death-defying position, uncompromising and tough to the limit, even if that meant war, disheartened the US war maniacs, giving rise to a "tendency of prudence" among the US authorities. The US Defence Department, while examining its new Korean war scenario, conducted a computer simulation of a possible nuclear war. The result was disastrous: US defeat with a huge number of deaths and enormous material damage. The US military authorities were dispirited.

Carrying an article about an analysis made by the KJI Institute (Kim Jong Il Institute) in the United States, a US newspaper wrote the following: The leadership of north Korean Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il is characterized by: first, his accurate judgment; second, his firm resolution; and, third, his merciless strike.

Voice of America, on June 13, broadcast the following: Pyongyang has already made a statement that "sanctions" would mean war, thus making it clear that once "sanctions" were set in motion, it would react with a war against the United States, south Korea and their allies; we will have to keep in mind that the Korean peninsula is not the Balkan peninsula, and is different from Iraq in that 80 percent of its land is mountainous, that the north Korean army the United States is to deal with is a special army distinguished from previous US opponents, and, in particular, that President Kim Il Sung, a veteran who has long dealt with the United States and Japan, and Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il are leading the north Korean armed forces and people.

Not only the UNSC member states and many developing countries but even the US's allies opposed the UN "sanctions."

Driven into a tight corner, the US ruling circles dispatched former President Jimmy Carter to Korea on June 15, in order to seek a compromise.

In the course of his meetings with Carter, President Kim Il Sung worked out a decisive milestone for the resumption of the stalemated Korea-US talks.

As a result, the third-stage Korea-US talks took place over two rounds in Geneva between August and October 1994.

While the first and second stages of the talks had been geared to both sides clarifying their respective principled attitudes to the nuclear problem and making a framework for negotiations in broad aspects, the third-stage talks were the final phase of confrontation in which each side had to set its final destination and reach agreement on technical matters. The outcome of the third-stage talks was to decide the final result of the Korea-US nuclear standoff.

Kim Jong Il gave detailed and concrete explanations about the goal and orientation of the work to be done by the Korean delegation during the first round of the third-stage talks, including such a matter as inducing the United States to reaffirm the principles of the New York joint statement that it would desist from threatening Korea with nuclear weapons and respect Korea's sovereignty, and to implement its commitments sincerely.

The first round began on August 5, with a very heated exchange of arguments, but the Korean side steered it proactively.

The US side demanded that Korea restore completely its membership of the NPT, accept the IAEA's full-scope inspections, including "special inspection," and immediately freeze its nuclear activities permanently; only then, it declared, could the United States give assurances for supply of LWRs, take gradual steps for provision of alternative energy and also deal with the establishment of diplomatic relations with Korea on a phase-to-phase basis. It was a crafty move to trick Korea into letting its guard down.

Before the Korean delegation's departure for the talks, Kim Jong Il had already anticipated the desperate moves of the United States to smoothly hold the forthcoming international conference on the extension of the

NPT, giving instructions to the delegates on the need to fully guard against the snares of the other side and explaining clear-cut ways to cope with any such attempts. The Korean delegation flatly rejected the unreasonable demand of the US side and maintained its firm standpoint that Korea would act only after the United States acted first, putting the US side on the defensive with logical arguments geared chiefly at eliciting assurances for supply of LWRs and compensation from the United States.

The fierce exchange of arguments ended on August 12 with the adoption of an agreed statement between Korea and the United States. Through the agreed statement, Korea obtained US assurances for the provision of LWRs and for arrangements for interim energy alternatives as compensation for Korea's freeze on GMRs and the US commitment to improving overall political and economic relations between Korea and the United States and assurances for removal of the nuclear threat to Korea, in exchange for the latter's expression of willingness to remain a party to the NPT, thus elevating its dignity and external prestige.

The second round of the third-stage talks took place for nearly a month, from September 23 to October 21.

Kim Jong Il indicated the direction in which the Korean delegation to the second round should concentrate its effort–on obtaining legal US assurances for full implementation of the agreements reached between the two sides.

In a desperate attempt to recover from its defeat in the previous round, the US side tried to force on the Korean side its demand for the IAEA's "special inspection" in relation to "nuclear suspicion," stating that it was unwilling to carry on with the talks any longer unless its demand was accepted.

In an immediate counterattack against this brigandish demand of the United States, the Korean delegation insisted that "special inspection" was out of the question; settlement of the past was what Korea was also interested in, but no one could estimate how long it would take; therefore, Korea could hardly remain idle, but had to carry on with its peaceful nuclear activities, including exchange of fuel rods of the GMRs

and reprocessing of the spent fuel. The tables then started turning abruptly in Korea's favour. The United States could not help renouncing its proposal for "special inspection" on its own, as it was awakened to the fact that if it continued pressing for inspection of Korea's nuclear transparency the duration of which no one could predict, it could hardly restore Korea to membership of the NPT any time.

Thrown on to the defensive, the United States now attempted to foist on Korea its demand that Korea stop exchanging fuel rods of GMRs and dismantle GMRs before delivery of the core equipment of the LWR No. 1.

Upon receipt of the report on this situation on September 27, Kim Jong Il instructed that Korea should on no account yield to the enemy. Refuting the US assertion, the Korean delegation pointed out forcefully that now that the United States refused to give assurances for provision of LWRs and energy alternatives, Korea would be compelled to carry on with not only the exchange of fuel rods of the GMRs but the reprocessing of the spent fuel. Unable to stick to its unreasonable demand any longer, the US side came to accede to the discussion about delivery of LWRs. In the long run, the Korean delegation got its demand accepted at the talks that had lasted nearly a month.

On October 20, 1994, President Clinton sent to Kim Jong Il a letter of assurance on the provision of LWRs and energy alternatives, a letter in which he addressed Kim Jong Il as "Supreme Leader of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea" to show his high respect for him.

October 21, the following day, witnessed the publication of the Korea-US Agreed Framework, in which the United States promised provision of a LWR project (worth about USD 4 billion) with a total generating capacity of approximately 2 000 MW(e) by a target date in 2003, deliveries of heavy oil at a rate of 500 000 tons per annum, reduction of barriers to trade and investment, the setting up of a liaison office and establishment of diplomatic relations, in exchange for Korea's freezing and dismantling of its GMRs and related facilities, expression of willingness towards denuclearization and assurance of its return to membership of the NPT.

With the adoption of the Agreed Framework, a final agreement was reached on all the controversial issues of the tense Korea-US talks that had lasted nearly a year, and the curtain fell on the overall nuclear standoff.

The total time consumed for the Korea-US talks over three stages was 250 hours, during which Korea steered the talks with dignified composure and according to its determination and intention, and brought the United States, a country 78 times bigger in territory and 10 times larger in population, to its knees.

CHAPTER 32

MATERIALIZATION OF THE CAUSE OF IMMORTALIZING THE LEADER

1. SUFFERING THE GREATEST NATIONAL BEREAVEMENT

On July 8, 1994, Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, passed away. He had devoted his whole life to the cause of the people's independence, and worked indefatigably for the prosperity of the country and welfare of the people, national reunification and independence, for people all over the world.

It was the greatest loss and suffering for the whole nation that he passed away in the historic period when the socialist cause was winning victory after victory in the face of manifold hardships and trials, and a new phase was opening on the road of the Korean revolution and national reunification.

Kim Jong Il could hardly believe the sad news; it came like a thunderbolt to him. As recently as July 5 and 6, the President had directed consultative meetings of the senior officials of the economic sector, and even skipping his morning walk on July 7, he had examined in detail and approved a document concerning national reunification. Still ringing in his ears was the voice of Kim Il Sung speaking about the problems arising in the relations between the north and the south on July 6. That day Kim Il Sung phoned Kim Jong Il to discuss problems concerning the relationship between the north and the south. As Kim Jong Il said he would support what President Kim Il Sung decided, the latter said that then he would work on as he saw fit, taking it as approved by Kim Jong Il.

Little did Kim Jong Il dream that that telephone conversation would be the last talk between them. In the evening of July 7, the President told some officials in the following vein: There are so many things to do for the people; if I rest from working, your leader Supreme Commander will have to bear an even heavier burden; he is now dealing with heaps of State affairs, big and small; seeing Kim Jong Il sitting up late at night working for the people, I can hardly rest even for a while. President Kim Il Sung had studied a document in his office till the last moment of his life. To Kim Jong Il it seemed too inconsiderate of time to thus close the life of the President who had set out on the road of revolution in his early years and had trodden rugged, thorny paths, suffering all sorts of hardships, solely for the freedom and welfare of the people, with the motto **"The people are my God."**

He rushed to the place where the President was, through a rainstorm. The President was lying as if he were sleeping off the fatigue of his whole life. Taking him by the hand, Kim Jong Il called him, choking with tears. He stood by the deceased all night, swallowing tears of blood. At dawn he came out to the garden.

As he was looking up at the windows of the President's office, tears welled up in his eyes.

"This is the hour of the leader's morning walk. It seems to me that at any moment now he will switch off the light in his office and come out to the garden for a walk," he said sorrowfully to his companion, wiping tears from his eyes with a handkerchief.

In this quiet dawn moment his mind was gnawed by the reflection that there might have been a slip in his care for the President. Although he had done his best for the safety and good health of the President, since the early morning when he had chased a flock of sparrows away with a long pole left behind by his mother Kim Jong Suk to keep their chirping from disturbing the sound sleep of the President, and assisted him day and night sleeping only for a spell in the office at night, it seemed as though he had not cared for him well enough. Even quite recently he had personally made a schedule for the good rest of the aged President, and arranged for doctors to examine him regularly, showing meticulous care about his meals and hours for

strolls. Kim Jong Il had done everything he could for the health and longevity of the President. Nevertheless, he still felt regret at the thought that he had failed to relieve him of his work burden. Hardly able to suppress the sorrow rising in his heart, he cast his tearful eyes in the direction of Jujak Peak on Mt. Taesong (his mother's resting place). Longing for his mother Kim Jong Suk, Kim Jong Il said in a hoarse voice that he wished his mother were alive at such a time, and stayed at the spot for quite a long while, unable to step away.

Soon, the day began to break. Kim Jong Il said that as the day was dawning an extraordinary meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee should be convened, and gave instructions to summon the members of the Political Bureau and secretaries immediately to the Kumsusan Assembly Hall.

Some time later, an extraordinary meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee was opened in a room of the Kumsusan Assembly Hall. It was the first meeting of the Political Bureau to be called without the presence of President Kim Il Sung, a meeting unprecedented in the history of the Workers' Party of Korea. Kim Jong Il could not bring himself to announce that President Kim Il Sung had passed away. So he said that the doctor in charge of the President's health would now explain his condition. The doctor informed them, choking back his tears, that the President had suffered long from a heart disease and that his heart had stopped beating the night before. Those present at the meeting could not believe their ears.

Kim Jong Il took the Political Bureau members and secretaries to the office of the President. The room where the deceased was lying was heavy with sorrow-laden silence. Before the body of the President whom they had followed on the long road of revolution, they burst into tears, convulsed with grief.

After a long time, the meeting was resumed. Kim Jong Il raised the problem of where the body of the deceased should be laid in state.

Those present suggested that the body should be placed in the April 25 House of Culture or the People's Palace of Culture for the people to pay their last respects to the deceased. After hearing all their suggestions, Kim Jong Il said he saw the matter differently, and gave his own view.

"In my opinion, the leader's body should be laid in state in the Kumsusan Assembly Hall, and people should come and pay their farewell respects to him here. As the leader worked here for nearly 20 years, it will be reasonable to lay the body here."

He gave detailed instructions about such matters as announcing the news about the demise of President Kim Il Sung, forming the State funeral committee, and holding the funeral service, last farewell ceremony and memorial services.

At noon on July 9, the day after the extraordinary meeting of the Political Bureau, the news about the passing of President Kim Il Sung was announced under the title "To all Party members and people."

At the unexpected sad news, the people throughout the country wailed, beating the ground and their breasts, and many of them even swooned. Pyongyang citizens went day and night to the statue of President Kim Il Sung on Mansu Hill and wept bitterly, clutching the pedestal.

Not only the Pyongyang citizens but the people all over the country wailed before the statues of the President, monuments to his field instructions, historic monuments connected with him and portraits of him.

According to the official notice of the State funeral committee, Kim Jong Il attended the funeral service with cadres of the Party, army and State on July 11, the first day for receiving condolence callers. He paid silent tribute to the President with the bitterest heart, and stood as the guard of honour by the bier together with the members of the State funeral committee.

Officials requested him to leave the place if only for a short while, entrusting the role of guard of honour to the members of the State funeral committee, but he refused to leave, saying, **"All the people are standing as guards of honour as mourners, so how can I, the chief mourner, leave his place? Never mind, please."**

To the veteran anti-Japanese fighters who were weeping bitterly, heads bowed before the deceased, Kim Jong Il said earnestly that they should all revere the late President more even than when he was alive, and to the compatriots who, being close acquaintances of the departed, had come all the way from far-away foreign lands, he tendered his thanks.

The number of condolence callers increased as time passed. People expressed their ardent wish to come and see the departed President in the Kumsusan Assembly Hall. Considering their desire, Kim Jong Il took steps to prolong the period of condolatory calls for three days more, until July 18.

Sharing sorrow with the people, he was greatly moved by their noble morality evidenced in their fidelity to the late leader. As he was making the rounds of the capital city a few days after the passing of the President, he approached the statue of Kim Il Sung on Mansu Hill and he saw the plaza in front of the statue packed with citizens mourning for the departed President on their knees in the falling rain, and countless other people waiting their turn at the foot of the long flights of steps. Seen among them was a group of students trying to shield the wreath they had brought to place at the statue from the rain with their jackets though they themselves were soaking wet. At this sight, he was moved to tears. Many years after that Kim Jong Il recalled the scene of the students covering the wreath with their jackets to keep off the rain. He said the students must now be fathers and mothers with children, themselves.

During the mourning period, the whole world wept in sorrow together with the Korean people. People of all walks of life in south Korea, in defiance of the fascist crackdown by the authorities, set up incense-burning altars in Seoul and other places to hold memorial services and mourning ceremonies, and sent condolence groups to Panmunjom. The overseas Koreans' organizations, including Chongryon in Japan, and individual overseas compatriots sent condolence messages and wreaths on the occasion of the greatest sorrow Korean nation had known in its history, and set up mourning halls and held mourning rites.

In this period, over 60 foreign State and government leaders, 170 leaders of political parties and more than 2 000 diplomats visited the Korean missions in their countries to offer their condolences, 3 480 messages of condolence and 3 300 wreaths were sent to Korea from 166 countries. Seven hundred mass media in 120 countries issued special editions in memory of President Kim Il Sung. Mourning rites were held in 160 countries, and billions of people extended their condolences. A journalist who had spent his life collecting anecdotes concerning the deaths of State

leaders and world celebrities said that before that time mankind had shed tears every time a great man had passed away, but there had been no precedent for such copious tears as were shed over the death of President Kim Il Sung, and that the earth was soaked with the bitter tears shed by billions of people in memory of the late President.

When the whole country was in deep sorrow, Kim Jong Il meditated on how to immortalize President Kim Il Sung, and keep carrying on his ideas and exploits.

The tears shed by the soldiers and other people in the period of mourning were the bitterest tears of grief at the loss of their leader and tears of determination and will to immortalize the leader, and inherit and accomplish the revolutionary cause pioneered by him.

Reading from the tears of the people that they ardently desired to immortalize the leader, Kim Jong Il put forth the slogans **"The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung will always be with us"** and **"Let us arm ourselves more firmly with the revolutionary ideas of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung!"** which reflected the unanimous desire and aspirations of the Party and the people, and the requirements of the times.

A leader will be immortal even after his death when his ideas and exploits are immortal and he remains one with his people.

Kim Jong Il arranged for the funeral ceremony to be the scene of immortalizing the leader.

His special concern in preparing for the funeral ceremony was the portrait of the leader. Late at night on July 10, when hours and days had passed in tears, Kim Jong Il went to the Kumsusan Assembly Hall with an album, which he opened before the senior officials there, and said, **"I looked over photos of the leader and I think it is good to choose the leader's smiling image for the funeral ceremony."**

The officials were surprised at his suggestion. It was a tradition in any country to put up one of the existing portraits or photographs of the deceased at the funeral service and, furthermore, there had never been an instance of putting up a smiling portrait of the departed at a funeral.

Turning the pages of the album, he came to a photograph of President Kim Il Sung looking down over the completed West Sea Barrage with a

pleased smile on June 24, 1986, and showed it to the officials. Suggesting that it would be good to paint a portrait of the leader all smiles from that photograph, he said that while looking at all the photographs of the President, he found that particular photograph taken quite recently best of all his photographs with a smiling face.

Putting their hearts and souls into the work, true to his earnest wishes, the painters finished the portrait in a few days. On July 14, Kim Jong Il viewed the portrait. After having a good look at it, he said that he was strongly impressed by the leader's face, smiling just as he had been in his lifetime. He added, **"Looking at the portrait of the leader with a sunny smile, our people will think that the leader is always with them."**

In order to make the leader's sun-like image better portrayed, Kim Jong Il sent one of the neckties used by the leader in his lifetime and had the picture frame decorated with the pattern of magnolia, the national flower of Korea, not with the usual black ribbon.

Kim Jong Il instructed that the funeral ceremony should be held in an entirely new fashion. He arranged for the leader's coffin to be carried in the car he had used while alive, instead of a gun carriage or an armoured car, as in other countries, and for the immortal revolutionary hymn *Song of General Kim Il Sung* to be solemnly played, instead of a dirge, as a large portrait of the leader brightly smiling was displayed at the head of the funeral motorcade. He gave detailed instructions as to the procedures and ways of the last farewell ceremony and the rites to be held at the Kumsusan Assembly Hall when the hearse returned to the hall after the citizens along the streets of Pyongyang had bid their last farewells to it.

The day dawned on July 19, when the Korean people would part forever with President Kim Il Sung. Kim Jong Il came out to the Kumsusan Assembly Hall early in the morning, and paid silent tribute to the leader with the members of the State funeral committee, and looked round the bier. The last farewell ceremony was held. At the ceremony ground a guard of honour and a column of military colours of the ground, naval and air forces of the Korean People's Army were lined up. Amid the playing of a dirge, the hearse entered the ceremony ground. The commander of the guard of honour made the parting report to the late leader. After the national anthem

was played, the hearse slowly passed before the column of military colours and the guard of honour standing at the salute.

Followed by the cars of Kim Jong Il and the members of the State funeral committee, the hearse left for the streets of the capital city lined with millions of citizens and Korean People's Army soldiers. The funeral motorcade, with the portrait of the beaming leader at the head, made its way through the capital's long streets amid the playing of the immortal revolutionary hymn, *Song of General Kim Il Sung*.

Looking up to the sunny portrait of the leader, the people felt as if he were coming to them with a brighter smile to embrace them more warmly even than when he was alive.

The motorcade entered Kim Il Sung Square after cruising through the streets which were drowned in floods of tears. In the square, hundreds of thousands of people wept bitterly.

Looking at them through his own tears, Kim Jong Il said in a hoarse voice that he could not bear to simply pass the place, and that as the people and the students were crying for their father with breaking hearts, the leader's hearse should make another round of the square before parting forever from them. The hearse went slowly round the square once more, and then returned to the Kumsusan Assembly Hall via Kaesonmun Street.

In the grounds of the Assembly Hall the commander of the guard of honour made a report in tears as if the leader had come back to his office from a visit to the people. A salute of 24 guns and a volley of 100 rifles were fired. The guard of honour and the column of military colours of the KPA marched.

CNN TV televised the funeral ceremony live. It said that all the activities of Kim Jong Il during the period of mourning clearly showed his demeanour as heir to the cause of President Kim Il Sung.

On July 20, the national meeting in memory of the deceased leader was held in Pyongyang, with Kim Jong Il in attendance. All the participants paid silent tribute in humble reverence to Kim Il Sung who had devoted all his energies till the last moment of his life to the prosperity of the country, the freedom and welfare of the people, national reunification and global independence, and prayed for his eternal life.

At dawn on July 21, the day after the memorial meeting, Kim Jong Il

looked round the streets of Pyongyang. Great numbers of people were going to the statue of the leader. Sensing the people's yearning after the departed leader, Kim Jong Il said to an official that day that the people should not be disturbed in their bitter sorrow, and took steps to put off important meetings and State functions for some time, to enable the people's grief to be sublimated into loyalty.

Kim Jong Il saw to it that on October 16, 1994, the 100th day after the leader's demise, memorial services were held in the capital and provinces, and gave a talk, titled, ***Let Us Hold the Great Leader in High Esteem Forever and Accomplish His Cause to the End***, before the senior officials of the Party Central Committee.

Kim Jong Il said in the talk that during the previous 100 days the Korean people had acutely realized what a great leader they had had and how blessed they had been to have such a leader. He indicated in an extensive way the tasks the Party and people should constantly carry out to make the great leader live on in eternity.

Keeping in their minds the ideas and will of Kim Jong Il concerning the cause of immortalizing the great leader, the soldiers and people of Korea rose as one to materialize them.

2. BUILDING THE KUMSUSAN MEMORIAL PALACE INTO THE HOLIEST SANCTUARY OF JUCHE

The primary task in materializing the cause of immortalizing the great leader was to keep him as he had been in his lifetime.

Kim Jong Il set it as an important and sacred task for the times and history to keep the great leader as in his lifetime, and wisely led the Party, the army and the people to carry it into reality.

He took emergency measures to keep the leader as he had been at the moment when the leader's heart stopped beating and, at the same time, decided to build the Kumsusam Assembly Hall into a memorial palace where the nation could keep the great leader forever.

Kim Jong Il inspecting a sand model of the Kumsusan Memorial Palace

Officials thought that the mausoleum should be built in the central part of the capital–Kim Il Sung Square or Mansu Hill–or in the Mangyongdae district, and suggested that Kim Jong Il should work in the Kumsusan Assembly Hall after the mourning and last farewell ceremonies were over.

However, Kim Jong Il could not accept their opinions. The Kumsusan Assembly Hall was a gift presented by the Korean people to the great leader with all their hearts. In his lifetime, President Kim Il Sung worked there for a long time to lead the Korean revolution, design the people's well-being and create a new history for the era of independence. Although the leader had passed away, the hall could not be divorced from him.

Having arrived at the conclusion that immortalizing the leader could not be thought of apart from the Kumsusan Assembly Hall, just as his revolutionary activities could not be thought of apart from it, Kim Jong Il said to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee on July 11 and 19, 1994: **"We should have the leader always by our side in his lifetime appearance. We should preserve his benevolent look as it was, so that he will be always with us.**

"We elected the leader President of the Republic in conformity with the unanimous will of the entire people, and they built this palace for him with devotion. The leader worked here in this palace until the last moment of his life. Moreover, he personally named it Kumsusan Assembly Hall. That is why I have decided to have him stay here forever and make this palace the leader's memorial hall."

After the Korean people had parted from the leader in bitter tears, Kim Jong Il put all his heart and soul into leading the carrying out of this great national task.

Kim Jong Il gave energetic guidance in fitting out the Kumsusan Assembly Hall on the highest level, with the main stress on keeping Kim Il Sung in his lifetime form.

On August 23, 1994, Kim Jong Il went to the Kumsusan Assembly Hall, examined the designs in detail and gave valuable instructions. He examined the other plans carefully, and said that they fitted well enough with his ideas to start the restructuring work. He saw to it that the restructuring headquarters and a large work force with soldier-builders as its

main body were formed. He took the necessary steps for the priority supply of high-quality stones and other building materials. In this way, on August 23, 1994, the sacred work of rebuilding the Kumsusan area into the highest sanctuary of Juche started.

Simultaneously with the work of placing Kim Il Sung in his lifetime office, Kim Jong Il saw to the erection of Kim Il Sung's statue in the first room of the assembly hall. He energetically led the work of fitting out as best as could be in a venerable and solemn way the hall where the statue was to be erected.

In late August 1994, Kim Jong Il inspected the hall for the statue. Considering that the hall was not deep enough, he corrected the building plan to make it larger, and then gave detailed instructions many times later concerning the formation of the hall, so that it was done up thoroughly in a peculiar national architectural form and the traditional way of mausoleum building, with marble pillars and a terraced ceiling of slabs harmoniously placed in tiers with abutments well dovetailed. He advised that the marble floor of the spacious room should look magnificent and feel warm and comfortable.

As the hall was nearing completion, Kim Jong Il gave great thought to the marble statue of the leader to be erected there. At first, the sculptors wanted to make the image of the leader in the military uniform of generalissimo. But on October 15, 1994, when he saw the image of the leader as it was being carved, Kim Jong Il said that in his lifetime the leader had never appeared before the people in a generalissimo's uniform, and advised the sculptors to make the leader's statue in a style familiar to the people. He emphasized that the statue should make an impression on the visitors that they met the leader just as they had met him in his lifetime. After much thinking and discussion, the sculptors then decided to make the image of the leader meeting people with a broad smile. Then later, when he came out to the Mansudae Art Studio and saw the smiling model of the leader's statue, Kim Jong Il said that the visitors without exception would look up to the leader's statue with solemn feelings, and that therefore it was not right to make a smiling image of the leader. Then he told the sculptors to shape the statue of the leader standing with dignity. This was how the

present statue of the leader was completed in the style familiar to the people, the style he used to pose in when he would stand with his hands clasped behind his back while awaiting guests at the Kumsusan Assembly Hall or posing for a photograph with them.

Kim Jong Il suggested that the statue have a background to match its majestic figure, giving an impression of the sun's image.

One day in January 1995, he came out to inspect various designs of the background. He pointed out that a background with pictures could hardly show the leader's image as a great man to the full. And later, when he saw a design which proposed putting well-finished marble on the wall behind the statue, he said this would make the room look like a fortress, and advised that the background should be made up by painting the back wall white and lighting it up with morning-glow illumination, so that the statue would stand out in bold relief like the sun's image.

Kim Jong Il also guided the work of building the outside of the Kumsusan Assembly Hall in a refined and impeccable way as suited to the consecrated ground of Juche.

Kim Jong Il ensured that the assembly hall plaza was laid out as finely as could be so that the people would visit the place with feelings of reverence for the great leader, who would be in their company even after his death as in his lifetime when he found in it the greatest pleasure.

He assigned the task of rebuilding the plaza to the Korean People's Army unit that had built the Kumsusan Assembly Hall, and arranged to make the plaza twice as wide as Kim Il Sung Square, so as to admit hundreds of thousands of people.

Kim Jong Il frequently visited the construction scene, and encouraged the soldier-builders. One day in June 1995, he looked round the plaza, then close to completion, and noted with great satisfaction that the assembly hall looked more imposing and magnificent now that the plaza had been built. He also said that in the past functions used to be held in Kim Il Sung Square with the leader on the platform, and that from now on such functions could be held in this plaza, so that the leader would always be with the people even though he had passed away.

He ensured that the slogans **"The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung**

will always be with us" and **"Let us arm ourselves more firmly with the revolutionary ideas of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung!"** adorned each side of the plaza, respectively.

On June 12, 1995, when the work of building up the Kumsusan area as the highest sanctuary of Juche was mainly finished, the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Central Military Commission of the WPK, the National Defence Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the then Central People's Committee of the DPRK and the then Administration Council of the DPRK adopted and made public the decision "On Permanently Keeping the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung in the Form of Eternal Life," in conformity with the unanimous will and wish of the entire Party, entire army and all the people, stipulating the renaming of the Kumsusan Assembly Hall as the Kumsusan Memorial Palace, to turn the Kumsusan area into the highest sanctuary of Juche and the enshrinement of Kim Il Sung in the Memorial Palace in his lifetime appearance.

On July 8, 1995, the first anniversary of the leader's passing, Kim Jong Il cut the red ribbon for the opening ceremony of the Kumsusan Memorial Palace with the attention of the Korean people and the progressive peoples of the world focused on Pyongyang.

With this, the ardent desire of the Korean people, overseas Koreans and the revolutionary peoples of the world to see the leader has been fulfilled.

Even after the opening, Kim Jong Il was concerned about making the palace perfect in its sublimity and elegance, and providing all conveniences for the visitors. Regarding the people as his God, he saw to it that a modern outer corridor was built from the tram-car stop to the palace, with a roof, windows, travelators and air-conditioners to protect the visitors from severe weather.

He instructed that a railing be made around the Memorial Palace with large stones in openwork with figures of cranes flying high up in the clouds, reflecting the prayer of the Korean people for the eternal life of the deceased leader, and that the Star of Generalissimo be carved in relief on the stone gate to add to the sublimity and impressiveness of the Memorial Palace. Then, he had 100 hectares of land laid out as an arboretum by the

Memorial Palace with rare trees of both Korea and other parts of the world. Further, Kim Jong Il had the central hall of the palace, where the people in bitter tears were to change their sorrow into strength and courage, made up in a stately manner so that they could keep the pledge they had made that day before the spirit of the leader.

Thanks to the fidelity and direction of Kim Jong Il, the Kumsusan Memorial Palace was finished flawlessly in conformity with the ardent desire of the people to set up the deceased leader as in his lifetime.

3. TO HAND DOWN THE REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY OF THE LEADER FOREVER

Kim Jong Il strove with all his heart and soul to make the revolutionary history of the leader inherited and handed down forever.

Reflecting the unanimous wish of the people, Kim Jong Il led the work of building towers of immortalization, setting up sunny images of the leader and inscribing the letters expressing wishes for his eternal life in all parts of the country.

He took measures to have the epigraphs on the longevity-wishing towers in the capital, provincial seats, cities and county towns replaced with the slogan "**The Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung Will Always Be with Us,"** and the same slogan put up in the houses of culture and meeting halls, too. In particular, he saw to the building of a majestic tower of immortalization at the entrance to Kumsong Street leading to the Kumsusan Memorial Palace. He examined the design of the tower on July 9 and September 23, 1996, and gave detailed instructions: It should be stately enough to harmonize with the surroundings; granite should be used to make it long-lasting; the pedestal should be arched; and it should be 82 metres tall to symbolize the revolutionary life of the leader. He visited the construction site often, and guided the work energetically to make sure that the tower was completed superbly, saying that as it was to be built on a route the leader used to pass along frequently, it should be flawless–otherwise it would draw criticism from the people.

True to the intentions of Kim Jong Il, the builders finished the tower on the occasion of the third anniversary of the leader's demise. On the crest of the tower is the bright Star of the Generalissimo, symbolizing the exploits performed by the leader, and under it come Korean letters in bold relief, reading, **"The Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung Will Always Be with Us."** The right and left faces and base of the tower are decorated with carvings of magnolias and azaleas, flowers loved by the leader, and on the right and left sides of the pedestal are sculptures of flower baskets.

Towers bearing the slogan wishing the leader eternal life were erected in many places in Pyongyang, all provincial seats, cities and county towns, as well as major institutions, enterprises and military units. The slogan has also been put up in theatres, cinemas, houses of culture and meeting halls, and other public places to instil in the minds of the soldiers and the people the conviction that the leader will always be with them.

Kim Jong Il ensured that the sunny image of the leader (Kim Il Sung is likened to the sun) with a bright smile was figured in the best fashion and displayed in towns and villages all over the country.

Kim Jong Il led the work of painting the pictures of the sunny image of the leader to go with the slogans **"The Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung Will Always Be with Us"** and "Father Generalissimo Kim Il Sung Is Our Eternal Sun," to be posted in all provincial seats, cities and county towns. Then, he took steps to replace these pictures posted in various places of Pyongyang with mosaic works by stages.

Kim Jong Il saw to it that the immortalization slogan and the slogans praising the sun were engraved on rocks in scenic spots of the country. So, after the national funeral for the leader the slogan **"The Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung Will Always Be with Us"** was cut on rocks in Manphok Valley, Mt. Myohyang, and Inner Kumgang, Mt. Kumgang. The monumental words "Korea, Be Proud of the Glory of Having Had Comrade Kim Il Sung as the Greatest Leader of the Nation for the First Time in Its Five Thousand Years of History!" were chiseled on a rock in Outer Kumgang in Mt. Kumgang.

Kim Jong Il made it a lasting tradition to greet July 8 every year as the greatest memorial day for the nation.

Entering the year 1996, the officials concerned started to prepare the third memorial service for the departed leader.

On February 11, 1996, Kim Jong Il had a talk with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, titled, ***The Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung Will Always Be with Us***. He said that, according to a time-honoured Korean custom, the coming July 8 would be the day of the third memorial service for the leader (that is, it marked the end of the traditional two-year mourning period). But he insisted that the years should be counted in full, not by calendar years, so the end of a three-year mourning period for the leader should be observed on July 8 the following year.

From olden times, it was the custom of the Korean and some other Eastern nations to lament for the dead by holding mourning ceremonies three times within two calendar years.

He pointed out: We should not fix the date of parting forever with the leader on the plea of the traditional custom, when the people, glad or sad, think of the leader and recall him still more keenly when the day of his demise comes round; of course, on July 8 this year, the second anniversary of the leader's death, we should think back to the memory of the leader, the supreme representative of the revolutionary forerunners, with the noblest sense of moral obligation of Korean revolutionaries to him; in particular, on July 8 next year, the third anniversary of the leader's death, we should cherish the memory of the leader with even greater respect. He continued: **"We should make it a permanent tradition to observe July 8, the day of the demise of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, as the greatest national memorial day. This is the noblest moral duty of all the Korean people and progressive mankind, who are determined to adore Kim Il Sung living in eternity among our people forever as the great leader of the Juche revolutionary cause and the father of all peoples, and it is our unshakable will."**

So, observing July 8 as the greatest national memorial day became a traditional annual function as desired by the people, and the third memorial service for the leader was to be held in 1997, three years full after his passing.

Early in 1997, Kim Jong Il said to the senior officials of the Party

Central Committee that it seemed only yesterday that the people had shed tears of blood over the leader's death, and yet after six months it would already be three full years from that time, and all necessary preparations should be made for the memorial service. Then he set out the tasks and ways to hold the service in the most reverent way. After that, he gave important instructions on several occasions. On July 8, 1997, the third anniversary of the leader's demise, a national memorial service was held in a solemn atmosphere in the plaza of the Kumsusan Memorial Palace, with Kim Jong Il in attendance. In all parts of the country the people looked back on their memories of the leader with reverence.

Immortalizing the leader means immortalizing his ideas and exploits.

On November 19, 1994, Kim Jong Il told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that though the leader had passed away, his ideas and exploits were immortal. He stated: **"We should firmly defend and enrich the Juche idea created by the leader and his immortal exploits through all the coming generations."**

Kim Jong Il attached special importance to enriching the revolutionary idea of the leader as the eternal guiding idea of the revolution and carrying it forward through all the coming generations.

The nucleus of the greatness of a leader is the greatness of his thoughts. For through the greatness of his thoughts, the leader illumines the path ahead for mankind, and lives in the hearts of the people even after his passing.

On July 18, 1994, the day before bidding his last farewell to the leader, Kim Jong Il stressed to the members of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee the need to hold the leader in high esteem for all times. He said that the leader's ideas must be followed 100 percent, as in his lifetime, and that if this was done unfailingly and perfectly, it meant holding him in high esteem forever.

Proceeding from this point of view, Kim Jong Il always put the main emphasis on adhering to and enriching the Juche idea, the revolutionary idea of the leader, as the eternal guiding idea, in keeping with the slogan **"Let us arm ourselves more firmly with the revolutionary ideas of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung!"**

Kim Jong Il paid special attention to compiling the works of the leader,

the original texts for the study of the Juche idea, the revolutionary idea of the leader. He saw to it that the works and the reminiscences published by the leader from January 1988 to the last days of his life were included in Kim Il Sung's *Works* from Volumes 41 to 50 for the completion of their publication and, at the same time, the *Complete Works of Kim Il Sung*, the encyclopedia of the Juche idea, were edited and published continuously.

The reminiscences of President Kim Il Sung, ***With the Century***, is a genuine textbook of life and struggle that teaches the principles and methods for revolution, and instils the spirit of love for the country and the people and revolutionary comrades into people's minds. However, the leader had not finished the reminiscences before he passed away; but he left behind detailed plans and outlines of the still unedited parts of the book, in addition to a heap of manuscripts and memoirs on major events and persons. The Korean people and all the other progressive peoples of the world wished continued publication of his reminiscences.

On February 11, 1996, Kim Jong Il emphasized to the head of the Party History Institute of the Party Central Committee that the leader's reminiscences should be published continuously as continuing editions, and said that they should be distinctive from the foregoing volumes, as they would be published in the absence of the leader.

As a result, Kim Il Sung's reminiscences, ***With the Century***, Vol. 7 (continuing edition) was published in June 1996, followed by Vol. 8.

Kim Jong Il was at great pains to build the exhibition hall of Kim Il Sung's works on the Juche idea to give honour to the revolutionary idea of the leader. On May 20, 1995, Kim Jong Il proposed building the hall, and gave detailed instructions about formulating a scientific system for displaying the works, forming a preparatory committee for its opening and the tasks of the standing members of the committee. On June 15, 1997, Kim Jong Il personally went to the Three-Revolution Exhibition and examined the design for the works exhibition hall. He said that the general hall should be assigned to the purpose, and that the hall should be fitted out appropriately.

Displayed in the hall were some of the works written by the leader in the course of some 70 years from October 1926, when he set out on the road of revolution to pioneer the revolutionary cause of Juche, to July 6, 1994, by

the historic periods of his revolutionary activities. Part of the leader's works published in 64 languages in 116 countries were also displayed by continents and countries, in addition to some of his works put out in eight languages in Korea.

With the opening of the exhibition hall of Kim Il Sung's works on the Juche idea on December 21, 1998, a base was set up to treasure and pay honour to the leader's works as eternal revolutionary wealth, and the people were inspired to advance more vigorously under the banner of the Juche idea with the pride of living in the homeland of the Juche idea and looking up to Kim Il Sung, the founder of the Juche idea, as their leader.

Kim Jong Il paid close attention to transmitting the exploits of the leader to posterity. He ensured that statues of the leader, memorial towers and monuments of his on-the-spot instructions were built at the places associated with Kim Il Sung's revolutionary activities.

Kim Jong Il energetically led the work of building statues of the leader as finely as could be at the Ministry of People's Security and Kim Il Sung University of Politics.

There had already been a statue of the leader at the Ministry of People's Security, but the officers of the ministry wanted to rebuild it prior to the 50th anniversary of the ministry's founding. Understanding their ardent desire, Kim Jong Il explained to them how to rebuild the statue in grand style and lay out the surroundings in a fine way. After making adequate preparations, the officers and men of the Ministry of People's Security set to work, and finished the statue in a little over three months. The statue was duly unveiled on the 50th anniversary of the ministry's founding.

On his visit to the ministry on January 2, 1996, Kim Jong Il took a long look at the new statue before he expressed his great satisfaction with it, praising the stately form of the leader's image and the neat surroundings.

Kim Jong Il paid great attention to erecting a statue of the leader in the uniform of generalissimo for the first time in Korea, at Kim Il Sung University of Politics. On December 15, 1996, he visited the university to see the statue. Gazing at it for a long time, he said that the statue of the leader in the uniform of generalissimo radically changed the appearance of the university, and that the statue was the best of all the statues of the leader

that had been erected in recent years. He added that now the desire of the teaching staff and students of the university to have the leader's image set up on the campus had been fulfilled.

Kim Jong Il ensured that the statues of the leader at Kim Il Sung Military University, and in Wonsan, Nampho, Kanggye and other cities were kept more neatly and that new statues of the leader were erected at Kim Jong Suk Military Academy, and at Chongsan-ri and other historic places associated with the revolutionary exploits of the leader.

Kim Jong Il worked wholeheartedly to have monuments built to the revolutionary exploits of the leader, to hand them down to posterity.

He proposed to build a monument to the founding of the Party on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Workers' Party of Korea, to glorify the exploits performed by the leader in Party building, and, on November 19, 1994, examined the relief model of the monument and its surrounding area.

He praised the hammer, sickle and brush held erect in the hands. Then he pointed out shortcomings that had to be corrected.

Referring to the inscription to be embossed on the face of the girdle around the monument, he suggested that it would be good to carve in relief the slogan "Long Live the Workers' Party of Korea, the Organizer and Guide of All Victories of the Korean People!" which is familiar to the Korean people. If this slogan was embossed on the face of the girdle around the monument, he added, it would tell the people clearly that the monument was set up in praise of the Workers' Party of Korea.

Under his guidance, the monument was completed in ten months or so, as a landmark, unique and flawless in content, form and artistic representation.

On October 5, 1995, Kim Jong Il visited the Monument to Party Founding as it neared completion. Looking at the towering stately monument, he said that it was a monument that could only be built by a party and people with an unshakable conviction and an indomitable will to complete to the end the revolutionary cause of their leader, the founder of the party, and that the monument would shine forever as a witness of the history of the struggles and exploits of the Workers' Party of Korea, interwoven with victories and glories.

Kim Jong Il regarded as a national treasure the historic handwriting **"July 7, 1994, Kim Il Sung,"** left by the leader on a document concerning national reunification, one day before he passed away, picturing to himself the bright future of the reunified country, and saw to it that a magnificent monument to the leader's autograph was built at Panmunjom on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of national liberation. While leading the work of building monuments of the leader's handwritings and monuments to his revolutionary activities in all parts of the country, Kim Jong Il took steps to set up monuments to the leader's field instructions at educational institutes, factories and other enterprises, to hand down the exploits of the leader through the coming generations.

Kim Jong Il took the epochal moves of instituting the Juche era and the Day of the Sun, and framing and promulgating the Kim Il Sung's Constitution to glorify the revolutionary life and exploits of the leader for all eternity.

Establishing the Juche era was a suggestion made by people from when the leader was alive, and their desire for it became more ardent after the leader's demise.

One day, Kim Jong Il received a document of requests from the people asking him ardently to institute the Juche era and the Day of the Sun out of their yearning for the leader.

Kim Jong Il sent round a notice to the members of the Political Bureau, secretaries, and department directors of the Party Central Committee, asking their opinions. On July 8, 1997, with the expiration of three-year mourning period for the leader, he had a joint decision published by the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Central Military Commission of the WPK, the National Defence Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the then Central People's Committee of the DPRK and the then Administration Council of the DPRK. The joint decision "On glorifying the revolutionary life and immortal exploits of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung for all eternity" solemnly declared at home and abroad that the Juche era was introduced with 1912 as the first year, and that April 15, the birthday of the leader, was designated the Day of the Sun, to be observed as the greatest holiday of the nation.

Kim Jong Il provided the legal guarantee for respecting the leader as the eternal President of socialist Korea and honouring his nation-building idea and exploits by adopting the Kim Il Sung's Constitution, the codification for immortalizing the leader.

After the death of the leader, the people as well as the members of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee expressed their ardent desire to elect Kim Jong Il President of the Republic.

On July 11 and 19, 1994, Kim Jong Il told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that Kim Il Sung was the first President of the Republic elected by the unanimous will and absolute support of the Korean people, so the word President inseparably linked with the name of the leader was familiar to all the people, and that the title President Kim Il Sung would be remembered for all time by the people of the whole world. He declared: **"Although the leader passed away, it is my firm determination to have Kim Il Sung, who made an extraordinary contribution to our country and people, to the world and mankind, and enjoyed the highest respect and reverence, as the one and only President, as the first and eternal President in the history of our country."**

Kim Jong Il put his determination in the form of law by putting it in the Socialist Constitution, and energetically led the work of revising and supplementing the Constitution.

The amended Socialist Constitution stipulated expressly that Kim Il Sung would be held in reverence as the eternal President of the Republic, and clarified the character and mission of the Republic as the Republic of Kim Il Sung by stating that the ideas and exploits of the leader should be adhered to and carried forward. The new Socialist Constitution of the DPRK is the Kim Il Sung's Constitution, putting the leader's Juche-orientated nation-building ideas and exploits in the form of law.

The Kim Il Sung's Constitution was unanimously adopted at the First Session of the Tenth Supreme People's Assembly in September 1998. With the framing and promulgation of the Kim Il Sung's Constitution, which is the charter immortalizing the leader, Kim Il Sung came to live an eternal life as the one and only permanent President of the Republic, and his

nation-building ideas and exploits came to be handed down through all coming generations.

4. AS INTENDED BY THE LEADER IN HIS LIFETIME

Kim Jong Il advanced the revolution and construction work only as intended by the leader in his lifetime.

The attention of the world's political circles was focused on Korea after the Korean people were bereaved of their leader. The whole world closely watched the policy to be employed in Korea, which they guessed would be shaped somewhat differently from the previous one, or they guessed would be changed towards reform and opening.

In this situation, Kim Jong Il met the senior officials of the Party Central Committee on October 16, 1994, and said that they should invariably follow the road of revolution paved by the leader, and concentrate all their efforts on implementing the cause initiated by the leader. He emphasized: **"We should firmly keep and honour the great revolutionary exploits of the leader just as in his lifetime, and carry on the revolution and construction in every way as intended by the leader and after his fashion."**

That same day he said at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee that the instructions of the leader should always be the guideline in designing and conducting work, and that he would thoroughly implement the leader's instructions given in the past in the course of directing the revolution and construction work, constantly regarding them as the only guideline.

"Do not expect any change from me," he said. Doing everything just as intended by the leader was his firm resolve and will.

Tightening his resolve, Kim Jong Il wrote the treatise ***Socialism Is a Science***, and published it in the newspaper *Rodong Sinmun,* the organ of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, on November 1, 1994.

In his treatise, Kim Jong Il declared that socialism is the ideal and the revolutionary banner of the masses of the people who are fighting for

independence, and made it clear that the exploiter society based on individualism will be replaced by socialism–a society based on collectivism, the most advanced society congenial to the independent nature of man, and that this is an inevitability of historical development. He stated expressly that the socialism scientifically defined by Kim Il Sung is a socialism centred on man, the masses. He proved comprehensively that the scientific nature and truth, and essential superiority of Korean socialism lie in the fact that it is based on the Juche-oriented view and standpoint on man, the masses of the people. He concluded: **"Socialism centred on man, on the masses of the people, is a socialism that is most scientific, most advantageous and most powerful. For its scientific nature and truth, socialism is sure to win."**

Commenting on the treatise, the world public said it represented the political programme of the supreme leader of Korea Kim Jong Il and that Korea would invariably follow the course of socialism.

Soon after the publication of the work, on November 19, Kim Jong Il said to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that the revolution is a long-range affair which is completed not in a generation, but over many generations. He went on that Kim Hyong Jik[2], in his famous poem *The Green Pine-tree on Nam Hill*, which he had written when leaving his home at Mangyongdae, had expressed his resolve that if he failed to liberate the country, his son and then his grandson should win back the country; the leader, true to the great will of his father Kim Hyong Jik, achieved the historic cause of national liberation, and opened up the road to socialism. Kim Jong Il affirmed that he, too, would remain faithful to the noble will of the leader and accomplish the cause of socialism, the revolutionary cause of Juche.

Kim Jong Il continued that the enemy was anxious to find out whether his ideas were red or white or yellow. He said: **"In my treatise *Socialism Is a Science*, I made it clear that I will defend and adhere to the cause of socialism pioneered by the leader, and accomplish it to the end. This is as good as declaring my ideas to be red."**

Kim Jong Il said that revolutionaries should be called red, but not white; that the enemy wanted our ideas to turn white, but that was a

delusion. He emphasized that we should on no account turn "reformists" against our creed, and should never yield our revolutionary principles in the slightest degree.

Kim Jong Il led the entire Party, army and people to implement the last instructions of the leader by mastering their sorrow and bracing themselves with courage.

In the days of national mourning he said to the officials who were constantly in tears and overwhelmed with bitter grief, that the tears shed by the people now were not only tears of grief over the departed leader, but tears of firm determination and pledge to accomplish by all means under the leadership of the Party the revolutionary cause of Juche pioneered by the leader, true to the intentions of the leader in his lifetime, and that the officials should work harder than in the days when the leader was alive. Then, in order to shake the officials out of their depression, he took steps for them to hear recordings of the teachings of the leader and to visit the leader's revolutionary activities museum at the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces.

Kim Jong Il saw to it that the song *We Take a Pledge* composed by the Pochonbo Electronic Band was popularized on the occasion of the 100th day of the leader's death, to enable the people to overcome their sorrow and take heart and courage. The song fully reflects the faith and will of the people to remain true to the cause of the Party and build socialism still better, always keeping in mind his earnest teachings given to the nation and the people in his lifetime.

Loudly singing this song, the Korean people rose forcefully in the sacred struggle to implement the leader's will.

On December 31, 1994, Kim Jong Il had a talk with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, titled, ***Let Us Make Our Country, Our Motherland, Ever More Prosperous True to the Will of the Leader***.

Saying that we are seeing out this year in the sorrow of having lost the leader, he continued: **"To make our country, our motherland, ever more prosperous was the will and cause of the leader. We should make our country, our motherland, ever more prosperous, true to the will and cause of the leader."**

After expressing his intention to send a congratulatory message to the

people and men and officers of the People's Army on New Year's Day, he said that it was his firm determination to make the country, the motherland, more prosperous and that he would not make the least concession in regard to carrying forward to completion the will and the cause of the leader.

With this decision and purpose, he wrote a letter to the entire people at 2 o'clock before the dawn of the first day of 1995:

"We have seen out the year of 1994 in tears of blood, and are now greeting the New Year.

"Let all of us work energetically, single-mindedly and with one purpose to make our country, our motherland, ever more prosperous, as befits the soldiers and devoted followers of the great leader.

January 1, 1995
Kim Jong Il"

His letter was not only a New Year greeting to the entire Party, army and people, but also a banner that greatly inspired them to implement the last instructions of the leader.

Kim Jong Il ensured that the Party organizations at all levels directed all their efforts to thoroughly implementing the leader's instructions given to their own sectors and units in order to put his lifetime intentions into reality. He also saw to it that national efforts were made to carry out construction projects planned by the leader in his lifetime.

Kim Jong Il paid special attention to the reconstruction of the tomb of King Tangun, and the construction of Chongryu Bridge (second stage), Kumnung Tunnel No. 2 and the tourist road between Pyongyang and Hyangsan.

In the last days of his life, Kim Il Sung proposed exhuming the tomb of King Tangun and studying the human bones and other unearthed relics including the pieces of a gold-plated crown to scientifically establish that King Tangun had been a historical person. As a result, King Tangun was confirmed to be the founder of Korea who had established "Joson" 5 011 years before. On September 27, 1993, the leader selected the site for the tomb of the king to be reconstructed at the foot of Mt. Taebak, Munhung-ri, Kangdong County, and until two days before his death took great pains to complete the plan of the tomb and promote the reconstruction project.

Kim Jong Il set the project as the most important object to implement the last instructions of the leader and pushed ahead with it in order to put into effect the noble patriotic will and plan of the deceased, who had wanted to add lustre to the time-honoured history of the nation by identifying King Tangun as the founder of the Korean nation and reconstructing his tomb into a magnificent one. In consequence, the tomb of King Tangun was reconstructed and opened to the public on October 11, 1994.

On October 29, Kim Jong Il visited the tomb and, after inspecting its inside and outside, said that the leader had endeavoured to confirm King Tangun as the founder of the Korean nation and rebuild his tomb in a magnificent way to convey the time-honoured history and wisdom of the Korean nation down through all generations. He continued that if the leader had seen the tomb reconstructed so splendidly, he would have been very pleased; if we had completed the tomb earlier, we would have been able to show it to him.

Kim Jong Il hastened the construction of Chongryu Bridge (second stage), Kumnung Tunnel No. 2 and the tourist road between Pyongyang and Hyangsan.

At 10 a.m. on November 9, 1994, the Korean Central Radio repeatedly announced that at noon there would be an important newscast. At 12 the newsreader reported that the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army had issued Order No. 0051 "On building Chongryu Bridge (second stage) and Kumnung Tunnel No. 2 in Pyongyang." This was the first order of KPA Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il after the demise of the leader. It was a solemn declaration of his unshakable resolution and will to put into reality the leader's lofty lifetime intention to build Pyongyang into a more magnificent city.

The construction of Chongryu Bridge (second stage), Kumnung Tunnel No. 2 and the tourist road between Pyongyang and Hyangsan was completed before the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Workers' Party of Korea. This was a brilliant success in the implementation of the instructions of the departed leader.

Under the leadership of Kim Jong Il devoted to carrying out the instructions of the leader, many monumental construction projects,

including the Anbyon Youth Power Station and Youth Hero Road, which the leader had planned in his lifetime, were completed in various parts of the country.

Kim Jong Il followed the leader's style in carrying on the revolution and construction work.

On October 2, 1995, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Party, Kim Jong Il published the treatise, ***The Workers' Party of Korea Is the Party of the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung***. In this work Kim Jong Il said that the history of the Workers' Party of Korea is precisely the history of the revolutionary activities of Kim Il Sung, and that the achievements, might and authority of the Party are bound up with the name of Kim Il Sung. He elucidated systematically the achievements and experiences gained in Party building, Party activities, revolution and construction work. He went on to emphasize that all this is a fruition of the revolutionary ideas and leadership of Kim Il Sung and a revolutionary treasure that must be guarded and carried forward through generations.

Kim Jong Il stated that the Workers' Party of Korea should be further strengthened in order to carry on to completion the sacred cause initiated by Kim Il Sung, the revolutionary cause of Juche, through all coming generations. He said: **"We must hold in high esteem beloved Comrade Kim Il Sung as the eternal leader of our Party and revolution, and develop our Party as the glorious Party of Comrade Kim Il Sung forever.**

"We must defend his great ideas, theories and revolutionary methods of leadership, and thoroughly apply them into Party building and activities. We must do all the work of revolution and construction just as Comrade Kim Il Sung planned and intended and showed in his personal example, and we must conduct everything in the same way as Comrade Kim Il Sung did. This is the way to develop our Party as the Party of Comrade Kim Il Sung, the way to brilliantly inherit and complete the revolutionary cause of Juche."

Kim Jong Il paid great attention to continuously strengthening and developing the youth movement as willed by the leader in his lifetime. He took steps for the League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea to adopt at

its conference in January 1996 a historic decision to rename it the Kim Il Sung Socialist Youth League. He ensured that the Kim Il Sung Socialist Youth League fulfilled its mission and duties as a youth organization named after the leader.

Kim Jong Il conducted the building of the army and the State precisely after the fashion of the leader to defend and further develop the socialism centred on the masses of the people and consolidated the country as the homeland of Juche, a fortress of socialism, where the leader's cause continues to move forward. He advanced the cause of national reunification and the movement of Koreans in Japan as intended by the leader in his lifetime.

On February 19, 1996, Kim Jong Il saw the mass gymnastics display *We Will Guard the Red Flag, Following the General* performed by the youths and children of Pyongyang. The letters **"Do Not Expect Any Change from Me"** appeared on the back scene and gallant gymnastics and rhythms showed the revolutionary stand of Kim Jong Il to defend and realize the ideas and revolutionary cause of the leader to the end. Kim Jong Il was deeply moved by the words on the back scene. The next day he said to the senior officials in the sector of sports that **"Do not expect any change from me"** was his firm determination and that he was greatly encouraged by those letters appearing on the back scene of the mass gymnastics display.

Kim Jong Il vigorously advanced the revolutionary cause of Juche pioneered by the leader entirely in the leader's way, with the invariable conviction and iron will of **"Do not expect any change from me."**

CHAPTER 33

OPENING UP THE ERA OF SONGUN

1. PEOPLE'S ARMY SET AS THE MAIN-FORCE UNIT

The Korean revolution in the mid-1990s came to face the worst adversity yet in its history.

The US-led imperialist allied forces pounced upon Korea from all sides to stifle its socialism, openly advertizing that Korea would "crumble" in a few years. Due to the enemy's ever-growing reckless political and military provocations and pressure, accompanied by war moves, heavy clouds of a nuclear war were constantly hovering over Korea, bringing the situation to a touch-and-go phase. The severe economic sanctions and blockade of the imperialists geared to devastation of Korea's economy gnawed at the normal process of Korea's economic construction, bringing about a serious economic crisis. Worse still, the natural calamities that occurred for several consecutive years in this country caused food crisis. Such unprecedented crises were a great trial for Korea, a serious menace to its each and every household and member.

The people of this country had to set off on an "Arduous March" in defence of socialism, breaking through the vicious isolate-and-stifle attempts of the imperialists and reactionaries, and the manifold difficulties.

At this juncture, when the destiny of the Korean nation and socialism was at a crossroads, Kim Jong Il worked a miracle of turning misfortune to good account, holding the banner of Songun higher.

The whole course of the Korean revolution that had been pioneered by means of arms and proceeded victoriously by dint of arms was the history of President Kim Il Sung's leadership of Songun revolution, and, at the same

time, the history of Kim Jong Il's Songun-based revolutionary leadership.

As early as the late 1960s and early 1970s Kim Jong Il was assigned by President Kim Il Sung to the task of taking direct charge of affairs related to the army. Since then, Kim Jong Il has been giving leadership to the revolution and construction on the principle of attaching importance to military affairs, on the principle of giving priority to the military. This meant the start of his Songun politics.

Arriving at the mid-1990s, the military front against imperialism turned out to be a major front of the Korean revolution. Such a change of circumstances raised as a pressing requirement a new formulation of the position and role of the People's Army, and the corresponding readjustment of the revolutionary forces for progress in the cause of socialism.

Kim Jong Il made up his mind to put forward as the pillar and main-force unit in the revolution the People's Army he had been bringing up since the 1960s, and, on this basis, advance the cause of socialism victoriously towards its final completion.

On July 13, 1994, he summoned the senior officials of the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces and pointed out the mission and duty the People's Army assumes before the revolution. He said: **"The People's Army should be the main-force unit in bringing to completion the cause of the Korean revolution pioneered and led by President Kim Il Sung.**

"The President started the revolution with the army; he also intended to bring about the final completion and victory of the cause of socialism with the army."

He continued: The General Political Bureau of the Korean People's Army should step up political and ideological education geared to preparing the People's Army to be the powerful main-force unit for the completion of the revolutionary cause of President Kim Il Sung, who founded the revolutionary armed force and led it towards victory; the People's Army must become the citadel and shield for safeguarding the Party and defending the revolutionary cause of the leader in the future, too, as it defended the Party and the leader during the period when the leader was alive, under the slogan "Let us defend the Party Central Committee led by Comrade Kim Il Sung at the cost of our lives!"

Underlying Kim Jong Il's intention to put forward the People's Army as the pillar and main-force unit of the revolution was his outlook on arms, his philosophy of arms.

On the evening of June 26, 1995, while talking with the commanding officers of the Korean People's Army, Kim Jong Il recollected receiving at a tender age a pistol from the leader. He said that he was not able to understand at that time why his father had given him a pistol, but, in the course of following the road of revolution beset with twists and turns, he came to know in his heart the leader's intention and the precious meaning of the pistol.

He added: Our arms are class weapons, weapons of revolution and weapons of justice, and they are permeated with the precious blood and noble spirit of the anti-Japanese revolutionary martyrs and crucial to the destiny of socialism; without arms, we can hardly expect to win in the fight with the enemy and safeguard the dignity and honour of the country, nation and man. He then stressed: **"I always share my lot with a gun. A gun never betrays its master, though everything else in the world should change. A gun can be said to be an eternal companion and comrade of a revolutionary. This is my viewpoint of and outlook on gun."**

The same day he also met the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, and said, **"What remains unchanged is the gun. This is the historical summing-up of the revolutionary struggle."** He continued there and then: My definition "What remains unchanged is the gun" is the epitome of the Juche-oriented outlook on life and revolution that one should not compromise one's revolutionary principles even facing death, and reflects the steadfast revolutionary attitude that one is determined not to make one iota of concession of one's revolutionary principle in any adversity; it embodies the Juche-oriented military idea that the gun is for the revolution and should be held tight to make revolution; I still treasure the pistol the leader gave me more than anything else.

Hence, based on his viewpoint of the gun, Kim Jong Il made a presentation of his gun philosophy–that the destiny of socialism and the dignity and honour of the country and the nation depend on arms of the revolutionary army, and that the cause of independence pioneered by means

of arms can emerge victorious and advance towards its completion only by force of arms; he put the People's Army forward as the pillar and main force of the revolution.

On December 24, 1996, Kim Jong Il sat together with the top commanding officers of the KPA. He explained that he was leading the revolution and construction on the principle of giving precedence to the army over the working class. Expanding on this, he said: **"… Only when the People's Army, the pillar of revolution, is made strong is it possible to securely safeguard our style of people-centred socialism. Strengthening the People's Army is a serious issue related to the success or failure of the revolution. Therefore, I put forward the People's Army as the pillar of revolution while at the same time strengthening the Party. Further strengthening the People's Army, putting it forward as the pillar of revolution, is the only way to victory."**

Also during his talk with them on May 4, 1998, he again explained the importance of the principle of giving priority to the army over the working class.

The Workers' Party of Korea, he said, is the vanguard and organized unit of the working class and other working masses, and the working class plays a pivotal role among the working masses; the pivotal role of the working class is very important to a working-class party in power; the Korean people have been pushing ahead with socialist construction under pressure from the encirclement of the imperialists; Korea has been promoting its revolution and construction in the face of the constant military threat and aggression of the imperialists; this being the case, it is possible to victoriously advance the revolution and construction only by means of strong military force; therefore, the vanguard and pivotal role of the working class can be given full scope only when it is backed up by powerful military force. Noting that it was precisely the People's Army that raised the slogan of smashing the enemy's blockade and isolate-and-stifle moves and defending the revolutionary leadership and socialism with their lives, he stressed: **"I set the People's Army as the pillar of revolution, as the main-force unit for completion of the Juche revolutionary cause, on the**

principle of giving priority to the army over the working class."

All in all, Kim Jong Il's decision, supported by his analysis of the overall situation, was based on his conclusion that the basic guarantee to enhance the vanguard and pivotal role of the working class lies in the back-up of strong military power.

2. ENDLESS JOURNEY FOR SONGUN-BASED REVOLUTION

FIELD INSPECTION OF THE DWARF-PINE COMPANY

With the new year of 1995 just round the corner, the Korean people were expecting Kim Jong Il either to see the New Year art performance of students and children, a grand annual event that used to take place in the presence of President Kim Il Sung, or to deliver the New Year Address.

Upon hearing such requests, Kim Jong Il courteously declined them, saying to the officials that his presence at the performance would prompt the children to cry more out of their memory of the President and that he could not bring himself to make them cry on New Year's Eve. Then, taking into consideration the people's growing yearning for the President, he arranged a replay on the air of the recording of President Kim Il Sung's last New Year Address. And he planned his inspection of a People's Army unit.

On New Year's Eve he met the senior officials of the Party Central Committee and said, **"I intend to visit a People's Army unit on New Year's Day to encourage the soldiers."** He noted that he loved to be with soldiers more than anything else.

There were innumerable sectors and units awaiting his instructions and field guidance, and also many places he himself wanted to visit, on the first New Year's Day that was to be greeted following the death of President Kim Il Sung.

However, Kim Jong Il decided to begin his work for the New Year with his call on servicepersons, prompted by his unshakable resolution to realize his Songun-based politics comprehensively at a new, higher stage.

On the morning of New Year's Day 1995, he paid a visit to the then Kumsusan Assembly Hall to do homage to President Kim Il Sung before setting off on his field inspection of a People's Army unit.

The high-ranking officers in his company were delighted to have the presence of their Supreme Commander at the People's Army unit on New Year's Day.

The car reached a road in the suburbs of Pyongyang, a way leading to the Mangyongdae Fork associated with many historical traces. Along this road that had borne witness half a century before to President Kim Il Sung on his visit to the workers of the Kangson Steel Plant at the outset of his endeavour to take an untrodden path to nation-building after Korea's liberation, Kim Jong Il was now travelling to call on the servicepersons to carry on his Songun-based politics.

He arrived at a hill where there was an artillery emplacement of a People's Army unit that was later called the Dwarf-pine Company.

He alighted from his car smiling amidst thunderous applause, and received the first New Year's bouquet overflowing with reverence for him from the company. **"I warmly congratulate the servicepersons of the Korean People's Army who are loyal to our Party on New Year's Day 1995,"** he said, his sonorous voice ringing over the hill. His New Year's greeting sparked off another thunderous round of applause from the soldiers, jubilation sweeping over the whole hill.

Waving back at the enthusiastic soldiers, he turned his light steps to the emplacement. After casting his eyes for a while at the post on the hill covered in dwarf-pine trees, he said to his companions: **"This is a dwarf-pine company, so I will call it the Dwarf-pine Company."** Then he walked up the parapet under which he found the soldiers applauding enthusiastically and waving their welcoming hands at him.

Proudly surveying their stalwart figures, he asked the officers to start firepower training, if they were ready.

The weather was cold, but the movements of the soldiers in training were agile and accurate.

Watching them carefully, he spoke highly of their training, praising their agility and accuracy. Noting that the company was very high in

Kim Jong Il receiving a bouquet from a soldier

militant spirit, and saying that if all companies conducted their combat training as seriously as this company was doing, the People's Army would be further strengthened as an invincible combat unit each member of which is equal to a hundred enemies, he expressed his great satisfaction with the training.

After guiding the soldiers in training at the cold place for a long time, he made the rounds of the education room and barracks, acquainting himself concretely with the ideological work and material and cultural life of the company, and giving detailed instructions on the need to step up the political and ideological preparedness of the People's Army, and improve its combat efficiency and service life of its soldiers. He posed with the soldiers of the company before leaving the unit.

In the evening of the same day he visited the Dwarf-pine Company, Kim Jong Il said to the senior officials of the Party and the State, and high-ranking officers of the Korean People's Army the following: The gun is the mainstay of revolutionary struggle; if our guns are weak, we cannot frustrate the counterrevolutionary offensive of the enemy, and we may come to ruin overnight; the imperialists and reactionaries have been engaged in every conceivable machination to bring down Korea that is soldiering on under the unfurled banner of socialism, unaffected by any world upheavals; we have nothing to be afraid of so long as the People's Army is strong; the enemy do not dare attack Korea because they are afraid of its powerful People's Army.

As I have said all along, he continued, I intend to accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche without fail by means of the Party and the army; my ideal and determination are to turn my country and my motherland, which President Kim Il Sung bequeathed to me, into a most prosperous people's paradise, into a socialist power; in my New Year Message I wrote the words, "my country" and "my motherland"; by "my country" I mean Korea, Kim Il Sung's nation, and "my motherland" denotes our socialist motherland.

Kim Jong Il's field inspection of the Dwarf-pine Company was a milestone in building up the People's Army to cope with the grim situation facing Korea.

WITH DO-OR-DIE WILL AND DEVOTION

After the field inspection of the Dwarf-pine Company, Kim Jong Il said, **"In the future, too, I will be the Supreme Commander who takes the smell of earth and shares life and death with the soldiers at the battle post."**

Embarking on the road of the Songun-based revolution, he went to wherever soldiers were–ranging from the headquarters of units of the three services to units defending far-flung islands and remote mountain posts. His field inspection was devoted mainly to the units deployed on the front line, where huge opposing forces face each other.

Kim Jong Il felt his heart rending to go to the units of the People's Army, not to factories and farms, when he saw factories that stopped operation and the people who were experiencing hardships.

We must first defend socialism at any cost now, and the people will understand when we have emerged victorious why I inspected frontline units continuously, though I knew of the difficult economic situation, he thought, and continued on his way.

On February 27, 1996, Kim Jong Il went to Height 351, an outpost in the eastern sector of the front. Having climbed the hill braving the biting wind, he looked down the enemy position. He fixed his eyes on an enemy post, and asked the commanding officer of the unit: **"How far is that enemy post from here?"**

"1 200 metres."

"It is a mere stone's throw."

"Their recoilless rifles are levelled at the height all the time, Supreme Commander."

Anxiety was evident on the officer's face.

Kim Jong Il, with a smile, said that there was nothing to fear, as a-match-for-a-hundred soldiers were defending their post. He acquainted himself with the enemy posts, the topographical features of the zone and the defence installations on the height, and specified the ways for perfecting the operational tactics of the unit against the aggressive attempts of the enemy.

Wherever he went for field inspection of the outposts on the tension-ridden front line, officials always felt uneasy, and missed no opportunity to ask him not to run such risks.

In early March 1996, some days after his field inspection of Height 351, Kim Jong Il told the officials that he was grateful for their concern for his safety, and that when President Kim Il Sung had been the Supreme Commander he himself had dissuaded him from inspecting frontline units in consideration of his advanced age, that the President had felt regretful for failing to visit the units, and so he, Kim Jong Il, had inspected frontline units on two occasions that year, bearing in mind the President's lifetime wish.

He told the officials that he was encouraged by the people's sincere request that he not go as far as the frontline units, and felt grateful for that, before continuing:

"However, I think that I have to visit the servicepersons at the frontline posts to get acquainted with their living conditions and inspire them. As the Supreme Commander, I have to go wherever my men are. Apprehensive of my safety at the frontline units, you are apparently trying to do with me as you did with President Kim Il Sung, but I cannot do as you ask. The Supreme Commander must go wherever his men are."

On March 18, some days later, he inspected the post on Mt. Taedok on the front line in the western sector of the front, and two days later set on an inspection tour of the eastern sector of the front across the Chol Pass from Mt. Osong in the central sector of the front. When he reached the Chol Pass, the road had become all the more rugged with unseasonal sleet. The pass with so many steep turns is so rugged that it is called "First-Gear Pass," as the drivers in the days of the Fatherland Liberation War drove their vehicles over it in first gear.

Kim Jong Il had the car speeded along the sharply curved road. On the ridge of the pass, he got the car stopped in front of the monument the unit there had erected one year previously to hand down Kim Il Sung's exploits. Kim Jong Il read the words inscribed on the well-trimmed natural granite monument, and said that the Chol Pass is associated with the revolutionary

exploits of Kim Il Sung for the development of the People's Army and the happiness of the people. He made up his mind to work harder for the Songun revolution. He spent all day, from dawn to dusk, inspecting several units, travelling over 400 km.

On the road of Songun revolution, Kim Jong Il crossed the Chol Pass more than ten times.

One day, looking back on the days when he had crossed the Chol Pass, he said that he had crossed the pass many times, come rain or shine, at night and at dawn, that this was why the pass was inscribed in his memory, and that the rugged paths and high and low peaks on the pass and the frontline zone were vivid in his mind's eye. He continued, **"I have so far led the Songun revolution inspecting frontline units of the army over the rugged Chol Pass. The Chol Pass is a symbol of the Songun-based revolutionary leadership."**

His inspections went as far as Cho Island, a gateway on the West Sea, Panmunjom, a frontline post, and Mt. Osong in the central sector of the front.

At dawn on November 23, 1996, when the outrageous challenges and manoeuvres of the imperialist US to stifle Korea had reached an extreme point, he made his way to the unit defending Cho Island. When he arrived at a naval port on the West Sea it was sleeting hard, and the speedboats anchored at the wharf were rocked by violent waves, on the point of being swamped. The foul weather made taking a speedboat out to sea very dangerous. His entourage requested him to give up the attempt, but Kim Jong Il got aboard a speedboat, saying, **"I have never sailed with a fair wind."**

Wave after wave surged, dashing towards the speedboats and making it impossible to see ahead. But Kim Jong Il stood in the bow of his boat seemingly oblivious of the turbulent sea. Seeing at the boat tossing on the waves, the soldiers on the island shouted tearfully: "Please do not come, Supreme Commander." But when he safely landed on the island, they raised cheers.

Getting off the boat, Kim Jong Il said, laughing: **"The West Sea is more impressive than people say it is."**

This remark provoked laughter among his entourage, who were exhausted by the cruise on the rough sea.

There and then, Kim Jong Il went to the observation post to acquaint himself with the topographical features of the island, troop deployment and operational plan for battle, and spoke highly of the officers and men of the unit for turning the island into an impregnable fortress. He said that the island on the West Sea is a frontline post, a gateway to Pyongyang, where the leadership of the Korean revolution is situated. He then set out the tasks for further consolidating the island as an impregnable battle base, an impenetrable defence line.

At dawn the next day, Kim Jong Il left for Panmunjom.

That morning Panmunjom was shrouded in dense fog, and dead silence prevailed all around as usual, but it was only a highly charged silence pregnant with unexpected conflict and hot war. As the military and political situation became extremely dangerous on the Korean peninsula owing to the "suspension of relations between the south and north," a measure taken by the United States and the south Korean puppet authorities, and their Foal Eagle 96 military exercise, nobody could guess when and wha3t kind of incident would take place there, where two opposing forces are facing each other.

To see him in Panmunjom, the soldiers were unable to believe their eyes, and then rushed to him.

"I am glad to meet the heroes who are defending the gateway post of the motherland," he said. They could neither clap their hands nor raise a cheer as the enemy were only a stone's throw away. But hot tears were streaming down their cheeks.

Kim Jong Il shook them by the hand one by one, saying that they should not cry as he had come a long way to see them.

Apparently to lighten the atmosphere, he said, with a hearty laugh: **"I felt as if your handshakes were breaking my hand. You are so tall that it seems all the basketball players of the country are here."**

After a moment, he went out to the balcony of Panmun House, at which the enemy guns are levelled, and studied the enemy movements. That day

he looked round the monument dedicated to Kim Il Sung's autograph on a document on national reunification, the hall where the armistice negotiations were held and the hall where the Armistice Agreement was signed. Going as far as a place only 20-30 m away from an enemy post, Kim Jong Il guided the Panmunjom Mission of the KPA in its work. He also saw the soldiers in training and posed with them for a souvenir photograph.

His inspection of Panmunjom shook the whole world closely watching the Korean peninsula, which was enveloped in aggravating Korea-US confrontation. The officers and men of the US forces in south Korea cried out that north Korea seemed to have completed preparations for a war as Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il had inspected Panmunjom after finishing his inspection of the units in the eastern and western sectors of the front and the rear, and they would only meet death if war broke out. The officers and men of the south Korean puppet army cursed their government for attempting to drive them into a death trap by provoking the north. The US imperialists and the south Korean hawks could not but stop the clamour for war and anti-DPRK racket.

Kim Jong Il inspected Mt. Osong, an outpost in the central sector of the front, on several occasions.

Mt. Osong is one of the highest and most rugged of the heights on the front line, and very near an enemy post. The road to the mountain top is bordered by steep cliffs. Even slight rain or snow makes it hard going for vehicles.

On August 3, 1998, Kim Jong Il went to the post on the mountain for the second time. As it had been raining all day, the road was slippery. However, he told his chauffeur to drive the car to the mountain top along the perilous turns. With the last few turns ahead, the car failed to advance any further. Kim Jong Il and his entourage pushed the car up to the mountain top. Having reached the command post, he shook hands with the soldiers and expressed great appreciation for their feats, expressing his expectation and conviction that they would achieve greater successes in turning their defence position into an impregnable fortress, and in

improving their combat efficiency and living conditions.

Later, he inspected the unit on the mountain several times, including on November 10 that year and on February 8 the following year, in order to make it a unit exemplary in combat efficiency and soldiers' living.

Kim Jong Il once said as follows: Because we have pursued Songun politics and because we have visited Mt. Osong, a symbol of the Songun revolution, several times, we have defended the country; the mere mention of the name of the mountain makes me shed tears, and reminds me of the days of the "Arduous March" and forced march; as long as we adhere to Songun politics, the Korean people, demonstrating the dignity and honour of an independent nation, will build a great, prosperous and powerful country and lead a happy life with nothing to envy in the world, and the revolutionary cause of Juche will finally emerge victorious.

On June 3, 1996, he devoted the whole day to field inspection of a unit on the eastern coast. It was only some time after 10 p.m. that he asked the officers of the unit over for dinner. The officers were surprised to find bowls of corn congee on the table. He told them to help themselves to the congee, saying that he wanted to arrange a spread of delicacies for them but the country's circumstances did not permit it. Should our Supreme Commander have to take congee for his meal, wondered the officers anxiously.

After looking at them for a while, he said thoughtfully: **"Now the food situation in the country is very strained, and for this reason the people are experiencing difficulties in their living. Officials must lead a simple, frugal life, including in diet, like the people. If the people eat corn congee, we should eat it, too."**

He pulled toward him one half-filled bowl and ate it, saying that it was enough for him.

The officers, repressing sobs lest he discontinue his meal if they continued shedding tears, helped themselves to the congee, too.

Taking rice balls for his meals and taking catnaps in his running car, he inspected the KPA units on holidays and off-days as well.

3. BUILDING UP THE PEOPLE'S ARMY AS EVER-VICTORIOUS REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES

BUILDING UP INVINCIBLE COMBAT EFFICIENCY

Kim Jong Il devoted efforts to furthering the overall combat readiness of the KPA and maximizing its military and technical might, setting it as the highest militant task of the KPA to build up its combat capacity to destroy any imperialist aggressors at a stroke.

Kim Jong Il led the People's Army to prepare all the servicepersons to be efficient combatants, by bringing about a fresh revolutionary turn in their political and military training under the slogan of one-matches-a-hundred.

In August 1995, a conference of training officers of the KPA was held, and the Central Military Commission of the WPK sent a congratulatory message to the participants. After the meeting was over, Kim Jong Il posed with the participants for a souvenir photograph, encouraging them to perform their duty of establishing a revolutionary way of training throughout the army. This meeting occasioned intensification of political and military training in the People's Army.

In his efforts to bring about intensification of political and military training throughout the army, Kim Jong Il saw soldiers in training in every unit he inspected.

On March 18, 1996, Kim Jong Il inspected a KPA post on Mt. Taedok. Before his inspection, he said to the officials the following: On February 6, 1963–33 years before–I, in company with President Kim Il Sung, climbed Mt. Taedok situated in the western sector of the front; there, President Kim Il Sung looked after every aspect of the soldiers' life, and put forward the slogan **"one-matches-a-hundred,"** a slogan which has brought about a new turn in further strengthening the People's Army; the slogan advanced by the President is a strategic one the People's Army should keep up persistently in its building efforts; we must render efficient help to this post

Kim Jong Il at the forward observation post on Height 1211

associated with the President's activities; only then can it play a leading role in carrying out this revolutionary slogan.

Inspecting the unit that day, Kim Jong Il stopped at a monument commemorating Kim Il Sung's inspection of the unit. He instructed the commanding officers of the unit to add lustre to the President's exploits through all the coming generations and train the soldiers of the unit to be fighters who are capable of matching a hundred foes, by intensifying ideological education through the monument.

He continued his journey of inspection of the units and subunits of all services and arms in the central and eastern sectors of the front, and encouraged soldiers in combat training. In mid-November that year, he paid a visit to the training ground of a unit. Looking at the soldiers in training, he thought of all the KPA servicepersons preparing themselves to be a match for a hundred. As the soldiers finished training, he expressed his appreciation, saying, **"As I always say, the key to becoming a-match-for-a-hundred is in enhancing combat and political training. When you intensify combat and political training, you will be able to build up the combat efficiency of your unit and emerge ever-victorious in every battle against the enemy."**

He then posed for a souvenir photograph with the officers and men of the unit who had been exemplary in training.

Kim Jong Il attached close attention to ensuring all units conducted training in an atmosphere of real combat. He encouraged them to engage in shooting, marching and tactical training, as well as various other types of training. In particular, he led the artillery units to decisively increase firing practice.

On March 10, 1998, Kim Jong Il watched soldiers of an artillery unit at firing practice, before instructing them to conduct their training in a fresh and substantial manner. He said that it is important for artillerymen to intensify firing practice and that since they fire by groups in cooperation, unlike small arms, they cannot hit the target unless they unify their actions. His instruction brought about a great upswing in the artillery units of the People's Army to perfect their combat readiness in anticipation of the different situations that might be created on the real battlefield, and in the

course of this, artillerymen were brought up to be crack shots, capable of discharging the duties of a higher rank.

Kim Jong Il also exerted great efforts to prepare commanding officers to be possessed with the ability with which to command operations in modern warfare, and with the courage and determination proper to combatants.

Availing himself of the opportunity of pointing the deviations revealed in the review of combat training of some units on November 16, 1996, Kim Jong Il placed particular emphasis on the importance of the organizing and commanding role of officers, and said, **"The functions of officers as skilful organizers and their commanding ability are important in that they decide the outcome of operation and combat. Therefore, they must organize and command operations skilfully and on their own initiative, taking into account the given situation and operational manoeuvrability. There cannot be absoluteness in the application of military science."**

That day Kim Jong Il clarified the principles to be adhered to in planning guidance–the principle of giving scope to independence, creativity and idiosyncrasy of the lower units and the principle of teaching and helping subordinates.

On April 15, 1997, Kim Jong Il inspected the unit defending the areas of Height 1211 and Mt. Jihye in the eastern sector of the front. Stressing the need to employ original methods in the training of commanding and staff officers, he said: We need brave and resourceful officers who are quick-witted and who are capable of adapting themselves to ever-changing battle situations, and employing imaginative tactics on the battlefield; I don't like organizing and fighting a combat operation in accordance with a plan drawn on a map in a stereotyped manner. That day, teaching the staff how to correctly judge the combat capability of commanding officers, he said that he would take an opportunity to do it in person.

Since then, training of the commanding and staff officers was strengthened, raising higher their organizing and commanding capabilities. During a military exercise held in the early spring one year, officers of the unit concerned faced an unexpected situation, but they achieved great

success such as had never been seen in the previous exercises, by skilfully commanding their units with aplomb, and quick and expedient judgement of the situation. Upon receiving the report of the process of the exercise, Kim Jong Il said that the method they had employed was excellent, stressing once again that this type of exercise should be encouraged to further the abilities of operational combat organization and command of commanding officers.

Kim Jong Il paid close attention to cultivating in commanding officers the courage and daring proper to military officers. He said to the following effect: A faint-hearted military officer is no better than a hollow tree; such a person cannot fulfil his duty in a life-or-death battle, even though he has good ideas and high commanding capability; modern warfare demands that officers organize and command operations and battles skilfully with confidence, unperturbed by roaring gunshots and flames engulfing the trenches; commanding officers must not become "soft-hearted men." His close concern for this matter bore fruit in bringing up the commanding officers of the KPA as competent combatants capable of organizing and commanding battles independently and skilfully under all battle situations.

With a keen interest in the education of the reserves of commanding officers, he saw to it that military academies enhanced their roles. Inspecting almost all military educational institutes, such as Kim Il Sung Military and Kim Jong Suk Naval universities, he learned the state of their teaching, encouraging them to make the most of formulation and implementation of their educational programmes, at the same time as establishing Juche in military education. His instructions brought about decisive changes in the educational work of the military academies at every level of the KPA in the training of commanding officers and competent experts.

Kim Jong Il also pushed ahead with modernizing the armaments of the People's Army.

He once said that military affairs are the most important of all affairs of the State, and the defence industry is a lifeline for building a prosperous country; that military affairs and the defence industry are priority sectors in Korea. Visiting munitions factories, he encouraged them to produce more weapons of high efficiency that conform with the specific features of Korea.

He was not tight-fisted, either, in equipping the People's Army with powerful modern weaponry.

One day, while he was signing a document earmarking a colossal sum of money for national defence, he unbosomed his heart to an official, saying that he felt his heart rending to make a decision on such a thing when the people were experiencing difficulties in their lives, and that he was most distressed at those moments. He continued in a low yet vehement tone of voice, that he would tell them everything when they had emerged victorious, and they would understand then why they had had to tighten their belts. Once he told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee: We must persistently keep up the munitions industry; there is no one who will give us guns and planes in this situation; we must defend the socialist system only by strengthening our own munitions industry; reactivating the munitions industry and putting it into practical use is a task of vital importance.

His instruction was a guideline to continuing to channel great efforts into the development of the defence industry and defence science and technology in a situation when everything was running short, to putting production at munitions factories on a high, normal footing and to improving the quality of their products.

With top priority attached to the development of the defence science and munitions industry and unprecedented leaps made in munitions production, the armaments of all branches of services and conventional and special arms, were further modernized, and the People's Army was equipped with powerful means of attack and defence, capable of striking any enemy who dared to violate the sovereignty of Korea.

TO FURTHER STRENGTHEN UNITY BETWEEN OFFICERS AND MEN AND BETWEEN THE ARMY AND THE PEOPLE

With a full understanding of the importance of the unity between officers and men and between the army and the people in strengthening the KPA into invincible armed forces, Kim Jong Il developed these types of unity to a higher degree, as required by the Songun era.

With primary attention to giving full play to the traditional traits of the unity between officers and men throughout the KPA, he led officers to take warm care of their men as their own flesh and blood.

Love of officers for their men is prerequisite for unity between officers and men. If officers take care of their men with the heart of the latter's parents or elder brothers, the latter will trust and follow the former, and an iron discipline, whereby men obey the orders and instructions of their officers without condition and execute them to the letter, will be established throughout the army.

In early May 1995, Kim Jong Il said that commanding officers of the KPA should treat their men with humanity and warm hearts, adding, **"Commanding personnel cannot win the hearts of their men if they lack humanity and warm hearts no matter how strong they are in principle and no matter how qualified they are. … Nothing in the world is stronger than love. Those who do not love the masses of the people cannot hate the enemy, and those who cannot hate the enemy cannot struggle for the revolution. In this sense, we can say that the revolution is precisely love, and vice-versa."**

He emphasized that the key to unity between officers and men is in the love of officers for their men.

At midnight on one day in July 1996, Kim Jong Il called the commander of a unit over the phone to learn about the situation in the latter's subunits, which had been redeployed. He came to know the fact that the servicepersons of some subunits had not been settled down in their life. Pointing out the mistake in the latter's work, he instructed him to build barracks first so that the servicepersons could live without feeling any inconvenience, before hanging up. But he could not sleep that night. Next morning, he called the commanding officers of the KPA to inform them of that fact, and reminded them of his repeated instructions on the need for the commanding personnel of the KPA to give full play to the spirit of loving their men, stressing that officers should be trained to become devoted servants of the masses of the soldiers.

One November day in the following year, he inspected the same unit, braving a raging wind and drizzle. Looking round the barracks, he asked the

officers about the room temperature and heating condition, and even felt the floors of the rooms. Then, he expressed satisfaction with the fact that they had built a kitchen attached to the barracks so that the servicepersons could sleep, take meals and study in the rooms warmed by the heat from the kitchen. He taught them to make the windows of the barracks smaller so as to keep the rooms warmer. In the kitchen and education room, he inquired into how the soldiers of the company were living. In a talk in the yard with the commanding officers of the unit and the officers of the company, he said, **"Commanding officers must always find themselves among their men, sharing good times and bad with them, going deep into their hearts and solving their difficulties in time with a high sense of responsibility."**

He continued that company commanders, company political instructors and platoon leaders should stand sentry duty with their men in a planned way, stressing that the People's Army should launch a drive to build up the relationship between officers and men.

He left the company in the evening. Back in his lodgings, he talked with the commanding officers of the KPA late into the night on building up the relationship between officers and men in the army. He said in the following vein: Building up the relationship depends on how officers work with their men; if officers treasure and love their men wholeheartedly, the latter will naturally trust and follow the former; only sincerity will move soldiers' hearts and capture their minds; all commanding officers should take warm care of their men and help them with the heart of their parents or elder brothers.

Whenever he learned on inspection tours of officers taking loving care of their men, Kim Jong Il held them up as prototypes for the entire army.

On September 28, 1997, Kim Jong Il paid a visit to a unit and made a round of the freezing facilities. He happened to see a notice-board on a wall inscribed with the words, Days for Soldiers. The names of the officers, along with their wives' names, were listed on the board by days in the order of their ranks, starting from the commander of the unit and his wife. Officers of this unit had designated "days for soldiers" many years before, and had since looked after the soldiers' meals with their wives on their duty

days. In the course of this, the brotherly love between officers and men had grown intense, and the traditional trait of unity between them in turn had further strengthened the combat efficiency of the unit.

Listening to this story, Kim Jong Il highly praised the commanding officers of the unit and their wives, who loved their men as if they were their own kith and kin, and put the interests of their motherland before their own.

The example of that unit was popularized throughout the army, giving impetus to the traits of officers taking care of their men, and vice-versa, trusting and loving each other and sharing good times and bad in every unit and at every post.

On the basis of the successes already achieved, Kim Jong Il led the officers and men to display the traditional trait of unity between themselves on a higher level.

On May 22, 1998, Kim Jong Il inspected the company in which Hero Kim Kwang Chol had served. The hero had sacrificed his life after covering an exploding hand-grenade with his body, and thus saving his men. Kim Jong Il met the hero's younger brother, who was serving as a platoon leader in the company, following in the footsteps of his elder brother. Then, in the education room he went over the hero's notebooks and handbooks exhibited there. He said that Hero Ri Su Bok had dedicated his youth to his one and only motherland during the Fatherland Liberation War and Hero Kim Kwang Chol had devoted his valuable life for the sake of his precious revolutionary comrades. Pointing out that the ennobling revolutionary spirit displayed by Heroes Ri Su Bok and Kim Kwang Chol, a manifestation of their ardent love for their motherland and comrades, was a laudable trait that could be witnessed only in the KPA, he said that the work of popularizing this trait among soldiers should be undertaken in various forms and by various methods.

The movement to learn from Hero Kim Kwang Chol brought the trait of unity between officers and men into fuller play throughout the army, consolidating it into the ranks of single-hearted unity.

Kim Jong Il also paid attention to giving greater scope to the traditional trait of unity between the army and the people in the People's Army.

There can be hardening of the artery walls of an organic body, but there

should never be the finest gap or mistrust in the blood-sealed relationship between the army and the people–this is the philosophy and motto of Kim Jong Il on the relationship between the army and the people.

On January 7, 1996, Kim Jong Il instructed the commanding officers of the People's Army that they should firmly arm all the officers and men with the spirit of unity between the army and the people, so that they could discharge their duties as the army of the people, saying, **"The People's Army should launch vigorous organizational and political work for bringing the traditional trait of unity between the army and the people into full play."**

In this context, he ensured that while the army and the people made joint efforts to this end, the army, the driving force of the revolution, played the role of propellant.

At dawn one day in early June 1996, Kim Jong Il telephoned a senior officer of the General Political Bureau of the KPA, and told him of a report submitted by a local Party organization. A commanding officer of a unit stationed in a city was informed that the local people were suffering from a shortage of water because of the delayed repair of a reservoir. He, regarding this problem as his own, acquainted himself with the actual situation and brought the problem to the Party organization of the unit for discussion. The unit decided to give support to solving the problem at the earliest date. Several hundred soldiers of the unit went to the reservoir with the necessary materials on trucks and worked day and night, completing the repair at lightning speed. The local people lavished praise on the soldiers, saying that the soldiers of Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il were the best.

Kim Jong Il gave thanks to the unit in the name of Supreme Commander. So pleased was he that he informed the senior officer of the General Political Bureau of this feat at dawn. He spoke highly of the officer of the unit, saying that he was a laudable officer possessed of the spirit of devoted service to the people, that the People's Army, fighting for the people's interests, ought to do such things, and that he was most pleased when he received reports about the People's Army helping the people. He instructed him to ensure that Party appreciation was given to the unit and its deed popularized across the army. This further fanned the

endeavours on the part of soldiers to cement their unity with the people.

In step with this, the spirit of support for the army grew more intense among the people day by day. Entering 1998, Kim Jong Il further developed the idea of unity between the army and the people.

On February 22, 1998, in a talk with the commanding officers of the KPA, he said the following: The basic guarantee for victory in war is in the united strength of the army and the people; if it is to defeat the enemy in united efforts with the people, the KPA must keep up the slogan of unity with the people, and form an integral whole with them; it is important for the army to help the people and the people to support the army with all sincerity, but the main thing in this unity should be ensuring unity in ideology and fighting spirit between them.

Not long after, on March 29, Kim Jong Il, after enjoying the light comedy *Letter* staged by the artistes of the April 25 Film Studio of the KPA, gave a new definition of the unity between the army and the people, a fresh development of the idea of such unity. Pointing out that the present situation demanded that the people have a correct understanding of the essence of life and the root of society in Korea, he said, **"Unity in ideology and fighting spirit between the army and the people based on the revolutionary soldier spirit–this is the essence of the ideology of the unity between the army and the people and the root of our society. To strengthen the People's Army, and, with it as a model, make our revolutionary ranks an elite force is my intention and determination."**

Later on, Kim Jong Il led the KPA, so that it could take the lead in giving fuller play to the traditional trait of unity between the army and the people.

As a result, the trait of the army and the people helping and leading one another was given fuller play.

TRUSTING SOLDIERS AS HIS COMRADES IN THE SONGUN REVOLUTION

Kim Jong Il, regarding soldiers as his comrades who would share his idea and will, shows them the utmost affection. Wherever they are and no matter how rugged the road, he goes to lavish trust and affection on them,

calling them his comrades in the Songun revolution. This is why all the servicepersons call their Supreme Commander their dearest comrade, and put their absolute trust in him. His trust in and affection for the soldiers is reflected in the souvenir photographs he had taken with them during his field inspection tours.

One day on his return from the inspection of a unit, he instructed the officials to send the souvenir photograph he had posed for with the company to every soldier of the unit, asking if there was any soldier missing in the photograph. An official said that two soldiers had missed the opportunity. Kim Jong Il admonished him for telling him about this only then, saying how sorry they must feel for it. He suggested inserting the images of the two soldiers in the photograph, adding that it would testify to their meeting him and he could see them in the photograph.

On his way back from the inspection of a unit in the eastern sector of the front, he posed with a sentry on the ridge of the Chol Pass. While inspecting a unit on Mt. Osong in the central part of the front, he posed with the commanding officers of the unit. When inspecting a post on an outlying island, he ensured that the general officers, who had accompanied him, stood sentry duty so that the soldiers on duty would not be absent from the photograph.

Whenever he posed for souvenir photograph with soldiers of the units he inspected, he presented each unit with a pair of binoculars and an automatic rifle and a machine-gun, with the expectation that they would fulfill their honorable mission as the pillar and main force of the revolution.

Kim Jong Il is unceremonious when making promises to soldiers, and he keeps his promises without fail.

On February 2, 1995, he inspected the Persimmon-tree Company. Standing by the gun emplacements against the rough sea wind, he saw the artillerywomen under drill, and made a round of their education room, barracks and mess hall. As the women soldiers shed tears when they had to part from him, he promised that he would come to the post again in the season when the persimmons ripen, before taking leave of them. Unforgetful of his promise to them, one autumn day of that year, when the persimmons were ripe, he called an official and asked him to visit the company in his place,

saying that the soldiers would be waiting for him now but he could not find time to go there in person. He made sure that the official took with him his gifts to the soldiers. The promise did not slip his mind.

On March 16, 1996, Kim Jong Il enjoyed the light comedy *Promise* staged by the artistes of the April 25 Film Studio of the KPA. The script was based on a real-life story about Kim Jong Il being unforgetful of his promise to the women soldiers, showing great affection for them. When the drama was over, he said that it was impressive, and looked back, in deep emotion, to the day he had inspected the company of the coastal battery, saying in the following vein: In February last year I inspected the battery, and made a promise to the soldiers that I would come again in the persimmon season, before taking leave of them; but I could hardly find time last autumn due to my tight schedule; I felt my heart heavy as I imagined the soldiers waiting for me eagerly, looking at the persimmons ripening fully with the advancing autumn; I had an official deliver my greetings and gifts to them; today's performance encouraged me to inspect the company once again another day; I am yet to keep the promise.

He was concerned about the promise, because women soldiers are women revolutionaries and his comrades in the Songun revolution who are pushing one of the two wheels of the revolution.

On November 24, 1997, Kim Jong Il again inspected the company. It was after the soldiers of the company had picked the last persimmon from the trees outside their barracks, which Kim Jong Il had looked round. In the days when flowers had been in full bloom on the persimmon trees and when the fruit had hung heavily on the branches, the soldiers had eagerly looked forward to seeing Kim Jong Il again, and now he had arrived at the company with a bright smile on his face.

The women soldiers rushed out to greet him, cheering.

Kim Jong Il greeted them, saying, **"I am here to see you in the persimmon season. I am glad to meet you again."**

He added that he had now kept his word.

As he had done two years previously, he watched the soldiers in training, and acquainted himself with their life, making a round of various places of the company. He made the company officers stand near him so

that he could have a look at their uniforms, and asked them about the things they had done in the previous two years. He saw the biggest of the persimmons the soldiers had picked. Learning that a daughter of a woman who had presented a bouquet of flowers to Kim Il Sung 25 years ago on his inspection of the company, was serving in the same company, he called her to his side and conversed with her, asking where she had been born, what her parents were doing and how old she was. Then he posed for a photograph with the woman soldier holding a persimmon in her hand.

Before leaving the company, Kim Jong Il said in the following vein: What impressed me most today was that a daughter of a woman who had presented a bouquet of flowers to President Kim Il Sung when he inspected the company 25 years ago, showed me the biggest of the persimmons picked from the trees which soldiers of her mother's generation had planted in front of their barracks during their service in the army; she was so laudable for defending her mother's former post that I posed with her for a souvenir photograph; I am going to see her parents.

Some days later, on his way to inspect a unit of the People's Army in the northern part of the country, he said that he had to meet the girl's parents, adding that if he turned back without meeting them, they might be disappointed. Called by him, her parents came to where he was, and greeted him.

Kim Jong Il took them by the hand, and said that he had inspected the coastal battery where their daughter was serving a few days before. He informed them of news of their daughter as well as of the company, adding that their daughter resembled her father and mother, that she looked pretty and healthy, and that she was doing well in her military service.

The girl's parents were so moved that they could not find the words to express their gratitude to him for conveying the news of their dear daughter and her mother's old company. After a while, Kim Jong Il told the girl's mother that he had seen the photograph of her presenting a bouquet of flowers to Kim Il Sung 25 years previously, and that now that the young girl had become a parent to two servicepersons–a son and a daughter–time had flown by unnoticed.

His words were so full of affection that the girl's father told him that he

was going to send his youngest daughter to the army upon graduation from middle school the following year.

Appreciating this, Kim Jong Il said, **"It is quite laudable that all your family members guard the posts of national defence with arms in their hands. I summoned you today not because you have made some heroic exploits or given birth to a beauty, but because the determination of the mother and her daughter to defend the coastal post, which had been inspected by President Kim Il Sung, through generations, is quite laudable. You are fighters for national defence."**

The officials around him realized only then why he had called the girl's parents, even delaying his tight itinerary.

Kim Jong Il took warm care of every aspect of the soldiers' life even in the difficult days when the whole country was making the "Arduous March."

One day in early February 1996, Kim Jong Il, who was continuing his work till dawn, telephoned the commanding officer of a unit in the eastern sector of the front. Saying that the soldiers must be having a hard time of it in those cold days and he was worried about the soldiers at the front, he asked about their diet. At dawn of one autumn day the previous year he had called the officer and, on receiving his report about the shortage of vegetables, taken measures for the wintering of the soldiers of the unit–he ensured that a campaign to transport vegetables to the front was organized by mobilizing vehicles. And now he was calling him again at dawn, concerned about the soldiers' life. He hung up after the commander reported in detail about the stock of vegetables the unit had received the previous autumn.

At the end of February 1996, while inspecting a unit in the eastern sector of the front, he dropped in at the mess hall. Concerned about the unpleasing colour and taste of the soy sauce on the tables, he said that however difficult the condition of the country was then, the problem of soy sauce should be solved for the soldiers, and that commanders could not give their men orders in a proper way when they were supplying the latter with tasteless soy sauce. Later, he had officials visit several soy sauce plants in other countries and bring back samples of soy sauce of the best quality. When the

samples arrived, he had soldiers have a taste of them first, saying that their taste should be judged by soldiers, the end-users. And when he was told about the positive reaction of the soldiers, he immediately ensured provision of all necessary for producing dried soy sauce. He took measures simultaneously for solving the problem of refined salt.

In early March 1997, when the supply of dried soy sauce to every unit of the People's Army started, Kim Jong Il inspected a company stationed on the west coast. Finding on the mess-hall tables bottles full of soy sauce of good taste and colour, he said with a broad smile on his face that he could put his mind at ease over the problem of soy sauce to be supplied to the soldiers.

Kim Jong Il's affection for soldiers also reached their uniforms.

On February 27, 1996, Kim Jong Il inspected a post on Height 351 in the eastern sector of the front. Braving a severely cold wind, he went up the crest of the height, and met two soldiers on duty. While asking what their parents were doing and where they hailed from, and about their ages and health, he scrutinized their padded coats. Carefully feeling the thickness of their coats, he said that the soldiers might feel cold in those coats, as the coats felt rather thin. He continued that the cold wind might penetrate through the stitching of the padding, and that the soldiers should be supplied with padded coats which were not stitched even if this demanded larger amounts of cloth. Then he bent down and pressed their padded shoes with his fingers. Pointing to the quality of the shoes, he said that the shoes should be thickened with cotton so that the soldiers' feet would not feel the cold.

After feeling their caps, Kim Jong Il said to the commanding officers:

"Commanding officers should undertake their responsibility and role as masters in charge of the living of servicepersons. What matters is how to feed and clothe them. You don't feel cold in your good coats, but soldiers do. It is not true that soldiers exist for officers, but the other way round. Commanding officers should become those who serve soldiers."

Later, all the servicepersons were supplied with thick padded coats and shoes without a single needle hole.

Kim Jong Il exerted himself to provide the soldiers with better living conditions.

He initiated the building of a standard barracks on an experimental basis, and ratified its design. When the new barracks had been built, he went there and gave detailed instructions on making them more convenient for the soldiers. Thereafter, the barracks of every unit of the People's Army were renovated after the model of the new standard barracks.

Kim Jong Il's care for the servicepersons reached their cultural and emotional lives. Whenever he inspected units of the People's Army, he enjoyed not only artistic performances staged by professional troupes, but also amateur artistic performances prepared by soldiers themselves, encouraging amateur artistic activities among servicepersons. He also ensured that various cultural facilities were supplied to units, so that the soldiers could listen to music and enjoy amateur artistic activities to their hearts' content.

During his inspection of an artillery company one day in June 1998, Kim Jong Il listened to the company soldiers singing at a recreation party. He said that the soldiers of the company played musical instruments and sang very well, and that all servicepersons of the People's Army should know how to play more than one musical instrument like these soldiers and lead an optimistic life singing songs. Then, he asked to listen to the company chorus. The soldiers stood up and sang shoulder to shoulder.

When they finished singing, Kim Jong Il, with a satisfied look on his face, said that the soldiers of the KPA were not only prepared in political ideology and military technology, but possessed high cultural attainments, adding that he felt invigorated listening to their singing.

Back from the company, Kim Jong Il said that soldiers should be provided not only with weapons but also with songs of struggle, that where song resounds, there is the victory of revolution, and that the song of servicepersons is the strength and a powerful weapon of struggle. He thereupon had musical instruments and sporting goods sent to the company.

His endeavours to assure a satisfying cultural and emotional life for the soldiers were witnessed everywhere the servicepersons of the People's Army were living.

MIGHT OF THE POWERFUL REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES

Kim Jong Il led the People's Army to mete out merciless punishment to those who invaded even an inch of the sky, the land and the seas of the country.

On November 19, 1994, he told the commanding officers of the People's Army that the enemy were clamouring about "peace" and "cooperation" outwardly, but their minds had not changed in the slightest, and that the People's Army should definitely safeguard socialism from their manoeuvres by maintaining a high degree of revolutionary vigilance and strengthening ideological education among the servicepersons. Later, he sent to the senior officials of the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces documents on the military and political situation created by the war moves of the enemy behind the curtain of dialogue, and made phone calls to the commanding officers of the frontline units to study the situation, thus ensuring the armed forces guarded the sky, the land and the seas of the country with a proper view of the enemy and revolutionary vigilance.

At about 10:45 on the morning of December 17, 1994, an enemy spy helicopter intruded into the airspace of the country, at a low altitude of 150 metres along the valley of the upstream of the Nam River in the area of Kosong County. An observation aircraft attached to the 17th Air Wing of the US forces in south Korea and called "Sky Cat," none of its series had been shot down during the Gulf War. Taking advantage of the cold and severe wind, the plane intruded as far as Ipho-ri, Kumgang County, seven kilometres north of the Military Demarcation Line. As soon as they spotted the helicopter, the soldiers who were on anti-aircraft duty took up combat positions. The plane, in an attempt to escape, began to gain altitude and gather speed. At that moment, a squad leader, who had honed his marksmanship through routine training, fired a shot at the plane. The helicopter, hit in the engine, made a crash landing and was captured.

This was a demonstration of the unshakable will of the KPA to mercilessly punish any arrogant invader, and the might of the invincible revolutionary armed forces.

That afternoon, Kim Jong Il told the commanding officers of the People's Army that it was a great success to shoot down a US helicopter that had intruded into the territorial airspace of the country that morning, saying, **"The People's Army has demonstrated its backbone to the US imperialist aggressors."** He continued that it had demonstrated concretely that we had not been paying lip service when we had declared that we would not pardon any enemy who violated the territory, airspace or waters of Korea, and it was a stern punishment to the United States, which was scheming for a new war against Korea behind the DPRK-US talks.

The United States attempted to deny the criminal act, claiming that it was a regrettable mistake, and resolve the problem through the good offices of third countries. It also demanded that the captured pilot be set free before the Christmas of that year.

Kim Jong Il said that the United States must be called to account for the incident, adding that it was a problem that must be settled between Korea and the United States. Accordingly, the Panmunjom Mission of the KPA strongly demanded that the United States admit and apologize for the criminal act, and declared that otherwise the pilot would never be repatriated.

Driven into a tight corner, the enemy side made an apology at the several rounds of general-level talks and military contacts between Korea and the United States, and on December 24 the commander of the US forces in south Korea sent a letter to Kim Jong Il, in which he apologized for the incident and pledged that he would prevent any such further occurrence. A final settlement was reached on December 28, when a US presidential envoy paid a visit to Pyongyang and signed a memorandum of understanding, containing a US apology and meeting Korea's demand.

The KPA safeguarded the security of the country by meting out merciless punishment to the enemy whenever they intruded not only its airspace but also its land and waters.

On September 13, 1995, when inspecting a post of a unit of the KPA, Kim Jong Il told its commanding officers that during the Fatherland Liberation War the defenders of Height 351 had fought to the last drop of their blood carrying out an order from Kim Il Sung, adding that the present-day soldiers should not allow the enemy to trample upon even a

tree, a blade of grass or 0.001mm of the territory of the country, which yesterday's heroic soldiers safeguarded at the cost of their life.

The servicepersons of the KPA, cherishing his words, smashed the enemy's military provocations at every step.

The character of the revolutionary armed forces was fully demonstrated in the skirmish on the West Sea in June 1999. In early June the south Korean puppet military authorities, egged on by the US imperialists, mapped out a detailed plan for a naval skirmish on the West Sea, advocating an illegal "Northern Limit Line." From June 4, in accordance with this plan, the south Korean naval vessels committed provocation almost every day, and on June 15 opened fire on naval vessels of the KPA on routine patrol. The enemy ships numbered 40, compared to 10 patrol boats of the KPA.

The sailors of the KPA gained control of the situation by means of powerful gunfire, and went over to the counterattack. Within 30 minutes, they sank two enemy ships, destroyed ten, and killed or wounded 100 enemy sailors. Frightened, the enemy turned tail and fled.

Kim Jong Il led the KPA to safeguard the peace and security of the Korean peninsula by delivering decisive counterattacks to the ever-intensifying military pressure and war provocations of the US imperialists.

Entering 1996, the US and south Korean puppet authorities brought the situation to an extreme. The enemy staged a joint anti-submarine exercise with the participation of a nuclear-powered submarine of the US Navy early that year, a joint military exercise in February, and Hoguk 96 army-navy-and-air-force joint war exercise from March 28. Around this time, the US defence secretary claimed in his Annual Defence Review that the United States should contain the threat that jeopardized its vital interests and emerge victorious. The south Korean puppets, dancing to the US tune, clamoured that the problem of the south-north relations "should be settled only by military force." They even availed themselves of the economic difficulties of the DPRK caused by natural calamities to drive the situation to the brink of war.

In late March Kim Jong Il clarified the direction of manoeuvres of the People's Army. And the First Vice-minister of the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces made public on March 29 a statement in which he declared that returning fire for fire and stick for stick is the spirit of the People's

Army, and that if the enemy dared to violate an inch of the territory or a blade of grass of the DPRK, the KPA would crush them with powerful self-defensive measures.

This was a heavy blow to the arrogant aggressors. The world community said that the KPA, faithful to the intention of its Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il, was full of confidence, and its declaration was not empty talk. The enemy cried that attacking the north was like "striking the rock with an egg." Eventually the enemy could not but give up of their own accord.

In 1998, the United States again resorted to war manoeuvres, clamouring about "suspicious underground nuclear facilities," and insisting that Korea's launch of an artificial earth satellite was a ballistic missile test. They deliberately leaked the so-called OPLAN 5027, a plan for a second Korean war for "avenging" their defeat in the previous Korean war, in the publications of third countries, and went over to the operation of isolating the DPRK by putting the plan into practice. The sharp stand-off between Korea and the United States created before and after the launch of the satellite was finally brought to the brink of war.

War or peace and security? And who will yield?–the world's attention was focused on Korea.

On November 22, 1998, before viewing a performance by an artistic troupe of a unit, Kim Jong Il told the commanding officers that the People's Army should release a statement disclosing the aggressive nature of OPLAN 5027, adding that the US imperialists had made public their war plan apparently to dismay Korea. Giving detailed instructions on the content of the statement, he said that it must severely denounce the US imperialists hell-bent on an aggressive war.

On December 2, 1998, a statement of the spokesman for the General Staff of the KPA, titled, *Our Revolutionary Armed Forces Will Return the Challenge of the US Imperialist Aggressive Forces with a Merciless and Deadly Blow*, was issued. After disclosing the detailed contents and aggressive nature of OPLAN 5027, the statement stressed, "Now that the US imperialists, having thrown off the mask of dialogue and negotiations, are bringing the situation to the brink of war, we solemnly declare on behalf

of Juche Korea that our revolutionary armed forces will never pardon the challenge of the US imperialist aggressive forces but answer it with an annihilating blow. The aggressors will never escape the fate of forlorn wandering spirits."

The statement struck the US imperialists dumb with astonishment, and the Japanese and south Korean puppet authorities pulled out all the stops to save the situation. The mass media of many countries of the world, like China, Russia and the United States, reported the statement under such titles as *The Korean People's Army Remains Fully Alert to Cope with the US Aggressive Manoeuvres, Japan Is Also a Target of Attack, the North Korean People's Army Warns* and *The North Korean Military Warns the US of an Annihilating Blow*.

On January 10, 1999, Kim Jong Il told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that the hard line of the United States should be met with a harder line, adding that the US imperialists do not hesitate to attack any country if it looks weak, but if it is strong, they do not dare to challenge it.

The United States resorted to aggression in Iraq and former Yugoslavia, wielding hi-tech weapons, but challenged by the harder line of Korea, it could not but come to the negotiation table again.

The DPRK-US talks resumed in New York between February 17 and March 16, 1999, at the request of the United States. The word military countermeasure, which had tripped off the tongues of the US officials over Korea's "suspicious underground nuclear facilities" before the announcement of the statement, was not uttered during the talks. The United States accepted the DPRK's demand that "visit on invitation," not "inspection," would be allowed on condition of paying an "admission fee."

In May the relevant people of the United States, in return for aid of hundreds of thousands of tons of food as the "admission fee," "visited" the underground facilities, which they had advertised to be "underground nuclear facilities," and the curtain finally fell on the much-talked-about "suspicious underground nuclear facilities."

4. TO IMBUE THE WHOLE SOCIETY WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF SOLDIERS

At the same time as strengthening the KPA into invincible revolutionary armed forces that staunchly defend the Party, the leader and the socialist country, Kim Jong Il led its servicepersons to create a revolutionary spirit representative of the Songun era.

The noble revolutionary spirit of the servicepersons was fully displayed during the construction of the Anbyon Youth Power Station.

The amount of construction work of the power station was twice as large as that of the West Sea Barrage. The enemy heaped vicious slanders on the project and even foreigners friendly toward Korea were suspicious of the project. And as the economic conditions of the country got worse and unexpected scientific and technological difficulties cropped up, some officials and scientists did not hide their apprehensions with regard to the project.

Kim Jong Il, viewing the project from a political perspective, not from a simple economic and business perspective, summoned the soldiers of the People's Army to the gigantic nature-remaking project.

In January 1995, he set the tasks for the early completion of the first stage of the project, defining a large-sized waterway tunnel, not damming, as the main thrust of the first stage. The amount of work for the first stage was really gigantic–expansion and concrete coating of the waterway tunnel, construction of the dam, facilities and generator room on the reservoir, and building of dam.

Kim Jong Il set June 30, 1996 as the target date, and ensured that equipment, materials and supplies were made available for the project as a top priority, and a force of well-qualified scientists and technicians was dispatched. He also took measures for detailing a backup force from KPA units of every service and arm, military educational institutes, and the KPA units that had displayed their efficiency in the previous major construction

projects, thus turning the construction work into an all-out drive involving the entire army.

Kim Jong Il's utmost concern in the project was to bring the revolutionary enthusiasm of the soldier-builders to the highest pitch. He gave instructions and orders on nearly 100 occasions during the whole period of the first-stage project, with the aim of kindling revolutionary passion in the hearts of the soldiers and propelling the project by dint of it. Once, he instructed the political departments of different levels of the units detailed to the project to employ such frontline motivational methods as motivation by means of visual aids, radio broadcasts and artistic performances. Another time, he arranged for the soldier-builders to make an expedition to the revolutionary battlesites on Mt. Paektu, despite the strain of the construction work. He would make phone calls late at night to enquire after the soldiers working in the tunnel, and had safety helmets, boots, raincoats, breathing apparatuses and eye-protection gear provided to them. He also made sure that foodstuffs like meat, cooking oil and sugar were supplied to them preferentially, and on national holidays sent them tropical fruits by aircraft.

The soldiers, shouting the slogan, "Let us not see the blue sky over the country before carrying out the Supreme Commander's order!" did their utmost to implement the order of their Supreme Commander with a do-or-die spirit, in the course of which they demonstrated the sublime ideological and spiritual qualities of the revolutionary army. Their spirit of implementing their Supreme Commander's order at the risk of their lives was given full play in the building of the waterway tunnel, the main thrust of the project.

When tunnelling had just started, one day, the whole pit was suddenly submerged in underground water. In this critical situation, the soldiers, saying that the stream of the river might be diverted but not the waterway tunnel, jumped into the biting-cold water in the depths of winter, and finally blocked the hole through which the water was flowing, opening the way for advance. When a unit was digging an incline, a 25-meter section of the tunnel roof collapsed, and 27 soldiers were trapped for a few days. Though not even a single drop of drinking water was available and it was hard to breathe, they continued their work. And when their fellow soldiers outside

the tunnel, working to save them, gave them riceballs through a compressed-air tube, they asked for compressed air, not food. General officers and all other commanding officers of a certain unit played a leading role in overcoming a section prone to collapse and in removing the rocks piled up on several metres of a sliding chute, shouting, "Forward after me!" not "Charge forward!" And the rank and file, shouting, "The most difficult and challenging work, to us!" threw themselves ahead of their officers, and pushed carts, each bearing the word *Superexpress*, full of rocks.

The order and instructions given by Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il must be implemented to the letter without any condition, and on this road we must be ready to dedicate our youthful lives if necessary–this was the faith and determination enshrined in the hearts of the soldiers. They thus dug the waterway tunnel braving 128 cave-ins, and finished the first-stage project on schedule.

On June 10, 1996, though it drizzled, Kim Jong Il went to inspect the construction site in the early morning.

In front of a scaled-down map of the power station, he listened to a report on the progress of the first-stage project, and said that the power station was a creation worthy of boasting about to the world, and that the soldiers, boundlessly loyal to the Party and the revolution, had erected a monumental creation of lasting significance in the face of harsh nature.

The same day Kim Jong Il went into the waterway tunnel knee-deep in water, saying that if he failed to do so he would feel regretful, as the soldiers had dug the tunnel at the risk of their lives. His car advanced, its lamps lighting the tunnel. Telling the chauffeur to drive the car until its wheels were invisible under the water, he examined the width, height, roof and walls of the tunnel, appreciating the heroic exploits of the many soldiers who had dedicated their precious youth to the building of the tunnel.

Emerging from the tunnel, Kim Jong Il expressed great satisfaction with the mass heroism and the unexcelled devotion, with which the soldiers had built the tunnel, and said that the revolutionary spirit the soldiers had displayed there should be emulated by others.

Later, Kim Jong Il told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that the Party's Songun politics had started to be enforced in its

entirety after he had stressed the need to emulate the revolutionary soldier spirit, saying, **"I defined the soldiers' spirit of defending their leader and implementing his instructions at the risk of their lives and their heroic self-sacrificing spirit as the revolutionary soldier spirit, and then encouraged the whole of society to learn it."**

Kim Jong Il led all cadres, Party members and other working people to learn the revolutionary soldier spirit.

During his first visit to the power station, he said that visits to it by the people should be arranged so that they could learn the revolutionary soldier spirit on the spot and imbibe the mode of working of the soldiers. On his second visit, on September 15, 1996, he said that the exploits of the soldiers should be given publicity across the country and the world, and the whole of society should seethe with the revolutionary soldier spirit.

That day he said in this vein: I'm going to have the soldiers and builders, who achieved great labour feats during the construction of the power station, called to Pyongyang, so that they can see the sights of the capital city and hold a rally there; I will also pose with them for a photograph and give them presents; and as the power station is located in Anbyon and was built by young soldiers, it would be advisable to name it the Anbyon Youth Power Station.

Thus, the power station, which had been called the Kumgangsan Power Station in its early days, was named the Anbyon Youth Power Station to hand down the heroic exploits of young soldiers from generation to generation.

In mid-October that year, the soldier-builders came to Pyongyang amidst a warm welcome from its citizens, and spent pleasant days seeing the sights. The *Rodong Sinmun*, Central TV and other national-level mass media gave publicity every day to the creators of the revolutionary soldier spirit, and the people talked about them at home and at their workplaces.

Busy as he was, Kim Jong Il found time to meet the soldiers, and posed with them for a photograph in the plaza of the Kumsusan Memorial Palace.

The soldiers visited the Kumsusan Memorial Palace, where President Kim Il Sung lies in state, and paid tribute to him. On October 15, they held a rally, and appealed to the working people of the whole country to bring

about a great upsurge in socialist construction in the revolutionary soldier spirit.

In order to give a powerful fillip to popularizing the spirit throughout society, Kim Jong Il held a talk with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee on March 17, 1997, under the title, ***On Emulating the Revolutionary Soldier Spirit***.

In the talk, stressing the need to emulate the spirit by all sectors and units, he said, **"The revolutionary soldier spirit is a fighting spirit, which all officials, Party members and other working people should learn, and ideological and spiritual nourishment with which to overcome the difficulties of today and make a victorious advance. When they give full play to the spirit, they will have nothing to fear in the face of difficulties and trials, and push ahead with the revolution and construction without letup. This is why we stress that officials, Party members and other working people should learn the revolutionary soldier spirit."**

He continued: There is no specific moment for learning the spirit; one should learn and apply into one's own life and work the noble ideological and spiritual world of the soldiers displayed in their everyday struggles and lives; the spirit can be learned from the soldiers working on such difficult and challenging projects as the construction of the Anbyon Youth Power Station, or from their artistic performances; the performances given by the Travelling Youth Artistic Troupe of the KPA and the artistic troupes of units vibrate with the revolutionary soldier spirit and are high in ideological quality, moving the audiences and arousing them to heroic exploits; officials and working people should be shown the performances so that they can learn the revolutionary soldier spirit.

In accordance with his instructions, the performances of the Travelling Youth Artistic Troupe of the KPA and the artistic troupes of several units, and the light comedies, *Promise*, *Blessing*, *Letter*, *Comrade* and *Chol Pass* created by the April 25 Film Studio of the KPA were staged in Pyongyang and the provinces, contributing greatly to imbuing the whole of society with the revolutionary soldier spirit.

Whenever he inspected army units well known for carrying out their tasks admirably, Kim Jong Il took with him civilian officials so that they could learn the revolutionary soldier spirit on the spot.

One day in early May 1997, accompanied by civilian officials, he inspected a unit stationed in the western sector of the front. The unit had accomplished within a few months a gigantic project by its own efforts, a project assigned by the Supreme Commander, thus perfecting its combat readiness. Looking round the fruition of the fighting spirit of soldiers, the civilian officials were struck with wonder. Kim Jong Il told the officials that he was taking them with him to teach them the revolutionary soldier spirit, and that the unit was a model of the spirit.

In later days, Kim Jong Il stressed that the spirit was a powerful weapon for the struggle for the prosperity of the country and the well-being of the people, instructing officials to learn the spirit.

The revolutionary soldier spirit, representative of the Songun era, now suffused the whole country.

5. SONGUN POLITICS, THE BASIC MODE OF SOCIALIST POLITICS

The Songun politics further strengthened the political and military might of the KPA, and socialist Korea made its appearance as a military giant on the international arena.

In early 1999 when Songun politics was enforced comprehensively across the country and social life, and its might began to be displayed in practice, Kim Jong Il declared that the leadership of the WPK was Songun leadership and its politics Songun politics.

On January 24, 1999, Kim Jong Il told the commanding personnel of the KPA that the prosperity of the country and victory of socialism rest on the guns of the People's Army, saying, **"Until now I have held the command of the People's Army and guided the revolution and construction by relying on it. It can be said that the history of my revolutionary struggle is the history of leadership of the Songun revolution."**

On February 8, he said to them again, **"Songun politics is the basic mode of my politics and an almighty sword with which to advance our revolution to victory."**

Though Kim Jong Il had applied in practice the ideals of Songun politics with an unshakable will, he had refrained from using the term Songun politics; only after its validity had been confirmed in practice did he formulate it as Songun politics and made it public. This reflects his practice-oriented leadership ability.

Afterwards he illuminated in many of his works and remarks the essential nature, characteristics, greatness and invincible vitality of the new mode of politics, thus scientifically systemizing the theory of Songun politics.

In his talk with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee on July 5, 2001, titled, ***The Songun Politics of Our Party Is a Powerful Mode of Socialist Politics***, and in other works, he elaborated on the theory of Songun politics. On the essential nature of Songun politics, he said, **"Songun politics is, in essence, the political mode of finding solutions to all problems arising in the revolution and construction on the principle of giving priority to military affairs, regarding the People's Army as the pillar of the revolution, and pushing ahead with the overall socialist cause by relying on it."**

Songun politics is based on, and originated from, the idea and line of attaching importance to arms, to military affairs, advanced and consistently pursued by President Kim Il Sung.

Since the cause of independence of the masses of the people, the cause of socialism, is accompanied by a duel of strength with imperialists and other counterrevolutionary forces of all hues, military affairs present themselves as a vital issue that will decide the victory of the revolution and the destiny of a nation. Only a country with powerful armed forces of its own can emerge victorious in the revolution, defend that successful revolution and assure national independence and prosperity.

Kim Il Sung, in his early days of revolutionary activities, organized armed ranks first and realized the historic cause of national liberation by force of arms. At each period and each stage of the revolution after the liberation of the country he paid primary attention to military affairs and steadily strengthened the revolutionary armed forces, assuring the victorious advance of the revolution and construction by force of arms. While presenting Paektusan pistols to the commanding officers of the KPA on the anniversary

of the founding of the KPA in the last year of his life, he instructed them to obey the orders of Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il to the letter.

Songun politics pursued by Kim Jong Il is a mode of socialist politics of the present era, the inheritance and development of Kim Il Sung's idea and line of attaching importance to arms, to military affairs.

It reflects the demands of the times and of the revolution.

In the last decade of the 20th century, socialism collapsed in the former Soviet Union and in the other East European countries, bringing about a great change in the world political structure and balance of forces. The mouthpieces of imperialism as well as opportunists claimed that a spell of detente and peace came with the "end of the Cold War," but the world can never be peaceful as long as imperialism remains. The imperialists and reactionary forces directed the main thrust of their attack at Korea, which was holding fast as ever to the banner of independence and socialism. Korea had to take on the imperialist aggressive forces single-handed. The confrontation between Korea and the imperialists was a duel of strength, and the anti-imperialist military front turned out to be the main front of the Korean revolution, its lifeline, affecting the destiny of the nation and socialism. Only when it strengthened the People's Army by concentrating its efforts on military affairs and relied on it, could Korea defend the destiny of the nation and advance the revolution and construction to victory.

Having sized up the international environment of the Korean revolution and the rapidly-changing situation, Kim Jong Il enforced the Songun politics comprehensively–putting military affairs before other State affairs, and putting the armed forces forward as the pillar and main force of the revolution.

The head of a Juche idea study group in Japan wrote as follows: "A unique political mode has been created, jolting the world's political circles–Songun politics authored by General Secretary Kim Jong Il. The West entertains apprehensions that Korea aims to be a 'military giant,' but far-sighted politicians comment that Songun politics is a distinctively independent statesmanship for safeguarding the nation, its sovereignty and the socialist cause in Korea's circumstances. The progressive peoples of the world recognize Kim Jong Il's statesmanship, by which he is defending the cause of socialism and the cause of independence by dint of invincible military power."

More and more politicians worldwide aspired to learn the Songun politics of Korea, saying that this mode of politics cannot be limited to one country, and the word Songun has become a term representative of the current times.

The enemy were seized with fear of this powerful mode of politics.

VOA broadcast in the following vein: The only country that can bury tens of thousands of lives in the heart of the United States and make a breakthrough in the walls built by the United States across the world by dint of Songun politics is north Korea; and the country that will achieve the prosperity of socialism by dint of Songun politics is also north Korea; to be unable to measure, let alone guess, the huge width and endless depth of power of Kim Jong Il's Songun politics–this is a tragedy of Washington.

CHAPTER 34

BUILDING UP THE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL POSITION OF THE COUNTRY

1. CONDUCTING IDEOLOGICAL WORK AS REQUIRED BY THE TIMES

In the period of the "Arduous March" Kim Jong Il put great efforts into building up the country's political and ideological position in order to consolidate its ideological power more than ever before.

The "Arduous March" accompanied by a sharp class struggle demanded that anti-imperialist, anti-US education and class education be further intensified.

For effective education of those types, Kim Jong Il paid special attention to ensuring that visual aids were employed in education in the crimes the US imperialists had committed against the Korean people.

Kim Jong Il, on his inspection of a naval unit on east coast on February 5, 1995, told the commanding officers of the KPA, who were accompanying him, that it would be advisable to conduct the education among servicepersons and youths and students in the anti-US spirit by means of the *Pueblo*, evidence of US history of aggression. On his instructions, the US spy ship was moved 30 years after its capture to the spot on the Taedong River where the US aggressor ship *General Sherman* had been sunk more than 100 years before.

Kim Jong Il ensured that anti-imperialist, anti-US education and class education were intensified through visits to the Sinchon Museum.

On May 25, 1998, Kim Jong Il said to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that he had emphasized for several years on building up the Sinchon Museum and conducting anti-imperialist, anti-US education and class education through visits to it, but the results had not been satisfactory. He gave

Kim Jong Il looking round the Sinchon Museum

detailed instructions on rebuilding the museum and equipping it with materials that could vividly show the details of the massacre committed by the enemy in Sinchon, assigning the task to the People's Army.

The servicepersons and the officials concerned finished the expansion project of the museum on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the DPRK.

On November 22 that year, Kim Jong Il visited the museum and pointed out matters of principle and specific tasks for improving the education in the anti-US class spirit by means of the museum, saying:

"We should educate the people to cherish a burning hatred towards the US imperialists and an uncompromising fighting spirit through visits to the Sinchon Museum. The museum is an important base for enhancing their anti-US consciousness."

He continued that, as the US aggressors had had quislings, class enemies of the people, commit the massacre in Sinchon, the museum should serve not only as a base for anti-US education but also as an important base for implanting in the people the hatred of the class enemy and fighting spirit. The same day he said that visits to the museum should be encouraged among the people, particularly among young people and servicepersons.

He also ensured that halls for class education were built in Pyongyang and other cities and rooms for class education in schools, factories, enterprises and farms throughout the country to put class education on a regular footing. This brought about a sweeping turn in anti-imperialist, anti-US education and class education, and anti-US class consciousness was remarkably heightened among the servicepersons and working people, young people and students in particular.

Kim Jong Il set forth the idea of transforming the people into socialist patriots, and paid great attention to strengthening socialist patriotic education among Party members and other working people.

On January 28, 2000, Kim Jong Il inspected the Ryangchaek Bearing Factory. The factory, inside and out, was spick and span.

In a clean workshop, he stopped beside a female worker, who was assembling bearings. **"Your hands are more skilful than a machine,"** he said in a low voice. An official of the factory told him that she was to leave the

factory for another place, as her husband was an officer of the People's Army.

A sorry expression was evident on Kim Jong Il's face. Reading his thoughts, the woman assembler said that she would never leave the factory.

He felt satisfaction at the clean factory, and with the woman who was working hard with a determination not to leave it.

On his return, Kim Jong Il said to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee in the following vein: The mental state of the workers working in the environment cultured for production and life is good; the feeling of attachment to one's factory and workplace and the desire to work more spring only from such a clean environment as the Ryangchaek Bearing Factory, not from a dirty workplace; creating a cultured environment for production and life is not only an important undertaking to spruce up one's working and living places but also an important ideological undertaking to transform the people's ideology and imbue them with the spirit of ardently loving the country.

He continued: **"We should transform the people not only on a revolutionary and working-class pattern, but into socialist patriots. Only then will we be able to transform all members of society into true patriots who love their families, workplaces, native homes and villages, and make our country, our motherland, a brighter place."**

His remarks served as the source of ideological and spiritual inspiration that induced Party members and other working people to devote themselves to the prosperity of the country with ardent love for their country, home villages and workplaces.

2. LEADING THE PARTY TO BECOME THE VANGUARD OF THE SONGUN REVOLUTION

EXERTING UNREMITTING EFFORTS FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THE PARTY

Kim Jong Il made great efforts to strengthen the Party, a political leadership detachment of society, into the vanguard of the Songun revolution in keeping with the requirements of the Songun era.

On July 11 and 19, 1994, Kim Jong Il said to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee: **"The leadership system of our Party, State and armed forces should be a system with which to defend most staunchly and develop most faithfully the revolutionary cause of Juche pioneered and led by President Kim Il Sung."**

The days when the country was making the unprecedentedly severe "Arduous March" and when the Korean revolution was advancing under the banner of Songun demanded that a radical change be brought about in the method of Party work and fighting spirit.

On December 7, 1996, Kim Jong Il told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee to bring about a fresh change in Party work.

He said that Party workers should solve knotty problems persistently in the van of the ranks of the "Arduous March," and vigorously conduct political work among the masses, adding, **"Party workers should conduct political work in various forms and methods best suited to the period of the 'Arduous March.' They should pluck the heartstrings of the masses and motivate them, going among them, sharing weal and woe with them and setting practical examples, by employing the frontline motivation method of the People's Army."**

He continued that the people were looking to the senior officials of the Party in the face of present difficulties, and that the latter, being aware of the importance of their position, should map and undertake their work properly in order to break through the difficulties by all means and bring the "Arduous March" to a victorious conclusion. Then he proposed convening a national meeting of Party workers.

Many Party workers, in the lead-up to the meeting, went among the masses and employed frontline methods of political work, informing them of the policy of the Party and the situation of the country, and discussing how to solve knotty problems. In the course of this, many successes were achieved–internal reserves were discovered to solve the problem of coal production and peasants made efforts to become the Kim Je Wons of the 1990s. Experience showed that if officials briskly conducted political work among the masses touching their heartstrings, they could overcome any hardships however difficult and complex the situation might be.

On January 1, 1997, Kim Jong Il said to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that for a revolutionary turn in Party work all Party officials should make redoubled efforts with a fresh resolve. He continued: **"If all Party officials stand in the van of the ranks, shouting, 'Forward after me!' as the commanding officers of the People's Army did during the building of the Anbyon Youth Power Station, they will surely pull down any barrier or move any mountain."**

Again, on January 18, some days before the national meeting of Party workers, Kim Jong Il said to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee to the following effect: All Party organizations and officials should avail themselves of the forthcoming meeting to demonstrate their worth; every sector and every unit has a Party organization, and if Party organizations are motivated and Party workers stand in the van, administrative and economic organs and officials will follow suit; Party organizations and Party workers should be the first to be motivated.

On January 24, 1997, the large-scale National Conference of Party Workers opened in Pyongyang.

Kim Jong Il sent a letter to the meeting, titled, ***Let Us Make This Year a Year of Bringing About a Revolutionary Turn in Socialist Economic Construction.*** Clarifying the central tasks of the economic sector, and the detailed tasks and ways for bringing about a radical turn in the work of Party organizations and in the working method of Party workers, he wrote:

Party organizations should become militant organizations which work full of animation as befits the organizations of the revolutionary Party. Party organizations and Party officials should grasp and guide the implementation of the Party's economic policies, promoting their thoroughgoing implementation. For the entire Party to go among the masses, Party organizations should move the arena of their political work to such workplaces as crop fields of cooperative farms and coal faces, and conduct political work in a fresh and convincing way so as to imbue the whole society with the spirit of self-reliance and the revolutionary soldier spirit, and inspire all the people to rise up as one to the final charge of the "Arduous March" true to the call of the Party with conviction and optimism. Those who should work with redoubled efforts and at full stretch today are

Party workers. All Party workers from the Party Central Committee to the Party committees of provinces, cities, counties, factories, enterprises and rural villages should work to the best of their ability, true to the policy of the Party.

And he continued:

"Party workers should become standard-bearers of struggle who hold high the red flag of revolution and men of action who are ready to dedicate themselves unhesitatingly to conquering all difficulties and solving knotty problems, standing in the van of the ranks of today's 'Arduous March.' "

Pointing out that Party workers should change their work method in keeping with the present situation, he wrote that they should lead the masses with lively organizational and political work, setting personal examples for the masses.

Kim Jong Il's letter inspired all the participants to make full determination to prove themselves worthy of his trust in them by implementing with credit the tasks set out in the letter.

Occasioned by the conference, Party workers made strenuous efforts to boost their sectors and units by applying the method and style of work indicated by Kim Jong Il. They went to the production sites, launched aggressive political work in line with the actual situations, and made breakthroughs in the van by setting practical examples.

In order to raise further their already high spirit, Kim Jong Il planned to convene a national conference of Party workers again in early January 1998.

Cherishing the intention of Kim Jong Il for the second meeting, Party workers led the masses in the van of the forced march. The Party organizations at all levels properly organized and guided the Party life of officials, so that they became standard-bearers and buglers of advance, and gave wide publicity to the examples set by the Party workers of many units across the country. In the course of this, the spirit of defending the leader at the risk of one's life and thoroughly implementing his instructions–the core of the revolutionary soldier spirit–the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude, and the trait of setting personal examples were fully displayed among Party workers, and a great change was made in overall Party work and style of work of Party workers.

BUILDING THE PARTY AS A PARTY SUPPORTED AND TRUSTED BY THE MASSES

Kim Jong Il led the Workers' Party of Korea in the Songun era to fulfill its duty as a party which would faithfully serve the people, developing it as a revolutionary party which enjoyed absolute support and trust from the masses.

Kim Jong Il ensured that all officials possessed the spirit of boundlessly loving the people and faithfully serving them.

On February 16, 1996, his birthday, Kim Jong Il, still working in his office, met the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, and said that the Party, even though the situation was difficult, should solve the problem of the people's living as they trusted it, adding, **"There is no people in the world more laudable than ours."**

Next day he said to the commanding officers of the KPA that he felt most happy, delighted and encouraged whenever he experienced support from the masses of the people and soldiers, emphasizing that this was his philosophy of revolution. On his human philosophy he said, **"The Party must take care of the people from cradle to grave, placing them in their positions in society, and guarantee their political integrity so that they can be immortal even after death. This is the core of my human philosophy as well as a policy of the Workers' Party of Korea."**

When the people were experiencing difficulties in the days of the "Arduous March," Kim Jong Il saw to it that officials heightened their sense of devoted service to the people.

On New Year's Day 1997, Kim Jong Il gave detailed instructions to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, stressing that they should concentrate their efforts on solving the problems afflicting the people, saying in the following vein: Now the people have risen up as one with a new fighting spirit, calling this year the year of the last charge of the "Arduous March"; this reflects the firm will of the people to emerge victorious in the "Arduous March," true to the Party's appeal, as well as their demand for a conclusion of the march; this proves their deep-rooted trust in the Party; it is the intrinsic requirement of our Party to share the

difficulties the people are undergoing, and solve them; if officials share the people's suffering and faithfully serve them, the revolution will advance and the country will prosper; but if they lord it over the people, they will be forsaken by the people, and are doomed to ruin; this is a serious lesson shown by the world socialist movement; socialism in some countries collapsed, and capitalism revived because their parties had not struck their roots deep among the masses, and lorded it over them, forfeiting the support of the masses; only when governance is supported by the people will it fully display its sustainable vitality as well-guided politics; Party officials should realize clearly that if they neglect this historical lesson and lord it over the people, they will be punished by the people.

He continued, **"Party officials should become true servants of the people, keeping in mind that only when they work for the people and serve them will they enjoy their absolute support and win in the revolution."**

During his continual trips for field guidance, Kim Jong Il showed officials, through his personal example, how they should live and work for the people in hard times.

Early in January 1998, in the biting cold, Kim Jong Il guided the work of Jagang Province on the spot, putting up at his train. A senior official of the Provincial Party Committee asked him to put up at the lodging house the local people had built a few years previously in anticipation of his trip.

Kim Jong Il replied, **"I am grateful that the people of Jagang Province want me to stay in the lodging house they have built. But I cannot stay in a floor-heated room when all the people are making a forced march, can I? The more the people think of me, the more closely I should be involved in the forced march."**

The official followed him to his quarters on the train. There he was shocked to find that there were only a few vegetable-stuffed maize flour buns and a bowl of soup of bean-paste and vegetable for each one of them on the table. Kim Jong Il said that when the people had to make do with maize-flour food and bean-paste, he too had to dine frugally.

Informed of this, local officials presented a black hen and a black goat to Kim Jong Il. In Korea, food from black animals is considered to be good for the health.

Kim Jong Il expressed his thanks, but instructed them to return the animals to their owners, saying that now that the people were on a forced march, tightening their belts, he could not eat special food.

On December 9, 1998, when a year of forced march was drawing to a close, he told officials that pleasure for them should be in doing something good for the people, not in eating, dressing and living better than others, saying, **"My pleasure is in the happiness of the people. I spare nothing if it is for their benefit."**

He continued in the following vein: I give field guidance to factories and enterprises in various sectors and army units almost every day just for the people's happiness; because of this, I have not been able to sleep in comfort; I only have catnaps for a few minutes in my car on field guidance trips; I have got accustomed to this, and now I feel uncomfortable sleeping in a bed; a catnap in the car is quite sweet, and that is my rest; and I have never thought it a hard life; on the contrary, I find pride and honour in it; though I work taking meals and sleep at irregular times, I feel relieved of fatigue and my strength soaring when I hear the news that the people enjoy happy life; if officials want to make me feel pleased, they should do one good thing more for the people.

He added: **"I find my pleasure in the people's pleasure and my happiness in the people's happiness. Our officials should know this mind of mine and work hard for the people together with me."**

The officials strove to live and work as faithful servants of the people under the slogan, **"We serve the people!"**

3. FOR CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF SINGLE-HEARTED UNITY

WITH NOBLE REVOLUTIONARY OBLIGATION

The Korean revolution started by dint of unity, and has been safeguarded and advanced by dint of single-hearted unity.

Inheriting this valuable tradition, Kim Jong Il took care of the people of the whole country with noble comradeship and a sense of revolutionary

obligation and trust during the trying days of the "Arduous March."

Even in the period when the whole country was mourning Kim Il Sung's death, Kim Jong Il was anxious about the health of the veterans of the anti-Japanese revolution. On August 23, 1994, he told a veteran that anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans should not overtax themselves, but take care of their health so as to keep making revolution. Then he ensured that the veteran fighters, who were still in grief over the loss of Kim Il Sung, were sent to a holiday resort.

His concern for O Jin U, Minister of the People's Armed Forces and an anti-Japanese revolutionary veteran, was extraordinary.

On December 30, 1994, Kim Jong Il called some senior officers of the People's Army and said, **"I have called you to discuss medical treatment for the Minister of the People's Armed Forces."**

Noting that the minister had not fully recovered his health despite treatment both at home and abroad, he said to him: **"You'd better have a rest for your health until April 15 next year. This is an assignment I, Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army, give to you, Minister of the People's Armed Forces."**

The minister concerned and other officers around could not say anything as the tone of his voice was resolute. The veteran wanted to help Kim Jong Il in his work, but had to receive specialized medical treatment from the outset of the following year. Modern medicine failed to cure him, however. On February 25, 1995, he died at the age of 78.

On receiving the report of his death, Kim Jong Il was deeply grieved and made arrangements for his mourning ceremony: An obituary was announced in the name of the Central Committee and Central Military Commission of the Workers' Party of Korea and the then Central People's Committee of the DPRK, and a large-scale funeral commission, with Kim Jong Il as a member, was organized. His coffin was placed in the April 25 House of Culture, and his funeral lasted five days, two days more than the traditional mourning days. A bronze bust to him was erected in the Revolutionary Martyrs Cemetery on Mt. Taesong prior to the funeral ceremony. On the funeral day, Kim Jong Il came to the place of the funeral ceremony earlier than the bereaved family, and looked at his unforgettable

comrade's bust for a long time, braving the chilly wind. Then, he said to the senior officer of the People's Army, who arrived with the funeral procession, that the bust reflected the deceased's personality well, and that he was able to put his mind at ease as the funeral would be held in front of the bust. After a while, he continued that the bust reminded him of the day when the hardy veteran shed tears last, adding that he was a veteran fighter who had been faithful to him and his death was a great loss to the Party and to the armed forces.

Several days previously, Kim Jong Il visited him in the hospital as he was informed that the latter's illness was critical. O Jin U, who, in coma, had made no response to any one's call, miraculously opened his eyes at Kim Jong Il's call. As he recognized Kim Jong Il, he tried to raise his head, but, failing, shed tears.

Kim Jong Il saw to it that, in order to add lustre to the exploits of the deceased, who had devoted his whole life to the Party, the leader, the country and the people, a fellow anti-Japanese veteran fighter made a condolatory address at the funeral ceremony, and lavished trust on the bereaved family.

One day in March 1995, Kim Jong Il arranged that the commanding officers of corps, who were in Pyongyang to attend the Conference of Company Commanders and Political Instructors of the People's Army, expressed their condolences to O Jin U in front of his bust. And when he was given the report of its progress, he said that it was right from a moral point of view. He also made sure that a new military academy was named after the deceased.

Kim Jong Il's revolutionary obligation found expression in his effort to exalt the patriotic martyrs who had fought for the reunification and prosperity of the country.

On April 28, 1998, while giving field guidance to a unit, he saw a machine that carves images from photographs on stone. After carefully examining the machine and the sample images carved by the machine, he expressed great satisfaction over the fact that the unit had manufactured the machine by its own efforts, saying that he had been planning to have such a machine purchased from a foreign country.

He held in his hand a sample on display, and spoke highly of its quality. Then he added that such images of patriotic martyrs as well as of heroes should be made for their tombstones. On July 1, 1998, he acquainted himself with the production process, and took the necessary measures for its production–stone extraction and processing, place for carving photographic images and labour. On July 4, he checked on the progress of the work, and said that if photographic images were put on the tombstones at the Patriotic Martyrs Cemetery it would be meaningful and exert a positive influence on the bereaved families and their descendents.

On September 19, 1998, he made his way to the Patriotic Martyrs Cemetery. Enjoying a panoramic view of the cemetery, he said that the cemetery looked quite characteristic and much more impressive with the photographic images of the martyrs on their tombstones, and that it seemed that the martyrs were greeting him. Going round all the tombstones till sunset, he recollected with deep emotion their careers, their ages at death and their exploits. He also gave concrete instructions on the building up of the cemetery, and emphasized that it should be inquired into whether there was any one proper to be buried at the cemetery missing so that their remains could be laid to rest at the cemetery.

Kim Jong Il gave prominence to the veterans of the Korean war.

On May 25, 1996, he told the commanding officers of the People's Army that, in order to educate the people and servicepersons to fight for the Party, the leader, the country and the people at the risk of their lives as the first and second generations of the revolution had done, the feats of not only those who had fallen during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and the Fatherland Liberation War, but also of the survivors of those days should be given wide publicity, adding, **"It is particularly important to give the Heroes of the Republic and model soldiers, who, during the Fatherland Liberation War, distinguished themselves in the fight against the enemy and met President Kim Il Sung for their merits, opportunities for education and strengthen education through them."**

These soldiers are treasures in that they fought at the risk of their lives and youth for the Party, the leader, the country and the people, together with the first generation of the revolution, he continued, and

said that the Korean revolution could advance along the victorious road and the country could prosper just because the second generation of the revolution, together with the first generation, had shed blood. A few days later, he picked some war veterans, and took measures to have them rejoin the army as guides at the Victorious Fatherland Liberation War Museum. Thereafter, a ceremony was held in the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces, to reenlist the gray-haired war veterans in the army and award high-level military ranks and uniforms to them, and deliver the gifts from Kim Jong Il to them.

Kim Jong Il led the bereaved families of heroes and revolutionaries to enjoy a worthwhile life on the road of revolution.

He never forgot Kil Yong Jo, a hero of the 1990s, nor his family. The hero's wife went to the construction site of the Anbyon Youth Power Station and worked devotedly to live up to the continued care shown by Kim Jong Il. Kim Jong Il, highly appreciative of her laudable deed, had her enlisted in the army as a political officer. On October 10, 1997, when he met her, he talked with her for a long time as if he had met his own daughter. He said that he felt as if he were meeting Hero Kil Yong Jo, that her husband had been a laudable man, and that few women would have husbands as proud as hers who had done something so great in life. When he asked her about her children, he learned that her son was studying in a revolutionary school and her daughter was under the care of her grandmother. He suggested sending the daughter also to the revolutionary school at her school age, so that the children could succeed their father. That night he said to the officials in the following vein: Today's meeting with that hero's wife made me very thoughtful; Korean women are upright women with a high sense of revolution and patriotism; they think about the country and revolution before their families; we should help that hero's wife to be a good revolutionary; this is our moral obligation and duty towards heroes.

Kim Jong Il's warm care and keen sense of revolutionary obligation have assured the bereaved families of not only Hero Kil Yong Jo but also other heroes and heroines, known or unknown, of their comfortable life and uninterrupted, honourable service of loyalty from generation to generation.

WITH ABSOLUTE TRUST IN THE PEOPLE

The people put infinite trust in the leader, and the leader absolutely trusts the people, and braves the difficulties of the revolution, sharing weal and woe with them–this is a feature of the single-hearted unity of Korea, which Kim Jong Il has developed into a harmonious whole.

The conviction of the Korean people in worshipping and respecting Kim Jong Il became more evident after President Kim Il Sung had passed away.

On July 7, 1995, the day before the first anniversary of Kim Il Sung's death, Kim Jong Il boarded a tram on a trial run, saying that the Kumsusan Memorial Palace would be inaugurated the following day, and he had yet to see if the new tram way was working properly. As the tram, leaving the terminal in front of the palace, was approaching the Samhung Subway Station, someone shouted outside, "Here comes the General," followed by a thunder of cheers. The students and many other people, who were laying out the areas surrounding the palace, shouted, "Long live General Kim Jong Il!"

Kim Jong Il rose from his seat, and waved to the people.

When the tram made a U-turn at Ryonghung to return to the palace, more and more people rushed towards the tram, as they had heard that the leader was near them.

The tram passed the Samhung Subway Station, and yet the cheering continued behind. Kim Jong Il said in a choking voice that the Korean people were really good, and that the thought that he was working with such people made him resolved to work harder for the revolution. He looked behind now and then, as if he were unwilling to take leave of the crowd.

On July 9, the day after the inauguration of the Kumsusan Memorial Palace, Kim Jong Il, looking back upon what had happened two days previously, said to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee: **"Women, children, students and others of various stripes rushed to the tram, cheering. I could see in their eyes the sincerity with which they follow their leader. The scene convinced me once again that our people are really good. … Moreover, I gained a firmer determination to**

provide a better life for them by working harder for the revolution."

Kim Jong Il made great efforts to ensure that young people carried out their duty as the vanguard and shock brigade in socialist construction, with a belief that if the Party, the army and the youth are strong, no enemy is invincible.

On the evening of October 10, 1995, a grand soiree and torchlight procession by youth and students in Pyongyang were held in Kim Il Sung Square in the presence of Kim Jong Il, commemorating the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Workers' Party of Korea.

Just before the start of the torchlight procession after the soiree, Kim Jong Il handed a torch to a young man and woman. The two young people said in chorus: "Supreme Commander General Kim Jong Il, we eight million youth and students will prepare ourselves as human bombs and bullets to defend you in the van at the risk of our lives."

Then, 100 000 young people in columns passed through the square in proud array, forming the emblem of the WPK and such words with torches as "Kim Il Sung," "Ever-victorious Workers' Party," "Army-People Unity," "Harmonious Unity," "My Country, My Motherland" and "Human Bullets and Bombs."

Kim Jong Il led the youth league to enhance its role decisively, at the same time as breathing fresh air into the social atmosphere of attaching importance to the youth. Along with this, he led the young people to become creators of miraculous feats, youth heroes, in the struggle for making a breakthrough of advance in the major fronts of socialist construction and building monumental edifices of the Songun era.

On January 18, 1997, he told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that young people, the future of the country, the main force of the revolution and construction, and the most vigorous detachment of society, should play the role of shock brigade both in national defence and in socialist economic construction, and that only when the revolutionary traditions are inherited by them can the lifeline of the revolution be maintained through generations. Proceeding from such absolute trust in the youth, he entrusted the youth league with the large-scale project of laying a railway between Wonsan and Mt. Kumgang, and ensured that a youth shock

brigade was dispatched to the Komdok Mining Complex to make a breakthrough in increasing production. Young people stood in the van of gigantic construction projects, especially after the February 1998 National Youth Conference for the Socialist General Onward March–wide-gauge railway projects between Haeju and Ongjin and between Singangryong and Pupho, hydroelectric power projects, and others.

The efforts of young people to defend the Party and make breakthroughs in economic construction during the "Arduous March" reached its zenith in the construction of a road between Pyongyang and Nampho.

On September 28, 1998, Kim Jong Il proposed the construction of a road between Pyongyang and Nampho by the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Party, and on November 1, entrusted the project to the youth league.

On November 20, the young constructors held a rally to mark the start of the project. The construction site was reminiscent of a battlefield right from the beginning. They built the roadbed removing hills with crow bars and sledge hammers and running more than 40 km every day with sacks full of earth and stones.

On August 7, 1999, Kim Jong Il told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee to the following effect: The Soviet writer Ostrovsky portrayed in his novel *How the Steel Was Tempered* a railway project built by Komsomol members in the arduous days of the Civil War; now our young people are building the Pyongyang-Nampho road, braving even greater difficulties; our young people have been well educated and prepared mentally and ideologically; they are delighted when I merely mention their organization; any task I give them they perform by all means, regarding it as a sign of my great trust in them.

On October 11, he again spoke highly of the redoubled efforts and indefatigable spirit, with which the young builders were building the road of everlasting significance, saying that they had built the roadbed in response to the Party's call by carrying earth and stone on their backs during difficult days for the country, when sufficient machinery was not available and everything was running short, and that the way they worked moved him to tears. He continued that if they had worked in good conditions with efficient

machinery, they would not have won over the people's minds, and that they deserved to sit on golden cushions.

Kim Jong Il took warm care of every aspect of the young builders' lives, and repeatedly expressed his political confidence in them: In those difficult days, he adopted measures to supply them with food grain, subsidiary foodstuffs and daily necessities, and ensured that they took special meals on five occasions arranged at top restaurants in downtown Pyongyang. Even though the project was yet to be finished, he gave special thanks to the builders, and ensured that State decorations were awarded to the model builders among them.

Inspired by his instructions on over 100 occasions and his care, the young people finished the roadbed project within 13 months, and started full-scale road paving in July 2000, thus completing the whole project before the target date, the 55th anniversary of Party founding. During the 700 days of the road construction they performed great feats of labour, demonstrating the inexhaustible might of the Korean young people united single-heartedly around Kim Jong Il.

In order to hand down the exploits of the young people, Kim Jong Il ensured that the road was named **Youth Hero Road** and a medal was instituted to commemorate its construction. On October 8, 2000, the Central Committee of the WPK sent a congratulatory message to the young people and soldiers who had participated in the project.

On November 13, 2000, Kim Jong Il inspected the Youth Hero Road. His face beaming, he enjoyed a bird's-eye view of the road. Acquainting himself with the paving work, technical conditions and afforestation, he said that the young builders had been right when they had said during the construction that the road was an avenue to a great, prosperous and powerful nation, and he spoke highly of their heroic efforts and feats of labour.

Young people all over the country endeavoured to live up to Kim Jong Il's trust in them.

Kim Jong Il extended his confidence also to industrial and agricultural workers and intellectuals, leading them to fully discharge their duties in surmounting the manifold hardships rallied single-heartedly behind the Party.

On April 12, 1995, he received a letter from Mining Workteam No. 1 of the April 5 Pit, Kumgol Branch Mine of the Komdok Mining Complex. Working at a place which had been inspected by Kim Jong Il, the workteam members in the letter reviewed their labour achievements, and expressed their determination to work harder.

Picturing in his mind the miners he had met 20 years previously deep underground, Kim Jong Il wrote a reply, as follows:

"The Party firmly trusts the working class. April 12, 1995, Kim Jong Il"

During the "Arduous March," Kim Jong Il, calling the working class the hard-core detachment of the revolution, ensured that senior officials of the Party and government went to factories and enterprises all over the country every May Day to join the working people in their sports and entertainment events, adding significance to the working people's day. Trusting the workers as the vanguard in the building of a great, prosperous and powerful country, he visited many factories and enterprises in the northern, eastern and western regions, inspiring them to a fresh revolutionary upsurge. Kim Jong Il inspected Jagang Province five times in 1998 alone. Appreciating the high morale of the workers there, he said that he had never forgotten them, and inspired them to stand as ever in the van of the struggle for safeguarding socialism. And he encouraged the workers throughout the country to take their cue from the workers in Jagang Province. On January 30, 2000, he said to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee in the following vein: President Kim Il Sung used to call on the workers whenever he faced difficulties; we must continue to give prominence to the working class, serve them faithfully and surmount difficulties by relying on them; this is the way to building a great, prosperous and powerful country.

Cherishing his trust, the Korean working class swept away the manifold difficulties in the van, and, in the course of this, the ties between Kim Jong Il and them grew firmer.

Kim Jong Il also paid close attention to ensuring that the agricultural working people were well aware of their duty in charge of the country's granaries, and lived and worked as befitted rural revolutionaries.

On August 24, 1996, he explained to the senior officials of the Party

Central Committee the need to give farmers a clear understanding that they are masters of society, and ensured that organizational and political work was conducted dynamically to promote the sense of responsibility and role of the agricultural working people.

In a letter to the participants in the National Conference of Party Workers, dated January 24, 1997, he wrote that they should bring about innovations in grain production with a full awareness of their duty.

True to his instructions, the agricultural working people of the whole country rose up in the struggle for implementing the agricultural policy of the Party, increasing grain production.

Attaching importance to the work with intellectuals, Kim Jong Il made great efforts to transform them on a revolutionary line.

The intellectuals tempered themselves ideologically through organizational and ideological life, and revolutionary practice. Their heightened morale was represented in a letter a writer couple sent to Kim Jong Il. In the letter, they wrote, "We will never forsake our hearts where you are cherished, even though we might die of hunger. We will never take leave of your bosom to take shelter under another's roof even though we might freeze to death. And we will never cease singing songs in praise of you even though we might die on the gallows."

The "Arduous March" witnessed the people's will to follow Kim Jong Il and the single-hearted unity of the revolutionary ranks based on the ties between the leader and the people growing firmer.

EMBRACING ALL THE PEOPLE

In his effort to cement the single-hearted unity during the "Arduous March" through his all-embracing politics Kim Jong Il paid deep attention to ensuring that each and every person lived without any worries.

On November 17, 1996, he pointed out to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee the narrow-minded work style revealed among some officials in connection with a foreigner and his children.

The man he mentioned was an Indonesian named Gatot Wilotikto. After finishing his studies at Kim Chaek University of Technology in the 1960s,

he remained in Korea and married a Korean girl. He had lived among Koreans until the age of around sixty, and was experiencing the "Arduous March" together with them. But some people entertained a biased view of his children. On learning of the fact, Kim Jong Il spoke to the officials about the prejudiced treatment of people, the Indonesian's children in particular. He said that though Gatot was of Indonesian origin, he should be treated as a Korean as he was living among the Korean people without any criticism of Korea's political or social system.

On December 25, 1996, Kim Jong Il arranged a 60th birthday spread for Gatot, and ensured that he was granted the degree of doctor of engineering and that this was publicized through the *Rodong Sinmun* and TV. Moved, Gatot said that Kim Jong Il was a man all people can turn to.

His all-embracing care and trust also reached the people of mixed blood who live in Korea.

On June 8, 1998, back from a field guidance tour, he sent for several people of mixed blood who were working in the art and literary sector.

As soon as they entered his office, they rushed to him, with tears in their eyes.

Kim Jong Il said, **"How are you, everybody? It has been a long time since we last saw each other."**

"We missed you very much," they said.

"And I missed you. Fifteen years have already passed since I saw you last."

He asked about their ages, occupations, health and children, and said one looked younger than one's age and another one looked unhealthy. Changing the topic, he praised them for having made a great contribution to educating the people in a revolutionary way, upholding the Party policy on art and literature.

One of those present, and his father before him, had enjoyed Kim Jong Il's care. Kim Jong Il asked him what his father was doing and when his mother had passed away. The man replied that his parents had enjoyed their life under the care of President Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il, as he looked back upon the day several decades before when Kim Jong Il had visited his house and convinced the family that the Party does not discriminate against

anyone living in Korea, saying that they should give full play to their abilities.

Kim Jong Il was also concerned for the people whose background had been falsely defined because of the enemy's cunning schemes, and who were living in disgrace.

In Jongsong County (the present Onsong County), North Hamgyong Province, during the Korean war, the local law-enforcement organ had arrested some people who had formed a secret reactionary association and had been committing acts of sabotage. The saboteurs, during examination, had "confessed" that the secret organization had rallied scores of other people, who in actual fact had nothing to do with that organization.

On November 30, 1994, Kim Jong Il received a report on the true picture of the "incident." He immediately took measures for putting to rights what had been treated wrong.

As soon as his measures were made public, the victims' offsprings and relatives cheered, saying with tears streaming down their faces that if Kim Jong Il had not taken the measure, they would never have had the stigma removed.

CHAPTER 35

STANDING IN THE VAN OF THE "ARDUOUS MARCH" AND FORCED MARCH

1. FOR TOMORROW

By the latter half of the 1990s, the Korean people had to experience the "Arduous March," by far the most trying ordeal for them and rare in the history of any nation or even of mankind as a whole.

The imperialist reactionaries, in their desperate bid to isolate and stifle Korea, were tightening harder the sanctions and blockade around it. Worse still, several consecutive years of natural calamities brought Korea's economic hardship to the extreme, entrapping the people in an appalling shortage of food. A large number of industrial establishments were brought to a halt, the people made do with herb gruel or substitute food, vagrants appeared, and heart-rending deaths occurred. The enemy expected the imminent collapse of Korea.

Kim Jong Il felt a stabbing pain in his heart, but he had no one to turn to for aid.

Finally, he decided to force his way through the difficulties by an "arduous march."

His decision derived from his keen recollections of the Arduous March, the 100-day-long march that Commander Kim Il Sung had led from Nanpaizi, Mengjiang, to Beidadingzi, Changbai, in China in the late 1930s, the most trying period of the anti-Japanese war, and that contributed to opening up a new phase of the Korean revolution as a whole. His determination to overcome the towering challenge stemmed from his staunch faith in the future and tough nerve.

Around this time, on January 14, 1996, he delivered a speech titled, ***Let Us Live Not for Today But for Tomorrow,*** at a meeting of senior officials of the Party Central Committee.

Stressing that it is more important for revolutionaries to live and work for tomorrow rather than for today, he said, **"Live not for today but for tomorrow–this is my view on life. It signifies the determination to devote one's whole life to the rosy future of the country and the prosperity of the generations to come, at the expense of one's own welfare."** In defence of socialism, he continued, we face a host of trials and hardships, but we can never retreat on the road of revolution. He said, **"We will defend socialism by overcoming all trials, even if we have to fall many times over. You'll see who will have the last laugh! Once we have this faith and determination in struggle, nobody will ever match us. No one on earth will beat a man determined to risk his life–this is the faith and determination fit for us revolutionaries."** He expanded on to the following effect: You officials should become indomitable revolutionary fighters; only those officials ready to rush forward on the path of ordeal for the sake of the future can rightly claim to be those equipped with faith and a Juche-oriented view on life.

His address served as valuable mental nourishment for all the officials and people, inspiring them with the resolve and fortitude for the "Arduous March."

Kim Jong Il encouraged the people to live through the rigorous period in the spirit of the Arduous March created during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.

On October 14, 1996, he had a talk with senior officials of the Party Central Committee, under the title, ***Officials Should Live and Work in the Spirit of the "Arduous March."***

The Party has launched a slogan, he began, calling upon officials, Party members and other working people to live and work in the spirit of the "Arduous March," in keeping with the prevailing situation and the requirements of the developing situation. He said, **"The spirit of 'Arduous March' is a staunch, indomitable revolutionary spirit that enabled the guerrillas, led by Commander Kim Il Sung, to defend the lifeline of the**

Korean revolution in the grimmest period of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and to make a major stride in the revolution." He continued: By advancing this slogan, the Party intends that all officials, Party members and other working people take their cue from the intensity displayed by the anti-Japanese forerunners during the Arduous March–the spirit of self-reliance, fortitude and revolutionary optimism–bridge over the difficulties at hand and bring about a fresh advance in all fields of the revolution and construction; all officials should overcome the difficulties in their way by their own efforts and make a new stride in the revolution and construction; the harsh reality calls for officials not absorbed in empty talk or obsessed by worries, but ready to organize affairs so skilfully as to untie all knots; all officials, Party members and other working people should fight on with revolutionary optimism and faith; officials should never lose heart, but advance, looking ever forward to the future.

All the people of the country were greatly inspired. They pressed through the raging storm of ordeals–operating machines by hand in times of power cuts, making up for the short supply of raw and other materials with substitutes, and eating grassroots for sheer lack of food.

On the morning of New Year's Day 1997, Kim Jong Il talked with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee about the unbearable trials and agonizing experiences of the previous year. The grim ordeals, however, he said, could not check the advance of the Korean people in single-hearted unity behind the Party and under the red flag. The arduous struggle has confirmed them in their revolutionary faith and willpower and loyalty to the Party, he stressed.

At the beginning of the following year, he had the slogan "Forward on the forced march for ultimate victory!" advanced, and urged vigorous organizational and political activity geared to rousing the People's Army, officials, Party members and other working people to the implementation of the slogan.

He himself went on ceaseless inspection tours of army units, industrial establishments, and farming and fishing villages, steering the course of the "Arduous March" to victory.

One day in the early winter of 1996, Kim Jong Il left Pyongyang in the

middle of the night, and arrived at an army unit in the early morning. He immediately got down to business, acquainting himself with its affairs as a whole, watching the soldiers drilling and giving valuable advice until it was well past lunchtime. His breakfast-cum-lunch was a bowl of corn congee and dried radish slices. He ate it, saying to the accompanying officials and officers in the following vein: Hunger is the best appetite in the world; during the anti-Japanese armed struggle, the guerrillas would make do with a few grains of corn a day, and when even that ran short they would drink boiled snow; but none of them was pessimistic or grumbled; in the same spirit, we should take this gruel as if it were a special delicacy.

In his after-meal talk with an official, he stressed: In order to emerge victorious from this unprecedentedly "Arduous March," we should risk skipping meals and, if necessary, laying down our lives; even if we have to undergo multiple hardships, we should defend the country at any cost, and pave the way for the welfare of the people as soon as possible; to that end, we should regard our present hardship as a blessing.

What he said reminded the official of an anecdote from the Arduous March of the late 1930s, when Kim Il Sung divided the remaining handful of parched-rice flour among the guerrillas and gave a pep-talk to them. The official pleaded with Kim Jong Il to stop eating gruel, but the latter answered: I cannot do as you say; throughout his long revolutionary activities, Kim Il Sung never ate a dish any different from the people's diet.

Kim Jong Il's painstaking devotion was a special source of inspiration for the people on the "Arduous March" towards national prosperity.

2. SURMOUNTING ECONOMIC ADVERSITY BY PROMOTING THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

In pursuing his Songun politics, Kim Jong Il has invariably held fast to the principle of giving priority to the People's Army, the pillar and main force of the revolution, both for national defence and socialist construction.

With his implicit trust in the army, he called on it for the labour-intensive economic sectors of key importance–agriculture, power

generation, and the construction of power plants and roads. After the army had pioneered the projects, he led all the people to follow in its footsteps and tide over economic adversity.

A successful conclusion of the "Arduous March" against almost insuperable odds hinged, in the first place, on the solution to the food problem which, in turn, was a serious political issue regarding the destiny of socialism, not simply an economic or technical issue.

Kim Jong Il decided to tackle the food problem by relying on the army.

One day in early January 1997, he said to some officials as follows: Good farming is important above all else in the endeavours to safeguard socialism in the face of the enemy's stubborn moves to isolate and blockade Korea, and to effect a turning-point for ultimate victory; after years of shortage of fertilizer and other farming materials, and with the destruction of irrigation facilities and a sizable area of farmland owing to years of natural disasters, we should now take resolute action to normalize and then markedly increase agricultural production; I'm inclined to dispatch the People's Army to this sector.

Actually, servicepersons had always been on the farms in the busy seasons, giving a helping hand in rice-transplanting and harvesting. But this time Kim Jong Il intended the army to take full responsibility for bolstering the rural economy.

On March 18, 1997, he emphasized to the army commanders, **"The People's Army should render assistance to farming on a full scale and in an active way for this year."**

That day and also on other occasions he instructed that whole units should be deployed in the main crop-producing areas and other farming regions for a few months, unlike the past practice of simply helping the neighbouring farms. Labour assistance is important in this, it is true, he stressed, but the point at issue is to implement to the letter the Juche farming method evolved by President Kim Il Sung. He installed a guidance system for organizing farming as required by the Juche method, and advised on the ways and means to overcome any problems that cropped up. He also directed that the soldiers should get into the habit of going to work in the morning earlier than the farmers and coming back in the evening later than

them, and that they should spearhead the arduous jobs before others and overcome all the difficulties by their own efforts so as to demonstrate their revolutionary soldier spirit.

True to his noble intention, the army commanders and soldiers went to the grain-producing areas such as the Yoltusamcholli and Yonbaek plains, and buckled down to work with the responsibility of a master. As a result, rice-transplanting and other spring operations ended in unprecedented success, a virtual breakthrough for successful farming.

On June 6, Kim Jong Il sent a telegram in the name of the Supreme Commander extending thanks to the agricultural workers and helpers across the country on their completion of rice-transplanting. This was another encouragement for them to further efforts. The soldiers and farmers held joint rallies for implementing the tasks set forth in the telegram, and went on to bring farming for the year to a successful conclusion. As a result, agriculture weathered an unparalleled spell of heat and drought, making big strides.

The following year too, Kim Jong Il got the army to assume responsibility for farming and contribute greatly to easing the shortage of food.

3. CREATING THE KANGGYE SPIRIT

While tiding over the economic difficulties with the People's Army as the vanguard, Kim Jong Il designated Jagang Province as a model in the effort to bring the "Arduous March" to a conclusion. The workers and other people in Jagang Province, though they ate such "substitute foods" as grass roots and tree bark, turned out as one with indignation against the US imperialists, because of whom the country had to make the "Arduous March." The province, however, lacked land for crop cultivation, and the transport conditions were unfavourable.

With determination, Kim Jong Il led the province to make a breakthrough in the efforts for a successful conclusion of the "Arduous March."

On June 19, 2000, looking back on the days of the "Arduous March," he said to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, **"After the demise of President Kim Il Sung, I thought a lot about how to overcome the 'Arduous March.' Determined to make Jagang a model province in the struggle, I entrusted the task to the chief secretary of its Provincial Party Committee. Later, I often visited Kanggye, to witness the full demonstration of the indomitable revolutionary spirit, the spirit of self-reliance. I made sure that the spirit flared up across the country to conclude the 'Arduous March.' This is how the Kanggye spirit was created."**

In his effort to make Jagang Province a model region, he focused on the building of small- and medium-sized power stations to ease the shortage of electricity.

On October 17, 1996, he called to his office the senior official of the Provincial Party Committee, and discussed with him the measures for solving the problem of electricity, measures the official had drafted, stressing the need to undertake the medium- and small-sized power projects as a mass drive, and specified directions and methods for their implementation. In order to make maximum use of hydraulic power resources, he said, power stations should be built in descending arrangement along rivers and streams; their forms should be varied according to the specific conditions of the given area; they could be either medium-, small- or mini-sized. He then indicated the ways for producing construction equipment, and providing designs of the dam structures and generators.

Kim Jong Il regularly acquainted himself with the progress of the power projects under way in the province, encouraging the officials, Party members and other working people in the province to uphold their honour of being a prototype true to the Party's expectations and taking measures for the whole country to help the province with its power projects.

The local people rose to the occasion, braving difficulties of every description in the revolutionary spirit of soldiers, building dozens of new small- and medium-sized power stations and bringing back to normal operation those that had been built in the past and had stopped operation. This made it possible for the province to put production in many factories

on a normal footing and supply electricity to residential areas for lighting and heating.

Treasuring the success and resolved to popularize the example across the country, Kim Jong Il went on an inspection tour of the province.

On the night of January 15, 1998, he left Pyongyang by train and arrived at Kanggye the next morning. The temperature was minus 30 degrees Centigrade. The senior official of the Provincial Party Committee was anxious about Kim Jong Il's tight schedule of the inspection tour.

Kim Jong Il responded that they were on a forced march, and that only when he stood in the van would the people follow him and the forced march result in final victory.

From the moment he arrived at Kanggye, Kim Jong Il looked round the small- and medium-sized power stations built by the efforts of the province, and a number of factories and enterprises. On January 16 alone, he started work at 7 a.m. by listening in his coach to the report of the senior official of the Provincial Party Committee on the state of affairs of the province and discussing with him the day's itinerary. He inspected the floating-style power station on the Puk Stream in Kanggye, Janggang Power Station No. 1, the power station with an earth-and-timber dam built by the Janggang College of Agriculture, Janggang Power Station No. 2, 55 houses in the township of Janggang which had been connected to the electricity grid, and the process of power generation by means of substitute fuel invented by the irrigation construction corps under the Agricultural Management Committee of the province. He then visited the Jangjagang Power Station in Kanggye until 4 p.m., had lunch for 15 minutes in his coach, and had a talk with the officials. The Pukchon Power Station No. 3 in Kanggye was on the last leg of the day's itinerary. Late at night, Kim Jong Il came back to his coach and had a talk with the senior official of the Provincial Party Committee.

During his inspection tour from January 16 to 21, he covered over 2 400 km, inspecting 20 units.

Wherever he went, Kim Jong Il witnessed the determination and will of the Jagang people to turn the "Arduous March" into a march towards paradise.

When he was heading for Janggang County after inspecting a power station in Kanggye, the following incident occurred:

Kim Jong Il inspecting a power station built in Jagang Province

The snow-covered road was crowded with the people who were carrying manure and night soil on sleighs and handbarrows to vegetable fields.

As the chauffeur grew nervous, Kim Jong Il put him at ease, saying that the latter should drive the car side by side with the procession, and continued in the following vein: How pleasant it is that we are making the forced march in step with the people! look at the people carrying manure; how laudable they are! I would get off the car and walk with them if I could, but unfortunately I am running short of time.

During his stay in Jagang Province, Kim Jong Il could witness conviction in sure victory and optimism in the future cherished in the hearts of the local people he talked to and he saw out of his car. Their words, actions and creations reflected their revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude, and their will to tide over difficulties.

After completing his tour, Kim Jong Il spoke highly of the province for having brought about a great deal of changes in the face of the hardships of the "Arduous March," saying, **"The officials, Party members and other working people of Jagang Province have shown through practical examples how one should support the Party during these trying days."**

He continued in the following vein: The people of Jagang Province are demonstrating the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude to the full; they are so iron-willed that they seem never to get pessimistic; workers of the province are said to have worked with a determination that they must not stop running machines during the "Arduous March" and they cannot forsake their machines until they die of hunger; how laudable they are! the workers I talked with asked for more work, not something like food; to see them living vigorously and optimistically, I felt delighted and inspired; farmers were high-spirited as they carried manure to the fields; the spirit of self-reliance of the Jagang people and their spirit of single-hearted unity to share life and death with the Party have inspired me greatly, and convinced me that socialism has struck root in their hearts.

He then said, **"Victory is surely in store for us as long as we have such a working class and people. So long as we are supported by them,**

I don't doubt that we would emerge victor in a showdown with the US imperialists, and I feel as if I could move the Earth."

Naming the indomitable spirit of the Jagang people the **Kanggye spirit** and holding it up as a fighting spirit the whole country should learn from, he continued, **"We should unfold a campaign for the whole country to learn from the revolutionary spirit of the Jagang people, the Kanggye spirit. The Kanggye spirit represents the spirit of our people who are making a forced march for final victory. If they work in this spirit, our people will emerge victorious in this gigantic struggle."**

He said that officials in all sectors and units could effect a radical change in economic affairs and the people's living if they took their cue from their counterparts in Jagang Province, and then specified the tasks and methods to this end.

On his return, he took active measures to give wide publicity to the Kanggye spirit, the spirit of self-reliance. Senior officials of central organs and provincial, city and county Party committees and secretaries of factory Party committees visited the factories and enterprises in Jagang Province. Moreover, national-level conferences, like the National Conference of Model Workers in Self-Reliance, were held to popularize the revolutionary spirit, way of work and experience of the Jagang people.

Kim Jong Il frequently visited the province to spur the local people to further efforts. During the period from January 1998 to August 2000, he visited this province seven times across the rugged passes.

On June 1, 1998, he went there again to rouse the people to set an example for the whole country in all aspects.

During his inspection of an industrial complex he happened to see a slogan hanging on the wall of a building, reading, "Push ahead through the thorny path in high spirits!" He said, **"The revolutionary faith and will of the Jagang people are reflected in the slogans emblazoned along the streets and factory compounds. 'Push ahead through the thorny path in high spirits!'–that is a very good slogan."**

On October 20 and 22, he visited the province again, and inspected the Huichon Machine-Tool Factory, Huichon Hotel and Huichon Silk

Mill. He said that the Jagang people were always in his memory, and that he attached much importance to the affairs of the province.

His visits to the province were made several times also in 1999.

In June 1999, he made a sixth visit to the province. Making the rounds of the province, he told the senior official of the Provincial Party Committee to the following effect: I am pleased to learn that the factories and enterprises in all sectors of the province have put production back on the normal track and are registering growth; workers say they are provided with enough food, and their work attendance rate is upward of 95%; the people I come across on the road are not self-employed dealers in something or other; they are people who are hurrying to weed the fields with hoes, lunch boxes in their hands; though not well clad, they are all smiles; they seem to be leading a stable life free from worry; in your province I feel as if I am in another world; indeed, your people have wrought miracles; they have achieved a lot, as befits the creators of the Kanggye spirit; and, what is more, the air and water here are refreshing; I don't feel like leaving the province whenever I come here.

On September 14, 1999, on his seventh visit to the province, Kim Jong Il said, **"I am making a breakthrough in the 'Arduous March' and forced march in Jagang Province. In this sense, the march we are making today can be called a forced march of historical significance."**

On August 31, 2000, Kim Jong Il said to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee and the Jagang Provincial Party Committee: **"In retrospect, the Kanggye spirit gave me the greatest encouragement during the 'Arduous March.' The spirit was a great mental support to me when our revolution was experiencing most severe trials, and it enabled our people to emerge victorious from the 'Arduous March' and forced march. I will never forget the Kanggye spirit."**

Thanks to his tireless leadership, the Kanggye spirit demonstrated its validity in every part of the country, and the people got over the harsh trials of the "Arduous March" by dint of this spirit.

4. THE TORCH OF SONGGANG

Kim Jong Il discovered on his first visit to Jagang Province that iron and steel ranked top among the pressing demands of its economy. They were essential for reactivating the whole range of the national economy–machine industry, rail transport and coal mining–and for strengthening national defence. The metal industry, along with the power industry, was one of the key sectors that would lead to an avenue to success in the "Arduous March" and forced march, and in the building of a great, prosperous and powerful socialist country. Kim Jong Il decided that the Songjin Steel Complex, a factory of pivotal importance in steel production, should raise a torchlight of innovation in order to boost the metal industry as a whole.

On March 16, 1997, Kim Jong Il called an official of the Party Central Committee and suggested that financial assistance corresponding to the monthly quota of production by the Songjin Steel Complex would be necessary to set it on a normal track. He added that he would visit the complex at some convenient time. In June the same year he dispatched an official there to collect information on the actual conditions of the complex. He was pleased to learn from the official that the officials and workers there were striving to develop the Juche-oriented metal industry in the face of severe challenges. On June 29, he summoned the official again, and instructed him to secure the needed funds.

On March 9, 1998, Kim Jong Il visited the complex.

Early in the morning he arrived there by train, and was greeted by the local officials. Without even stopping to rest, he began to look round the workshops. He lingered in front of the sweltering electric blast furnace, encouraging the smelters working there, and moved to the high-pressure pipe workshop the complex had built by itself, getting acquainted with the production at the workshop and specifying the methods for solving the problems at hand. He then went over the products of the complex–manufacturing equipment, metal products of second-stage processing and steel products of various sizes and compositions.

He called a consultation with the officials of the complex and those in the relevant sectors.

Kim Jong Il said that he had come there to discuss with them how to boost production in the complex as soon as possible. He asked the senior officials of the complex worriedly why the complex had come to this pass. The manager began to report on every detail; the provision of electricity, pig iron, anthracite, iron ore, etc.

Hearing him out, Kim Jong Il raised another question to the chief secretary of the Party committee of the complex–how the workers there were getting along. The latter answered in a confident tone of voice that it was true that everything was in short supply, but their trust in the leader and their determination to follow him only were unchangeable. Kim Jong Il, recollecting his last visit to Jagang Province, said in the following vein: During my visit, the sight of small- and medium-sized power stations sprouting all over the province and modern dwellings benefiting from them gave me much pleasure, and I was even more impressed by the ideological and spiritual qualities of the working class there; although they were suffering a lot, they didn't ask me for food, but for more work; the Jagang case has shown that the socialist economy is in desperate need of iron and steel; that's why I sent officials concerned down to evaluate the developments of production here; after reading their report, I made up my mind to have a talk with the workers here personally; on my current visit, I have learned that loyalty to the Party has become more intense in the minds of the workers, despite the fact that production is not on a normal track; at present, iron and steel are in great demand, but what is more important is the spirit of the working class.

Kim Jong Il gives more importance to the ideological and spiritual quality of the working class than to the amount of production, in accordance with his people-centred viewpoint and on the basis of his personal style of addressing all issues by rousing the people ideologically.

Kim Jong Il resumed his address: After visiting Jagang Province I was even more determined to complete the revolutionary cause of Juche by relying on the working class, and while visiting the Songjin Steel Complex I became confident that we would be able to reach a still higher peak over the challenges at hand; in recent years the US imperialists are getting more pernicious in their moves to

stifle our country, reinforcing their up-to-date military hardware in south Korea, staging military exercises against our Republic and seeking an opportunity for invasion; in order to defend socialism, we must, before anything else, increase the production of iron and steel that are in great demand in various sectors of the national economy; in this sense iron and steel can be said to be a critical factor determining the destiny of the country and socialism, and the Songjin Steel Complex holds the key in this regard; in view of the prevailing situation and the actual development of the economy, I expect a lot from the complex, which I am sure will make a breakthrough for a revolutionary upsurge.

He then said, **"I hope all the workers of the Songjin Steel Complex will kindle a torch of a new revolutionary upsurge in response to the Party's call, as in the days of the Chollima period."**

The chief Party secretary replied that they would certainly stand in the van of the new revolutionary upsurge, and become victors in the forced march.

Kim Jong Il expressed his firm belief in the complex, and made suggestions as to the ways to solve the bottlenecks. Then he assigned the ex-manager of the complex, now working as advisory manager, to the important task of finding a way for the complex to secure the basic raw materials for steel making by its effort, and urged other officials present to help him so that he would crown his career with glory.

The workers of the complex held a rally, and called on the working class and other people all over the country to bring about a great upsurge in socialist construction, as in the years of the Chollima period. This is how the torch of Songgang (*song* from Songjin, and *gang* meaning steel–Tr.) came into being, which called for another revolutionary upsurge on the basis of the Kanggye spirit.

Their earnest call met the unanimous approval of the whole country. The producers of iron and steel pledged that they would support the Party with increased production, while coal-mining, power-generation and transportation entities expressed their firm determination to pave the way for a successful outcome of the forced march.

Later on, Kim Jong Il took tender care of the Songjin complex and lent active support to its production–sending a diesel locomotive, appointing a farm in the vicinity exclusively for logistical support to the complex,

posting to it soldiers straight from discharge, and sending presents to the workers.

These supportive measures fanned the flames of the zealous efforts of the officials and workers there, turning the whole of the complex into a theatre of vibrant activities. It was all hands to the pump–retirees coming back to their respective workshops and housewives actively joining in.

On June 1 the same year, Kim Jong Il was informed of this collectivist effort of the complex aimed at normalization of steel production, and said that the atmosphere around the complex was laudable, and that the whole country was responding to the torch of Songgang with a heightened vigour for bringing about an upsurge like that of the Chollima period, adding that he was confident that the complex would be faithful to the mission that he had entrusted it with.

Later, he often inquired into the figures of steel production for the complex, and took proactive measures. Whenever he was informed of the merits of the complex, he mentioned that all the successes and exploits were attributable to the devoted efforts of the people there, and delivered messages of commendation to the complex on five occasions, including one on May 30, 1998.

As a result, the complex, the birthplace of the Songgang torch, was firmly positioned in the van of the forced march, and the flames of the new revolutionary upsurge paved the way for a successful end to the "Arduous March" and forced march.

CHAPTER 36

AT THE HELM OF THE PARTY AND THE STATE

1. ACCLAIMED AS GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF KOREA

It was a strong desire and the unanimous will of the Party and the nation to have Kim Jong Il at the helm of the Party and the State after the death of President Kim Il Sung. Almost every day letters to this effect were posted to the Party Central Committee from every corner of the country. Kim Jong Il doubtlessly deserved such prestige for his accomplishments for the Party and the State.

Kim Jong Il, with over 30 years of leadership experience, had to cope with a complex situation, within and without, and one gigantic task after another for the Party and the people. In those years, characterized by long-term confrontation with the combined forces of imperialism and a sharp conflict between socialism and capitalism, he was the closest comrade of and the most faithful assistant to President Kim Il Sung in the course of leading the Party towards further development of the revolution and construction under the unfurled banner of the revolution and socialism.

The history of victorious advance under his leadership and his exploits in the period inscribed deep in the minds of the people the conviction that Kim Jong Il was the sole leader of a new era, shouldering the destiny of the Party and the people and leading them to victory. That is why the Korean people yearned, after the demise of the President, for Kim Jong Il to be elected to head the Party and the State.

Kim Jong Il declined this request for a few years, although he knew that

the heart-felt desire of the Party, the army and the people was based on their great trust in him.

The statesmen of Russia and other East European countries, and even the bourgeois statesmen of the Western world made comments from different perspectives with regard to the three-year delay in the DPRK of election of a new leadership–unprecedented in the history of world politics, beyond the imagination of the political world and business circles, and a virtuous deed in memory of the late President that commanded admiration from all over the world.

On October 16, 1994, Kim Jong Il said to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, **"We must concentrate more on how to stoutly safeguard and brilliantly succeed the revolutionary cause of Juche opened up by the President rather than on the election of the new leadership. We must invariably pursue the road of revolution as indicated by him, and direct all our efforts to carrying forward his cause."** He continued that he always regarded himself as a man of the President and, in that capacity, had determined to bring to completion the revolutionary cause of the President not only in the latter's lifetime but after his death as well.

The people's desire for the election grew stronger, especially after the third anniversary of Kim Il Sung's death. Around that time, when a new turning point was being made for the carrying out of the revolutionary cause of Juche, and the election in question could no longer be delayed, under pressure from the wishes of the Party and the people, acclamation of Kim Jong Il as General Secretary of the Workers' Party of Korea was undertaken in accordance with the unanimous will of the Party, the army and the people.

A conference of the Party Committee of South Phyongan Province was held on September 21, 1997, to be followed by another of the Korean People's Army the following day. Meetings of the same kind were held from September 23 to October 3 in Pyongyang, South Hamgyong Province, North Phyongan Province, North Hamgyong Province, North and South Hwanghae provinces, Jagang Province, Kangwon Province, Ryanggang Province, and Nampho and Kaesong cities. The Party committees of

ministries and central organs and the provincial-level Party committees also held such meetings. The theme of the conferences was the acclamation of Kim Jong Il as General Secretary of the Workers' Party of Korea. The decisions on the acclamation were adopted with unanimous approval of the participants.

On October 8, 1997, the Central Committee and the Central Military Commission of the WPK issued a special report, proclaiming that Kim Jong Il had been elected General Secretary of the WPK. The report pointed out that Kim Jong Il had had over 30 years of experience in leading the development of the Party into one enjoying the full support and trust of the people. He had trained the people into having a strong sense of independence and ushered in a new era of prosperity for the country, and so deserved election to the helm of the Party.

Meetings, rallies and artistic performances were held in celebration of the event.

The south Korean people and overseas compatriots expressed their heart-felt congratulations. In south Korea, the National Democratic Front (as it was called at the time), and other patriotic organizations and people of all walks of life celebrated the occasion as the greatest event of the nation with deep respect for Kim Jong Il, and expressed firm determination that they would remain faithful to him and make further efforts to reunify the country. Congratulatory messages, letters and telegrams were sent to Kim Jong Il from a number of overseas compatriots, and a congratulatory message and a paean were sent to him from the chairman of the Central Standing Committee of the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, and colorful functions were held.

The world extended its full support and warm welcome to the event: State, government and party leaders and renowned figures–numbering more than 1 300–sent congratulatory telegrams to him; more than 80 countries hosted congratulatory functions; and over 600 mass media organizations of 100 countries reported the news of his acclamation on 1 000 occasions. The special report began to be relayed in less than an hour after delivery in China, Cuba, Russia, the United States, Britain, Japan, France, Austria, Indonesia, and other countries and regions. NHK gave a brief summary of

the news 15 minutes later, and repeated the news every hour with a photograph of Kim Jong Il. CNN delivered the news every hour that afternoon. China's *People's Daily*, Cuba's *Granma* and newspapers in many other countries carried special articles on the news, together with a short biography of Kim Jong Il, and VOA reported that it was a noteworthy event that the whole Party had acclaimed him to its helm with unanimous approval.

2. REELECTED TO THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE NATIONAL DEFENCE COMMISSION

Upon acclaiming Kim Jong Il as the General Secretary of the WPK, all the Party members, servicepersons and people yearned to have him at the helm of the State.

However, Kim Jong Il did not bother himself with the matter; his attention was focused on honouring Kim Il Sung as the eternal President of the DPRK. On the other hand, he endeavoured to provide a legal guarantee for, and restructure the hierarchy of the State in favour of, the implementation of Songun politics.

On May 15, 1998, in a talk with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee and the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly, Kim Jong Il brought up amendments to the existing Socialist Constitution, and pointed out that the National Defence Commission should be positioned at the top in the hierarchy of the State, as the revolution would be carried forward on the strength of the army. Thereafter the Constitution was amended and supplemented in such a way as to establish a socialist power structure on the basis of Songun politics.

The same day, with regard to the date of electing Deputies to the Tenth Supreme People's Assembly, Kim Jong Il said that the people were further encouraged following the announcement of the slogans of the Party Central Committee on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the DPRK, stressing that now was the most suitable moment to declare the election of Deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly.

In conformity with his advice, amending the Socialist Constitution and preparations for the election were undertaken simultaneously.

May 21 the same year saw the announcement of the resolution of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly on holding the election of Deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly. The country was thrown into a festive mood, and almost every constituency submitted a petition to the Central Election Committee requesting that it have Kim Jong Il registered as a candidate at it. The Ministry of the People's Armed Forces filed a similar request, holding that the People's Army should take the lead. The Party Committee of Samjiyon County, Ryanggang Province, reasoned that it was the unanimous desire of the whole county and their uncompromising position to have him registered at the constituency of the county.

The Songjin Steel Complex urged that their petition to have him registered at its constituency was most reasonable since Songjin was the birthplace of the new Chollima upsurge. It was the same with other constituencies across the country.

In this atmosphere, a meeting of the electorate of Constituency No. 666 under the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces was held on a grand scale on June 28, 1998, on registering Kim Jong Il as its candidate for the Tenth Supreme People's Assembly. A report was delivered, followed by speeches, before proclaiming that he was registered as its candidate with the unanimous desire and full support of the electorate. Meetings were held in other constituencies all over the country, nominating him as a candidate.

All of this was a manifestation of the electorates' deep trust in Kim Jong Il, and their unshakable faith and will to ensure further prosperity of the socialist country and bring the revolutionary cause of Juche to completion under his leadership generation after generation.

On July 12, 1998, Kim Jong Il issued ***An Open Letter to All Voters of the Country***. In the letter he expressed sincere thanks for their deep trust in him, and continued, **"There is no more honourable and glorious thing for a revolutionary than to serve the people while enjoying their trust. I will prove worthy of your trust and expectations by devoting myself to the motherland and the people, true to President Kim Il Sung's noble**

spirit of loving the country and the people. As the DPRK rules for election to the people's assembly at all levels stipulate that a candidate should be registered in only one constituency, I have decided to register in Constituency No. 666 as a candidate in the forthcoming election."

On July 14, the Central Election Committee announced that Kim Jong Il had been registered in Constituency No. 666.

On July 26, 1998, all the constituencies started the election for Deputies to the Tenth Supreme People's Assembly. That day Kim Jong Il took part in the election at Branch No. 1 of Constituency No. 662 with the KPA servicepersons there. After casting his ballot, he had a talk with an officer who had been nominated as a candidate, and continued his inspection of the unit.

That day Constituency No. 666 was honoured to elect Kim Jong Il as a Deputy to the Supreme People's Assembly. Other constituencies all over the country achieved successful results.

On September 5, 1998, Pyongyang became the focus of world attention with the convocation of the First Session of the Tenth Supreme People's Assembly in the presence of Kim Jong Il.

General Secretary Kim Jong Il of the Workers' Party of Korea mounted the platform. The session debated and passed with unanimous approval the Socialist Constitution of the DPRK as amended and supplemented. The chapter on the State structure in the amended version of the Constitution stipulates, "The National Defence Commission is the highest military leadership body of the State power and the organ of overall administration of national defence," thus upgrading its legal position to one with full control over the armed forces as a whole and administration of overall national defence, including the defence industry. It also reinforced the authority of the chairman of the National Defence Commission with the aim of strengthening leadership of national defence, an affair of foremost importance of State politics and the lifeline determining the future of the revolution and the prosperity of the nation. As a result, the Socialist Constitution of the DPRK was perfected as a defence-oriented constitution, and the implementation of Songun politics came to be guaranteed by the State structure.

The session proceeded to the next agenda item–election of the chairman of the National Defence Commission and the governing bodies of the State.

The session solemnly announced that Kim Jong Il was elected to the chairmanship of the DPRK National Defence Commission in accordance with the unanimous will and desire of the people and the army. The chairmanship of the NDC, as stipulated in the Socialist Constitution, represents the top position of the State, in charge of defending the socialist system of the State and the destiny of the people, and building up national defence and the national power as a whole by commanding and directing the whole range of forces of the country–political, military and economic. It symbolizes the honour and dignity of the country.

That afternoon, representatives from the three services of the armed forces gathered in Jonsung Square to celebrate the event, rendering the greatest honour and expressing a pledge of loyalty to Kim Jong Il. Similar meetings were held by the citizens of Pyongyang and provincial towns, and by working people's organizations. The same was true of the fellow compatriots in south Korea and overseas. In south Korea the National Democratic Front (as it was known at the time), patriotic organizations and people of all walks of life held celebrations on the occasion with great reverence for and loyalty to Kim Jong Il. The Korean House of Culture in Tokyo hosted a conference of Koreans in Japan. The International United Confederation of Koreans, an organization of Korean compatriots in the former Soviet Union, arranged celebrations, film shows and photo exhibitions in Tashkent, capital of Uzbekistan. Organizations of Koreans in Russia had similar functions in Moscow and those in China at the meeting hall of the General Association of Koreans in China.

Countries across the world celebrated the occasion on a grand scale. Many party and State leaders sent telegrams and letters of congratulations to Kim Jong Il, and mass media organizations reported the news, emphasizing that the chairmanship of the National Defence Commission is the top position in the DPRK.

CHAPTER 37

A FRESH TURNING POINT IN THE BUILDING OF A GREAT, PROSPEROUS AND POWERFUL NATION

1. UNFOLDING A NEW BLUEPRINT

Kim Jong Il led the Korean people towards the building of a great, prosperous and powerful nation at the threshold of 1999.

It was a long-cherished desire and aim of Kim Il Sung to develop the country into a great, prosperous and powerful one.

On January 1, 1999, Kim Jong Il, in a talk to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, titled, ***Let Us Make This Year a Year of Great Change in the Building of a Great, Prosperous and Powerful Nation***, defined 1999 as a year of general advance towards a fresh upsurge in the building of a great, prosperous and powerful nation.

He said, **"The great, prosperous and powerful nation that I am referring to is a socialist one. It is a country where the national strength is great, everything prospers and the people live without envying anything in the world."**

He pointed out that developing the country into a great, prosperous and powerful State was neither empty talk nor a thing of the distant future, saying, **"Since long ago I have cherished a plan for it, true to President Kim Il Sung's intention, and made preparations for it."** He then summarized the successes achieved over the previous years, and said with confidence that on the basis of this solid groundwork laid with strenuous efforts, a great, prosperous and powerful country would be built in the near future, and that it was a practical possibility. He continued that the world acknowledged that the might of the DPRK, both politico-ideological and

military, had given it the status of a powerful nation, and that if the country concentrated its efforts on revitalizing factories and enterprises and they put their production back onto the normal track, the country would surely become an economic giant.

After unfolding his immediate plans, he resumed, **"It is my plan and firm determination to build as quickly as possible a great, prosperous and powerful socialist country on this land of ours, so that the country will become formidable, and the people lead a happy life free from worries of any kind."**

Kim Jong Il emphasized that they should endeavour to make a new breakthrough that year in all fields, in the power industry and grain production to begin with, true to his order for the charge forward. That day, he showed specific ways for the building of a great, prosperous and powerful socialist country–keeping the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, improving Party work, effecting a radical change in the method and style of work on the part of officials in line with the new atmosphere, and others.

With Kim Jong Il's unfolding of a fresh blueprint for the prosperity of the country, the struggle of the Korean people entered a new phase.

Kim Jong Il roused the entire Party and all the people to the second grand Chollima advance, aimed at building Korea into an economic power.

On January 10, 1999, he told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that they should arouse the entire Party and the whole country to bring about an upsurge in the building of a great, prosperous and powerful nation, as a solid basis and clear-cut objective to that end had been secured.

Kim Jong Il intended to press ahead with the present-day advance towards a great, prosperous and powerful socialist nation by rousing the people to emulate the spirit of the Chollima upswing that had broken through the trials after the Korean war.

He also called meetings of various forms on the theme of speeding up the new grand advance with the aim of providing occasions on which to bring about an upsurge in the efforts towards the building of a great, prosperous and powerful nation.

In late September 1999, a meeting of officials of model primary organizations of the Kim Il Sung Socialist Youth League was held, and on

September 29, Kim Jong Il sent to the meeting a letter, titled, ***Let Us Enhance the Role of the Primary Organizations of the Youth League***. In the letter he said the following: Today the Korean revolution is on the threshold of a new phase of building a great, prosperous and powerful socialist country; youth should stand in the van of the present-day struggle as pioneers of the times; they must add lustre to their title of young vanguards in the glorious cause of building Korea into a great, prosperous and powerful Juche-oriented socialist nation in the 21st century, full of ambition and hope; **"Young people, be heroes and creators of innovations in the second grand Chollima advance"**–this slogan is the demand of the Party and a banner for youth.

In early November 1999, Pyongyang hosted a meeting of vanguards in the second grand Chollima advance. The Party Central Committee sent a letter of congratulations to the meeting, and the attendees, in turn, pledged faithfulness to Kim Jong Il's aim of making the country an economic giant by carrying out the tasks specified in the letter without fail.

The meeting, convened at the close of the last year of the 1990s, provided a significant occasion on which to arouse the entire Party and all the people to all-out efforts towards meeting the following year, the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Party, with great economic successes.

2. MAKING A BREAKTHROUGH IN THE BUILDING OF AN ECONOMIC POWER

TAKING ELECTRICITY AND FOOD AS PRIORITIES

Electricity and food were of paramount importance in bringing about an upsurge in the building of a great, prosperous and powerful nation.

In a talk to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee on New Year's Day 1999, Kim Jong Il said, **"In order to ensure enough electric power in the conditions of our country, we must press ahead with large-sized hydropower projects and small- and medium-sized ones simultaneously and make every one of them pay off soon."**

He saw to it that large-sized hydropower projects were given importance, and led them on site.

One December day in 1998, he studied a design for the Thaechon Power Station submitted by North Phyongan Province, and gave his opinions on the project. On January 18 the following year, Kim Jong Il, in spite of the severest winter cold, paid a visit to Power Station No. 2 under the Thaechon Hydraulic Power Enterprise. Leading his delegation around the power station, which had not yet been tidied up, he watched the operation of generators, and underlined the need to complete the construction of the Thaechon Dam and other power stations as scheduled by the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Party. He assured the officials concerned that it would be possible as long as they were determined.

On January 30, in a talk to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, he named one by one of the large-scale projects to be completed within a few years. Vigourous efforts followed, and, in early October 2000, many hydropower projects were completed, including the second stage of the Anbyon Youth Power Station, the Thaechon and Songwon dams for the Thaechon Power Station, and Thaechon Power Station No. 5.

Kim Jong Il, with keen interest in the full-capacity operation of the existing large-sized hydropower stations, visited the Jangjagang Power Station located in the northernmost part of the country, on June 14, 1999. He acquainted himself with the amount of water in the dam and the structure of the station, and gave instructions on fixing the frequency at a stable rate while ensuring the normal operation of generators and maintaining the revolution of generators according to the technical rules. He continued that a socialist society can be stable only when large-sized power stations provide factories and enterprises with enough electrical power to put them into full operation, and they should be the main source of power for the national economy.

The following day he looked round Workshop No. 3 of the Kanggye Youth Power Station and, on learning that Generator No. 2 had produced billions of kilowatts of electricity without a breakdown for the previous 35 years, advised the officials to confer a hero medal on the generator, for the inaugural operation of which President Kim Il Sung had pressed the button.

He then underlined the importance of maintaining generators in good condition and training technicians.

He also visited many hydraulic power stations, including the March 17 Hydropower Station and the power station built by the Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Complex in North Hamgyong Province, and the Hungju Power Station in Jagang Province, and gave his opinion on increasing power generation by properly adjusting the volume of water and reducing labour by realizing remote control of generators. Thanks to his visits and advice, the large-sized power stations regained momentum.

Kim Jong Il held from the initial days of the "Arduous March" that the country should build in a mass drive small- and medium-sized hydropower stations wherever possible in order to ensure sufficient supplies of power to regions for their factories and the lighting of dwelling houses by internal forces. At the harshest period of the "Arduous March" he decided to set Jagang Province a model region, and roused the others to persistent efforts in the building of small- and medium-sized power stations. He kept an eye on realizing the electrification of dwelling houses–lighting, floor heating and cooking.

During his inspection of the economic sector of North Hamgyong Province on November 14 and 15, 1998, he spoke in a similar vein. When he was looking round the new houses in Sangonpho-ri, Kyongsong County, he felt the floor with his hand and said that the under-floor electrical heating there felt very nice, that the people there were benefiting a lot from the power projects, but that Sangonpho-ri was still lagging behind Jagang Province, which had already realized electrification of cooking and heating for residential houses.

On February 19 the following year, Kim Jong Il visited the Mubong Youth Power Station in Samjiyon County, Ryanggang Province. After looking round the power station, he assigned the officials to build a bathhouse heated by electricity from the station and settled all matters concerning it. And when the bathhouse was completed, he went there again, and stressed the need to popularize such bathhouses in farm villages across the country.

Many small- and medium-sized power stations sprang up in all parts of the country.

He was also very concerned with modernization of the small- and medium-sized power stations. The technical standards of these power stations were still low, and what was worse, some often broke down.

In August 2000, Kim Jong Il looked round the power stations in North and South Hamgyong provinces and Jagang Province. In North Hamgyong Province he saw small- and medium-sized stations located in tiers along the Susong Stream, and pointed out the drawbacks of the gear reducer installed in the horizontal generator–the recurrent mechanical breakdowns, noise and low efficiency of the turbine. He advised the local officials to replace it with a vertical DC generator. He ensured that modernization of the small- and medium-sized power stations was included in the national plan, and the requisite materials and equipment were provided by the factories and enterprises concerned. In South Hamgyong Province he looked round power stations of the same kind along the Songchon River. He was especially interested in the operation of Songchongang Power Station No. 32, which had a computerized system of power generation and supply, and said that the station was of a unique design, and other stations should be built in that way. Under his leadership, many counties in Jagang, Ryanggang and South Hamgyong provinces and other counties and cities secured power by their own efforts for their own use.

Kim Jong Il also paid due attention to the food problem.

He made potato farming one of the priorities in this field.

On May 31, 1996, Kim Jong Il visited Ryanggang Province. He recalled the day 24 years previously, when he had been there to see 80 kinds of potato dishes, and said he often remembered that day recently, and realized that potato farming was the key to the solution of the food problem. He told the senior official of the Provincial Party Committee to attach more importance to potato farming and keep in mind that the potato farming was the key solution.

It was his long-cherished aim to develop potato farming in the mountainous regions. On his next visit to the province in mid-January 1998, he said that the province should concentrate its efforts on potato farming, and that it should do its share in turning the country into a major potato producer in Asia. He pointed out that the seed problem should be given top priority, and advised the chief secretary of the Provincial Party Committee

Kim Jong Il giving on-the-spot guidance to the Taehongdan County Combined Farm

to send a delegation abroad to buy good seeds and learn from others' experiences, and set up an institute specializing in potato research. He recounted the ways to improve methods of potato cultivation and pest control, urging the officials to bring about a fresh upsurge in potato farming.

On October 1, on a visit to Taehongdan County in the province, Kim Jong Il had a talk with the officials, titled, ***On Making a Revolution in Potato Farming***. In the talk, he said the following: I have come to inquire into potato farming here and arouse the county to effect a radical improvement in potato farming; I am now convinced that we can reach the goal; we may be sure that potato farming has great prospects; Ryanggang Province should push ahead with potato farming on an extensive basis, and South Hamgyong, North Hamgyong, Jagang and Kangwon provinces should also cultivate potatoes; officials should pay attention to potato farming to make a revolution in this field. After specifying every detail such as potato breeding and tuber planting, he said, **"An exemplary unit should be established since bringing about a radical innovation in potato farming is a revolution. I intend to make a model of the Taehongdan County Combined Farm."**

Afterwards, Taehongdan County witnessed a radical change in potato farming.

Kim Jong Il took supportive measure to build the county into a model region–posting discharged soldiers there, sending testing equipment to ensure the potatoes were virus-free, planters, harvesters, sprinklers, tractors, and other efficient farming machines, and rousing the Party and the people to give active assistance to the county.

Kim Jong Il paid attention to potato processing, to provide the people with various potato dishes.

Under his detailed guidance, a starch factory was built in Taehongdan County. He visited it in November 2000. The production processes were automated, ranging from grading, washing, drying to packaging; each round of the automated processes took only 25 minutes. However, as potatoes get frozen in winter, the factory had to suspend operation for 10 months, except for 60 days before the winter cold set in. Officials regarded this as inevitable due to the unfavorable climate of the county. But Kim Jong Il thought

differently. He advised that the factory could be made more rewarding if such processes as those for dehydrated starch noodles, liquid taffy and wine were added. He instructed the officials in the sector of light industry to work out a plan for introducing processes for dehydrated starch noodles and liquid taffy in the light-industry sector.

Soon afterwards, the factory's assembly line was able to turn out a full range of potato products–starch, dehydrated starch noodles, liquid taffy and wine.

Along with potato farming, two-crop farming was another good solution to the food problem, as the country has a limited area of arable land.

Kim Il Sung had said, on a visit to the Yonbaek Plain on August 31, 1993, that it was his hope and aim to see 10 tons of grain harvested per hectare, and on January 13 the following year, tasked the three counties of South Hwanghae Province–Ongjin, Kangryong and Pyoksong–to undertake two-crop farming on an experimental basis with barley as the first crop and maize or rice as the second one. When the barley had been harvested, he had named it "Haeju quadrangle barley."

On the basis of the President's teachings, Kim Jong Il adopted in 1995 concrete measures to solve all problems arising in the experimental stage with the aim at ushering in a new age of two-crop farming: breeding barley strains and designating the Ongjin area as a base for cultivating barley as the first crop; sending planters and harvesters of wheat and barley for planting and harvesting the crop in time; and defining the production quotas of cooperative farms at the level of their single crop farming so as to increase the farmers' zeal for cultivation.

Thereafter, the Ongjin area made headway in the experimental cultivation, creating an exemplary case for others to follow. It was the same with some cooperative farms in Kangwon Province.

On June 15, 1996, Kim Jong Il informed the senior officials of the Party Central Committee of the experiences of some cooperative farms in Kangwon in the course of introducing long seedlings of rice for two-crop farming, and stressed the need to direct greater efforts to that end. He pointed out several problems that might arise in widening the area for two-crop farming. From 1997, he saw to it that two-crop farming was introduced in tens of thousands of hectares of paddy fields by cultivating

barley or potatoes before transplanting long seedlings of rice. The two-crop farming method began to bear fruit. On September 10, 1997, Kim Jong Il said to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, **"As the country has a limited area of land under cultivation, we must press ahead with two-crop farming to increase grain output. It is my intention to introduce that type of farming on an extensive scale. The area along the coast of the West Sea, especially that south of Jongju, must take the lead in this respect."**

The cooperative farm of Yonan county town, South Hwanghae Province, became a splendid example in implementing the Party's policy of two-crop farming.

And the cooperative farm of Janggang county town, Jagang Province, succeeded in three-crop farming. On June 15, 1999, Kim Jong Il visited the farm, inquired about their experiences and expressed great satisfaction with the results. Upon leaving, he said that he would be waiting for good news from them. Encouraged by his visit, the farmers cultivated turnips in spring, potatoes in summer and Korean cabbage in autumn in the three-crop fields. On September 14, he visited the farm again, acquainted himself with their successes and said that their example should be popularized among other farms. On November 2, 2000, Kim Jong Il had a talk with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee about two-crop farming, and emphasized the need to maintain the principle of cultivating mainly grains for two-crop farming.

Thanks to his guidance, the area of two-crop farming increased three times and the unit-area output of the first crop more than four times in 2000 over that in 1997.

TO BOOST ECONOMIC PRODUCTION

Kim Jong Il directed great efforts at putting production on a normal basis in key industries and other important economic sectors.

Revitalizing the national economy, which was in a state of depression during the "Arduous March" and forced march, and ensuring its trend of growth would help accelerate the building of Korea as an economic power

and improve the people's living standards. But the officials were at a loss to find ways to this end.

At this juncture, Kim Jong Il put forth a policy of revitalizing one factory after another on the basis of their relative importance. He considered normal production of key economic sectors a top priority.

In late October 1998, Kim Jong Il called an official of the Party Central Committee, who was having a rest straight from a visit to Jagang Province together with him, and said that he had to leave for the province immediately. The official wondered why.

Kim Jong Il said that he was concerned with the tyre problem, that upon returning from the previous trip he had seen on his desk a document concerning the import of tyres, and that as President Kim Il Sung had already had a tyre factory built in his lifetime, it did not stand to reason that tyres should be imported at a high price, leaving the tyre factory out of operation, and continued, **"That's why I have just decided to visit the factory."**

He explained that the purpose of the visit was to seek in consultation with the officials there a solution to the normal operation of the factory as tyre production was one of the decisive factors conducive to the successful building of a great, prosperous and powerful nation.

His car left for the destination. On arriving at the factory after the 400-km journey, Kim Jong Il was greeted by the local officials. He told them that he was there to find a key to running the factory at full capacity, and adopt revolutionary steps to the end. He stressed the significance of the normal operation of the factory that had been honoured with three visits by President Kim Il Sung.

He acquainted himself with the production capacity, the highest production recorded, and the market prices of tyres, and the prices of crude rubber and other raw materials, before looking round the production processes. Kim Jong Il said that whether the factory could remain in operation or not was determined by the supply of raw materials, and suggested that it would be far more profitable to produce tyres with imported rubber than to import tyres themselves.

After a long discussion over the matter, he told the officials earnestly that they must never hesitate in the face of trials, but make best use of all

conditions and possibilities to put the factory back into normal operation. He concluded by saying that this would go a long way towards reactivating the economy as a whole.

The factory made full preparations–overhauling the machines, securing raw materials, etc.–and from January 1999 began production, exceeding its monthly production quotas.

Kim Jong Il also directed great efforts at improving the metal and machine-building industries.

Early in the morning of December 17, 1998, he visited the Sungni General Motor Works (the present Sungni Motor Complex).

Looking round the factory, Kim Jong Il confidently said to the officials that, replenished with some equipment for the missing processes, the factory would be able to run at full capacity on the basis of the solid foundations laid thus far. He continued that they should focus first of all on putting the factory's machines back into normal operation; this would give a boost to related factories, the mining industry, construction and transportation.

The factory management officials, technicians and workers went full steam ahead, and in October 1999 a great number of automobiles were made available for the army and major economic sectors. The normal operation of the motor factory added new vigour to the dozens of factories and enterprises related to it. The vigorous drive towards the normal operation, initiated by Kim Jong Il's visit to the Huichon General Machine-Tool Plant in October 1998, spread over to other production sectors on the occasion of his visit to the Sungni General Motor Works in December the same year, thus bringing about a fresh upswing in the machine-building industry in 1999.

The metal industry was also a matter of concern to Kim Jong Il. He regarded the sufficient provision of iron and steel as a precondition for the development of the major economic sectors.

In late March 1999, he visited North Hamgyong Province, a region with many iron and steel plants.

After studying the specific situation of the industrial sectors in the province, he called a consultative conference of officials in the field of the metal industry in the province. At the meeting, he said to the following

effect: Iron and steel are of pivotal significance in the building of a great, prosperous and powerful nation; all Party members and other working people engaged in their production must be faithful to their duty as befits pioneers in the building of a great, prosperous and powerful nation. His instructions stimulated the working people in metal industry in this province to engage full steam in normal production of iron and steel.

Kim Jong Il paid close attention to the manufacturing of electrical appliances urgently needed for the development of the power industry. He visited the June 5 General Electrics Enterprise in March 1999 and the June 1 Youth General Electric Appliances Plant in September the same year, to bring about an innovation in the production of insulators and other electrical appliances.

During his field guidance trips, Kim Jong Il would tell officials that they should think hard and work devotedly with a high sense of responsibility.

He said, **"Officials should work hard to be loved and respected by the people, so that they can be called 'our so and so' by their juniors, like our Party secretary and our manager."**

He went on: "Our so and so" is a good, meaningful phrase; it does not denote an official designation, but respect, love and trust as a sublime title for those faithful to the interests of the people; it is one of the precious titles that officials who are respected and loved by the people deserve; they must implement the Party's policy in a bold and persistent manner.

Kim Jong Il's tireless efforts resulted in a new upsurge throughout the country's economy.

In the period of 1995-1998 the industrial production of the DPRK showed an ever-declining trend on an annual basis, unprecedented in its history. However, the Korean people, keeping in mind Kim Jong Il's instructions that they should build a great, prosperous and powerful country by their own efforts, persevered, with the result that the economy began to curve upward from 1999.

Kim Jong Il regarded it as one of the important issues in shoring up the key economic sectors to conduct economic affairs profitably.

He raised the issue in a talk with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee on June 8, 1998.

He said, **"We must conduct economic affairs at a profit. Ensuring profitability is important in political and diplomatic affairs, and this is all the truer of the economy."**

Managing the socialist economy profitably means estimating and settling all issues arising in production and management in such a way that the people can enjoy tangible benefits. His instructions induced them to be more specific in their calculation of profitability and the balance between revenue and expenditure.

On January 16, 1999, Kim Jong Il took a realistic measure to this end: Ministries, central organs and the people's committees of all the provinces, cities and counties analyzed the situations of factories and enterprises, with the help of scientists and technicians in the relevant fields; data on the current situation were collected on a nationwide scale and such bold measures as dismantling or streamlining factories and enterprises and the processes that were bringing no profit to the State were taken.

On his inspections of factories and enterprises, Kim Jong Il inquired in detail into their production and management, put stress on the principle of conducting business management profitably, and took all possible measures to that end.

Kim Jong Il underlined the importance of adhering to this principle when he was visiting the Kanggye Winery, Kanggye Clothing Factory and other economic units in Jagang Province on September 12 and 13, 1999, and emphasized this point to the senior official of the Provincial Party Committee. He also referred to the need to provide good conditions for local units to give full scope to their creativity, and review and correct the regulations that restrict such practice.

Ten days later, on September 23, Kim Jong Il visited the June 1 Youth General Electric Appliances Plant, and said that leading officials in the economic sector should manage the economy on the basis of correct calculations and in such a way as to bring about profitability, stressing that the time had gone when they worked in a slipshod manner, and that officials should make detailed calculations of costs and profits ahead of manufacturing.

During a talk with the managers of major factories and enterprises in North Phyongan Province on January 27, 2000, he again said that they

should strive to improve their qualifications and ensure profitability in economic management, adding that managers, commanders of factories, must work not by virtue of their authority but ability.

On previous occasions, he had said that officials must endeavour to improve their qualifications always keeping in mind that it was a pressing demand of the Party and the revolution, and made a strong demand on them to learn hard under the slogan, **"Let's support the Party by virtue of practical ability!"** ensuring that they increased their qualifications in the course of studying and practice.

The same day he told the managers that for profitable enterprise management they should make economical use of raw materials and funds, and calculate costs properly.

Afterwards, the managers, true to his instructions, came to acquire a working method and style with which to organize production and manage their enterprises in a scientific, rational way by correct estimation of costs and profitability.

Kim Jong Il took it as one of the important ways of motivating the workers to make increased efforts and ensuring profitability to fairly appraise their work results and give them credit for them, and led officials in the economic sector to put stress on this matter.

Correctly calculating and giving credit for work results is the basic principle of socialist distribution that completely corresponds to the character of socialist society.

Kim Jong Il brought up this issue in a talk with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee on July 11, 1999, and said in the following vein: We must ensure that work results are judged properly while giving emphasis to ideological education, so that people are compensated in accordance with how much they have worked and earned; workers, whoever she or he might be, should be given some control and material stimulus according to the amount of work they have done; accounting gets more important along with the development of the economy; ways should be sought to correctly estimate the quality and quantity of the work done and give control and material stimulus correspondingly; socialist society is not one where people don't need to work, but where they are paid according

to their achievements, and can lead a better life as they work harder.

The same was true in agriculture.

During his visits to some cooperative farms in Jagang Province–Jangphyong and Mudok cooperative farms, Janggang County, and Songha Sericulture Cooperative Farm, Songgan County–from August 28 to 31, 2000, he paid attention to raising the zeal of the farmers, and put forward concrete ways to that end with a view to enhancing the efficiency of agricultural production and ensuring profitability.

Kim Jong Il's efforts to ensure profitability in the management of the socialist economy served as a powerful stimulus for the working people in their struggle towards building a great, prosperous and powerful nation.

3. TO PROVIDE THE PEOPLE WITH A BOUNTIFUL LIFE

SHORING UP LIGHT INDUSTRY

Kim Jong Il, with the aim of enriching the life of the people by bolstering light industry, visited light-industry factories across the country in 1999 and the following year–the Sinuiju Cosmetics Factory in early June 1999, Kanggye Winery, Kanggye Clothing Factory and September Textile Mill in mid-September, Hamhung Disabled Soldiers' Plastic Goods Factory and Songchongang Clothing Factory in late September, Sinuiju Footwear Factory and Sinuiju Textile Mill in January the following year, Nyongbyon Silk Mill and Pakchon Silk Mill in June, and Kanggye Silk-Spinning Factory in August.

During these visits, he studied ways to improve the living conditions of the people and the output of light industry, and, on the basis of this, found the correct orientation for the development of light industry.

To address some issues in this field, he had a talk with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee under the title, ***On Some Tasks for Improving the People's Living Standards***, on January 23, 2000.

Pointing out that, despite their present difficult living conditions, the people were showing loyalty to the Party, he said that he could not get to

sleep whenever he was reminded of the humble food and clothing of these excellent people.

He continued, **"To creditably solve the problem of supplying light-industry goods for the people, we should radically reduce the items of production for light industry, concentrating on the goods in desperate need, and meet the demand for the rest of the goods through imports."**

Kim Jong Il reasoned as follows: The DPRK, a small country, does not have to manufacture the whole range of light-industry goods; now that the socialist market has disappeared, we should streamline the structure of light industry and cooperate with other nations for those goods out of our reach in accordance with the changed international circumstances and specific conditions of the country; the light-industry sector should preserve some traditional items and quality goods, and import the rest on the principle of filling each other's needs; it must, on the other hand, increase the quality of the selected goods; the quality of silk cloth and Maanshan-brand blankets should be improved, and other major goods, like toothpaste, soap, cosmetics and basic foodstuffs, should be produced in larger quantities.

There is an old Korean saying that clothes are to a man what feathers are to a bird. Clothing has always been a top priority in enriching the life of the Korean people. From old days the Korean people have regarded clean clothes as an expression of good ethics. They tried hard to make their clothes look clean even in poor living conditions, saying, "A day of hunger may be endured, but poor clothing cannot be." Kim Jong Il, highly valuing the national customs, paid deep attention to supplying them with various kinds of fine clothes.

His primary concern was the traditional silk cloth and velvet. In mid-June 2000, Kim Jong Il told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that silk cloth is a major item for light industry, and that he had stayed up throughout many nights, thinking how to increase the production of silk cloth and velvet for the better clothing of the people. He stressed that the silk industry should be improved in the shortest possible period of time.

On June 21 he visited the Nyongbyon and Pakchon silk mills, and suggested effective ways to raising the production of quality fabrics. At that

time the mills' productivity was low due to the outmoded equipment and unfavourable conditions and, worse still, they were exporting most of their products. Kim Jong Il made an issue of the matter, and said that they should become mills loved by the people by producing silk cloth and velvet in large quantities, and supplying them to the people. He reminded them of the mission of light industry in the people-centred socialist society. He continued that high-speed and ultra-high-speed machines were catching on in the modern textile industry, clarifying concrete ways for upgrading machines in the silk mills and other textile mills. With the opening of an upbeat prospect for the development of the silk industry, they could produce dozens of varieties of high-end products in less than three months after his inspection.

He also made sure that high-quality shoes produced by the country's shoe factories were supplied to the people.

In January 2000, Kim Jong Il visited the Sinuiju Footwear Factory. On learning that the quality shoes produced at the injection-molding workshop were for export, he said that it was more important to serve the Korean people than to export shoes to other countries. When he looked round the exhibition, he again emphasized that only the shoes for the Korean people were necessary and the quality of shoes should be raised to that of high-end shoes.

Kim Jong Il paid close attention to providing the people on the "Arduous March" with quality cosmetics.

On June 8, 1999, Kim Jong Il visited the Sinuiju Cosmetics Factory to ensure that the people were provided with cosmetics like those of the developed countries.

He looked round the soap, toothpaste and cosmetics workshops in turn, informing the officials of the world trend of the cosmetics industry, and instructing them to modernize the factory. He advanced it as the only way to provide our people with export-quality cosmetics to modernize the whole range of equipment in the national-level factories, like the Sinuiju Cosmetics Factory, operate them at full capacity and make them specialize in their respective production items.

The same day, he saw the cosmetics exclusively made for export. He emphasized that those cosmetics should be supplied to the Korean people, that he wanted to supply everything within his reach for the people who were

supporting the Party despite trials beyond description, and that when the cause of building a great, prosperous and powerful country was completed he would enable them to use high-end cosmetics to be envied by the whole world although this goal was not feasible now due to the special conditions.

Finishing inspection of the production processes, he came out and surveyed the compound of the factory. He asked the officials why the factory was constructed in the remotest corner of Sinuiju. He continued to the following effect: We have to not only upgrade the equipment of the factory but also construct new buildings for it. It should be located, he noted, in South Sinuiju or any other place with a thick forest and adjacent to a mountain to meet the demand of the times.

In October Kim Jong Il initiated the launching of the construction project in a location with a good scenery in South Sinuiju, and visited it in May 2000, solving the problems arising in the construction and motivating the workers to build the factory as a monumental edifice. In November 2000, he went over the products of the newly-built factory, and expressed satisfaction with the quality of the cosmetics.

The construction of the Sinuiju Cosmetics Factory ushered in a new era of development in the cosmetics industry, and the goods from this factory added a fresh fragrance and great joy to the Korean people who were surmounting difficulties in their lives. Kim Jong Il tried his best to provide the people with the best and most convenient daily necessities, like toothpaste, toothbrushes, spoons and chopsticks.

Kim Jong Il's warm care enabled the Korean people to enrich their lives despite severe difficulties.

TO PROVIDE THE PEOPLE WITH A VARIED DIET

Kim Jong Il always paid close attention to providing a varied diet for the people, who had suffered from the severe shortages of food for the past few years.

He worked out a plan for raising grass-eating animals as an all-out campaign of the Party and the people in order to ensure an adequate supply of meat.

In late August 1996, Kim Jong Il received a proposal from a senior official of the Party Committee of South Hamgyong Province that the province would increase the area of grassland all over the Phyongphung tableland in Hamju County to press ahead with goat breeding as an all-people campaign. He answered on August 24, **"I am in full support of your proposal. It is a good suggestion. The Party Central Committee and the Administration Council should take thoroughgoing organizational measures to implement it."**

The same day, Kim Jong Il told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that it was important to venture in an audacious manner, and that as South Hamgyong Province had decided to do stockbreeding well, it would be advisable for the province to set an example for others to follow.

Afterwards, instructions of the Party Central Committee for widening grassland and raising grass-eating animals as an all-out campaign of the Party and the State were sent down to Party organizations at all levels, and a national demonstration lecture to popularize the experience of Hamju County, South Hamgyong Province, was organized.

On March 26, 1997, Kim Jong Il, in a talk with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, stressed once again the need to carry out to the letter the Party's policy of raising grass-eating animals on an extensive scale, saying, **"The Party is firmly determined to direct efforts to raising grass-eating animals until our people are supplied with enough meat. Officials should push ahead with this policy vigorously, keeping the will of the Party in mind."**

He continued that they should first of all focus on widening the area of grassland, and expounded on concrete ways to that end. He even instructed then on taking action for preserving and breeding native Korean animals such as oxen of Korean breed, Phungsan dogs, chickens and pigs of Korean breed.

In later days, Kim Jong Il took measures on several occasions to improve the breeds of livestock, and on December 19, 1998, underlined the significance of raising rabbits. He had good breeds of rabbits brought from Europe by air and spread across the country. Kim Jong Il said that he could find a whole lot of rural regions mass-raising goats during his visits there,

and that his instructions in recent years on widening the area of grassland for the mass-breeding of goats seemed to be paying off.

At dawn on May 24, 2001, he left for the Youth Goat Farm built by Hamhung City.

Getting out of the car with dewdrops dripping down its surface and clods hanging on its tyres, he went straight to the business. He acquainted himself with the geographical features and conditions of the farm, and looked round the branch farms. Reaching the top of Mt. Chonui, he surveyed herds of goats with a broad smile, and spoke highly of the farm management's devoted efforts, saying that the Youth Goat Farm was praiseworthy. He received on site a proposal for making the area a new settlement and naming it the Raeil (tomorrow–Tr.) Workers' District. He repeated the name to himself, and said to the following effect: It is meaningful and appealing to my ears; we are not working only for today but for tomorrow, so it is a good idea to call it the Raeil Workers' District.

The same day he posed for a souvenir photograph with a farm worker and his family.

Kim Jong Il had up-to-date stockbreeding bases built, bases which would be in no way inferior in the remote future.

In mid-July 1996, Kim Jong Il entrusted an army unit with building a modern ox farm which would contribute greatly to solving the people's food problem.

In early 1997, when the project was still at the budding stage, he gave instructions on the project on several occasions, taking measures for making the relevant sectors supply necessary materials on a priority basis, reinforcing the workforce and fodder-producing centres, and supplementing the farm with farming materials and machines. At the same time, he ensured that stockbreeding experts were sent abroad to learn up-to-date techniques for managing such farms and breeding cattle.

The military servicepersons took less than half a year to complete the project, and brought the news to Kim Jong Il.

On October 21, 1997, Kim Jong Il visited the site. Surveying the farm located at the sunny foot of a mountain, he said that the farm looked like a palace, and expressed great satisfaction with its charming scenery. He

praised the builders for the completion of the large project. He then named the farm the **Songam Mengji Ox Farm**, and expressed great expectations for its promising future.

He put great efforts into the development of poultry farming to provide people with chicken meat and eggs.

In mid-December 1994, he unfolded a plan for building a modern chicken plant. The same day he said in the following vein: Providing soldiers and civilians with enough chicken meat and eggs was the will of President Kim Il Sung; to carry out his will, we should draw up a scientific plan to build modern chicken plants and properly calculate how to supply fodder, superior breeds and hatchery eggs on a normal basis; and when conditions are mature enough, we should get down to the project on an extensive scale.

After that, he ensured that a delegation was dispatched to the developed countries, and a modern chicken plant was built in Pyongyang on an experimental basis.

On August 19, 1999, when the plant began to produce chicken meat and eggs, Kim Jong Il summoned the senior officials of the Party, the economy and the poultry industry to the spot, and went there himself accompanied by leading officers of the People's Army.

Kim Jong Il told the overjoyed officials that it was the will of the Party to provide the people with enough meat and eggs by building many modern poultry plants of that kind and they should hand over a prosperous socialist State to their descendants by creating up-to-date stockbreeding bases across the country in future. Then he advised them to launch construction before the winter cold set in since they already had a general idea of a typical poultry plant. Within a year after that, large-scale chicken plants sprang up in the eastern and western parts of the country.

On November 2 and 13, 2000, Kim Jong Il, despite his pressing programme of inspection of army units on the front line, visited two newly-built farms and expressed great satisfaction with them. He even named them, before saying that the number of poultry plants such as those for duck and goose breeding should be increased, and that as some people like duck meat while others prefer chicken meat, more

projects should be launched to accommodate the different appetites fairly.

On November 13 he did not have a break for the whole day; he devoted the morning to a meeting with builders of the Youth Hero Road, and after that inspected the chicken farm until dusk.

His assistants advised him to go back, but he responded, **"Today I had to stand all day looking round the several units, but I do not feel tired to learn that the wealth of the people has increased a lot. I love such a day best."**

Kim Jong Il ushered in a new era of ostrich breeding in Korea by initiating the building of an ostrich plant.

These stockbreeding farms became building blocks conducive to providing the people with a rich diet.

He put great efforts into fish farming to provide the people with enough fish.

The history of fish farming in Korea began in the postwar days when President Kim Il Sung had selected the place for a fish pond on the way to field guidance, and ensured that good breeds of fish were imported from other countries, and that several measures were taken to develop fish farming.

But officials had not carried out this undertaking persistently, and the solid foundations laid out thanks to his efforts were not paying off. Worse still, during the "Arduous March" some units gave up fish farming on the pretext of shortage of fodder, and turned their fish pools into paddy fields.

Kim Jong Il was worried about this situation, and decided to usher in a new era of fish farming in the Songun era by revitalizing this sector.

On June 30, 1997, he visited the fish pools of Ryongjong Branch under the Ryongyon County Combined Farm. After looking round the pools, he told the officials in the following vein: We should renovate the existing fish farms, while building new ones; lakes, reservoirs and rivers are found all over the country, so we can successfully build fish farms with the workforce and materials available in local regions if the local officials buckle down to it; the People's Army should take the lead in

fish farming; it should build two fish farms into model ones to normalize fish raising at a high level.

Afterwards, many successes were achieved in the renovation and expansion of fish farms and in the building of new ones by the all-out efforts of the whole country. Especially, servicepersons of the People's Army expanded the two fish farms in the short period of one year.

Furthermore, Kim Jong Il decided to develop fish farming to a new stage by effecting radical changes in breed selection.

On August 30, 1999, he visited the expanded fish farm, he said, **"It is just as essential to solve the seed problem in fish farming, as it is in agriculture and stockbreeding. Only when fish of good breed which grow faster and put on more weight with a given amount of fodder are bred and spread, can a radical change be made in fish farming."**

At the same time, he attached importance to selecting breeds of fish for cold and warm water, in conformity with the water resources of the country. He made sure that rainbow trout were bred in cold-water pools, and catfish in the areas of hot springs. His effort to this end paid off: fish pools and catfish farms built across the country came to teem with fish.

With such fish farms being built across the country, Kim Jong Il turned his attention to scientific and intensive fish farming.

In 2000, he had the catfish farm in Sinchon hot spring test scientific and intensive breeding of catfish, and made the success therefrom popularized throughout the country. And on May 9 and September 20, he inspected the catfish farm built by the servicepersons of the People's Army.

He spoke highly of the construction of the catfish farm, saying that the room for artificial incubation looked as if it were a science research base, before resuming, **"For the further progress of aquaculture it is important to be well versed in the modern trends in this field, and proactively introduce advanced fish farming technology and breeding methods."**

Under the warm care of Kim Jong Il, catfish restaurants were inaugurated in various parts of the country.

His detailed care found expression in a certain chicken and noodle dish becoming a dish for the general population, and in the Pyongyang *tangogi* dish, Pyongyang Duck Restaurant and Taedonggang beer halls.

Kim Jong Il decided to build basic foodstuff factories in many parts of the country, and took supportive measures, entrusting the KPA with building factories for refining salt and producing soy sauce, soybean paste and seasoning powder, and popularizing their experiences.

4. A NEW HISTORY OF LAND DEVELOPMENT

LAND IMPROVEMENT PROJECT WORKED OUT ON THE ROAD OF SONGUN LEADERSHIP

Land improvement is a gigantic nature-reforming project and patriotic work of lasting significance for the prosperity of the country.

In the DPRK, this undertaking dates back to the days when President Kim Il Sung drew up a plan for this immediately after the country's liberation in 1945.

Kim Jong Il was firmly determined to improve the layout of the land across the country in the Songun era in keeping with the noble wish of the President, and aroused the Party, the army and the whole people to land improvement, first in Kangwon Province. This would realize the local people's centuries-long desire for farming with machines and solve the food problem of the local people. Then, other provinces with better conditions would follow in Kangwon's footsteps.

On May 4, 1998, Kim Jong Il was on a visit to the frontline units over Chol Pass. He stopped his car near Taebaek-ri, Changdo County, Kangwon Province, to have a break.

Surrounded by tiny plots of paddy and non-paddy fields, there was no place wide enough to have a rest. There was a story handed down through generations: A farmer lost one of his paddy fields; he wandered around to

find it all day, and found it only in the evening under his *kat* (large-crowned Korean hat) which he had taken off in the morning.

Surveying the fields, Kim Jong Il told his aides that he had thought of land improvement since long before, and they should improve the land of Kangwon Province with a bold approach. He added that when the army and the people were mobilized to improve the land of Kangwon Province they could realize the long-cherished desire of the farmers there and solve the food problem.

The gigantic land improvement project was worked out in this way at the edge of a field soaked with morning dew, on Kim Jong Il's inspection tour of frontline units.

The same day, Kim Jong Il arrived at his destination, and said to the officers there: **"I am planning to have the land under cultivation across the country improved on the basis of experiences gained in the project in the frontline areas. If land realignment is pushed forward as an undertaking of the State, we will be able to change the look of land in a few years."**

Kim Jong Il took active measures to finish the project in Kangwon Province in the shortest possible period of time by arousing the army and the whole people.

On July 22, 1998, he had an order of the National Defence Commission, titled, ***On Improving the Land of Kangwon Province by All-Out Efforts of the State***, issued. He saw to it that a powerful combined command was organized involving officials of the Party Central Committee, the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces and the Cabinet, and led by a vice-chairman of the National Defence Commission.

With the announcement of the order, shock brigades of servicepersons and civilians, with bulldozers that had undergone repair, hastened to Kangwon Province from every corner of the country, and the project made a huge stride forward from the outset.

On December 1, 1998, Kim Jong Il, on his way back from a frontline visit, inspected the project in Ranjong-ri, Kosan County.

Sleet had made the muddy path across the field slippery, but Kim Jong Il urged his aides to go ahead with him, and he stepped into the field ahead of the others. He looked round the site for over an hour, and noted that he had

studied the layout of the fields on his way to Ranjong-ri, and the paddy fields were so small-sized that he could not distinguish which had been realigned and which had not, continuing that such an approach could not reduce the length of the ridges between the fields, and the need might arise to undertake the project again a few years later.

His plan was not to eliminate some of the ridges with a narrow-minded approach, but to improve the layout of the whole land of the country as befits that of a socialist State in an audacious manner, looking ahead ten to 50 years, standardizing paddy and non-paddy fields, filling up water pools and, where necessary, readjusting waterways and roads or building new ones, so as to put more land under cultivation and make the best use of equipment and materials in farming.

Kim Jong Il said that they should get rid of the conventional approach, and defined the size of each paddy field as 800 to 1 000 *phyong* (one *phyong* equals 3.3 m^2–Tr.), stressing that paddy fields smaller than that should be turned into dry fields.

In keeping with his instructions, the KPA servicepersons and shock brigaders kept up their vigorous approach to the work.

On February 8, 1999, Kim Jong Il visited the 8th Workteam in Majang-ri, Cholwon County, Kangwon Province, and surveyed with satisfaction the standardized paddy and non-paddy fields laid out as if they had been drawn with rulers. He said that the greatest success in this land project was reduction of the ridges and increasing of the area of paddy and non-paddy fields, and that the fields were laid out so well that he felt as if he were in Chongsan-ri, not in Majang-ri.

On March 11, a month after that, Kim Jong Il visited the Phunghwa Plain, Anbyon County, and climbed Mt. Jongjimul near a farming village to have a bird's-eye view of the well-rezoned plain. He said with great satisfaction that since the ridges, waterways and roads were stretched in straight lines, the plain reminded him of a checker board, adding that the year before there had been only plots of small paddies with ridges crisscrossing like a spider's web, but now, standardized paddy and non-paddy fields stretched out, and the old scenery vanished. He resumed that this could be called a cataclysmic change, and now the people of the

Kim Jong Il giving field guidance to the work of land rezoning in Kangwon Province

low land along the west coast would feel envious of the Kangwon people.

Kim Jong Il said that, on the basis of the success and experiences gained in Kangwon Province, demonstration lectures should be organized in the province with the aim of improving the look of the whole land and effecting a radical change in agricultural production by the all-out efforts of the country. He instructed the vice-chairman of the National Defence Commission in charge of the Kangwon project that the province should reap a rich harvest by concentrating its efforts on farming, saying that the grain output of the province would demonstrate the vitality and validity of the Party's policy and arouse the farmers to increase production.

In actual fact, it was common knowledge that the year of land improvement would witness a poor harvest due to the lowered fertility of the land. However, Kim Jong Il was determined to overcome the difficulty of that year, and took measures to this end–improving the fertility of the land with manure in addition to the chemical fertilizers supplied by the State, sending a large number of tractors and farming machines conducive to mechanizing the farming activities on the enlarged and standardized fields, distributing crops on the principle of planting the right crops in the right soil and at the right season, and putting stress on seed improvement. As a result, Kangwon Province saw an increase of 2 times in the per hectare yield over the preceding year.

Singling out North Phyongan Province as the second target, Kim Jong Il on July 13, 1999, inspected the Sinam Cooperative Farm, Ryongchon County, and grasped actual conditions of the land under cultivation there. He said that the meandering and small-sized fields should be turned into 1 000-*phyong* paddy fields before seeing the master plan for land improvement of North Phyongan Province and the plans for each county and ri within the province and setting the order of the project.

On October 3, 1999, a ceremony for starting the project was held on the Handure Plain, Thaechon County, and the project was vigorously pressed ahead with in the cities and counties. The workers, who had gained experience in Kangwon Province, worked miracles day by day.

Kim Jong Il set forth the goal of 40 000 hectares for the following year: 30 000 hectares from the fall of 1999 to the following spring and 10 000

hectares in the following fall. He ensured that a sufficient number of machines, materials and workers were provided. In less than three months after the ground-breaking ceremony, nearly 30 000 hectares were rezoned.

On January 24 and 27, 2000, when the very small plots of paddy fields and dry fields in the intermediate area of North Phyongan Province were being turned into standardized paddy fields and non-paddy fields, Kim Jong Il visited the Handure Plain, in spite of severe winter cold.

He expressed great satisfaction with the splendid plain-like scenery, and gave a talk to the officials under the title, ***Improving the Layout of the Fields Is a Great Transformation of Nature for the Prosperity of the Country, a Patriotic Work of Lasting Significance***.

He highly appreciated the success of the Kangwon and North Phyongan projects, and said, **"Here today, I have found that the fields on the Handure Plain in Thaechon County, North Phyongan Province, have been laid out well in regular shapes and in a sweeping manner. It is really splendid. I am greatly satisfied. The Handure Plain has been completely transformed and realigned. It would be impossible now for a former landowner to identify his old land if he were to come to the Handure Plain with his land register to take his land back. The Handure Plain now looks like the land of a socialist State."**

The name of the Handure Plain was derived from the fact that the local peasants irrigated their fields by drawing water *handure* (one dipper) after another. These were very small plots, but the old scenery of the plain taken over from feudal land ownership vanished.

The officials offered to rename the plain, but Kim Jong Il replied to the following effect; There is no need to change its name; by leaving the name of the plain as it is, you will be able to tell your posterity that the land called the Handure Plain for ages was completely changed in our age; if you rename it, the coming generations may think that the plain was as well laid out as this at the outset; you had better keep the name as it is; land realignment is not undertaken to rename plains for form's sake.

The same day he gave instructions on every detail of the project; pushing forward the project in a bold, audacious and far-sighted manner, expanding arable land, standardizing the fields to make the best use of farm

machines and materials, and newly building irrigation channels and roads where necessary in a well-ordered manner. He pinpointed South Hwanghae Province as the next target, and instructed that the South Phyongan project should be launched after the completion of the Kaechon-Lake Thaesong Waterway project.

Later, he went to the Hungnam Plain in Uiju County, Kwansang Plain in Kwaksan County and Sinchon Plain in Jongju City, and said with great joy that they had been rezoned splendidly. He spoke highly of the workforce, saying that he felt once again how strong human power was.

On May 10, 2000, the North Phyongan project was completed, laying out the crop lands in the intermediate and mountainous regions from the Kwanha Plain in Nyongbyon County, Handure Plain in Thaechon County to Hungnam Plain in Uiju County, to say nothing of the spreading lowlands in Unjon, Pakchon and Ryongchon on the west coast.

Kim Jong Il then concentrated on the third target, South Hwanghae Province.

In December 2000, he visited the Chwiya Plain in Pyoksong County, Yonan Plain in Yonan County and Osa Plain in Chongdan County, and said that as long as land improvement was aimed at farming well, efforts should be concentrated on it before anything else, and that the project was a sacred undertaking to liberate farmers from hard labour by realizing comprehensive mechanization of the rural economy. In April and May the following year he visited the Orori Plain in Anak County, Jonjin Plain in Samchon County, Naedong Plain in Kangryong County and Komunjae Plain in Paechon County. Later, when he was visiting the Tane Plain in Thaethan County and Samkuktong Plain in Jaeryong County, he met a father and his three sons, husbands and their wives–all of them working as bulldozer drivers–and praised them, saying that they were patriots who were devoting themselves to the socialist cause, and posed for a photograph with them.

During this project, 100 000 hectares of land were rezoned.

The completion of these three projects within a few years was one of the great successes of the WPK age.

TO TURN THE COUNTRY INTO A SOCIALIST PARADISE

Kim Jong Il, as he was ushering in the Songun era, cherished a sublime aim of turning the country into a socialist paradise, a paradise of the WPK times, and directed great efforts to this end.

His primary attention was land administration. The history of land administration in Korea dates back to May 1946, when President Kim Il Sung turned the first sod of the Pothong River improvement project.

Kim Jong Il, with due attention to land administration, convened the National Conference of Land Administration Officials in November 1984, the first of its kind in the history of Korea. He took revolutionary measures to improve and strengthen land administration, and pushed ahead with this work during the "Arduous March."

Turning the country into a socialist paradise was a great challenge to the country, which was suffering from economic difficulties and destructive and consecutive natural calamities. Kim Jong Il ensured that documentaries and videos were edited for Party officials and those in the economic sectors to acquire a proper view of land administration, and that a demonstration lecture was organized to emulate the KPA unit that was taking the lead in this respect.

On the basis of these preparations, Kim Jong Il gave a talk to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee under the title, ***On Making a Fresh Change in Land Administration***, on August 11, 1996, and said that land administration should be conducted as an all-out campaign of the Party, the people and the army from the autumn of that year. He designated every spring and autumn as periods of general mobilization for land administration, for planting trees, repairing roads and improving rivers.

The Party Central Committee, the then Central People's Committee and the then Administration Council adopted and issued a joint resolution to this end in September 1996.

Kim Jong Il energetically led the struggle for the implementation of this drive. He ensured that Mt. Kuwol was built as a cultural resort for the people. He said that it had been President Kim Il Sung's plan and was his

will to lay out the mountain as a splendid resort of the WPK age, and went there on four occasions during the "Arduous March" and forced march in order to rouse the servicepersons in charge of the project to greater efforts.

On September 23, 1997, he inspected the project for the third time. Looking round the pavements on the peaks, beautiful scenic spots, the picturesque Eight-Pool Valley, and artificial waterfalls, he said, **"The servicepersons of the People's Army have done a lot of work to build Mt. Kuwol as a cultural resort for the people, keeping in mind the far-reaching plan of the President and the will of the Party."**

Passing through Maple Valley with its Three-Brother Ponds, he arrived at the valley of Aim-High Waterfall, and stopped in front of the wall of the two-stage waterfall, bearing the words, "For the Future, 1997, the Last Year of Arduousness."

Studying the letters for a while, he said that the words inscribed by the servicepersons were giving him fresh courage, and continued, **" 'For the future, 1997, the last year of arduousness'–these letters reflect the view on life and revolutionary optimism of our servicepersons who are living not merely for today but for tomorrow. Nothing in the world can stop them advancing vigorously, full of revolutionary optimism and a militant spirit, towards a brilliant future."**

The same day, he said to the following effect: The motherland will not forget the heroic merits of the soldier-builders who built Mt. Kuwol Resort with unfailing loyalty to the Party and the leader; other servicepersons and people should visit this place; we are fighting the enemy not only to destroy them but also to glorify the dignity and honour of our people, and safeguard their beautiful motherland; those who are well aware of the beauty of their own country and love it ardently will sacrifice their lives for the sake of the Party and the leader, the country and the people.

Mts. Chilbo, Jongbang and Jangsu were also built as resorts for the people.

Kim Jong Il was also concerned with tree-planting. He held that patriotism should find expression in valuing every tree and every blade of grass in the country. He ensured that nurseries were built to cultivate a great number of trees of good species.

In 2000, he put forward the policy of covering the whole country with trees and flowers, with a new approach to afforestation.

Saying that it was his plan to make the acacia a major tree in the country, he encouraged the Party, the country and the people to plant the tree on an extensive scale.

Intent on improving rivers and streams in an effort to make effective use of water resources, he visited several places in South Hamgyong Province, including the Kwangmyongsong Salt Works, power stations built in tiers on the Songchon River and the construction site of the Kumjingang Power Station, with the objective of holding up the province as a model region for nature-reforming.

On October 13, 1999, Kim Jong Il visited the Kwangmyongsong Salt Works built on a reedy location by the East Sea, and spoke highly of its fine scenery, saying that it was not a simple project but a giant nature-remaking one, before continuing, **"It is of historic significance for our Party that an up-to-date salt producing base with a production capacity of tens of thousands of tons has been built during the 'Arduous March' and forced march."**

He went on to say that it was laudable to have built a salt plant on a large area, and what was more significant was the fact that it was completed during the years of severest trials.

The following year, he visited the construction site of the Kumjingang Power Station, which was being built by the people of Jongphyong County, and highly praised the senior official of the county as a **"heroic man,"** holding up the county as an example in improving rivers and using their water resources effectively.

Kim Jong Il also channelled great efforts into building roads, like the Youth Hero Road, while making frequent visits to project sites to inquire into land administration.

On August 31, 2000, Kim Jong Il was crossing Kubong Pass between Songgan County and Kanggye, both in Jagang Province. The road had been reinforced and laid out neatly, reminding one of an asphalt road.

He met Kim Song Nyo, a road worker, and her family there.

She had been maintaining the road for many years with her sons and daughters and their spouses.

Kim Jong Il shook them by the hand and said in the following vein: Since there are a lot of patriots like you who put the interests of the country before their own, the Party is powerful and the country is prosperous; I have often been urged not to walk on rough roads any more as the people's living is improving; however I would love to go to any place in the country if I were to travel on the road of this kind; all of your family members are praiseworthy, serving the country and the people.

He encouraged them to keep their occupation through generations, before posing for a photograph with the whole family. Later, he recollected them, saying that the family members were quite laudable in that they were determined to defend socialism. The length of the road in their charge was about a dozen kilometres, and he took paternal care of them as a reward for their merits on the obscure pass.

Kim Jong Il pushed vigorously ahead with the campaign to establish a fine cultural environment for production and living. On January 25, 1998, he emphasized to the officials that the people should build a cultural environment for production and living with an attitude that though a war might break out tomorrow, they should, till 12 o'clock tonight, keep their streets and villages, houses and workplaces, neat. On March 9 the same year, he said that all the people should unfold a campaign of making the scenery of their hometowns splendid. He said that this movement was a sacred, patriotic one to turn the socialist country into an earthly paradise and inscribe patriotism in the minds of the people. On March 7, 1999, he visited the Hamhung Branch Academy under the Academy of Sciences, and said that everyone should live in a cultural and emotional way, and should lay out his or her workplace neatly, albeit eating poor food. He inspired the Party members and other working people in all sectors and units as well as those in the Hamhung Branch Academy to set up a cultural environment for production and living.

In this drive Kim Jong Il ensured that model units were designated in order to spread their experiences across the country.

On January 28, 2000, Kim Jong Il visited the Ryangchaek Bearing Factory.

Enjoying the scenery of the factory that looked like a palace or cultural

organ, he highly appreciated the workers' efforts, and said that the cultural environment for production would make the workers noble-minded, that this was his first experience of such a place although he had visited many factories and enterprises, and that all units across the country should learn from their example on the spot.

The servicepersons of the People's Army and the people of Jagang Province stood in the van in this regard.

After inspecting a unit of the People's Army, Kim Jong Il set it as a model.

On his visits to Jagang Province, he highly praised the spirit of optimism of its people after looking round the factories and farm villages spruced up in a socialist way. As he saw the neat and cozy dwelling houses at the township co-operative farm, Rangrim County, he spoke highly of their construction, saying that at first he had wondered if there were a holiday resort in the county, and the township looked like a flower garden.

On August 31, 2000, he visited Jagang Province again. He said that the factories and villages were built wonderfully and managed assiduously everywhere in the province, and that nobody could rival the Jagang people in sprucing up their factories, workplaces and localities. He continued that provinces, cities and counties should bring about a change in the management of the economy in their respective areas. In December 2001, on his ninth visit to Jagang Province, he said the following: Each time I come here I don't want to leave, since the local people and the environment such as the air and water are so good, and since I witness only things which please me; I have a lot of affection for this province; I always feel like visiting it in times of difficulty; the Jagang people are indeed fine people.

He also energetically led the work of building rural villages into socialist paradises.

On July 11, 2001, Kim Jong Il visited Poman-ri, Sohung County, North Hwanghae Province, and clarified every detail on building rural villages in a socialist way. He was greatly satisfied, looking round the splendid fish pools and the power station that provides power for the houses at the sunny foot of a mountain, and welfare facilities.

He said, **"Poman-ri looks like an earthly paradise. It has fine**

scenery, with the power station and modern dwellings in addition to the fish ponds. I feel greatly pleased whenever I see fish farms and power stations. You have done a good job. The scenic beauty of the fish ponds and the modern dwellings beside them built on the sites of old houses match well. I feel as if I have come to another world. Palace-like tile-roofed houses in rows, the hill at the back covered with fruit trees of various kinds, and the wide area of crop fields and well-ordered fish ponds–all of these are splendid. This is indeed a socialist paradise of the WPK era."

He advised that as the houses were built to a standard design, a door plate should be put up at each house to distinguish one house from another. Kim Jong Il emphasized to the officials the importance of building rural villages across the country into earthly paradises like Poman-ri, and led the country to learn from Poman-ri.

Thereafter, rural villages and other parts of the country went all out to improve the scenery of their respective places to meet the aesthetic demands of the Songun era.

CHAPTER 38

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IS A PROPELLANT FOR THE BUILDING OF A GREAT, PROSPEROUS AND POWERFUL NATION

1. CREATING THE CLIMATE OF GIVING PROMINENCE TO SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY THROUGHOUT SOCIETY

Kim Jong Il opened an avenue to a great, prosperous and powerful socialist nation by dint of the policy of attaching importance to science and technology–a policy of regarding the development of science and technology as a task of political significance that decides the destiny of the country, giving definite priority to the development of science and technology in the whole course of the revolution and construction, and winning the dignity and prosperity of the country on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology.

On December 31, 1994, Kim Jong Il instructed the senior officials of the Party Central Committee on making the country more prosperous as President Kim Il Sung had wished, saying, **"Science and technology should be developed rapidly, so as to make our country more prosperous and powerful."**

It was Kim Jong Il's plan to rapidly develop science and technology to provide the people with a more bountiful and cultured life, and to achieve the prosperity of the socialist country.

With this grand plan, on April 28, 1995, he visited the State Academy of Sciences. He was convinced that the improvement of research work by the academy was essential for the overall development of science and technology of the country.

He acquainted himself with the scientific research work there in detail as he looked round the Control-Machine Institute and the integrated-circuit pilot plant, and proceeded to the science exhibition. Officials asked him to go to the distant hall by car. But he said he would have to go there on foot, as the scientists always went there on foot, and began to walk ahead of them. At the exhibition he went over the exhibits, and expressed satisfaction with the rapid development of the country's science in a short period of time. He stressed that scientific research should be crowned by its application to practical life. Then he inspected a relief map of the science district, and said that the district should be built to be perfect even for the 21st century. He suggested naming it Unjong District, and bringing it under the jurisdiction of Pyongyang.

On May 3, a few days later, Kim Jong Il said to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, **"In order to develop the country rapidly, we should attach importance to science, and give priority to its development. Giving priority to the development of science is State policy."**

By the policy of giving prominence to science and technology, he meant giving priority to the development of science and technology and concentrating all the forces of the country on it, so as to solve the problems arising in economic construction, defence building, people's livelihood and other fields by drawing on science and technology.

Consistently pursuing this policy, he put emphasis on creating a climate of giving prominence to science and technology throughout society.

Defining 1997 as a year of science, he sent presents to scientists, including those at the State Academy of Sciences and Kim Il Sung University, on New Year's Day. On June 15, he visited the Three-Revolution Exhibition and looked around the Technical Innovation Hall, speaking highly of the success achieved by scientists and technicians. On one Sunday in early February the following year, he went over the programs displayed at the National Program Contest and Exhibition, skipping lunch, and said with satisfaction that programming technology had made a huge advance.

Kim Jong Il designated 1999 as a year of science again, and on New

Year's Day said, **"Science and technology is a powerful propellant for the building of a great, prosperous and powerful nation."** He put forth the policy of giving importance to science and technology as a strategic one in the building of a great, prosperous and powerful socialist nation, defining ideology, arms, and science and technology as three pillars in the building of such a nation.

On January 11, he went to the Academy of Sciences.

Greeted by the officials of the academy, he said, **"Happy New Year."**

The first leg of his visit was a monument to Kim Il Sung's on-the-spot instructions. He read letter by letter the instructions engraved on the slab, remembering the days when the President had founded the academy during the Korean war with foresight into the distant future.

He then looked around several units of the academy, studying scientific research work in detail and setting forth tasks for developing the country's science and technology to a new stage, as required for the building of a great, prosperous and powerful nation.

First he inspected the newly built Electronics Engineering Institute. This institute had been constructed at the peak of the "Arduous March," and Kim Jong Il had shown care for its construction and equipment. He looked round the air-conditioning room and headed for the designing room, where he inspected integrated-circuit chips with the aid of a microscope. He asked the researchers about their work, and after listening to their answers, he said he understood what they were explaining, and that if they intensified their research a little more it would be crowned with success. The researchers told him frankly how they had shed bitter tears over failures in their painstaking research work and how they had shed tears of joy looking up the sky over Pyongyang when they had succeeded.

Kim Jong Il stayed for several hours with them–talking with them, laughing and advising them on some points, going over their design drawings, and looking at equipment and research data.

After looking around the institute, he told the officials that he was quite pleased with his inspection, and spoke highly of the officials and technicians for having built the institute and put the equipment into operation, saying, **"Now we can say that we have laid the foundations of**

Kim Jong Il looking round the State Academy of Sciences

the electronics industry in our country. Now we, too, can develop the electronics industry rapidly."

With a pleasant smile on his face, he continued that they should never rest content with success but raise the country's cutting-edge science and technology to a higher level by putting the institute into effective use. A senior official of the academy told him the amount of funds used for scientific research. He asked the official how much venture capital would be needed annually to improve the equipment of the institute to manufacture hi-tech products of a high standard, and to put the existing pilot factories into normal operation, and wrote down the figures in his pocketbook.

Kim Jong Il then went to the Program Development Centre under the Mathematics Institute.

Built under his special care, the centre was equipped with the latest means of research.

As he was informed that the scientists had developed many programs and introduced computers into several sectors of the national economy, he expressed satisfaction with their success. He met and spoke highly of a scientist who had developed the technology for diagnosing machine vibrations and introduced it into many factories and enterprises.

The same day he went over drawings that showed how programs developed by the latest-model computers had proved effective in several sectors of the national economy, and several programs that contributed to economic construction, and encouraged them to develop more such programs. He inquired into the scientists' living and working conditions, and solved all their problems.

The sun began to set, and Kim Jong Il was about to leave the academy, when a senior official of the academy asked him whether it would be correct if he regarded the visit as his first on-the-spot guidance that year.

Kim Jong Il said that he did, and asked him the reason for his question.

The official answered that he wanted to boast about the fact that Kim Jong Il paid a visit to the Academy of Sciences as his first on-the-spot guidance that year.

With a smile on his face, Kim Jong Il said he might do so.

While he was enjoying a performance by the State Merited Chorus after

his visit to the Academy of Sciences, Kim Jong Il expressed his satisfaction repeatedly, saying that it had been one of the happiest days of his life, and that he felt as if he were still at the Academy of Sciences.

On March 7 that year Kim Jong Il gave on-the-spot guidance to the Hamhung Branch Academy under the Academy of Sciences.

Arriving at the branch academy in the morning, he cast ballots, along with the scientists and technicians there, for the candidates to the provincial, city and county people's assemblies, looked around the exhibition of scientific achievements of the branch academy, and had a talk with the scientist candidates about the future of the country's chemical industry.

His visits to science institutes greatly encouraged scientists and technicians.

Kim Jong Il ensured that all the officials implemented the Party's line of attaching importance to science and technology with a correct standpoint.

Only when officials, the commanding personnel of the revolution, have a correct view and standpoint towards science and technology will the whole of society be pervaded with the climate of attaching importance to science and technology. For that reason, Kim Jong Il took every opportunity to awaken officials to the importance of this field.

On March 24, 1999, Kim Jong Il told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that developing science and technology is a short cut to the building of a great, prosperous and powerful nation, stressing that officials should learn modern science and technology. He said afterwards that all sectors of society should work in a scientific and technological way by attaching importance to science and technology, and calculating cost-effectiveness, and that officials should implement the economic policy of the Party with a good understanding of the global trend of science and technology.

Appreciative of the role of scientists in the development of the country's science and technology, Kim Jong Il ensured that scientists were given preferential treatment and that work with them was conducted efficiently, so that they could contribute greatly to the prosperity of the country with great success in their work.

On January 1, 1997, Kim Jong Il said to the senior officials of the Party

Central Committee: **"We should work well with scientists so that they can perform, with unfailing faithfulness to the Party, the motherland and the people, their role as undertakers of scientific and technological work by displaying revolutionary zeal and creative wisdom. Only then will we be able to solve various scientific and technological problems arising in developing the economy and improving the people's standard of living."**

In order to provide scientists and technicians with good conditions for their work, Kim Jong Il saw to it that the material and technological foundations of scientific research bases were built up as required, especially the science district in Phyongsong, which was built as a national undertaking. And he ensured that, on the principle of giving priority to science and technology in the national economy, State investment in the scientific research sector was increased, and modern experimental equipment, materials, reagents and other things essential for scientific research work were provided in time.

In addition, he took measures to ensure that scientists and technicians could devote themselves to their work, and a social atmosphere of giving preferential treatment to them was created. Valuing the scientists, he said that anyone could take the place of a Party or administration worker, but not the place of a scientist or technician.

Even in the trying days of the "Arduous March" he took warm care of the scientists. On New Year's Day and his birthday every year he would send gifts to them, and saw to it that high-end suits, brand-name spectacles and valuable medicines were made available for them.

The National Conference of Scientists and Technicians, held in March 1999, became an occasion for creating a climate of giving prominence to science and technology throughout society, bringing about a new turn in the development of science and technology and enlisting the scientists and technicians in the building of a great, prosperous and powerful nation.

In 1999, a year of science, scientists achieved proud success in various sectors, including electronics, mechanical engineering and metallurgy.

In the atmosphere in which science and technology were given prominence, and one success after another was being achieved in this field,

the annual national festival of science and technology was held on a grand scale: In 2000 alone, 5 500 inventions were displayed, and a large number of Party, administrative and economic officials presented their inventions–a rare event.

2. RAISING SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TO A HIGHER LEVEL

While creating the atmosphere of giving priority to science and technology throughout society, Kim Jong Il guided the work of raising science and technology to a higher level, himself studying hard to scale the peak of the latest science and technology.

The following is a conversation he had with a scrambler developer while visiting the Eighth National Program Contest and Exhibition:

Kim Jong Il: **"How long is the delay time of the scrambler?"**

Developer: "It is forty milliseconds."

Kim Jong Il: **"That's a little slow. What is the mode of encryption?"**

Developer: "Multilayer-structure mode."

Kim Jong Il: **"You mean three-layer mode in the scrambler encryption mode. Is the key transmitted in public mode?"**

As the scrambler developer was unable to answer this question, an official answered for him that it was a private mode.

Kim Jong Il said, **"You say the key transmission mode of the scrambler program is private. You should take the public mode in future, as this is a world trend."**

Kim Jong Il is well-versed not only in IT but also in other realms of modern science and technology–space technology, electronics, biotechnology, construction, etc.

Kim Jong Il paid special attention to the building of a modern electronics base.

Having created at the end of the 1980s a base for producing integrated circuits, during the days of the "Arduous March" and forced march he led the work of securing the equipment needed for primary process in the development

of electronic engineering and the electronics industry as a whole.

On October 24, 1995, Kim Jong Il told a senior official of the Party Central Committee that it was his plan to develop the integrated-circuit industry at an earliest date possible. And he took proactive measures for purchase of the equipment concerned, their technical services and trial run. Thus in June 1998, a test run of the equipment was undertaken, and samples were produced.

On December 29, 1998, Kim Jong Il expressed his great satisfaction at the large-scale integrated circuit produced by the Academy of Sciences.

Kim Jong Il also put his back into the development of programming technology. He concerned himself with the computers used by scientists. One day in late September 1996, he got acquainted with the types of computers in the Mathematics Institute under the Academy of Sciences, and though the country was making the "Arduous March," he saw to it that funds were made available for the institute to purchase computers of a higher grade. Afterwards, he named the latest computers to be purchased for the institute.

Meanwhile, he ensured that great efforts were made for program development in such scientific institutes as the Korean Computer Centre and Pyongyang Informatics Centre, the educational field and various sectors of the national economy, and national program contests were held frequently to bring about a great change in program development.

On February 8, 1998, with a plan to place the country's programming technology onto a new and higher plane, he visited the National Program Contest and Exhibition. Displayed there were scores of programs developed by the country's science and educational institutes, like Kim Il Sung University and the Korean Computer Centre.

After going over the *Postage Stamps of Korea*, *Koryo Celadon–Treasure of the East* and other multi-media social science presentations, he proceeded to the programs of technology. He stopped in front of the *Mujigae* (Rainbow) program. This program, fed with the measurements of any person, could design a garment for him or her in conformity with the season, the form of the garment and the colour of the cloth. Kim Jong Il

said that programming technology was now oriented towards performing in the place of man the whole processes of production planning, product designing, materials supply, parts manufacturing and finished goods assembling. He noted that social science programs are finished after sale, but design-supporting programs remain for the country and the nation. Then he moved to the computer installed with *Sanak*, a three-dimensional design-supporting program. He asked whether four-dimensional programs were being developed. He said that such programs should be developed to give a feeling of the virtual world.

After going over the exhibited programs for a long time, he said to the officials and scientists, **"While going over the programs at the National Program Contest and Exhibition, I found many good ideas. Many were interesting. Our scientists are clever, and their ideas are good. Our country's computer technology has so far undergone a great development."**

He then specified the direction and method for the development of programming technology, ranging from developing programming tools on our own, organizing program contests frequently, and enlarging the contingent of programmers and establishing a system for training them.

After his visit, the national program contest and exhibition was held on a larger scale every year, serving as an opportunity for propelling the programming technology of the country.

Kim Jong Il showed interest in the modernization of scientific and technological information work.

He had already assigned the task of setting up a modern database in the Central Scientific and Technological Information Agency, and on August 26, 1996, he expressed satisfaction with the establishment of the data retrieval system in the agency and offering of data retrieval service through a large-scale database. By February the following year, the agency had set up a nationwide network for data retrieval.

Korean scientists achieved astoundingly great successes in other sectors of scientific research.

3. KOREA'S FIRST ARTIFICIAL EARTH SATELLITE

The DPRK's launching of its first artificial earth satellite demonstrated its power, the power of its science and technology, to the world. It was a miracle worked by Kim Jong Il, who had given scientists and technicians the task of its development and guided the whole course of its design, manufacture and launching.

Kim Jong Il led the research team with firm faith from the outset that it should be developed from beginning to end by domestic efforts and wisdom, and by relying on the independent national economy and domestic scientists.

One year, when Korea's scientists and technicians had developed a launch vehicle, Kim Jong Il looked at it and said with satisfaction that the actual possibility of developing a satellite had now been created. And he tasked the scientists and technicians to speed up research for developing and launching a satellite. When some of them were disappointed in the face of an obstacle, he encouraged them, saying that he was sure they would make a success of their work, reminding them that the first Korean *Chollima*-brand tractor had run backward on its trial drive. Encouraged, the scientists and technicians gave full play to their energy and creative wisdom: They drew designs and compiled technical data within a year, a task which would have taken them five years to be completed in ordinary times, and developed a multistage launch vehicle and an artificial satellite within two years.

Towards the end of July 1998, the schemes of the imperialists and reactionaries to isolate and stifle the DPRK were becoming more undisguised, but the Korean people's enthusiasm to greet the 50th anniversary of the founding of the DPRK with great political zeal and labour exploits was gaining momentum.

At this time Kim Jong Il gave an order to launch an artificial satellite to demonstrate the dignity and power of Kim Il Sung's nation.

Scientists, technicians and workers launched the first satellite at the

launching site of Musudan-ri, Hwadae County, North Hamgyong Province, at 12:07 on August 31. The launch vehicle was three-staged: The first stage dropped off 95 seconds after its take-off; the second stage opened the streamlined part of the head 144 seconds later and was cast off 266 seconds later; the third stage placed the satellite in orbit at 12:11:53–27 seconds after the second stage was cast off.

The Korean Central News Agency reported the launching of the satellite at 5:00 p.m. on September 4, 1998, as follows:

"At this exciting time when all the people of the country are greeting the 50th anniversary of the founding of the DPRK as a grand festival of socialist victors, our scientists and technicians succeeded in launching the first artificial satellite into the earth's orbit, using a multistage launch vehicle. …

"The satellite is equipped with the necessary probe, and will contribute to scientific research for using space for peaceful purposes. And it will also confirm the calculation basis for application satellites in the future.

"Right now, the satellite is transmitting to the earth the melodies of the *Song of General Kim Il Sung*, the *Song of General Kim Jong Il*, immortal revolutionary hymns, and the words *Juche Korea* in Morse code on 27 MHz.

"The launch vehicle and artificial satellite, which our scientists and technicians successfully put into orbit on its first launch, was developed by our own wisdom and technology."

Korea's successful launching of its first artificial satellite inspired its people to further efforts for the building of a great, prosperous and powerful nation, and won sympathy and support from progressive peoples across the world. The whole country was thrown into a festive mood. The satellite was named *Kwangmyongsong No. 1* at the unanimous desire of the Korean people.

On September 7, 1998, Kim Jong Il sent a message of thanks to the scientists, technicians and workers who had developed and succeeded in launching the satellite. In the message, he noted that they had demonstrated the might of Juche-oriented science and technology, the might of socialist

Korea, to the whole world by succeeding in inserting the satellite into the earth's orbit by the launch vehicle they had developed by their own wisdom and technology.

The message continued, **"The successful insertion of the artificial satellite into the earth's orbit on its first launch, an undertaking which needs cutting-edge technology, is a brilliant victory of our Party's policy of attaching importance to science and technology, and a proud fruition of the wise leadership of the Party, which has energetically guided the work of training our own technical personnel and developing the country's science and technology. Our scientists, technicians and workers, by successfully developing and launching the launch vehicle and artificial satellite, which require powerful forces of scientists, hi-tech equipment and enormous expense, clearly demonstrated the might of the independent national economy our people have built over decades by devoting their all and proved again that self-reliance is the only way to victory. …**

"I extend warm congratulations on the successful launching of *Kwangmyongsong No. 1*, the first artificial satellite of our country, and its insertion into the earth's orbit at this exciting time when the people across the country are greeting the 50th anniversary of the founding of the DPRK as a grand festival of victors, and highly praise the scientists, technicians and workers for their outstanding achievement."

Most of the scientists and technicians who took part in the development of the satellite were in their thirties and forties, and graduates of Kim Il Sung University, Kim Chaek University of Technology and the University of Science, all in Korea.

The scientists, technicians and workers, who contributed to the successful launch of the satellite were awarded official commendations and titles of honour. Kim Jong Il saw to it that gifts were presented to them in his name and that a grand banquet was arranged for them in the Mokran House in the name of the National Defence Commission.

The successful launch of the satellite was a demonstration of the scientific and technical might of the DPRK.

4. EMPHASIS ON THE TRAINING OF IT SPECIALISTS

The rapid development of computer technology demanded that IT specialists be trained in large numbers.

With a keen insight into the global trend of IT and the actual situation of the country's IT education, Kim Jong Il energetically guided the work of bringing about a fresh turn in the training of IT specialists.

He directed his primary attention to computer education in middle schools.

On November 24, 1996, he talked with a senior official of the Party Central Committee on computer education. Stressing that this was the computer era, he noted the importance of computer education, an aggregate of modern science and technology. He continued, **"We must ensure that students are so trained as to work with computers after graduation."**

Later he specified ways for raising computer education in middle school to a higher level within the shortest period of time, like increasing the number of lessons in computer science and intensifying extracurricular practice with computers. Thus computer education in middle schools across the country was strengthened, and model schools in this regard, like the Pongji and Kyonghung middle schools in Pyongyang, came to the fore. National workshops on the methods of computer education, computer education exhibitions and computer contests were held frequently to popularize the success and experience achieved in carrying out the policy of computer education throughout the country, and the level of education in middle schools was further raised.

Kim Jong Il directed his attention to computer education in the bases of extracurricular education.

On September 19, 1998, he acquainted himself with the education at the computer division of the Mangyongdae Schoolchildren's Palace, and pinpointed certain mistakes. He took drastic measures to turn the system of running the institution into one of teaching science and technology. Also, he stressed that groups of students learning science and technology, including

computer science, should be organized in all schoolchildren's palaces and halls in Pyongyang and the provinces, involving middle-school students. As a result, computer education was improved in the Mangyongdae Schoolchildren's Palace, Pyongyang Students and Children's Palace and other institutes of extracurricular education across the country, and the training of IT specialists made huge progress.

Kim Jong Il also guided computer education in tertiary educational institutes.

Development of computer education is inconceivable apart from modern computer equipment. So Kim Jong Il ensured that modern computer equipment was systematically sent to the institutes of higher education for their material and technological foundations. On December 7, 1996, while looking round an exhibition of education and science at Kim Il Sung University, Kim Jong Il learned about the composition of the computer network of the university. At that time the mainframe computer of the university's network was small in memory capacity, unable to store the colossal amount of data needed and hindering the smooth flow of data in the network. Awakening the officials to the drawbacks of the network, he said that computers with bigger memory capacity should be purchased for the university. He even explained how to establish a system for supplying the university with modern computer equipment on a regular basis so as to build up a strong computer centre there. Kim Chaek University of Technology, the University of Science, the Pyongyang Program School and other universities and colleges were also provided with high-capacity computers systematically, and a network involving Kim Il Sung University, Korean Computer Centre, Grand People's Study House, Central Scientific and Technological Information Agency and other educational institutions across the country was established.

Kim Jong Il directed great energy to the development of programming technology.

On February 8, 1998, Kim Jong Il visited the National Program Contest and Exhibition. After looking round the programs displayed, he said:

"In order to develop programming technology, a system of training reserve specialists should be established. The issue of specialists is

important in the other sectors of science, and all the more so for programming technology. For the training of capable specialists, basic education should first be substantial and the State should support the undertaking."

He continued that quick-witted students at the age of 18 or 19 should be trained as programming specialists.

On April 1, 1998, Kim Jong Il took a measure for the intensive training of programming specialists in their teens, and for setting up a national system for supervising and guiding in a unified way programming education and development.

With the quality of IT education being improved, young IT specialists of Korea took the first place in international programming competitions.

CHAPTER 39

DEVELOPING SOCIALIST CULTURE AS REQUIRED BY SONGUN

1. MUSIC POLITICS IN THE SONGUN ERA

DEVELOPING THE STATE MERITED CHORUS INTO THE BUGLER OF THE SONGUN POLITICS

Kim Jong Il has clarified the philosophical truth that music should serve politics and support it with emotion, and pursued music politics.

The struggle to safeguard socialism against the brutal imperialists is not only an unprecedented military and economic confrontation, but also a fierce war between ideologies and wills.

In this period of severe confrontation, Kim Jong Il overwhelmed the enemy by dint of not only physical power but music politics.

Kim Jong Il set the State Merited Chorus as the bugler of Songun era and led it to become a militant art troupe.

The predecessor of the State Merited Chorus was the men's chorus of the Korean People's Army Song and Dance Ensemble. At the time, the chorus was involved only in a few parts of song and dance ensembles, like prelude and finale. This being the situation, it failed to display its political and ideological strength and its artistic influence at a standard proper to the times.

Kim Jong Il himself took measures to improve the role of the men's chorus in the Korean People's Army Song and Dance Ensemble, and early in November 1995 he said that the chorus should be freed from the conventional form and pattern of art performances and adopt an independent form–singing songs only in chorus. As the first step, he arranged an independent performance.

On December 24 that year, after enjoying a performance by the chorus, he said the following: As in the past, the songs sung by the men's chorus of the Korean People's Army Song and Dance Ensemble now reverberate far and wide as a solemn march of the times, instilling fresh confidence and courage in the officers and men of the Korean People's Army and the people, and inspiring them to revolutionary struggle; the Korean People's Army Song and Dance Ensemble should focus its attention on developing the men's chorus; the Party expects a great deal from the Merited Chorus of the Korean People's Army Song and Dance Ensemble; the Merited Chorus is the bugler of our revolutionary armed forces, inspiring the officers and men to loyalty and great feats; I fully believe that the Merited Chorus will perform the mission and duty it has assumed for the Party and the revolution in the future by undertaking artistic creation and performance in a militant manner.

Entering 1996, the Merited Chorus created and staged a new song, *We Will Defend the Leadership of the Revolution with Our Lives*. Around the year 1996, the US-led imperialist forces were resorting to every manoeuvre to isolate and suffocate the DPRK, even spreading rumours of a "May crisis," claiming that the DPRK would not be able to survive beyond May of that year. And the Korean People's Army was waging the O Jung Hup-led Seventh Regiment movement under the slogan, **"Let the whole army become today's O Jung Hup-led Seventh Regiment to defend the leadership of the revolution with our lives!"**

The creation and performance of the song, *We Will Defend the Leadership of the Revolution with Our Lives* inspired the Korean people with confidence in victory and struck the enemy with terror as if it were a bomb.

In the autumn of 1997, when the Merited Chorus had gained considerable prestige and its performances were causing a great sensation among the officers and men of the Korean People's Army and the people as a whole, Kim Jong Il took the new measure of separating the Merited Chorus from the Korean People's Army Song and Dance Ensemble, as an independent art troupe. On November 16, 1997, he enjoyed a performance by the chorus, and expressed great satisfaction with its development into an

elite art troupe. And regarding its further development as an important affair inseparable from the victorious advance of the Korean revolution, he developed it into a revolutionary and militant art troupe of the Songun era.

Holding that masterpieces are prerequisite for excellent portrayal by the chorus, Kim Jong Il inspired the creative workers of the Korean People's Army Song and Dance Ensemble to the creating of masterpieces. He encouraged them, saying that the creative workers would fully be able to create masterpieces if they buckled down to it, that what was important was that their hearts should burn with boundless loyalty to the Party and creative zeal without losing confidence, and that they should fully display the spirit of the "Arduous March" and the idea of the red flag in creating works of art.

Moreover, whenever an excellent song was created, Kim Jong Il would find time to go over it and give his opinions on its words, melody and even the way of its rendering–one time on increasing the speed of a song so as not to give a loose feeling, another time on beginning the first stanza of a song in bass for philosophical portrayal, and still another time on arranging a song again as its melody was stiff and broken every now and then to the ear. Each song sung by the State Merited Chorus was portrayed artistically in this way under his personal guidance.

His special attention was directed to training the State Merited Chorus to delineate any time and under any conditions any song demanded by the Party and revolution and by the Songun age.

As soldiers should prepare themselves to be a match for a hundred foes, so the State Merited Chorus had to be prepared as an all-round art troupe. On December 24 of one year, there was a performance staged by the State Merited Chorus. After attending it, Kim Jong Il proposed that the Chorus sing any song he asked. As first he asked it to sing *Song of the Korean People's Army*. The chorus sang it flawlessly. He asked for another song, this time the song which sings in part *Let's follow him every step*. Thus the song *Let's Support Our Supreme Commander with Arms* resounded on the stage. He was all smiles. This time he requested them to sing *No One Knows*, a song quite different from the previous ones in its mood, saying that it would be better to listen to this song about amusing life with the lights on in the auditorium. When the song finished, he said with great

satisfaction; **"Wonderful! The Merited Chorus is just as good as I had thought."**

Kim Jong Il organized this kind of performance several times later on.

In order to reinforce the Chorus, he had singers chosen one by one for it, and took warm care of them. One of the leading singers of the Chorus had been a driver. Recognizing his talent, Kim Jong Il had ensured that he was trained as a singer and sent to the Chorus.

The Party treasures the artistes of the State Merited Chorus, who serve the Party and the revolution, the country and the people; some people think that singing is easy but, in fact, singing is energy-consuming labour, he held, and took care of their life as their parents would do. When he was informed that a singer missed performances now and then because of illness, he took measures for the singer's medical treatment.

In this way, the songs sung by the State Merited Chorus had the might of a "volley from a multiple-launch rocket system".

In the days of training the Chorus to be the bugler of Songun politics perfect in ideological and artistic traits, Kim Jong Il took it with him on his tour of inspection of KPA units and civilian establishments.

On July 27, 1997, in order to celebrate V-Day with soldiers, he visited a unit of the KPA. In the unit auditorium he enjoyed with the soldiers a performance of the Chorus, which had accompanied him.

After several songs, including wartime songs, were over, *The Country I Defend* began to resound on the stage. The emotion-evoking song plucked the heartstrings of the soldiers, implanting the noble spirit of patriotism in their hearts. When the song finished, the soldiers felt eager to enjoy the song again. As if in response to their wish, the Chorus sang the song again. The encore had been requested by Kim Jong Il.

The State Merited Chorus accompanied Kim Jong Il also on his visits to workers, inspiring them with confidence in victory, optimism and courage.

On June 1, 1998, it held a performance in the workers' hall of culture of a factory in Huichon, Jagang Province. Kim Jong Il saw the performance with the meritorious workers. During field guidance in the province Kim Jong Il had witnessed the workers in the province operating machines and increasing production by generating, in such a difficult situation,

electricity with their own efforts. In order to inspire them to further efforts, he had arranged the performance on the spot, and enjoyed it with the workers. Included in the programme was *We Started from Scratch*, which sings the praises of Kim Il Sung's achievements by decades after the Korean war. It called on the workers to defend and add lustre to the motherland, which Kim Il Sung had won back and brought glory to. Saying that the songs of the State Merited Chorus had given them support greater than hundreds of tons of food grain, the workers made a determination to defend the banner of socialism to the last, singing loudly the revolutionary songs.

Kim Jong Il often asked the Merited Chorus to sing for him, and each time he enjoyed a performance, he was further inspired to promise the late Kim Il Sung that he would shoulder the Korean revolution until its completion. In the period of less than five years since Kim Il Sung's death, he enjoyed performances by the State Merited Chorus on scores of occasions. In 1997, representing the unanimous wish and desire of all the people and the servicepersons of the KPA, the creative workers and artistes of the Korean People's Army Song and Dance Ensemble created and put on the stage the revolutionary hymn, *Song of General Kim Jong Il*.

The *Song of General Kim Jong Il* and other songs of the Merited Chorus were tantamount to Kim Jong Il's appeals and policy speeches, representing his faith, will and thoughts.

On June 27, 2000, recollecting with deep emotion the proud road the Chorus had traversed in the days of its development into the bugler of Songun politics, Kim Jong Il said, **"The Merited Chorus of the Korean People's Army is a standard-bearer of the revolution and the bugler of the march that has always accompanied me in the most difficult and severest days of the Korean revolution, instilling vigour, courage and vitality into the servicepersons and the rest of the people."**

He continued in the following vein: Singing *We Pledge* led by the Merited Chorus, the servicepersons and people rose up, changing their sorrow over the loss of Kim Il Sung into strength; singing *Let's Hold the Red Flag High* as the second *Red Flag*, they defended socialism; and singing *We Will Defend the Leadership of the Revolution with Our Lives* as a theme song of

the "Arduous March" and forced march, they frustrated all the challenges of the enemy; as it has done up to now, the Merited Chorus must support the Party's Songun politics and music politics, and sing songs required by the Party holding aloft the red banner of the revolution in the van of the marching ranks.

Shouldering Kim Jong Il's intention to build a great, prosperous and powerful socialist country, and accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche by dint of music politics, together with Songun politics, the State Merited Chorus discharged its mission and role as the bugler of Songun era singing the songs of the revolution.

SONGS GO WITH THE REVOLUTION AND STRUGGLE

Revolutionary songs play a great role in leading an era and inspiring the masses of the people to struggle. Where there is struggle, there is song, and where there is song, there is revolutionary optimism and militant passion.

Kim Jong Il devoted much effort to creating and disseminating a large number of songs to give strength, courage and optimism to the people, in the face of a grave situation and arduous struggle.

Kim Jong Il led creative workers to create a song in the same vein as *Red Flag*, a song the anti-Japanese revolutionary forerunners had sung, representing their pledge–"Let cowards flinch and traitors sneer, we'll keep the red flag flying here."

In the days after President Kim Il Sung passed away and when the situation in Korea grew worse, Kim Jong Il gave the creative workers of the Mansudae Art Troupe the task of creating a song, whose seed would be the red flag of the revolution, and offered detailed guidance for the process of its creation. In late September 1995, when the song *Let's Hold the Red Flag High* was created, he expressed great satisfaction with it, saying that it was the best song since *Song of Comradeship* in the 1980s. Every word and melody of the song pulsated with the spirit of the Korean people, who were marching forward under the unfurled red banner true to Kim Il Sung's lifetime behest. After speaking highly of the creative workers, he said that the song encouraged him greatly, and that writers and composers should

Kim Jong Il enjoying an art performance by a women's coast artillery company of the Korean People's Army

create songs that are demanded by the Party, songs that instil strength and courage into the people like oases in the desert.

Thus, the song was created as the *Red Flag* of the 1990s, a masterpiece of the times inspiring the Party members and other working people to victory.

The newspaper *Rodong Sinmun*, dated September 30, 1995, carried the words of the song on its front page, and the radio broadcast it simultaneously. Through this song, Kim Jong Il demonstrated to the whole world his will to defend to the last, come what may, the red flag associated with Kim Il Sung's life, and singing the song, the Korean people frustrated the enemy schemes to isolate and suffocate their country, and overcame the severe hardships of the "Arduous March" and forced march.

On New Year's Day 1996, in a talk with the commanding officers of the KPA, Kim Jong Il said that the song *The Seventh Regiment Is Still before Us* created recently was being sung with relish by the servicepersons, and that the song was as good as the *Song of the Korean People's Army.*

On March 13, 1996, he said to the commanding officers of the KPA that the song *We'll Safeguard the Leadership of the Revolution with Our Lives* created by the Korean People's Army Song and Dance Ensemble was good, and it portrayed the firm faith and determination of the servicepersons to defend the leadership of the revolution with their lives. This song resounded at the frontline posts, construction sites and factories, inspiring the servicepersons and the rest of the people to defend the leader and the country with their lives.

With the "Arduous March" and forced march always in his mind, Kim Jong Il tasked the creative workers with creating a song portraying the history of the bloody struggle of those days. When the creative workers of the KPA Song and Dance Ensemble created *We Will Never Forget*, he listened to the song with deep emotion. One June day in 2000, he said that whenever he listened to the song he could not but shed tears, being filled with emotion, as he was reminded of the days of his Songun-based revolutionary leadership through the trials of the "Arduous March" and of the people who had defended the red flag in the face of hunger and cold. He added that he could never forget the heroic servicepersons who had

supported their Supreme Commander in the van in the trying days when the destiny of the country was at stake, or the people in Jagang who had made a breakthrough for an epoch-making change, overcoming hunger. One week later he told a senior official of the Party Central Committee that *We Will Never Forget* reflects the history of the Party. The song is, indeed, an epic of Kim Jong Il's revolutionary activities to defend the red flag of the revolution and a solemn march of the Korean people.

From the start of the "Arduous March" to 2000, the songs created under Kim Jong Il's guidance numbered 347, including *Let's Live Today for the Future* and *The Road to Victory*, and the songs carried in *Rodong Sinmun* in the same period numbered 250.

On October 12, 2000, Kim Jong Il enjoyed a performance staged by the State Merited Chorus in celebration of the 55th anniversary of the founding of the WPK. Listening to the song *The Road to Victory*, he spoke highly of it, saying that the words *One thousand kilometres of hardships lead to ten thousand kilometres of happiness* in the lyrics reflected the requirement of the times. And praising the theme of the song, to the effect that though it is arduous today a brilliant victory and a happier life will be in store if the difficulties are overcome, he said this idea and faith are indispensable for everyone, for creative workers in particular. He continued that all creative workers should produce a greater number of revolutionary and militant works of art and literature that would motivate the servicepersons and the rest of the people to the building of a great, prosperous and powerful country with the spirit of attacking against all odds.

Kim Jong Il also gave energetic guidance to the creation and dissemination of revolutionary songs like *Higher and Faster* and *Prosperous Arirang*, to instil confidence and optimism into the people, who were making the "Arduous March" and forced march under the red banner.

Kim Jong Il showed great interest in mass artistic activities.

On March 22, 1997, he told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that artistic activities should be undertaken among the masses as demanded by the "Arduous March," so as to imbue the whole of society with revolutionary optimism and a militant spirit.

His greatest interest was directed to the activities of amateur art groups

of companies in the army and of officers' wives. Whenever he visited the People's Army units, he would enjoy performances put on by the amateur art groups of companies, and encouraged them to further activities, saying the soldiers had not only become matchless warriors but had also set examples in the creation of a new culture.

In January 1998, while inspecting a People's Army unit, he gave instructions on improving ideological work in the army as demanded by the developing situation, and clarified the direction of the activities of amateur art groups of officers' wives. He said that if officers' wives were enlisted to artistic activities, it would be favourable in many respects–in transforming them along revolutionary lines, in edifying soldiers, in making their units vibrant, and in boosting their morale. He said that many of the officers' wives had received specialized art education, so they would be able to make a success of their performances, and stressed that all units should prepare themselves for the Art Performance Contest of Officers' Wives to greet the Day of the Sun of that year. Busy as he was, Kim Jong Il frequently got acquainted with the preparations for the contest, expressing his expectations for it. Within a month, the forms of their performances and the level of their artistic portrayal reached a high stage.

In April 1998, Kim Jong Il viewed the contest. Afterwards, he said that the performances were true to their character, marked by high ideological quality, militant spirit and appeal, and that everyone who saw the performances would feel refreshed. And stressing that they were perfect, flawless performances, he continued he would not feel tired even if he watched them every day.

Some days later, after seeing an art performance put on by the officers' wives of an army unit, he said as follows: The wives of the officers of the People's Army are laudable and proud revolutionaries; though they live in such difficult places as remote mountains or outlying islands, they manage their lives assiduously, and sincerely help their husbands to surmount difficulties and hardships with faithfulness to the Party and the revolution; the performances they staged in the recent contest reflected the slogans the Party has put forward recently, and this shows that they regard the Party's thoughts as their faith and apply them into practice; their performances

should be shown to all civilians–cadres, intellectuals, students and women's union officials; the contest was organized with the aim of transforming the officers' wives along revolutionary lines and encouraging the soldiers further on the forced march for final victory; its other aim was to edify the civilians in the ennobling spiritual world of officers' wives and their revolutionary and militant way of living.

He then took a special measure to enable them to give performance tours to the frontline areas, Pyongyang, and Jagang, North Phyongan and South Hwanghae provinces.

The activities of amateur art groups of officers' wives, a new form of culture created in line with the demands of the developing situation, rendered a great contribution to instilling revolutionary optimism into the servicepersons and the rest of the people.

Taking their cue from the activities of amateur art groups of companies of the army and officers' wives, the working people and students ran their art groups more actively as demanded by the Songun era, and every part of the country, be it a metal works, a farm, a coal-mine or a lumber station, resounded with song and dance.

2. FOR A FRESH UPSWING IN ART AND LITERATURE

PRODUCTION OF THE MULTI-PART FEATURE FILM *THE NATION AND DESTINY*

Kim Jong Il decided to bring about a fresh upsurge in the field of art and literature through production of the multi-part feature film *The Nation and Destiny*.

It was on May 23, 1991, when he proposed production of the film. That day, talking about the profound ideological and emotional influence of the song, *Pyongyang Is Best*, he said that a multi-part film should be produced with the song as its theme.

He had listened to the song several times, and said that its strong national flavour induces the Koreans to feel that their country is the best one

to live in. The song, full of life and philosophy, had captured the hearts of the people as soon as it had been made public.

Subsequently, he proposed naming the film *The Nation and Destiny*, and said that its philosophical seed should be that the destiny of the nation is precisely that of its members, and that the genuine way of living as Koreans in the contemporary era should be highlighted as its theme. He continued that the film should throw light from various angles on the idea that the blood of the nation is thicker than water, the idea that true nationalism is none other than patriotism, and the idea that national reunification is patriotism whereas national division is treachery. He then clarified the direction of character portrayal in the film, like portraying historical figures as prototypes.

Next, he threw all his weight behind the creation of the film. The film had to depict a century of the nation's suffering and prosperity and the people of various strata, who, apprehensive of the destiny of the nation, had embarked on the road of struggle to carve out its destiny and experienced twists and turns in this course, while living in the country and abroad. Thus, the success of the film depended on its composition. In line with the descriptive tasks, he elucidated the points to be maintained in composition, like depicting storylines that could decide the destiny of the people, building up emotion, properly arranging the dramatic flow and creating a characteristic plot for each part, correctly defining the number of parts and the order of the series, and harmoniously combining the epic, lyric and dramatic strands of the work.

The creative workers and artistes, with a correct understanding of the seed and theme of the work and of the ideological, theoretical and aesthetic problems in the objects and characterization of prototypes, its composition and cinematic interpretation, engaged in the creation of the film, full of confidence that they could make it a masterpiece.

On May 23, 1992, the year when the film was being produced, Kim Jong Il gave a talk to the officials in the field of art and literature, creative workers and artistes under the title, ***Let Us Bring About a Fresh Turn in the Development of Art and Literature on the Basis of the Success Achieved in Creating the Multi-Part Film* The Nation and Destiny.**

In the talk, after analysing and reviewing the ideological and artistic success of the film as a whole, he explained the direction and ways for completing the creation of the film and its ensuing series as the masterpieces of the times by drawing experience and lessons from it. He said that the film was an acme of Korea's Juche-oriented art and literature, stressing, **"The multi-part film *The Nation and Destiny* can be called a work that typically embodies our Party's idea on Juche-oriented art and literature, Juche-oriented humanics."**

He continued that a fresh turn should be brought about in the development of Juche-oriented art and literature with the film *The Nation and Destiny* as the standard-bearer.

His instruction was of epochal significance in bringing about a fresh upswing in the development of Juche-oriented art and literature by generalizing the success achieved in creating the film *The Nation and Destiny* in literature, film, music, fine art and related fields.

In his effort to lead the production of the film series, Kim Jong Il paid special attention to series devoted to the working class.

In the early 1990s, Kim Jong Il proposed creating a film series focusing on the working class. The officials and creative workers were at first surprised, as they thought such a subject would not go together with the seeds and themes running through the film series created up to that time, which dealt mainly with people with checkered careers, like Choe Hyon Dok, Yun Sang Min and Cha Hong Gi, who had rejected their nation and lived in exile. And they never thought that the general seed of the film that the destiny of the nation is that of individuals and vice versa and the human problems it deals with would be appropriate to apply to the revolutionary working class of their country. Kim Jong Il pointed out clearly that the focus of the new film series would be the workers, and told them whom to portray as prototypes.

When the creative workers were at a loss what to take as the seed of the series devoted to the working class, Kim Jong Il said to the following effect: The series should portray the working class making the whole society revolutionary; this process is not something so special, but their embracing and educating of the people of all walks of life after their own pattern; it can be likened to iron ore or scrap iron becoming crimson molten

iron when heated; if you deepen this logic into a philosophy of life, I think you can find the seed.

When heated, iron, whether it be ore or scrap, becomes crimson molten iron–this is a philosophy, simple and yet profound. The physical phenomenon of iron of all types, when heated to the melting point, becoming crimson molten iron was applied to the social phenomenon whereby people from all walks of life are assimilated to the working class.

So excited at the philosophy of molten iron, a seed discovered by Kim Jong Il, the creative workers shouted, "Long live the philosophy of molten iron!" in spite of themselves.

Indeed, the working class part of the multi-part film *The Nation and Destiny*, from its seed to every meaningful detail of life and speech, was associated with Kim Jong Il's guidance, and its episodes could be produced as masterpieces and pillars of the multi-part film, perfect in the aspects of thematic and ideological content and artistic representation.

After watching on May 21, 1995, parts 6 and 7 of the series devoted to the working class, Kim Jong Il spoke highly of the creative workers.

The eleven-part series, which accomplished an ideological and thematic task no feature film could achieve, bring to the fore the position and role of the working class in carving out the destiny of the nation by applying the overall seed of the multi-part film and, while giving a rich portrayal of the characters from various classes and strata, describe through Kang Thae Gwan, a smelter, and his family how the working class can fulfil its leadership mission and role only under the guidance of their leader.

The multi-part film *The Nation and Destiny* was a great contribution to the development of Juche-oriented art and literature.

On February 16, 1998, when the Korean people were celebrating his 56th birthday, Kim Jong Il arranged a banquet in honour of the creative workers and artistes who had participated in the production of the film.

When they were seated at the table, he said that they had produced the scene of eating noodles so well in the film that he had arranged the banquet, asking them to help themselves to wine and noodles.

Kim Jong Il said, laughing, that they had portrayed the scene of eating noodles in such a lifelike manner that he had felt an urge to order a bowl of

noodles when watching the scene. He told Yu Won Jun, who had been cast as Kang Thae Gwan, the hero of the series, to carry on his film career until the age of 100, and poured wine into his glass.

In the ten years after Kim Jong Il set out the task of creating a multi-part film with *Pyongyang Is Best* as its theme song, a series of 60 episodes was produced, portraying a former south Korean foreign minister, a former corps commander of the south Korean puppet army, a world-renowned music composer of south Korean origin, an unconverted long-term prisoner in south Korea, the working class, the writers of the Korea Artista Proleta Federacio, and others, embodying Kim Jong Il's outlook on philosophy, life and aesthetics, and the soul, mettle and native flavour of Korea.

FOR THE CREATION OF MASTERPIECES IN A GREATER NUMBER

While pushing on with the creation of the multi-part film *The Nation and Destiny*, Kim Jong Il led the work of producing monumental works in a greater number in all sectors of art and literature.

The Korean revolution, advancing under the banner of Songun, demanded that the sectors of art and literature make exertions as never before to create a larger number of outstanding works that would inspire the people with confidence in and optimism about its victory.

On April 26, 1996, Kim Jong Il gave a talk to the senior officials of the Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee and in the field of art and literature, titled, ***The Fields of Art and Literature Should Produce Works in a Greater Number.***

He said that the excellent works the Party demanded were those that embodied the spirits of the red flag and the "Arduous March" and its revolutionary view of life that one should live not merely for today but for tomorrow, and added, **"Writers and artistes, clearly aware of the demands of the Party and the situation, should create in a greater number works of art and literature, like poems, novels, films and paintings, which pulsate with the spirits of the red flag and the 'Arduous March,' and thus perform their honourable missions as**

eternal companions, faithful assistants and good advisers of the Party. This is the very time for the writers and artistes to create with full vigour a great number of works of art and literature that instil indomitable fighting spirit, confidence in sure victory and revolutionary optimism into the people."

In those days, the writers and artistes had created the epic *Kim Il Sung, Our Eternal Leader*, songs *The Great Leader Is Always with Us* and *Let's Hold the Red Flag High*, the working-class episodes of the multi-part film *The Nation and Destiny* and the oil painting *Mansu Hill in July 1994*, giving a strong impetus to the people in their struggle. Still, much was desired in the creation of outstanding works in the light of the requirements of the times.

The same day he gave the writers and artistes the task to create more excellent works demanded by the times and the revolution, emphasizing that they should improve their abilities. On the theoretical and practical problems arising in the improvement of their abilities, he said that they should cultivate sensitivity to the Party's intentions, strive to polish their artistic skills and go to reality to gain experience in actual life, that guidance of their creative work should be intensified, and that the role of Party organizations in the fields of art and literature should be improved decisively.

On October 10, Kim Jong Il told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee again that creation of works of art and literature should embody the spirit of the times, saying the following: We are now making the "Arduous March" in difficult conditions; this demands the creation of works of art and literature that encourage the people and inspire them to a fresh struggle; these works should be revolutionary and militant; I like the red flag; I appreciate only works that call for holding aloft the red flag of the revolution.

Literature is the vanguard of the arts, and its standard-bearer is poetry. The Korean revolution, experiencing the "Arduous March" and forced march, demanded that poems that could inspire the people to heroic struggles be produced. In response to this demand, poets composed many famous poems. One of them was the epic *Be Proud of Your Youth,*

Motherland. The poem portrayed the heroic exploits of the young builders of the Youth Hero Road, who had gone to the construction site from all parts of the country with burning hearts and red flags, and built the Road carrying earth and stones in patched sacks and taking meals in the open, afflicted by rain on rainy days and snow on snowy days, to save time. One day in July 2000, Kim Jong Il listened to the recording of the epic, and told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that the construction of the road in the days when everything, machinery in particular, was in short supply was something to be proud of, and that he had shed tears listening to the epic portraying the ideological and spiritual state of the young people. The epic, singing the praises of the Korean young people in the era of the WPK, was recited with relish by the Korean people and youth.

Produced in those days also were the long poem *Under the Blue Sky of June*, the selection of poems *Cantata to Heroes*, the lyric *Chol Pass*, and hundreds of others.

Acknowledging the role of the novel in establishing a revolutionary outlook on the world among the people, Kim Jong Il, busy as he was leading the "Arduous March" and forced march, led novel writers to the creation of masterpieces.

In early January 1996, he tasked the writers to depict in a novel Korea's nuclear confrontation with the United States, and on March 13 acquainted himself with the creative work. A writer was writing a novel with the song *No Motherland without You* as its seed, but he was experiencing difficulties for lack of materials and a host of other limitations. Kim Jong Il instructed the Foreign Ministry to make the materials concerning the first stage of the nuclear confrontation available to the writer. Thus *The Current of History*, a novel of the cycle *Immortal Leadership*, was completed as a masterpiece of the era.

Masterpieces were also created in the fields of song, drama and fine arts.

He set forth a new line to depict in large-scale pictures remarkable events and significant scenes in the national history, and energetically led their creation, thus opening a golden age of Juche-oriented fine arts.

The large-sized Korean painting *Tears of Blood in 1994*, 82 metres long and 2.2 metres high, was produced within three months, commemorating the second anniversary of President Kim Il Sung's death.

On July 9, 1996, Kim Jong Il inspected the painting and spoke highly of it, saying that it was a masterpiece, and that the creative workers of the Mansudae Art Studio had well portrayed in an epic way the indelible scenes of July 1994.

One day in February 1997, when artists had completed the large-sized embroidery *Mt. Chilbo in Autumnal Tints*, an exquisite depiction of the landscape of the mountain in autumn, Kim Jong Il saw the work and commented the following: The embroidery is excellent; it faithfully portrays the Couple Rocks, which are associated with many legends and look impressive; it is a masterpiece; it is wonderful that the work was completed in 15 days; the work should be put on display for the people to enjoy the overall magnificent scenery of Mt. Chilbo.

On April 27, 1997, he visited the Mansudae Art Studio, and looked round the creation rooms. Displayed in the creation room of the Korean painting creative group were paintings portraying the struggle of the revolutionary fighters during the anti-Japanese armed struggle and the soldiers and the people during the Fatherland Liberation War. Looking carefully at the paintings, Kim Jong Il said that the works reflected the spirit of the era with the idea of the red flag and the revolutionary spirit of soldiers as their theme, and spoke highly of their high ideological quality, original conception and skilful techniques of description. He continued that the Mansudae Art Studio should create more works conducive to educating the people, especially a large number of militant ones like the works that deal with the war, to educate young people in a revolutionary way in conformity with the prevailing situation.

Under his leadership, works of fine arts embodying the idea of the red flag and the spirit of the "Arduous March" were created in a larger number.

TO BRING LAUGHTER AND JOY TO THE PEOPLE

Kim Jong Il paid special attention to bringing to the people, who were experiencing trials, laughter that would instil in them optimism for a bright future and conviction in victory.

In times of difficulties, man must live for tomorrow full of optimism for

tomorrow and conviction in victory. A most powerful artistic form, which brings laughter to the people, is comedy–a form of art preconditioned by laughter.

Kim Jong Il had long contemplated creating comedies that would conform to the demands of the revolution and the aspirations and aesthetic sense of the people. When giving guidance to the comedies, including *Our Worthwhile Life*, a light comedy staged by film artistes, in the days of the revolution in the cinema, he had formulated the Juche-oriented theory, system and method of comedy production.

On the basis of these, on December 21, 1994, he had the Pyongyang Comedy Company (later renamed the State Comedy Company) organized–an art troupe devoted to bringing laughter to the people during the arduous years in keeping with the slogan "Push ahead through the thorny path in high spirits."

He personally selected famous actors to reinforce the group, and had a national comedy competition organized in September 1995, in an effort to discover persons talented in this regard. At the same time, he sent the actors of the company various materials–collections of world customs, anecdotes of world-renowned figures, folk stories, comic films and video-recordings–to lead them to widen their vision and common knowledge, and ensured that they were cast in feature films and TV series.

On November 11, 1995, less than a year after the founding of the State Comedy Company, Kim Jong Il saw its premiere and spoke highly of it, saying that the programme permeated with laughter was interesting and, though it was a premiere, it was quite impressive. He then clarified the direction of work for the company–on discovering comic materials of educational significance in the life of the people, on refraining from creating works only for laughter's sake, on attaching political character to laughter, and on creating works that criticize wrongdoings through laughter and lead the audience to reflect on themselves in laughter. He saw its works on many occasions later, and expounded on the principles arising in enhancing the educational role of comedy, like refraining from exaggerated and deformed acting. His every instruction served as a guideline for the State Comedy Company to bring laughter and optimism to the people and inspire them to

the implementation of the Party's policies. Every piece of comedy pumped optimism of the future into the Korean people, enabling them to overcome difficulties for a bright future of tomorrow and carry on the "Arduous March" and forced march full of confidence.

Amidst Kim Jong Il's concern and expectations, Juche-oriented comedy made great headway within five years after the organization of the State Comedy Company.

In this period the company conducted performances on over 840 occasions, leading the soldiers and people to break through difficulties and trials cheerfully with an optimistic view of the future.

On January 22, 2000, Kim Jong Il, in a talk with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, recalled the development of the company, saying in the following vein: The State Comedy Company is an art troupe organized during the "Arduous March" to bring laughter to the people; laughter was necessary to pull the country out of the tearful sorrow after the death of President Kim Il Sung, and this was why the company was organized; what a significant event it was to organize the company during the "Arduous March," not in other days, and bring laughter to the people; the company staged a performance even in Rangnim, Jagang Province; the company should further bring delight and amusement to the people.

Kim Jong Il ensured that professional art organizations and amateur art groups reflected the spirit of the times in the light comedies they produced.

He once saw *See It Through*, a light comedy staged by film artistes, and said that the comedy had selected as its seed a problem the Party wanted to solve and dealt with it in keeping with its policy, adding that the conscience and the revolutionary spirit of soldiers were problems of utmost concern of the Party at the moment, and the creative workers had grasped them and reflected them in the work sensitively.

When he saw the light comedy *Letter*, he said that the work was impressive for its clear political import, as it showed through vivid artistic representation what the revolutionary spirit of soldiers is and how powerful the idea of unity between the army and the people is.

He led creative workers to describe life realistically in light comedies.

All works of art and literature, comedy in particular, should describe life

realistically. The vitality of a work is guaranteed by true-to-life representation.

After seeing *The People of Jagang Province* staged by film artistes, he emphasized the need to portray life realistically in artistic works that deal with the present times, and said that laughter provoked by exaggerated acting, not by truthful representation of life, was tantamount to failure of artistic representation.

Kim Jong Il led comedy actors to act realistically and speak artistically.

He said that to make the audience laugh right from the heart, the contents of works should be good, that a true comedy is one that makes the people laugh in spite of themselves at its funny content described by realistic acting, that actors should give full play to their individual prowess, and that positive characters should be given priority in works. He also gave instructions on the forms of performance activities and other problems, large and small, arising in the development of light comedies.

He met comedy writers and encouraged them to further efforts.

One day in May 1999, he saw *Comrade*, a light comedy staged by the Korean People's Army April 25 Film Studio, and met its playwright.

He said to him the following: The light comedy made a strong impression on me; it is a unique work; it made me laugh and shed tears, and inspired me; in particular, its seed is good; it raises as its subject the basis of the politico-ideological strength of the People's Army and gives a philosophical explanation of the fact that revolutionary comradeship is a source of its invincibility; a literary work can be excellent only when it typifies such unique material; you concentrated your portrayal on solving the priority issue of the Party and wove the plot dramatically; I think highly of you for making a light comedy a masterpiece of great cognitive and educational significance for the times.

He instructed the creative group to tour the frontline units of the KPA.

A few months later, he was informed of their return from the tour performances. On September 3, he enjoyed the light comedy again, and said that it was a masterpiece of great cognitive and educational value and perfect ideological and artistic qualities.

3. VALUING THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF THE NATION

The undisguised attempts of the imperialists to obliterate the cultures of nations and realize global "integration" render it urgent for each nation to maintain its national identity in cultural development and develop its cultural heritage in keeping with the requirements of the times.

In response to this demand, Kim Jong Il, on June 19, 1997, published a work, titled, ***On Preserving the Juche Character and National Character of the Revolution and Construction***. Pointing out that what is important in preserving the fine traits of the nation is to properly inherit and develop the national heritage, he said, **"To preserve the fine national traits it is necessary to reject both the nihilistic attitude and the restorationist tendencies towards the national heritage, and correctly combine the national stand with the class stand, the historical principle with the contemporary trend, and thus discard what is outdated or incompatible with socialism and encourage and develop what is progressive and popular."**

National music occupies an important place in developing the cultural heritage of a nation. It reflects the nation's ideology, emotion, lifestyle and customs; it cannot be considered apart from the development of the nation. Only when they have a good command of their national music, folk songs and dances, will the people cherish love of their nation, dignity and pride in their nation.

Kim Jong Il took measures to revive and develop Korea's traditional music. In January 1995, the national music research division under the Yun I Sang Music Institute[3] was reinforced for intensive research in this regard. This specialized division unearthed a large number of folk songs, and made a great contribution to preserving and re-presenting classical musical works and their instrumental execution.

Kim Jong Il also ensured that the art and literature of the enlightenment period were assessed from a correct point of view and revived on a wide scale.

The songs of this period, reflecting the sorrows and patriotism of the Korean people before the country's liberation, occupy an important place in the history of Korean music.

In December 1996, Kim Jong Il formed a task force made up mainly of the staff of the national music research division under the Yun I Sang Music Institute, and assigned it the task of collecting those songs on an extensive scale. Early the following year, he urged the senior officials of the Party Central Committee to have a correct understanding and judgment of the art and literature of the enlightenment period, saying that art and literature workers should discover the fine national sentiments by studying the works and develop them to suit modern aesthetic tastes, and stressed the importance of reviving the cultural heritage of the time-honoured nation and sustaining its unique national sentiments. Afterwards, he said on several occasions in the following vein: We must not treat popular songs created before the liberation of the country as reactionary; due to the limitations of their times they lack the revolutionary character contained in the contemporary songs, but they mirror the sorrow, nostalgia and sentiments unique to the ruined nation; the word popular song is not a negative denotation for them.

The task force promoted its work on an extensive scale, and published *Selected Collection of the Enlightenment Period Songs*.

Kim Jong Il paid attention to developing folk dance.

On June 14, 1997, Kim Jong Il saw a folk dance suite *The People of the Walled City of Pyongyang* staged by the State National Art Troupe.

It was a work of original style, which, with forceful and yet graceful, lively and amusing folk dance pieces and characteristic folk music, describes the patriotism of Pyongyangites, who loved their motherland and hometown, and fought bravely in defence of them, and the creative labour of the intelligent and diligent ancestors of the Korean nation, their beautiful living customs, their rich emotions and aspirations for a bright future. After the performance, Kim Jong Il spoke highly of the creative workers for having created a characteristic dance suite true to the Party's policy on developing the national cultural heritage. He was greatly satisfied with the fact that each dance piece had its own unique features and the overall plot

was well woven with idiosyncratic dance movements by being faithful to the principles of creation and the content of a work with a historical theme.

He continued: It is a consistent policy of our Party to correctly develop the time-honoured culture of the Korean people; in this regard, we should combine the principles of fidelity to historical truth and acceptability to modern sensibilities, and guard against restorationism and nihilism; we should develop the nation's cultural heritage in keeping with the requirements of the times and the people's desire; in particular, we should ensure that performing art works embody the spirit of the times; the folk dance suite *The People of the Walled City of Pyongyang* is not an imitation of a work of the past, but a new work of the era of the Workers' Party; if we make the work flawless, the rising generation will be proud of it.

Kim Jong Il paid close attention to keeping historic relics in their original state. He held that they were the nation's treasures handed down by the ancestors and to be handed down through generations.

During the "Arduous March" and forced march, he visited the Tangun Mausoleum, Wang Kon Mausoleum and other historical sites and indicated the ways for preserving them.

On September 23, 1997, Kim Jong Il visited Mt. Kuwol, a scenic place on the western coast, and looked round the Woljong Temple in Jol Valley east of Asa Peak. The large temple dates back more than 1 000 years. Looking at the painting *Seven Buddhist Saints*, he spoke highly of the delicate portrayal, saying the men's mustaches look like real ones, and that the painting was representative of the intelligence and wisdom of the ancestors. When he heard from the curator that the golden moles on the faces of the Buddhas in the Kuknak and Myongbu halls had been taken away by the Japanese, he remarked that the Japanese imperialists had plundered Korea of many of its precious historical relics during the 40-odd years of their occupation of Korea.

On May 3, 1998, Kim Jong Il visited the Sokwang Temple in Solbong-ri, Kosan County, Kangwon Province, finding time on his inspection tour of the frontline units of the army.

Looking around the deep valleys, he said that the place should be developed as a medical rest centre and holiday resort for working people.

He stopped before a tall zelkova near the Jogye Gate, and listened to the history of the temple. The temple had been built in the last years of the Koryo Dynasty and enlarged during the Ri Dynasty. It had had over 50 majestic and beautiful structures, but only a few, like the Hoji, Puli and Jogye gates, remained, as most of them had been destroyed by the US aggressors during the Fatherland Liberation War.

Kim Jong Il said: During the war the US imperialists attempted to destroy even the cultural remains that are permeated with the wisdom and talent of our ancestors; restoring and conserving cultural remains is of great significance in educating the people in the long history of our country and national culture of our ancestors, and in the study of our national architecture; we should draw up a plan for rebuilding the Main Shrine and other structures in the temple destroyed by the US bombs; it would be advisable to make good preparations for the project and get down to it after the strain on the economy is eased.

Maintenance of historical relics is dependent on the viewpoint and attitude of the officials in charge. Pongung in Hamhung City, a place of residence of Ri Song Gye[4], the founder of the Ri Dynasty, was once not maintained properly owing to the carelessness of the local officials.

In March 1999, Kim Jong Il made an issue of this to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, and said that the ancestral shrine of Ri Song Gye in his residence should be maintained well in accordance with the principle of preserving historical relics and remains. On April 15, he spoke in the same vein, stressing that officials should keep them in good condition with a correct view of and attitude towards them, and intensify legal measures against the tendency to damage them. He also paid attention to all the other historical relics and spots, like the Kaesim Temple on Mt. Chilbo.

Thanks to his leadership, the Korean people were able to preserve their cultural heritage during the trying days of the “Arduous March” and forced march.

Kim Jong Il also ensured that celebrating traditional holidays and playing folk games were encouraged.

One February day in 1997, he said that celebrating the traditional holidays was of great significance in sustaining the unique cultural

traditions of the nation, and that the lunar New Year's Day and other traditional holidays should be celebrated appropriately.

Since then, the Korean people, with conviction in the future, have celebrated traditional holidays like the lunar New Year's Day and the 15th day of the first month by the lunar calendar more significantly, enjoying various kinds of traditional dishes and playing traditional games, like *yut* (a board game), *ssirum* (wrestling), swinging and see-sawing.

4. PRIORITIZING THE PEOPLE'S HEALTH

Kim Jong Il, prioritizing the people's health even in the trying days when the destiny of the country would be decided, ensured that the advantages of the socialist health care system established by President Kim Il Sung were given fuller play.

The country's health service faced many difficulties during the "Arduous March" and forced march, the most urgent problem being the insufficient supply of medicines.

Kim Jong Il, who finds the key to every problem by motivating the masses, solved the problem of medicines in the same way. While taking measures for central pharmaceuticals factories to boost production, he led the health service institutions to produce medicines on their own.

In January 1995, he said that cities and counties should put fresh spurs to the drive for producing medicines by their own efforts, and took concrete measures, including instructing the Ministry of Public Health to manufacture traditional medicines, together with Western medicines, in large amounts.

In early March the following year, he got acquainted with the situation of this drive undertaken so far, and took organizational measures to further promote the campaign. Groups for coordinating the campaign were established at all levels of the country–from the capital to the provinces, cities and counties–devoted solely to guiding the manufacturing of medicines; public health service institutions built their own pharmaceuticals bases, and widened the areas for cultivating medicinal herbs, thus making a breakthrough in the dispensing of medicines.

One day in December 2001, Kim Jong Il inspected the Kanggye Koryo Pharmaceuticals Factory. He said that patients found it hard to take the traditional Koryo medicines because of the large dosages, and that they should be produced in the form of extracts for the convenience of patients.

He also ensured that more hospitals were built and up-to-date facilities were sent to all the existing hospitals.

In accordance with his instructions, the General Hospital of Koryo Medicine and Kaechon City People's Hospital were built, and ambulances and other facilities were sent to major hospitals.

A pharmaceuticals research and production base equipped with the state-of-the-art facilities and a modern syringe factory were set up.

On December 19, 2000, Kim Jong Il visited the newly-built pharmaceuticals institute and syringe factory.

At the pharmaceuticals institute he learned about its construction and production. After looking round its production processes, he expressed great satisfaction with the fact that the institute, which would be flawless even after generations, had been built during the "Arduous March" and forced march, and said that medicines should be produced in large quantities so that the people could enjoy the benefits of the free medical care system of the country, instructing the scientists, technicians and workers at the institute to develop medicines that suit the physical constitution of the Korean people and put them into production.

He then went to the syringe factory. He was all smiles as he saw disposable syringes being mass-produced by injection-molding machines. He instructed the factory to put its production on a normal footing, so that it could produce syringes, drip-feed apparatus and other medical appliances in large quantities.

Before leaving the factory, he opened a new prospect for medical appliances production, saying that it was his plan to have all the production processes automated for the factories in this field by applying high technology.

The institute and factory perceived a wide vista for improved medical service.

Kim Jong Il led the medical workers to cherish devotion to patients and steadily update their own technical and clinical skills.

On January 19, 1996 and January 30, 1997, he said to an official of a hospital that doctors should improve their qualifications.

Sometimes he would inform the medical workers of the latest world trends and recent developments in the fields of dentistry, and cardiac and brain disorder treatment, and send them recent publications and other data on developments in medical science and technology.

As the qualifications of medical workers were raised, and major research successes in medical science and technology and up-to-date medical treatment methods and facilities were introduced in clinical practice, the people were able to enjoy high-quality medical treatment. In the year 2000 teams involving hundreds of medical workers went to the leading sectors of the national economy and such major construction sites as the Youth Hero Road and Kaechon-Lake Thaesong Waterway projects, and rendered medical treatment on the spot.

During the "Arduous March" Kim Jong Il also paid attention to ensuring the implementation of the Party's policy of preventive medicine.

On April 1, 1995, he told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that ensuring people's long life in good health by preventing diseases was important for rallying the masses around the Party, and took measures to implement the Party's policy of preventive medicine.

Kim Jong Il also ensured that women, those who were bringing up several children in particular, were given preferential treatment. In late January 1996, he had a talk with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, and said a system of awarding the title of Mother Hero should be institutionalized, and the women who bring up several children be given wide publicity.

According to a directive of the Cabinet and the Ministry of Public Health in May and June 1998, respectively, State measures were taken to this end. In September 1998, the Second National Conference of Mothers was held. Participating in the meeting were women who had brought up several children and sent them to the army and key sectors of the country, as well as those who had brought up bereaved children as their own. Many of them were awarded the title of Labour Hero and other State commendations.

On March 21, 2000, while giving on-the-spot guidance in Taehongdan County, he was informed of the fact that wives of former soldiers who had

been dispatched to the combined farm were about to produce babies. He took measures for the Pyongyang Maternity Hospital to give active assistance to the births.

Kim Jong Il saw the health service for children as an important issue that would determine the future of the country, and did his best to solve problems arising in bringing them up.

In mid-December 1995, he received a report that the Pyongyang Orphanage was not supplied with a sufficient amount of fuel and rationed food. Quite distressed at the report, he said to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee: Immediately after the war, when the country was experiencing difficulties, leading officials took orphans into their own homes; at that time, officials had come from poor families, and so they paid attention to the issue; but it is a different case now, probably because many officials are young.

The following day he tasked a senior official of the Party Central Committee to study the state of affairs at the orphanages in the provinces.

As it was the early period of the "Arduous March," the provincial orphanages were no better than the others.

Kim Jong Il received a report on this, and on February 7, 1996, he took a special measure of establishing a strict system for supplying without conditions the orphanages across the country with staple and subsidiary foods, clothes and other materials as planned.

Thanks to this warm care, the Korean people enjoyed the benefits of the free medical care system even during the "Arduous March."

5. TO BRING ABOUT A TURN IN PHYSICAL CULTURE

It is a consistent policy of Kim Jong Il in the development of Juche-oriented physical culture to develop mass physical culture with the main focus on physical culture for national defence.

In December 1994, Kim Jong Il put forward the policy of changing the extracurricular sports activities at schools and the examination of the working people's physical strength to those for national defence such as

hurdling and forced marching. And on August 27, 1995, he detailed the orientation and ways for preparing youth and students to be physically strong masters of Korea bounded by sea on three sides. That day he met a senior official of the State Physical Culture and Sports Guidance Committee, and said that students should know how to swim at the age of nine or ten at the latest. He continued that the swimming pools in schools should be put into effective use, and outdoor swimming pools should be built in various places for students, stressing that special measures should be taken to teach students how to swim.

In order to readjust the guidance system for lively mass physical culture, Kim Jong Il ensured that working people's organizations undertook the guidance of it, and the work of the non-permanent Mass Physical Culture Association was clearly categorized.

These measures gave a fresh spur to mass physical culture. Even during the "Arduous March" and forced march the whole country vibrated with mass physical culture with the "Winter Sports Months of January and February," "Maritime Sports Months of July and August" and "People's Physical Strength Examination Months of August and September." Ministries, central institutions and all other organs across the country held sports meetings not only on holidays but on ordinary days in conformity with their actual situations.

On October 31, 2000, Kim Jong Il went to Kim Il Sung Stadium, where a sports contest of artistes was being held.

Looking at the artistes absorbed in sports, he expressed satisfaction with the fact that all artistes, full of confidence and optimism for the future, were working and living like the anti-Japanese guerrillas, saying that he felt refreshed to see the contests and it was advisable for film and performing artistes to hold such contests once or twice a year.

His words breathed fresh air into mass physical culture. Organs, enterprises and all other units performed mass physical training, preparing the working people for labour and defence.

Kim Jong Il encouraged the masses of the people to play basketball.

On May 19, 1997, Kim Jong Il told the commanding officers of the KPA that basketball is a good sport that makes people tall and their

movements agile, and fosters will and courage, and that as it can be played in any place, all units of the army, including those stationed on heights, should be encouraged to play it.

One November day that year, Kim Jong Il, on an inspection of a unit defending an island, watched a basketball match between the soldiers. Busy as he was, he was all eyes during the game–from the beginning to the end–as if he were a soldier himself playing and cheering. He was pleased that the soldiers had built a basketball court on the outlying island and were training their physical strength and tempering their spirit of attack, and all the more as both teams played a speed game oriented toward offence, not defence. He said that they were playing the game as befitted soldiers, and basketball should be played the way they played it.

As he attaches importance to basketball and likes the game, he takes with him balls for indoor and outdoor basketball games for soldiers whenever he inspects an army unit.

For the development of mass gymnastics, Kim Jong Il gave energetic guidance by giving instructions on 60 occasions in the period of the "Arduous March" and forced march.

He watched mass gymnastics programmes, like *The People's Great Leader*, created on the occasion of the 83rd birthday of President Kim Il Sung, *Glorious 50 Years under the Banner of the Juche Idea*, created on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the WPK, and *President Kim Il Sung Will Always Be with Us*, created on the occasion of the 85th birthday of President Kim Il Sung. He said that the Mass Gymnastics Production Company should put great efforts into developing the overall standards of the sports skills of students, while producing high-standard gymnastic movements, and for that it should pay attention to physical training in schools for students to perform high-standard movements with ease during mass gymnastics. He continued that the physical culture sector, in close cooperation with the relevant institutions, should put gymnastic training on a regular extracurricular basis, including in schools specializing in mass gymnastics, so as to prepare students to perform movements of any standard.

On February 19, 1996, Kim Jong Il watched the mass gymnastics

programme *We'll Defend the Red Flag Following General Kim Jong Il* in the Pyongyang Indoor Stadium.

He spoke highly of the work, saying that the male gymnastics were vigorous, that the standard of the ribbon calisthenics was high, that the work gave an authentic taste of gymnastics, and that mass gymnastics works should be portrayed to sustain gymnastic characteristics like those displayed in that work. He continued that the gymnastic movements presented that day reflected the intention of the Party, stressing that its seed was good, the skills of the gymnasts were high, and it was characteristic of the best of such performances.

The acme of Korea's mass gymnastics was the mass gymnastics and artistic performance *The Ever-Victorious Workers' Party of Korea*, created in October 2000 on the occasion of the 55th anniversary of the WPK.

He also paid close attention to the development of specialized sports, marathon–the pillar of the track and field events–in particular.

In a talk with the officials in the sports sector in the mid-1980s, he pointed out that Korea has a long history of marathon, and because of their characteristics of endurance and sturdiness, Koreans could win world championships if marathons were developed and encouraged.

His guidance for the development of the marathon intensified in the days of the "Arduous March" and forced march.

In early April 1995, Kim Jong Il told a senior official of the State Physical Culture and Sports Guidance Committee that efforts should be channelled into developing marathon, that the runners should train to foster their endurance through long-distance running, and that the selection and training of runners should be undertaken by enlisting sports scientists, stressing that runners should be coached in a scientific way.

True to his instructions, marathon runners trained hard, and as a result finished first and second in the women's marathon race at the first world military games.

On receiving the report of the result, Kim Jong Il spoke highly of the marathon runners, and took active measures for further developing the marathon.

Thus, a host of scientific problems were solved and introduced to

training and games, bringing about marked progress in marathon techniques.

On August 29, 1999, Jong Song Ok won the gold medal in the women's marathon event at the Seventh World Track and Field Championships, held in Seville, Spain.

On August 30, 1999, Kim Jong Il said to a senior official in the sports field that he had stayed up all night on receiving the news, that President Kim Il Sung had said Koreans must take the first place in marathon races, and that Jong Song Ok had carried out his behest. On September 3, he told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee: It is an auspicious event and pride of the Korean nation that Jong Song Ok finished first in the women's marathon race at the Seventh World Track and Field Championships; this is of great political significance, in that she demonstrated to the whole world the mettle of Korea which is advancing vigorously to build a great, prosperous and powerful socialist nation in difficult conditions; the marathon is the most difficult and challenging event of all sports; Jong Song Ok, who won the gold medal in the women's marathon race at the World Track and Field Championships attended by A-class players, is really a heroine of our nation.

He ensured that the title of Hero of the Republic, a gold watch inscribed with the name of President Kim Il Sung and the title of People's Athlete were conferred on her.

On September 8, in a talk with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, Kim Jong Il noted that the revolutionary and fighting spirit Jong Song Ok had displayed represented the spirit and mettle of the Korean people, saying that all the people and servicepersons should learn after her spirit, and nothing would be impossible if all made efforts with the loyalty, will and spirit Jong had displayed.

In this way, in Korea mass physical culture flourished, with the focus on defence sports in keeping with the requirements of the Songun era, and marathon racing and other sports that suit the physical constitution of the Korean people made a huge stride forward.

CHAPTER 40

A TURN IN THE PROCESS OF NATIONAL REUNIFICATION AND THE MOVEMENT OF KOREAN RESIDENTS IN JAPAN

1. TO CARRY OUT PRESIDENT KIM IL SUNG'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR NATIONAL REUNIFICATION

National reunification was the lifelong cause and desire of President Kim Il Sung. Grieving more than anyone else over the Korean nation's misery and sufferings caused by the territorial division, he worked heart and soul till the last moment of his life to hand down a reunified country to posterity.

After his death, Kim Jong Il hardened his determination to live up to his instructions for national reunification, and devoted all his efforts to that end.

On October 16, 1994, he sat together with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, and said that national reunification is essential for inheriting and completing Kim Il Sung's cause, and for carrying out his instructions. He continued:

"To achieve national reunification was President Kim Il Sung's instructions and it was his intention to make the whole nation live in harmony and happiness in the reunified country. We must accomplish the historic cause of national reunification without fail, come what may, so that his lifelong intention can come true."

Afterwards he said several times that all officials should gear their thoughts to reunifying the country, rather than to a better life, and subordinate everything to the cause of national reunification, and that they must overcome all hardships and trials with full determination to accomplish the cause of national reunification at all costs.

On August 5, 1994, he instructed a senior official concerned to hold a pan-national rally as prearranged. He advised that the rally, the first pan-national gathering following Kim Il Sung's death, be held in a spectacular fashion to show the Party's intention to vigorously advance the movement for national reunification, true to the late leader's cherished idea on the great unity of the whole nation for national reunification. As a result, on August 13 the same year the curtain rose for the pan-national rally, whose opening ceremony and a resolution meeting for reunification took place in a spectacular manner and on a large scale.

On New Year's Day 1995, Kim Jong Il summoned senior officials concerned, and said earnestly that all efforts should be channelled into carrying out Kim Il Sung's instructions for national reunification as soon as possible, to hasten the process of national reunification. Later he again stressed the need to launch a nationwide reunification movement in 1995 that would mark the 50th anniversary of Korea's liberation, in order to make a breakthrough in the cause of national reunification. And he advised that an appeal of great weight be released to call on all the compatriots in the north, south and abroad to hold a grand national conference on the occasion of August 15 under the banner of the great unity of the entire nation to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the country's liberation together and discuss about concrete ways to achieve national reunification.

In this way, a grand festival for national reunification to mark the 50th anniversary of Korea's liberation was held on the occasion of August 15, in spite of the obstructive manoeuvres of the anti-reunification forces.

The same year Kim Jong Il met patriotic south Koreans who had come to Pyongyang braving the enmity of the southern authorities, and infused them with confidence in and the will for reunification.

In July 1995, Kim Jong Il met Pak Yong Gil, widow of the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan[5], on a visit to Pyongyang to attend the events in memory of President Kim Il Sung following his death a year previously. He thanked her for having made such a long journey in spite of her advanced age, and said that he would think of her visit as if the Rev. Mun and the 40 million people of the south had come, and he would do his best for national reunification true to the will of the deceased.

Kim Jong Il's determination to reunify the country found its full expression in his field inspection of Panmunjom on November 24, 1996.

Upon arrival, he headed straight for the monument to President Kim Il Sung's autograph for national reunification, the erection of which he had initiated to hand the President's great achievements and endeavours for national reunification down through generations.

In July 1994, in spite of his heart-breaking grief over the death of President Kim Il Sung, he exhorted the officials to preserve as an eternal national treasure the document on national reunification bearing the President's last autograph and initiated the erection of a monument to the autograph at Panmunjom in order to transmit the President's historical achievements and idea of love for the country and nation to posterity. He carefully examined the design of the monument and the introductory notes to it, and resolved all problems, big and small, arising in the construction. In this way, the monument to President Kim Il Sung's autograph inscribed **"Kim Il Sung, July 7, 1994"** was splendidly built in front of the Thongil House as a symbol of reunification and as a monument to the President's achievements in his leadership for national reunification on August 11, 1995, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Korea's liberation.

Standing before the monument, Kim Jong Il recollected for a good while the President's exploits and endeavours for the cause of national reunification, before saying, **"I got this monument to the autograph for national reunification written by President Kim Il Sung, the lodestar of national reunification, set up here in Panmunjom, where a large number of reunification campaigners at home and abroad gather and hold events for national reunification every year, out of my wish to transform Panmunjom, the symbol of national division, into the symbol of reunification.**

"His handwriting inscribed on the monument is no more than nine letters but its meaning is an ennobling and great one that cannot be expressed by tens of thousands of letters."

Looking back upon the history of the President's devotion to the reunification of the country, he said that the three principles of national reunification, the ten-point programme of the great unity of the whole

nation and the plan for establishing the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo, put forward by the President are the three pillars and the three charters for national reunification. Looking around at the officials deep in thought, he stressed the need to reunify the country at all costs as wished and intended by the President.

The news about his historic inspection of Panmunjom inspired his fellow countrymen with enormous courage and confidence. The south Korean people of all strata confirmed their determination to turn out dynamically in the national reunification movement, saying that reunification, the supreme desire of the Korean compatriots, would be materialized for certain as they have Kim Jong Il as their leader.

On the occasion of the 52nd anniversary of Korea's liberation, Kim Jong Il, on August 4, 1997, published a work, titled, ***Let Us Carry Out the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung's Instructions for National Reunification***.

He reviewed the exploits Kim Il Sung had performed for national reunification, and said, **"The three principles of national reunification, the ten-point programme of the great unity of the whole nation and the plan for establishing the DFRK constitute the three charters for national reunification by which Comrade Kim Il Sung elaborated the basic principles and methods of national reunification into an integral system on the basis of his great Juche idea and his valuable experience of struggle to reunify the country."**

The three charters for national reunification are permeated with the spirit of national independence, regarding national sovereignty and dignity as lifeblood; they embody Kim Il Sung's love for the country and nation, with which to reunify the country peacefully by achieving north-south reconciliation and the great unity of the entire nation; and they illumine the way for reunifying the country at the earliest possible date in keeping with the actual conditions in Korea and the yearning of the entire nation for reunification.

He also pointed out the principles to be adhered to in reunifying the country and the immediate measures required for improving inter-Korean relations, on the basis of the three charters for national reunification.

Afterwards, Kim Jong Il saw to it that a national symposium to mark

the 50th anniversary of the Joint Conference of the Representatives of Political Parties and Public Organizations in North and South Korea was held on April 18, 1998, and sent to it a letter, titled, ***Let Us Reunify the Country Independently and Peacefully through the Great Unity of the Entire Nation.***

This letter pointed out that President Kim Il Sung's idea of great national unity is characterized by a call for the unity of all classes and strata of the nation around the common demand and interests of the whole nation, regardless of differences in ideas and doctrines, political view or religion, property status or social position. It is Korea's unshakable resolution and will, the letter continued, to achieve unity of the whole nation and reunify the country by defending and faithfully inheriting the idea of great national unity, brilliant achievements, valuable experiences and traditions left by the President. And he put forward a five-point policy for great national unity by further developing the President's idea of great national unity as required by the developing situation–national independence, patriotism, improvement of inter-Korean relations, struggle against foreign domination and interference, and against anti-reunification forces in conspiracy with foreign forces, and promotion of visits, contacts, dialogues, solidarity and alliance among all Koreans in the north, south and abroad.

His letter aroused great applause and support at home and abroad, in that it embodied the steadfast principles of national independence, ardent patriotism and iron will for reunification.

Kim Jong Il initiated the construction of a monument to the three charters for national reunification by reflecting the burning desire of the 70 million Korean compatriots for national reunification, and energetically guided the whole process of its construction, ranging from its location to its completion. In this way, the Monument to the Three Charters for National Reunification was built at the southern entrance to the capital city of Pyongyang.

Perceiving the desire of the south Korean compatriots to see the world-famous Mt. Kumgang, Kim Jong Il took the measure to open a route for sea voyages to the mountain for sightseeing.

Kim Jong Il's unshakable will for reunification was a source of

inspiration to the 70 million Koreans who had been reeling from the greatest loss of the nation, and a spark to spreading enthusiasm for the reunification all over the country.

2. ADOPTING THE JUNE 15 NORTH-SOUTH JOINT DECLARATION

THE HISTORIC PYONGYANG MEETING

The year 2000, the last year of the 20th century, witnessed new developments in the Korean people's movement for national reunification, and in the situation within and without the country.

The banner of independence, the banner of socialism, remained fluttering and the DPRK was towering up as the bulwark of socialism and national reunification with the victorious "Arduous March" that was started under the leadership of Kim Jong Il following the heart-breaking loss of President Kim Il Sung near to completion. The national reunification movement of the Korean people gathered momentum all the more in its organization and action, on a nationwide scale, and the balance of forces between the patriotic forces for reunification and the anti-reunification forces was turning in favour of reunification.

In early 2000, Kim Jong Il elaborated his plan for the highest-level inter-Korean talks, true to Kim Il Sung's instructions for national reunification.

The highest-level inter-Korean meeting had been expected in Pyongyang in July 1994. An unprecedented epoch-making event in the history of the Korean people's movement for reunification, it had infused boundless pleasure and delight into the entire Korean people, and caused a great sensation throughout the world. President Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il had energetically guided the preparations for this amidst great concern and interest of their fellow countrymen and the whole world. But just at this historic moment, when a new phase was about to appear on the road of national reunification, President Kim Il Sung passed away. So the officials in the reunification-related field thought that the effort for the talks had come to nothing.

However, Kim Jong Il, who had been pondering over the state and future of the talks in spite of his heart-rending sorrow over the death of Kim Il Sung, decided to take an important step in this matter.

He told the officials concerned to notify the south side of the north's decision on postponing but not breaking off the talks. So on July 11, 1994, the north side transmitted the decision on adjourning the talks to the south side over the hotline. It was an important patriotic, reunification-oriented step to clarify the validity of the talks, and a reflection of Kim Jong Il's firm faith and determination to hold the highest-level north-south talks at all costs and to achieve the cause of national reunification without fail, true to Kim Il Sung's lofty aim and desire. His idea, will and determination with regard to national reunification proved their worth, resulting in the historic north-south agreement on April 8, 2000.

The agreement specified that south Korean President Kim Dae Jung would visit Pyongyang in June 2000 at his own request, that there would be a historic meeting between Kim Jong Il, General Secretary of the Workers' Party of Korea and Chairman of the DPRK National Defence Commission, and President Kim Dae Jung during the latter's visit, and that the highest-level north-south talks would be held.

Considering the Pyongyang Meeting a matter of paramount national importance, Kim Jong Il made great efforts for its preparation.

He acquainted himself in detail with the preliminary and working-level contacts, and took necessary measures even on his ever-continuing journey for the Songun-based revolutionary leadership.

On the morning of June 13, 2000, the historic day the entire Korean nation was waiting for out of the ardent desire for reunification, Kim Jong Il personally went to the airport to receive Kim Dae Jung.

Thunderous applause echoed all over the airport. Kim Jong Il received Kim Dae Jung, and both of them reviewed the guards of honour of the three services of the Korean People's Army.

Amid an enthusiastic and warm welcome from the people of Pyongyang, Kim Jong Il accompanied his guest to the guest house, where they had a talk and posed for a photograph.

The next day, he held one-on-one talks with Kim Dae Jung.

He modestly asked his guest to speak first.

After hearing him out, Kim Jong Il drew the talk to the main topic. Remarking that the two of them had met for the first time in the first year of the 2000s, becoming the focus of attention of the whole world and all the 70 million Korean compatriots, he said that they had better adopt a declaration that might inspire the 70 million Korean people with hope for national reunification and optimism for the future. He said that the national problem of Korea must be resolved independently by the concerted efforts of the Korean nation in all aspects, and asked his guest's opinion about this. Kim Dae Jung replied that he had no objection. Kim Jong Il then said that both of them had now reached an agreement on the point that the problem of reunification should be resolved independently by the united efforts of its masters, the Korean nation. In this way, they agreed on the idea of national independence and great national unity–the greatest success achieved in the Pyongyang Meeting and the brilliant fruition of the line on independence and great national unity.

Then, proposing that they make a special present to the whole nation as a token of the first meeting of leaders of north and south in 55 years of national separation, Kim Jong Il suggested that both of them agree on a common plan for reunification. Kim Jong Il told Kim Dae Jung: The north long ago proposed reunification by means of a federation on the condition that both north and south recognize the reality in which different ideologies and systems exist on each side, and on the basis of coexistence of the two different systems; if the south side cannot accept the proposal for the founding of the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo immediately, both of us can work out a common reunification plan by adjusting the respective proposals of both sides–north's low-level federation and south's commonwealth system–which have something in common, for the sake of an easy agreement.

Kim Dae Jung agreed with his host.

The two leaders also agreed on the exchange of visiting groups of separated families and relatives in the north and the south and the return of unconverted long-term prisoners to the north as humanitarian issues with which both sides were concerned.

Kim Jong Il signing the historic North-South Joint Declaration

Besides, the talks reached an agreement on inter-Korean cooperation and exchanges, and the holding of authority-to-authority negotiations.

The agreements reached at the one-on-one discussion were contained in the historic North-South Joint Declaration adopted thereafter.

The joint declaration reads:

The heads of the north and the south, considering that the current meeting and summit talks, the first of their kind since the division of the country, are events of great importance in promoting mutual understanding, developing inter-Korean relations and achieving peaceful reunification, declare as follows:

1. The north and the south agree to solve the question of the country's reunification independently by the concerted efforts of the Korean nation responsible for it.

2. The north and the south, recognizing that the low-level federation proposed by the north and the commonwealth system proposed by the south for the reunification of the country have similarities, agree to work together for reunification in this direction in the future.

3. The north and the south agree to settle humanitarian issues as soon as possible, including the exchange of visiting groups of separated families and relatives and the issue of unconverted long-term prisoners, to mark August 15 this year.

4. The north and the south agree to promote the balanced development of the national economy through economic cooperation, and build mutual confidence by activating cooperation and exchange in all fields–social, cultural, sports, public health, environmental, and so on.

5. The north and the south agree to hold authority-to-authority negotiations as soon as possible to put the above-mentioned agreed points into speedy operation.

The declaration was signed personally by both Kim Jong Il and Kim Dae Jung and published on June 15, 2000. It was a declaration of national independence, national unity and orientation to reunification, and a charter for independent reunification embodying the line of national independence, marking a new milestone in the history of the Korean people's movement for national reunification.

During the Pyongyang Meeting Kim Jong Il worked with the members of the southern side in an active and flexible way.

In his talks with Kim Dae Jung and his entourage, he dwelt knowledgeably on all subjects, ranging from the situations in the south and the rest of the world to a south Korean film actor and popular singer to the civilizations of various countries. At the beginning of the welcoming banquet at Mokran House, Kim Jong Il found that Kim Dae Jung and his wife were seated at different tables, and jokingly said, "I cannot bear to make another 'separated family' when the 'separated families' in the north and south are about to meet, can I? If I make even the 'First Family' another 'separated family,' it might result in a real scandal." He then had Kim Dae Jung and his wife seated at the same table. When the south Korean journalists asked him to pose for them to take a picture of both of the heads hand in hand, he accepted their request, telling Kim Dae Jung jokingly, **"Then let us play 'actors' as requested by the journalists."** When the photo-taking was over, he joked to the journalists, **"Now you have to pay for our acting."**

His humorous and jocular remarks removed tension from Kim Dae Jung's entourage and filled their hearts with affection for him.

Kim Jong Il treated Kim Dae Jung and his entourage warmly.

Prior to the Pyongyang Meeting, the south side was rather worried about how the north would receive Kim Dae Jung.

Saying that Kim Dae Jung should be received as suited the traditional etiquette of Korea, long known as a country of good manners in the East, in consideration of the fact that the guest was advanced in age and of the same blood, Kim Jong Il personally came out to the airport to receive him and ensured the arrangement of guards of honour and a welcome from hundreds of thousands of Pyongyangites along his route into the city.

Not only did Kim Jong Il receive Kim Dae Jung warmly, he walked a few steps behind his guest whenever they had to walk together and let his guest speak first. And at a luncheon he had his guest's chair changed for a more comfortable one.

He also paid a special attention to Kim Dae Jung's wife. At banquets and luncheons he always let her sit near him, and arranged meetings with her old teacher and women in the north, as she had requested. On the day

she left Pyongyang, she said, "There is no saint like Chairman Kim Jong Il of the National Defence Commission in the world."

The south Korean people unanimously praised Kim Jong Il as a "general among generals," a "man of passion and ardour," and said, "His name is like the rising sun shining all over the land of three thousand *ri*." The mass media of the world made special mention of him as follows: "Chairman Kim Jong Il left a deep impression on the south and the West for his very clear head, ample knowledge, flowing eloquence, confident and dignified manner, and warm etiquette."

In a talk to the senior officials of the WPK Central Committee on January 3, 2001 about the significance of the Pyongyang Meeting and adoption of the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration, Kim Jong Il stressed, **"The historic Pyongyang Meeting and the publication of the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration last year constituted an epoch-making event in the struggle for national reunification."**

The historic Pyongyang Meeting and the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration brought about a new turn in inter-Korean relations and the Korean people's endeavour for national reunification.

A NEW ERA FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF JUNE 15 NORTH-SOUTH JOINT DECLARATION

Following the Pyongyang Meeting and the publication of the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration, the struggle of the Korean nation for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country entered a new stage–inter-Korean relations came to be put on a new track, accompanied by a series of events hitherto unknown.

Kim Jong Il geared the unprecedentedly high tide of enthusiasm of the entire Korean people for national reunification towards ushering in a new era of implementation of the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration.

After the Pyongyang Meeting he met south Korean compatriots and personages of all standings and delegations on a visit to Pyongyang, and asked them to follow the patriotic road towards implementation of the Joint Declaration.

Immediately after the Pyongyang Meeting, Honorary Chairman Jong Ju Yong of south Korea's Hyundai Business Group and Chairman Jong Mong Hon of Hyundai Asan again visited Pyongyang. On June 29, 2000, Kim Jong Il received them warmly and talked with them in an amicable atmosphere.

Jong Ju Yong and his party had already visited Pyongyang several times, and had the honour of audiences with Kim Jong Il. Jong Ju Yong and his family had visited Pyongyang on October 30, 1998, when Kim Jong Il was on a field guidance tour in a local area. Jong Ju Yong had expressed his earnest desire to meet Kim Jong Il, even for a few minutes, insisting that he would go anywhere the latter was. Upon learning this, Kim Jong Il had said that he could not let Jong, his elder, go all the way to see him, and that he had better call on the latter. He then had stopped his on-the-spot-guidance tour halfway and returned to Pyongyang, directly dropping in at Jong's quarters. While talking with Jong Ju Yong and his son warmly, he had inquired if they had experienced any inconvenience during their stay, and about Jong's leg trouble. Kim Jong Il, out of consideration for the guest's yearning for his birthplace in the north of the country, had invited Jong to visit Pyongyang frequently. Later, with gratitude to Kim Jong Il for his kind words, Jong Ju Yong had visited Pyongyang three times within the year 1999; this time he was the first south Korean guest to visit Pyongyang following the historic Pyongyang Meeting.

The same day Kim Jong Il heartily welcomed Jong Ju Yong and his son Jong Mong Hon, inquired after them and about their business in detail, and granted Jong Ju Yong's requests in relation to economic cooperation.

After their talks, he let Jong Ju Yong sit on a chair in consideration of the old man's age and had a souvenir photograph taken together with him. Jong Ju Yong expressed boundless reverence for him, saying, "As General Kim Jong Il is a man of virtue who is considerate towards his own country and compatriots before anything else, the prospect for national reunification is bright."

The news that Kim Jong Il had met Jong Ju Yong and his party again, and given them valuable instructions and bestowed a favour on them caused a great sensation in political circles and public organizations and among the ordinary people in south Korea, adding fervour to the rapidly mounting

enthusiasm of the Korean people for reunification following the Pyongyang Meeting and the publication of the North-South Joint Declaration.

At the end of July 2000, inter-Korean ministerial-level talks were opened.

Kim Jong Il made efforts to get the talks to find practical solutions to substantial problems in the spirit of mutual trust and cooperation.

Attaching great importance to the role of the press in the implementation of the North-South Joint Declaration, he arranged a visit to Pyongyang by a large delegation from the south Korean mass media for the first time since Korea's division. He clarified the matters of principle arising in work with them and made sure that they could feel the warm fraternity and lofty mental and moral traits of their compatriots in the north during the visit.

He showed great concern for the activities of this delegation that took place from August 5 to 12, 2000.

One day, while getting acquainted with the activities of the delegation, he came across the fact that the managing director of the *Joongang Ilbo* was to celebrate his birthday during the visit. Kim Jong Il ensured that a banquet was arranged with all sincerity so that the managing director could feel as if he were spending the day at home. At the sight of his unexpected birthday spread the managing director expressed his innermost feelings of gratitude, saying he could not find proper words to express his thanks to Chairman Kim Jong Il of the DPRK National Defence Commission for his concern about his birthday. All the members of the delegation were so affected that they asked him in unison never to forget the favour of the Chairman.

Kim Jong Il attached special importance to the delegation's visit to the Mt. Paektu area and arranged a special plane for it. In the area of the Paektusan secret camp the delegation members looked round the log cabin that had once housed the guerrilla Headquarters, and had souvenir photographs taken in front of Kim Jong Il's birthplace. Early in the morning they walked up to the top of Mt. Paektu, and saw the sunrise. At the sight of the rising sun, they stretched out their arms towards it, cheering at the tops of their voices with deep emotions. The programme of the delegation was almost over. At one o'clock on the morning of August 12,

Kim Jong Il returned from on-the-spot guidance in local areas. That day he had a lengthy meeting with the delegation, in spite of his fatigue. The delegation members had actually wished to extend greetings to Kim Jong Il and have an audience with him from the moment they arrived in Pyongyang; they could hardly repress their emotions and joy over the meeting.

During the talks and luncheon, Kim Jong Il said that the mass media in the north and the south would have to discharge their responsibility and duty in implementing the Joint Declaration, and that they should abandon their previous old mindset of confrontation and distrust, though of the same nation, and instead work actively in the interest of implementation of the Joint Declaration and in accordance with the people's interests. He stressed that the north was ready to move hand in hand with any members of the ruling or opposition party in the south, wiping the slate clean not only of its past record but also of its previous misstatements, provided that the southern politicians supported the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration and were prepared to work for national reunification.

He then clarified the problems they were concerned about. Their questions were about delicate and sensitive issues, but he answered them all very clearly, with just one sentence or a few sentences each, larding his conversation with humorous expressions and with much significance.

One of them asked him whether he would accept the invitation of Chairman Samaranch of the International Olympic Committee extended to the top leaders of the north and the south to attend the Sydney Olympics. After looking around the company, Kim Jong Il said that he would rather go to Seoul to meet his fellow countrymen than go to Sydney just to be an actor. Instantly, as if they had rehearsed it, the delegation members sprang from their seats and clapped, with exclamations of delight.

When the delegation said that they were so overwhelmed by their lavish treatment in the north that they were now at a loss how to treat the delegation from the north when it came to the south, Kim Jong Il replied that there was no treaty concluded on this, and so they could treat it according to the south's usual practice, creating a ripple of laughter throughout the audience.

He also made a clarification of Songun politics so that the delegation members could understand it from the standpoint of independence. He said: The north's source of strength is characterized by two aspects–first, single-hearted unity and, second, the strength of the army; only with a strong military force is it possible to deal with relations with foreign countries from the standpoint of independence; we still need such a strong force even in the case of having close relations with other countries; otherwise, we might follow in the footsteps of the Regent or Queen Min[6] at the end of the Ri Dynasty, when the country fell prey to foreign forces.

The delegation members were carried away by Kim Jong Il's knowledge and insight, ingenuity and art of conversation.

One of them expressed his innermost feelings as follows, "When Kim Jong Il entered the hall for the luncheon, it seemed as if that wide place were becoming brighter. I was reminded there and then of the sunrise I had seen on Mt. Paektu."

The same day Kim Jong Il posed with the delegation for a photograph.

Kim Jong Il's meeting with the delegation of the south's mass media marked a turning-point in ridding them of their mistaken viewpoint of the northern part of the country and helping them fulfil their duty as men of the press in the implementation of the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration.

Following their visit, the south Korean pressmen gave wide publicity to Kim Jong Il's personality as a great man, and carried articles in favour of alliance with communism and alliance with the north on an unprecedented scale.

In October, when epoch-making events were taking place in succession in inter-Korean relations following the publication of the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration, the Korean people greeted the 55th anniversary of the founding of the WPK.

Kim Jong Il suggested inviting delegates from political parties and organizations and personages of all walks of life in the south to the celebration events, and showed close concern over the process for its materialization. As a result, the representatives of 14 political parties and organizations, and individual figures and journalists in the south came to Pyongyang. They observed the celebration functions and also had bilateral

or multilateral contacts with their counterparts in the north. While attending the celebration functions and looking round various places, they expressed their admiration at the north's mighty single-hearted unity.

As the enthusiasm for reunification was mounting among the compatriots in the north and south during and after the historic Pyongyang Meeting and the publication of the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration, the US and anti-reunification forces in the south made desperate attempts to place a stumbling block in the way of the improvement of inter-Korean relations and national reunification. The US began to put pressure upon the south Korean puppet authorities on the one hand and gave a shot in the arm to the conservative right-wing forces and military authorities in the south on the other, claiming that the tempo in the improvement of inter-Korean relations was too fast and so it should be slowed down, so as to throw cold water on the process. The US and the south's military authorities even went to the length of staging the large-scale Foal Eagle military exercise and committed acts of provocation by ordering warships to intrude deep into the territorial waters of the north side in the West Sea.

In the face of these challenges, Kim Jong Il held fast all the more to national independence as the pivot in the cause of reunification, and channelled great efforts into the implementation of the joint declaration to the letter.

He held in a firm grip the Songun policy, an all-powerful weapon for independence and patriotism, with which he safeguarded the destiny of the entire Korean nation and peace and security of the Korean peninsula from outside interference and provocation by the foreign forces, and inspired the fellow countrymen to reconciliation, cooperation and reunification. In September 2000 alone, he dispatched senior officials to the south on two occasions to reaffirm the standpoint of keeping implementing the joint declaration to the last. And he took important measures to find full solutions to all problems, including the problem of preparing military guarantees for implementation of the declaration.

Inter-Korean relations shifted from the previous state of cold war without negotiations to that of reconciliation with negotiations.

Exchanges of visiting groups of scattered families and relatives took

place twice in August and November, respectively, 2000, and grand-scale inter-Korean table tennis matches for reunification were held in Pyongyang. The economic field, too, saw a wider range of cooperation between the two sides. In the south, the scope of democratization grew, with the pro-reunification patriotic forces assuming a high profile, and the trend of national reconciliation and unity between the north and the south was more apparent than ever before.

3. DEVELOPING THE MOVEMENT OF KOREANS IN JAPAN ONTO A NEW AND HIGHER STAGE

Kim Jong Il wisely led the struggle to develop the movement of Koreans in Japan onto a new and higher stage, as required by the prevailing situation and times.

In mid-September 1990, he met officials of Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan), including First Vice-Chairman Ri Jin Gyu, who were visiting the socialist motherland on the occasion of the 42nd anniversary of the founding of the DPRK.

Kim Jong Il said that the prevailing situation required the Chongryon officials to further push ahead with their wide-ranging patriotic work, including the work for national reunification, by firming up the single-hearted unity more than ever before, uniting the masses of compatriots and giving full scope to their patriotic zeal.

Noting that an important matter that should always be a focal point in strengthening Chongryon organization is to achieve the single-hearted unity of its leading officials, the key officials of the patriotic movement, Kim Jong Il stressed as follows: **"My political philosophy is unity and cohesion. The weapon of Chongryon officials is their unity, and none other. The unity of Chongryon officials should not be technical but single-hearted unity based on the Juche idea."**

That day he clarified the concrete tasks and ways for further strengthening Chongryon and helping it push ahead with its patriotic work as required by the prevailing situation, including the following: special

efforts should be made for the single-hearted unity of Chongryon officials behind Chairman Han Tok Su as the leadership core and First Vice-Chairman Ri Jin Gyu as the core of work, and for the training of younger generations as the reserve cadres to inherit Chongryon; all officials should discard bureaucratic and subjective approaches to their work and manner, and mingle with the masses of compatriots intimately.

Again in February 1992, Kim Jong Il met several times with a congratulatory group and senior officials of Chongryon on a visit to the homeland and explained the complicated internal and external situations, and the WPK's position, and also clarified the pending problems arising in Chongryon work.

He said that Chongryon, since its founding, had been consistently loyal to the leader, steadily following the patriotic road of devotion to the motherland and nation. He said he highly appreciated the fact that Chongryon was a patriotic, vanguard overseas organization that had pioneered a new history of the Juche-oriented movement among overseas Koreans under the unfurled banner of the Juche idea.

He added, **"What is important in strengthening Chongryon into a patriotic organization that serves the Korean revolution from generation to generation, and continuously developing the movement of Koreans in Japan into a movement of devotion to their country and people is to firmly establish Juche in the work of Chongryon."**

While referring to the need to push ahead with all the patriotic work more briskly, he said that Chongryon should, above all, carry on with the movement for national reunification energetically, as required by the favourable development of the situation. He expressed the hope that Chongryon would become an example for other organizations of overseas compatriots in the reunification movement.

During their stay in the homeland, Kim Jong Il took time off to pose with the congratulatory group for a photograph, gave them gifts and medals, and arranged a splendid banquet for them. Asking them to come to the homeland frequently as they would call on their parents and take a peaceful rest, he said he would always meet them warmly in the homeland.

Afterwards, whenever he met senior Chongryon officials and

delegations on a visit to the homeland, for instance, in April 1992 and in May 1994, he told them that Chongryon should, as in the past, so also in the future, harden its determination to work to the last for the victory of the revolutionary cause of Juche and for the further development of the movement of Koreans in Japan, throwing in its lot with the socialist motherland. Both the motherland and Chongryon should carry on with their patriotic devotion together for completion of the socialist cause, the revolutionary cause of Juche, each trusting the other, he said.

Kim Jong Il's endeavour made in the first half of the 1990s for the further development of Chongryon's patriotic activities served as a precious asset for developing the movement of Koreans in Japan afterwards onto a new and higher stage in the face of the unprecedented harsh trials and difficulties.

He wisely geared the movement of Koreans in Japan towards a new turn in the mid-1990s.

The year 1995 marked the 40th anniversary of the founding of Chongryon. In this significant year the 17th Congress of Chongryon was held.

On January 1, Kim Jong Il sent a New Year message of congratulations to Chairman Han Tok Su of the Central Standing Committee of Chongryon.

Honoured with his message, the Chongryon officials and the Korean compatriots in Japan, set out on a march to create a new history in the movement of Koreans in Japan, with the motto "Let us greet the 40th anniversary of Chongryon with high patriotic zeal and brilliant success in work."

On May 24, 1995, Kim Jong Il addressed a letter to Chongryon and the Korean nationals in Japan, titled, ***On Developing the Movement of Koreans in Japan onto a New Higher Stage***, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of Chongryon.

The letter reviewed the proud 40-year history of Chongryon, which had traversed a road of victory and glory, braving manifold difficulties and trials, and indicated the direction in which the movement of Koreans in Japan should be developed to a new and higher stage. In the letter, he wrote as follows: **"Chongryon officials and our compatriots in Japan must**

hold the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung in high esteem for ever. They must do all Chongryon's work as he intended and hoped."

He characterized the movement of Koreans in Japan as a noble patriotic movement for the nation whose basic mission it is to champion the national rights of Koreans in Japan and to strive for the prosperity and development of the socialist motherland and for national reunification and as a movement of overseas Korean compatriots struggling under complex and difficult conditions because of its origin and the environment in which it works. He wrote as follows: **"Chongryon and our compatriots in Japan must step up the patriotic national struggle in keeping with their movement's basic mission and actual conditions. They must advance the movement to a new and higher stage."**

The letter then pointed out in detail the key tasks to be tackled by Chongryon and the Korean compatriots in Japan, as well as the ways and means for their fulfilment.

The Chongryon officials and Korean compatriots in Japan received the letter as a great programme for the movement of Koreans in Japan at the present stage, and all rose as one for the implementation of the tasks put forward by it.

Kim Jong Il's wise guidance also exerted its influence on the sound continuity of the patriotic line in the movement of Koreans in Japan, so as to open up a new avenue in Chongryon's patriotic movement.

On March 2, 1995, he got together with the senior officials of Chongryon on a visit to the homeland.

He clarified the problems arising in strengthening the ranks of Chongryon organizationally and ideologically in keeping with the requirements of the actual development, as follows: In ideological education at present you need to put stress on the education of the third and fourth generations of revolution, and concentrate efforts on this; you should educate well the compatriots of the third and fourth generations and also of the fifth and sixth generations so that they inherit the patriotic cause of Chongryon from generation to generation; Chongryon must intensify the education of younger generations, so as to make the third- and fourth-generation compatriots take their cue from the old, first generation of the revolution, and learn from their loyalty to help them inherit

Kim Jong Il talking with officials of Chongryon

and develop all the exploits achieved by their predecessors successfully; you need to bring the intrinsic superiority of socialism home to them to help them cherish a full conviction of socialism, and to instil the Korean spirit, national spirit, in them; you should also pay special attention to strengthening the unity of Chongryon officials and the Korean compatriots.

Winding up his speech he said, **"Whenever I face difficulties I think of Chongryon officials who have been sharing life and death, sweets and bitters with their socialist homeland. Not a few times have I thought that Chongryon officials must also be going through difficulties."** He then expressed his confidence that in the future Chongryon officials would keep working well, come what may, casting their lot with their motherland.

With clear insight into the importance of training of the young hard-core elements in ensuring the continuity of Chongryon activities, he directed great efforts to this end.

He met officials of the Korean Youth League in Japan on a visit to the homeland on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the WPK, and expressed his great satisfaction with the fact that the ranks of the Korean Youth League in Japan were composed of excellent young men. And on January 22 the following year, he gave a splendid banquet for visiting young Koreans from Japan at the Mokran House, and acted as the host in spite of his busy schedule. He had intimate conversations with the visitors, and inquired into their work and life. The same day he also saw a performance by the Merited Chorus together with them, and gave them valuable instructions that could serve as the guideline in the work of the Korean Youth League in Japan. Moreover, he gave them wrist watches bearing President Kim Il Sung's autograph and commemorative coins minted on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the WPK. The recipients shed tears of gratitude. Kim Jong Il said in a husky voice that he felt unhappy to see them crying. The young Koreans in Japan firmly pledged themselves to get ready fully as a young vanguard.

Well aware of the importance of democratic national education in maintaining the lifeblood of the patriotic movement of Chongryon, Kim Jong Il paid profound attention to Chongryon's work of national education.

Towards the end of December 1995, Kim Jong Il defined the direction of Chongryon's work in the New Year, and elaborated on his idea of bringing about a new upsurge in Chongryon's national education in 1996, which coincided with the 50th anniversary of the enforcement of secondary education for the Koreans in Japan and the 40th anniversary of the founding of Joson University there.

He paid special attention to the educational work of Joson University. From late February to early March 1996, there was held in the homeland a national meeting of students. He made arrangements for the students of Joson University to participate in it. When they arrived, he acquainted himself with their life and asked an official to convey to them his best regards and wish for them all to become competent officials. Some days later he again gave instructions on the need to train the students of Joson University well enough for them to be national cadres who carry on the lifeblood of Chongryon.

Chongryon and the Korean compatriots in Japan set the year 1996 as a "year of national education," and joined in an all-compatriots campaign for national education. In such an atmosphere, they greeted the 40th anniversary of the founding of Joson University.

Rising to the occasion, Kim Jong Il instructed the officials concerned to arrange the commemoration events perfectly, and send imitations of historical relics and zoological and botanical specimens needed for educational work to Joson University. As a result, the celebration events to mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of Joson University took place splendidly amidst ardent blessings accorded by the motherland and nation.

In October that year, as Chongryon greeted the 50th anniversary of the enforcement of the secondary education of Koreans in Japan, Kim Jong Il dispatched a homeland educational and cultural delegation and Pyongyang music and dance troupe to Japan, and arranged for the conferment of high official commendations, including the Order of Kim Il Sung, and academic degrees or titles on the meritorious educational workers of Chongryon. He also saw to it that educational aid funds and stipends were sent to Chongryon without interruption even in the difficult period of the "Arduous March" and forced march.

Meanwhile, Kim Jong Il put great efforts into strengthening and developing Chongryon into an organization rooted deep among the compatriots.

In this period the imperialists and reactionaries were more frantic in their moves to destroy Chongryon, while many compatriots in Japan were losing confidence and even vacillating.

Keenly sizing up this situation among the movement of Koreans in Japan, Kim Jong Il, in order to rally the compatriots, ensured that all Chongryon officials went deep among the masses of compatriots to consolidate the mass foundation of Chongryon as firm as a rock by conducting an energetic work with them. And on October 20, 1995, when he met senior officials of the Chongryon Central Standing Committee on a visit to their socialist homeland to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the WPK together with the people of the motherland, he gave important instructions on the problems arising in the organizational building of Chongryon, including the problem of building Chongryon as a political organization for education of the compatriots, instead of an administrative one. He said that Chongryon officials should get rid of the old administrative methods of work, and concentrate all their efforts on educating and winning over the compatriots the way the first-generation officials of Chongryon had done in the past.

Kim Jong Il led the work to strengthen the prefectural headquarters, chapters and branches of Chongryon.

A prefectural headquarters of Chongryon is a regional leadership unit in the movement of Koreans in Japan and a chapter and a branch are basic organizations in regular contact and work with the compatriots. Therefore, only when they were strengthened, could Chongryon become a powerful organization of Koreans in Japan, rooted deep among the compatriots, and successfully carry out various patriotic tasks.

On November 5, 1996, when he met the chairpersons of the prefectural headquarters on a visit to the motherland, he dwelt on the need to improve the work of the prefectural headquarters in the face of the prevailing situation and the attempts of the reactionaries. The chairpersons of the prefectural headquarters of Chongryon should, he said, perform their duties with the sense of responsibility they have assumed for the movement of

Koreans in Japan. He also set out the tasks to be tackled by the prefectural headquarters: All the officials and compatriots should have confidence in the victory of the Juche revolutionary cause and the movement of Koreans in Japan; officials should set up a regular work system whereby they go among the compatriots; they need to organize an extensive mass movement and cultural and sports activities centring on schools, so as to rally the new third- and fourth-generation compatriots around Chongryon.

In the meantime, he paid profound attention to strengthening the chapters and branches of Chongryon. When a dozen officials of the Chongryon Central Standing Committee decided to work down at the chapters voluntarily, he highly appreciated their decision and expressed confidence that they would effect a new change in the work of the chapters. He asked the Chongryon Central Standing Committee to help them with their work at their new posts and get all officials to emulate them, so that more and more officials at the higher echelons would volunteer to work at the lower echelons. Later, Chongryon took bold measures to streamline its central structural system and post more of its officials to lower units.

In mid-October 1995, Kim Jong Il met several delegations and chief vice-chairman of Chongryon on a visit to the homeland on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the WPK. There and then he expressed his great satisfaction with the fact that the new chairpersons of the chapters of Chongryon were good enough to play their parts in the work of Chongryon. In April 1997, two years later, he invited a delegation of Chongryon officials consisting of 80-odd chairpersons of chapters on the occasion of the 85th anniversary of President Kim Il Sung's birthday to the homeland. While meeting the delegation, he spoke highly of their success in the performance of their duties, and gave instructions that could serve as guidelines for chapter work.

At the same time as giving guidance to the work of further strengthening and developing the movement of Koreans in Japan, in keeping with the aspirations and the demand of the times, he bestowed his trust and love on the Chongryon officials and Korean compatriots in Japan.

In mid-January 1995, the Koreans in Japan suffered a severe calamity of a great earthquake.

On the day of the earthquake Kim Jong Il acquainted himself with the damage to the Korean compatriots. He sent a message of sympathy to Chongryon and the Koreans in Japan, before taking a measure to send a large sum of consolatory money, saying that the money must be sent, even though the people in the homeland had to live on gruel and go hungry. He also took humanitarian measures to send consolatory money even to Japanese victims of the earthquake, despite the onerous "Arduous March" the Korean people were undergoing. The message of sympathy and consolatory money instilled fresh vigour and courage into the Koreans in Japan, who had suffered a severe calamity and misfortune.

He took meticulous care of the first-generation officials of Chongryon, regarding them as veterans of the Chongryon patriotic movement, and as eternal revolutionary comrades, so that they could live on honourably on the road of devotion to their motherland and nation.

At every opportunity, he highly praised Chairman Han Tok Su as a meritorious, veteran revolutionary and a senior in the movement of Koreans in Japan, and was always concerned to get the old chairman, whom President Kim Il Sung had valued and loved so much in his lifetime, to work as vigorously as ever.

When Chairman Han Tok Su, almost 90 years old, was confined to bed with a serious illness, Kim Jong Il made frequent inquiries into his condition and urged him to get medical treatment. He told the chairman: You are a senior revolutionary, and I would feel relieved just to see you make an occasional appearance at the Chongryon Central Standing Committee. He dispatched a competent doctor in the homeland to Tokyo for the chairman's treatment. Still ill at ease, he made arrangements for his treatment in the homeland and received a daily report on his condition, taking active measures for the treatment. And on Han Tok Su's 90th birthday on January 29, 1997, Kim Jong Il sent him a congratulatory message.

In this way Han Tok Su recuperated and was able to carry on with his heavy schedule as the chairman of Chongryon even after his 90th birthday.

When he heard the sad news of Chairman Han Tok Su's death in an alien land, Kim Jong Il spoke highly of the chairman's life, saying that

Chairman Han Tok Su had been a senior of the Korean revolution, a veteran revolutionary and a true patriot who had devoted his whole life to patriotic work, and arranged the burial of his remains together with those of his wife side by side in the Patriotic Martyrs Cemetery in Pyongyang.

Kim Jong Il's loving care was also evident in the eternal lives of First Vice-Chairman Ri Jin Gyu, and permanent adviser Pak Jong Hyon of the Union of Korean Women in Japan and many other Chongryon officials and the Korean compatriots in Japan.

Kim Jong Il's wise guidance to the movement of Koreans in Japan in the period of grim trials bore fruit and the movement of Koreans in Japan was able to reach a new and higher stage of development.

CHAPTER 41

AT THE TURN OF A NEW CENTURY

1. A GRAND FESTIVAL

To adorn the year 2000, one year before the advent of a new century, with victory was of great significance in opening up a bright future for the Korean revolution and the cause of socialism in the 21st century.

With a determination to bring the "Arduous March" to a successful conclusion, bring about a decisive change in the building of a great, prosperous and powerful socialist nation in 2000, and to arouse the entire Party, the whole army and all the people to the gigantic struggle, Kim Jong Il started field guidance of the revolutionary battlesites in the area of Mt. Paektu on March 22. As the first-day itinerary, he covered a long distance, from the Paektusan Secret Camp to the Sajabong Secret Camp, the Chongbong Bivouac and the Grand Samjoyon Monument. That night he said to the officials accompanying him, **"Currently I am visiting the revolutionary battlesites in the area of Mt. Paektu to create a social atmosphere of intensified education in the revolutionary traditions among Party members and other working people in conformity with the period of revolutionary upsurge, when the entire Party, the whole army and all the people have risen up for the building of a great, prosperous and powerful socialist nation."**

On March 24 and 27, Kim Jong Il continued his guidance tour. Looking round the Pegaebong Bivouac, the Konchang Bivouac, the Sinsadong Revolutionary Battlesite, the Taehongdan Revolutionary Battlesite and the Mupho Bivouac, he said that these places should be built up as bases for education in the revolutionary traditions, in order to intensify education through them.

The field guidance, demonstration of his will to defend and develop the revolutionary traditions also in the new century, roused the Korean people to an all-people drive to burnish 2000 as a year of victorious socialism.

The Workers' Party of Korea was to greet the 55th anniversary of its founding in 2000. Kim Jong Il, attaching great importance to the anniversary to be celebrated in the last year of the 20th century, worked hard to propel the grand Chollima upswing across the country and to make preparations for a grand celebration of the Party's anniversary.

On New Year's Day 2000, through the joint editorial carried by three leading newspapers, Kim Jong Il called on the whole country to the meaningful forward march of the new year. On the same day he met the senior officials of the Party Central Committee. He said that the year 2000, when the Party was greeting the 55th anniversary of its founding, was a year of general advance, in which a big stride would be made in the building of a great, prosperous and powerful nation, clarifying the goals and tasks for the new year. He then went on to give field guidance to North Phyongan Province, North and South Hamgyong provinces and Jagang Province, arousing the whole country to a great leap forward.

Through the nationwide struggle under Kim Jong Il's leadership to greet the 55th anniversary of the Party's founding with labour achievements, the "Arduous March" and forced march came to a conclusion, a decisive turn was made in the building of a great, prosperous and powerful nation, and the Korean people were able to celebrate the anniversary with great pride and dignity.

In the lead-up to the anniversary, Kim Jong Il led the work of bringing the unconverted long-term prisoners in south Korea to the socialist motherland. These were steadfast revolutionaries and indomitable reunification fighters, who, after being arrested during their struggle for the reunification of the country, had remained faithful to their conviction of the socialist cause and their revolutionary creed in the face of all sorts of persecution and maltreatment in prison for 30-40 years.

Kim Jong Il had already launched the operation in the early 1990s. On February 28, 1994, a year after Ri In Mo, another long-term prisoner, was brought back from south Korea, he told senior officials that he was determined to bring all the unconverted long-term prisoners in south Korea

Kim Jong Il looking round the Sinsadong Revolutionary Battlesite

back by all means, and that he regarded this as his revolutionary obligation to the comrades who had fought for the Party in the revolutionary struggle and as the natural affection of a leader for his men. On inspections of the front line, he gave instructions on scores of occasions on their repatriation, and ensured that positive efforts were made to that end.

Kim Jong Il brought the struggle to a successful conclusion in 2000, the last year of the 20th century. On June 14, 2000, at the historical Pyongyang Meeting, Kim Jong Il proposed repatriation of the unconverted long-term prisoners, and made sure that it was put expressly in the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration as an article. On June 28, he told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee to accord them most favoured treatment on their return, and give high prominence and wide publicity to them. On July 27, he said that over 60 of them would be returning in September, emphasizing, **"During their scores of years behind bars, they have stuck to their faith and will, and they are returning with honour to their socialist motherland. It is my determination to bring them all back, and bring the 'Arduous March' and forced march to a conclusion."**

Under Kim Jong Il's concern and the high expectations of all people, preparatory work to welcome them was conducted actively and the whole country seethed with a welcoming atmosphere.

On September 2, 2000, with the attention of 70 million Korean compatriots and the peoples of the world focused on Panmunjom, 63 unconverted long-term prisoners returned to the socialist motherland via Panmunjom. The roads to Pyongyang from Kaesong via Sariwon were lined with people waving flowers. In Pyongyang all the citizens came out to warmly welcome the patriotic fighters. A grand banquet was arranged in their honour, and a mass rally of Pyongyangites was held to welcome them. They were all awarded the National Reunification Prize. High-end flats were provided to them for a happy life in their remaining years, and measures were taken for their medical treatment. On April 11, 2002, the title of Hero of the Republic, the highest honour in the DPRK, was awarded to all of them.

Meanwhile, Kim Jong Il proposed holding a military parade, a mass rally of Pyongyangites, a grand soiree and a torchlight procession of youth and students, a mass gymnastics and artistic performance, and other

colourful events to celebrate the 55th anniversary of the Party's founding as a grand political festival, and gave detailed guidance for the preparations, to fully demonstrate the power of the Party's Songun politics and the single-hearted unity, and its history and achievements.

On October 10, Kim Il Sung Square in Pyongyang, in the presence of Kim Jong Il, saw a parade of officers and men of the three services of the KPA, the Worker-Peasant Red Guard and Young Red Guard and a mass rally of Pyongyangites. Parade columns, headed by a column of colours with the banner bearing the portrait of the beaming face of President Kim Il Sung, the founder of the Party, at the centre, marched through the square in proud array, and Pyongyangites of all walks of life–workers, peasants, intellectuals, youth and students–streamed past the platform, raising a storm of cheers. On the night of October 11, also in the presence of Kim Jong Il, a grand soiree and torchlight procession of youth and students were held in Kim Il Sung Square. To the accompaniment of the revolutionary songs *Song of General Kim Il Sung* and *Song of General Kim Jong Il*, the columns of anti-Japanese veterans, unconverted long-term prisoners and people of merit, holding torches, marched. They were followed by columns of revolutionary school students, university students and working youth, forming such words as "Kim Il Sung," "Kim Jong Il," "Single-Hearted Unity," "Comradeship" and "Workers' Party of Korea." The youth and students in the square formed with torches the symbols of the Party, the sun and Mt. Paektu, and such characters as "Lodestar," "Arms" and others.

The following day Kim Jong Il told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that the word "Comradeship" was well portrayed in a marching column of the torchlight procession, and that the slogan of comradeship, which had been put forward in the early days of the Korean revolution, should be continuously held fast to.

On October 12, in the presence of Kim Jong Il, the mass gymnastics and artistic performance *The Ever-Victorious Workers' Party of Korea* was held in the May Day Stadium. It showed, through impressive scenes, the Korean people's struggle to build a great, prosperous and powerful socialist country under the banner of Songun politics.

Kim Jong Il reviewed the celebrations of the 55th anniversary of the Party's founding, saying, **"The parade and mass rally, grand soiree and**

torchlight procession, and mass gymnastics and artistic performance held to celebrate the 55th anniversary of the Party's founding demonstrate at home and abroad the strength of the armed forces and people united single-heartedly behind the Party. The anniversary was concluded as a grand festival of victors."

The events held in celebration of the 55th anniversary of the Party's founding were a grand political festival of single-minded unity, a march of the people who overcame the "Arduous March" and forced march with strong faith and will, and a festival that brought the 20th century to a conclusion.

2. OPENING UP THE ROAD OF ADVANCE IN THE NEW CENTURY

HOLDING FAST TO THE LINE OF GIVING PRIORITY TO ARMS

The Korean people, having concluded 2000 with a grand festival, entered the hope-filled new century, the 21st century.

In a talk with the senior officials of the Party Central Committee at the turn of the new century Kim Jong Il stressed that military affairs are the most important of all State affairs, and the line of giving priority to arms, to military affairs, is a just one for defending and successfully building socialism, saying, **"We must continuously hold fast to the line of giving priority to arms, to military affairs."**

The same day he said that the People's Army should be further prepared in political ideology and military techniques, and unremitting efforts should be exerted for developing the defence industry.

Kim Jong Il exerted his primary effort to strengthening the KPA as invincible revolutionary armed forces through on-site inspections. He started his programme of New Year's Day 2001, the first year of the new century, by inspecting a unit of the KPA.

That morning, after paying homage to President Kim Il Sung, who lies in state in the Kumsusan Memorial Palace, furthering his will to defend, inherit and complete by means of arms the sacred revolutionary cause that was

pioneered and followed a victorious road by force of arms, Kim Jong Il made his way to a unit of the KPA in the frontline area. The officers and men of the unit extended New Year greetings to him. After returning their greetings, he familiarized himself at the command post with the unit's performance of its duty. Then he saw the soldiers under training. Having fostered their spirit and valour through substantial training on the training-first principle, they performed difficult and complex tasks, displaying to the full the mettle of the KPA, which had developed into invincible armed forces. Kim Jong Il expressed great satisfaction with their preparedness, and specified tasks for further strengthening the KPA as demanded by the new century. During a break in the training, the soldiers held a recreation party. Kim Jong Il spoke highly of them for living full of confidence and optimism with the spirit and mettle they had demonstrated in the van of the "Arduous March" singing revolutionary army songs. He then looked round the education rooms, bedrooms, mess hall, bathroom, non-staple food store, greenhouse and other facilities for cultural education and supply services, showing close concern for the soldiers' living. With expectation and conviction that the unit would perform brilliant exploits in the struggle to defend the motherland, he gave a pair of binoculars and an automatic rifle to the unit, and posed for a photograph with the soldiers.

His inspection of the unit was a historic occasion that made public his unshakable will to march more vigorously along the road of Songun, holding fast to the line of giving priority to arms.

A few days before February 16, his birthday, Kim Jong Il visited a unit of the People's Army. He spoke highly of its officers and men for reliably defending an outpost of the socialist country, and set forth tasks for enhancing the unit's combat efficiency. Looking back upon the path traversed by the unit as he went over its combat record during the Fatherland Liberation War, he acquainted himself with the exploits of the 30 Heroes of the Republic produced in the war. He praised the unit for having defended every inch of the motherland with their blood. And he expressed his expectation that the officers and men of the unit would do their bit in building the country into a people's paradise and defending it, the country won back at the cost of the blood of the anti-Japanese revolutionary predecessors.

On the occasion of April 15, the Day of the Sun, in 2001, Kim Jong Il

inspected several army units for three days. He visited another unit on April 25, the 69th anniversary of the founding of the KPA, spending the whole day there. In May alone, he inspected ten units of the People's Army, and watched on two occasions performances staged by those who had participated in the Fourth Art Performance Contest of Officers' Wives.

His ceaseless field guidance to the units of the People's Army, which continued day after day, month after month in 2001, the first year of the new century, and the next year, raised the political and ideological qualities and military technical preparedness of the soldiers to a new high, and the soldiers prepared themselves to cope with modern warfare.

Kim Jong Il, on his visits to the front line, paid close attention to improving the standard of living and cultural attainments of the soldiers as demanded by the new century–inspecting power stations built by army units, and fixing the site for building a windmill for a unit–thus providing the soldiers with better conditions for their cultural and emotional lives and leading them to play the crucial role in creating a new culture proper to the Songun era in the new century.

He concerned himself especially with the supply service for the soldiers.

On April 16, 2001, Kim Jong Il gave on-the-spot guidance to a goat farm built by a unit of the People's Army. The goat farm, equipped with modern milk-processing facilities, was contributing to the soldiers' diet with various kinds of dairy products, like kefir. Looking round the farm, including the milk-processing room and goat sheds, he highly appreciated the great success achieved by the farm. And he promised that he would send it equipment for transporting its products in time even to the soldiers of the subordinate units. Pointing out that if all the units of the People's Army and provinces, cities and counties worked as the unit had done, they could solve the problem of milk, he stressed that they should take their cue from the unit.

On June 21, inspecting a modern catfish factory built by an army unit, he said that its productivity should be raised through concentrated efforts to supply fresh fish to the subordinate units. And inspecting several other supply bases, including rabbit and duck farms under construction by army units, he solved all the problems arising in their construction.

IN THE SPIRIT OF HAVING OVERCOME THE "ARDUOUS MARCH"

Entering the new century, the Korean people were faced with the task of giving fuller play to the advantages of socialism in all fields of the revolution and construction on the basis of the success achieved in the "Arduous March" and of stepping up the building of a great, prosperous and powerful nation.

Kim Jong Il ensured that the whole Party, the entire army and all the people made a fresh leap forward and innovation in the revolution and construction from the first year of the 21st century.

He paid primary attention to ensuring that officials brought about a radical change in their ideological viewpoint, mode of thinking, fighting spirit and work attitude, as demanded by the new century.

On January 3, 2001, talking to the senior officials of the Party Central Committee, he set forth the tasks facing the Party and the people in the new century, saying in the following vein: Officials must bring about a radical change in their work method and attitude; the 21st century will witness enormous changes and creations; in this era, when everyone should run at the speed of a racehorse, they cannot perform feats in their work with the method and attitude of the previous century; they should hold fast to the slogan **"Be bold in planning and practising,"** planning their work in a big way with a renovative eye, and executing it strenuously to the end; Party organizations should carry out all Party policies through efficient organizational and political work, to make this year a year of change in opening the road of advance in the new century.

On March 11, 2001, he told the senior officials of the Party Central Committee that they should develop their work as demanded by the 21st century, and for that they should, first of all, have a correct understanding of the century, at the same time expounding on the problems arising in getting such an understanding. Stressing the need to apply the requirements of the seed theory into their work as required by the new century, he continued that all sectors should strive to apply the seed theory in conformity with their concrete situation.

Kim Jong Il ensured that the Party policy of giving priority to science

and technology was adhered to in the struggle to open the road of advance in the new century.

One January day in 2001, he said the following: This is the age of science and technology, the age of the computer; now science and technology have developed to such a degree that things which had been regarded as fantasy are coming true; if we are to build a great, prosperous and powerful country as soon as possible we must attach importance to science and technology; the great, prosperous and powerful country we are going to build must be based on highly developed science and technology corresponding to the 21st century; when a factory is built or rebuilt, it should be by no means inferior to the requirements of the new century; if we are to create a climate of giving priority to science and technology in all sectors, everyone must establish a revolutionary way of learning modern science and technology; officials in particular should take the lead in this regard.

Kim Jong Il attached great importance to training talented people who would shoulder the development of science and technology in the new century. The mission and duty of Kim Chaek University of Technology was of special importance in the building of a great, prosperous and powerful nation by developing the country's science and technology and putting the national economy on a modern footing. Proceeding from this, Kim Jong Il, entering 2001, planned to visit the university. Even on his visit to the Russian Federation and on his inspection tours of the People's Army units, he never forgot about it.

On September 19, he managed to find time to visit the university. He exchanged greetings with the senior officials, professors and doctors of the university. Looking round the monuments to President Kim Il Sung's field guidance to the university and his on-the-spot instructions on its development, he recalled with deep emotion the immortal achievements made by Kim Il Sung for the university, and said that the university had been established on Kim Il Sung's initiative and developed under his leadership into a solid centre for training technical personnel for the building of a prosperous country. At the education and science exhibition of the university he acquainted himself with the success the teaching staff and students had achieved in education and scientific research, and spoke highly of their achievements. Then he had a talk with the senior officials, professors and doctors of the university. Reminding them of the special mission and duty of the university in the building of a great,

prosperous and powerful nation, he said, **"Kim Chaek University of Technology, in conformity with its mission and duty, should adhere to, as its basic task, the training of talented people in science and technology who can shoulder the building of a great, prosperous and powerful nation, and train them more efficiently and in a larger number."**

Continuing that, to this end, education should be improved as required by the IT era in the new century, he emphasized that the contents of education in science and technology should be constantly modernized, the proportion of application of IT and computers be raised and the qualifications of teachers be radically improved.

Kim Jong Il's inspection of Kim Chaek University of Technology breathed fresh air into establishing throughout the country an atmosphere of learning modern science and technology, and brought about a new change in training talented people who would shoulder the building of a great, prosperous and powerful nation.

Kim Jong Il lit the torch of Ranam to lead the whole country and all the people to a leap forward and innovation in the new century.

On August 19, 2001, immediately after his return from a visit to Russia, he inspected the Ranam Coal Mining Machine Complex.

He first familiarized himself with the work of the complex. A senior official of the complex said that it had produced a large-sized machine, a task Kim Jong Il had given it, that it had overfulfilled its monthly quotas, and that it had put production on a normal footing. Kim Jong Il spoke highly of these achievements, saying to the officials accompanying him that the workers had produced in one year the machine they had failed to make in the previous ten years. Then, he looked round the steel-casting shop. And at the heavy-duty processing shop, he stopped in front of the large-sized machine, and examined it for a long time, his eyes full of satisfaction–a machine no one else could make easily in view of the economic situation of the country and the conventional practice of calculating this or that before setting to work. Holding dear the spirit with which they performed the task, Kim Jong Il lavished praise on them, saying that they must have taken much trouble to make the machine, that they were all heroes, and that he was relieved of a burden. The same day Kim Jong Il looked at the smelters tapping molten iron and the workers working in an examination room, inquiring into the capacity of the machinery and going over

the processed products. He left the complex after indicating the ways to upgrade its equipment and improve productivity as required by the new century.

Through his incessant inspections, Kim Jong Il inspired the working masses to further feats of labour. Following his inspection tour of South Hamgyong Province in mid-September 2001, he inspected various units in North Hamgyong Province, North Phyongan Province and Jagang Province, encouraging the working people to learn the spirit of carrying out tasks without fail, the spirit demonstrated by the workers of Ranam.

On November 6, 2001, Kim Jong Il again inspected the Ranam Coal Mining Machine Complex. Expressing his satisfaction with the success they had achieved in the previous few months, he said that the time had come to kindle the torch of Ranam, and that the workers of Ranam should continue to work well in the van.

The torch of Ranam was an expression of the spirit to defend the leader and perform the tasks given by the Party, not with words or slogans, but with do-or-die determination. It was a development of the Kanggye spirit and the torch of the Songjin Steel Complex, which had brought about victory in the "Arduous March" and forced march in the last decade of the 20th century.

With the workers of Ranam advancing in the van of the revolutionary march of the new century, the whole country and all the people rose up in their wake, making a fresh advance in the building of a great, prosperous and powerful socialist country in the spirit of having overcome the "Arduous March."

3. FACING THE WHOLE WORLD

SONGUN-BASED DIPLOMACY

At the turn of the 21st century, Kim Jong Il dealt a blow to the arbitrary and domineering manoeuvers of the United States, thus defending the dignity and honour of the DPRK.

In its attempt to Americanize the whole world by propagating bourgeois ideology across the world in the politico-ideological aspect, subjugating the globe in the economic aspect and controlling all countries in the military aspect, the United States committed reckless acts of aggression and intervention, domination

and plunder. The unilateralist and hegemonic arbitrariness of the United States reached an extreme with the advent of the Republican administration of George W. Bush, especially after 9/11. The world witnessed the sovereignty of several countries with an anti-US, independent stand being violated by US military aggression and intervention. The reality showed that only when powerful military capabilities were built up and, on this basis, independence was pursued in the arena of political diplomacy, could the sovereignty and dignity of countries be defended, and independent and democratic international relations be established.

Kim Jong Il ensured that positive Songun-based diplomacy was launched to drive the United States into a tight corner and frustrate its hostile policy towards Korea. The vitality of the Songun policy of the DPRK was displayed even more vividly in the second half of 1998. Even during the harsh trial of the "Arduous March" and forced march, the military position of the Korean revolution was further consolidated, and the whole Party, the entire army and all the people vigorously advanced holding high the red banner of socialism. The launching of the artificial satellite *Kwangmyongsong No. 1* in the lead-up to the 50th anniversary of the founding of the DPRK was a great event that demonstrated to the whole world the might of the science and technology, the military and the economy of the DPRK. The hostile US policy towards Korea was on the verge of bankruptcy. The Clinton administration nominated William Perry, a former defence secretary, as the special envoy to review its policy towards Korea, and in May 1999 dispatched him to Korea.

In this situation, Kim Jong Il ensured that an active diplomatic offensive was launched during Perry's visit, with the powerful backing of Songun politics, so as to open a favourable phase in putting an end to the US scheme to isolate and stifle Korea.

On May 25, Perry arrived in Pyongyang. He met President Kim Yong Nam of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK and delivered to him a personal letter from President Clinton to Chairman Kim Jong Il. At the first-day talks Perry proposed a "package deal"–normalization of relations between the two countries in return for the suspension of Korea's nuclear and missile programmes. The Korean side rejected the proposal, insisting that for improved Korea-US relations the United States should respect the sovereignty of Korea, treat it impartially and honour its own commitments under the

DPRK-USA Agreed Framework. It also expressly clarified its stand that the United States should make a U-turn in its hostile policy towards Korea by lifting sanctions, and make a definite political determination to withdraw its troops from south Korea and conclude a peace treaty with the DPRK.

An official of the National Defence Commission of the DPRK, in a meeting with Perry, clarified the revolutionary will of the KPA, saying, "As the United States, in collusion with its allies, is bringing pressure to bear upon it, the DPRK has developed missiles and built up its military might for self-defence. If the United States resorts to war, the KPA would shower fire on the United States as well as on south Korea and Japan. The United States has no other option than to take practical measures of abandoning its hostile policy towards Korea for its improved relations with the DPRK."

At the next day's talks the Korean side maintained a harder line with the backing of powerful military strength. The head of its delegation said that the "package deal" was invalid, emphasizing that the way to improve relations between the two countries was for the United States to change its hostile policy towards Korea to a positive one. Perry, overwhelmed by Korea's harder line and the KPA's will, did not speak about the "package deal" any more, and promised that he would present his opinion to the US administration that, at the present stage, it was best for the United States to abide by the framework agreement and continue negotiations on multiple levels with the DPRK.

In October, Perry submitted to the President of the United States the so-called Perry Report, in which he recommended that the United States officially recognize the establishment and system of the DPRK and on this basis remove north Korea's "threat," not by showdown, but by reconciliation, eventually normalizing its relations with north Korea.

Admitting the failure of its Korea policy and overwhelmed by Korea's enormous political and military might and high international profile, the United States chose the way of improving its relations with the latter.

Kim Jong Il ensured that a more positive diplomatic offensive towards the United States was conducted in consideration of the latter's policy change.

In July 2000, the Foreign Minister of the DPRK met the US Secretary of State in Bangkok, Thailand. From October 9 to 12, the First Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Commission paid a visit to the United States as the special

envoy of Chairman Kim Jong Il. He was greeted by the senior officials in the political and military circles of the United States. He met President Clinton and conveyed Chairman Kim Jong Il's personal letter to him and the DPRK's view of its relations with the United States. He then met the US Secretary of State and Defence Secretary, with whom he had profound and deep-going exchanges of opinion. The US side recognized and confirmed that DPRK-US relations must be based on mutual respect of each other's sovereignty and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. Clinton asked the special envoy to convey his view to Chairman Kim Jong Il, and said that he would send his Secretary of State to Korea in the lead-up to a possible visit by himself. The special envoy's visit to the United States culminated in the signing of the DPRK-USA Joint Communique, a world-shaking event.

On October 23, US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright visited the DPRK with a delegation of about 200 persons, including some from the State and Defence departments.

Kim Jong Il had a talk with her, and that evening, together with her, enjoyed the mass gymnastics and artistic performance *The Ever-Victorious Workers' Party of Korea* in the May Day Stadium. Next day he met Albright again, and attended a banquet she had arranged. In their talks, Kim Jong Il gave clear-cut answers on DPRK-US relations, the DPRK's missile programme, international issues, and other topics.

Kim Jong Il saw to it that the Bush administration's hostile hard-line policy towards Korea was countered by means of harder line.

The advent of the Bush administration witnessed violations of all the commitments of the previous administration, including its Korea policy. Taking issue with the "threat of Pyongyang's ballistic missile launch," Bush, at the joint session of the US Congress held in February 2001, branded the DPRK as a "rogue state" and a "state sponsor of terrorism," and, in his State of the Union Address in January 2002, designated the DPRK as part of the "Axis of Evil." The DPRK-US relations relapsed into the worst stand-off.

In his answers given to the questions raised by Itar-Tass on July 24, 2001, Kim Jong Il clarified that the US accusation of a "missile threat" from the DPRK was totally unfounded and nothing but a lie to hide its intention to dominate other countries, saying that no matter how much noise they might make about

"north Korea threatening the United States with missiles" and therefore "the United States is trembling with anxiety and fear," nobody would believe it. Continuing that the new US administration was now talking about the "threat" of the conventional armed forces of the DPRK, not satisfied with the nonsense about "north Korea's missile threat," a preposterous and outrageous challenge to the DPRK, he said, **"In the new century, the new US administration has resumed the policy of isolating and stifling the DPRK, a policy that had already been shown to be bankrupt in the 20th century, and is obstructing the improvement of DPRK-US relations, aggravating the situation instead. The hard-line policy pursued by the United States to bring pressure to bear on us is a futile attempt that failed yesterday and will fail today as well. Our consistent stand is to repay good will with good will and respond to a hard line with a harder line."**

The harder-line policy of the DPRK was solemnly declared at the national meeting to celebrate the eighth anniversary of Kim Jong Il's election as Chairman of the National Defence Commission of the DPRK and through several talks given by the spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Overwhelmed by Kim Jong Il's Songun politics and independent diplomacy, the United States dared not commit unilateral high-handedness on the Korean peninsula.

Kim Jong Il led the DPRK to develop its relations with many countries worldwide, including the Western European countries, to break down the US-led international "siege" and "blockade" of Korea.

Kim Jong Il's Songun politics exerted a decisive influence on the Western European countries, helping them to get rid of their prejudice against Korea and approach it with respect. In Korea's stalwart existence amidst the US-led forces' unprecedented scheme to stifle it, they saw the solidity and invincibility of its socialism and the greatness of Songun politics. In the last years of the 20th century they took approaches to Korea different from their previous ones, like relaxing their sanctions. They even took government-level humanitarian measures with regard to the natural catastrophes in Korea.

In view of their tendency to pursue a road independent of the United States and their policy of approach to Korea, Kim Jong Il saw to it that work with these countries was conducted in full swing.

In line with this, Korea held official talks with the European Union on

several occasions, focussed on Italy and Great Britain. As a result, January 4, 2000 saw the establishment of diplomatic relations between Korea and Italy, and a Korean embassy was set up in Rome in July. In mid-October, the EU countries, including Germany, Great Britain and the Netherlands, expressed their willingness to establish diplomatic relations with the DPRK. Statesmen and diplomats of Western Europe set about revising their policies towards Korea, saying, "Isolation of north Korea is a thing of the past," and "Developing friendly relations with north Korea is a demand of the times." Great Britain established diplomatic relations with the DPRK on December 12, 2000, followed by most of the other Western European countries and other countries, like Canada, Brazil, New Zealand, Kuwait and Bahrain, in 2001. The Western mass media commented that this development was a "redemption of their past" of colluding with the United States in isolating north Korea and their "recognition of north Korea's position in international politics."

On May 3, 2001, Kim Jong Il had a talk with the highest-level delegation from the European Union in Pyongyang, opening a new prospect for many-sided cooperation and exchanges with the EU.

With deep interest in the development of relations with countries in the Asia-Pacific region, Kim Jong Il saw to it that diplomatic activities were conducted especially with regard to the ASEAN Regional Forum. With favourable conditions for Korea to participate in the ASEAN Regional Forum being created, the Seventh ASEAN Regional Forum held in Thailand in July 2000 decided to admit the DPRK as a member of the Forum.

FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN KOREA AND CHINA

Korea and China are neighbours sharing mountains and rivers.

Kim Jong Il put it forward as a steadfast stand of the Government of the DPRK to carry into the new century the friendship between Korea and China, which President Kim Il Sung, together with the preceding generation of leaders of China, had established and developed.

On September 30, 1995, in a congratulatory telegram he sent to PRC President Jiang Zemin on the occasion of the founding anniversary of the

People's Republic of China, he said, **"It is a constant policy of our Party and government and desire of the peoples of our two countries to develop the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between Korea and China through generations.**

"Korea-China friendship, which has overcome all sorts of trials of history, will develop continuously with the joint efforts of the two parties, countries and peoples."

Kim Jong Il's activities for Korea-China friendship became more active in 2000.

On March 5, greeting the lunar New Year, he paid a visit to the Chinese Embassy in Pyongyang at the invitation of the Chinese ambassador. He had a talk with the senior staff of the embassy in a friendly atmosphere, and was invited to a dinner party arranged by the ambassador.

From May 29 to 31, Kim Jong Il paid an unofficial visit to China at the invitation of Jiang Zemin, also General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The senior officials of the party and government of China gave him a warm reception with all courtesy. Kim Jong Il had friendly talks with the leaders of China. At the meetings and talks they informed each other of the successes and experiences of socialist construction achieved by their parties and countries, exchanged opinions on the development of Korea-China friendship, and on international matters of common concern, and reached a consensus of views on all the issues discussed. They agreed that it not only accorded with the common desires and fundamental interests of the peoples of the two countries but also was conducive to the peace and security of Asia and the rest of the world to develop the friendship between the two countries at the turn of the century, when the international situation was undergoing complex changes. And they expressed mutual support for and solidarity with the struggle of each other's party and country for socialist construction and national reunification.

With Korea-China relations progressing in the wake of Kim Jong Il's visit to China, Jiang Zemin visited the Korean Embassy in Beijing on the occasion of the 55th anniversary of the founding of the WPK. And on October 25, the peoples of the two countries celebrated in their respective countries the 50th anniversary of the participation of the Chinese Volunteers in the Korean war. On October 25, 2000, Kim Jong Il met a high-ranking Chinese military delegation headed by the Vice-President of the Central Military Commission of the PRC, and had a talk

with them. In the evening he enjoyed the mass gymnastics and artistic performance *The Ever-Victorious Workers' Party of Korea* with them. And he sent to the Korea-China Friendship Tower a wreath in his own name. The events held to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the participation of the Chinese Volunteers in the Korean war were a powerful demonstration of Korea-China friendship, and it further propelled the friendly relations as required by the era.

From January 15 to 20, 2001, Kim Jong Il paid an unofficial visit to China to carry the friendship between the two countries into the 21st century.

The Chinese side attached the greatest importance to his visit, and accorded him a cordial reception, saying that he was re-visiting China after seven months, a second visit in a year calculated by the lunar calendar and a visit in the first month of the first year of the new century calculated by the Gregorian calendar.

Before his visit to Beijing, Kim Jong Il visited Shanghai. Premier Zhu Rongji and other leading Chinese officials were in Shanghai from Beijing to greet him. Japan's newspaper *Yomiuri Simbun* reported Kim Jong Il's Shanghai visit under the title *Red-Carpet Treatment for General Secretary Kim Jong Il on His Visit to Shanghai* in this way: "When President Kim Il Sung visited Nanjing on his official visit to China in 1991, General Secretary Jiang Zemin accompanied him. Zhu Rongji's accompaniment of General Secretary Kim Jong Il on his current unofficial visit expressly demonstrates China's stance to treat Kim Jong Il as it did President Kim Il Sung, and thus continuously develop the traditional friendship between China and Korea."

Kim Jong Il exchanged greetings with the central and local leading officials of China, and had a friendly talk with Zhu Rongji. At the banquet he hosted for Kim Jong Il, Zhu Rongji warmly welcomed Kim Jong Il, saying that his visit to Shanghai at the outset of the first year of the new century was a particularly happy event, and expressed his belief that Kim Jong Il's visit would serve as an important opportunity and a strong stimulus for the two parties and countries in deepening China-Korea friendship and cooperation in the new century.

Kim Jong Il expressed his thanks to Zhu Rongji for having taken the trouble to come down to Shanghai, far from Beijing, to greet him, hosting a grand banquet and making a fervent and excellent speech though he had lots of work to do before the lunar New Year's Day, and to the leading officials of Shanghai for their warm hospitality. Kim Jong Il continued that to deepen Korea-China

Kim Jong Il meeting Chinese President Jiang Zemin

friendship was a common desire of the peoples of the two countries, who had opened the door of the new century and set off towards a bright future, concluding that the WPK, the Government and the people of Korea would make great efforts to further develop the friendship in the new century.

Kim Jong Il visited several units in Shanghai.

During his stay in Shanghai, he enjoyed, together with the local leading officials, a music and dance ensemble especially prepared by artistes and children of the city.

In Beijing later, Kim Jong Il met and had a friendly talk with Jiang Zemin. The two leaders exchanged opinions on further developing the relations between the two countries and international issues of mutual concern, and reached an agreement on them. Jiang Zemin gave a reception in honour of his Korean counterpart.

Kim Jong Il opened one chapter after another for Korea-China friendship.

At Kim Jong Il's invitation, Jiang Zemin paid an official visit to Korea from September 3 to 5, 2001. At the one-on-one and official talks, the host and the guest briefed each other on the political and economic situation in their countries, had wide-ranging and exhaustive exchanges of views on the further development of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and a series of international issues of mutual concern, and reached a consensus on all the issues discussed. They emphasized that continuous development of the bilateral relations of friendship and cooperation in the new century fully accorded with the aspirations, desires and interests of the peoples of the two countries and would go a long way to bringing peace, stability and development in Asia and the rest of the world, and agreed to make joint efforts to develop the relations to a higher stage.

Kim Jong Il held a grand banquet in honour of Jiang Zemin, and together with him enjoyed the mass gymnastics and artistic performance *The Ever-Victorious Workers' Party of Korea*. He also visited an ostrich farm with the guests.

Kim Jong Il sent a congratulatory telegram to Jiang Zemin on the 80th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, and participated in a banquet hosted by the Chinese ambassador to Korea on the occasion–all geared to further promoting Korea-China friendship.

The energetic external activities Kim Jong Il conducted breathed fresh air into the development in the 21st century of the long-standing Korea-China friendship, and propelled the joint struggle of the peoples of the two countries to implement the socialist cause and defend world peace.

A NEW CHAPTER IN KOREA-RUSSIA FRIENDSHIP

Kim Jong Il launched energetic external activities for Korea-Russia friendship.

At Kim Jong Il's invitation, Russian President Vladimir Putin visited Korea on July 19, 2000, heading a delegation of 250 people. Kim Jong Il received him at the airport. The first head of State of Russia to visit Korea, Putin received an enthusiastic welcome from hundreds of thousands of Pyongyangites all the way from the airport to downtown Pyongyang.

Kim Jong Il's work with Putin was energetic. The one-on-one talk, which had been planned to last one hour, lasted for more than two hours, during which Kim Jong Il expressed his opinion of not only overriding issues but also issues of his counterpart's concern. He also clarified the essence of the major issues connected with the international political situation, and his opinion of them. At the official talks, held later, the leaders of the two countries had an open-hearted exchange of opinions on further developing the friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries and a series of international issues of mutual concern, reached an agreement on all problems discussed and signed the DPRK-Russia Joint Declaration.

After the signing of the declaration, Kim Jong Il hosted a banquet in honour of Putin in Mokran House. The State Merited Chorus staged a performance. It sang such meaningful Russian songs as *Sacred War* and *Day of Victory*, bringing the atmosphere in the banquet hall to a crescendo and leaving an indelible impression in the minds of the guests. The banquet lasted past midnight. Kim Jong Il continued his talks with Putin, giving him clear-cut answers to his questions.

The next day Kim Jong Il accompanied Putin to lay a wreath at the Liberation Tower. Then he went to the airport with the guest and sent him off.

Putin, during his visit to Pyongyang, asked Kim Jong Il to visit the Russian Federation, and on his return sent him personal letters on several occasions, saying that he was looking forward to his visit.

In order to develop Korea-Russia relations as demanded by the new century and to turn the balance of world political forces in favour of the cause of anti-imperialist independence, Kim Jong Il accepted Putin's invitation to visit Russia.

On July 24, 2001, prior to the visit, he gave answers to questions raised by

Itar-Tass, on Korea-Russia relations and its development prospects, the US development of a missile defence system and WPK's view of it, and Korea's stand on its relations with the United States and Japan, thus expounding on the purpose of his visit to Russia and the issues of principle in the establishment of a new international order in the 21st century.

In the interview Kim Jong Il said that the DPRK-Russia Joint Declaration and the DPRK-Russia Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighbourliness and Cooperation signed in February 2000 were historic documents that provided a guarantee for promoting the friendly relations between Korea and Russia, adding: **"The Declaration and the Treaty have created the opportunity to develop the friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries in all fields on the principle of complete equality, mutual benefit, mutual confidence and noninterference in each other's affairs."**

The future of the friendly relations between Korea and Russia is very bright, he noted, and said that after the Pyongyang summit a broad section of society in both countries had displayed unprecedented enthusiasm for developing the relations between the two, and that the upcoming Moscow summit would be an important occasion for cementing relations between the leaders of the two countries and for further promoting Korea-Russia friendship. He supported the Russian stand of maintaining strategic stability through the ABM Treaty, exposed the absurdity of the United States' accusation of a "missile threat" from Korea, and clarified that implementing a peaceful missile programme was an exercise of the legitimate sovereign rights of Korea. Then he urged the United States and Japan to respect Korea's sovereignty and discard their hostile policies towards Korea.

As the news that Kim Jong Il would pay an official visit to the Russian Federation was made public on July 26 and the full text of his replies was reported by Itar-Tass on the same day, the world concentrated its attention on his visit to Russia.

The same day Kim Jong Il left Korea by train, and travelled more than 20 000 km. He was in Russia until August 18, for more than 20 days, making an official visit to the Russian Federation on August 4 and 5 and an unofficial visit to St Petersburg on August 6 and 7. Putin issued a special directive to the central and local officials, including his chief delegate to the Far Eastern Federal District, to receive Kim Jong Il, and ensured that, though it was a holiday season, his chief

delegates and senior officials in the regions concerned greeted Kim Jong Il and accorded the guest all conveniences during his stay in their regions, starting from the Khasan Railway Station on the border. The Mayor of St Petersburg did his best, saying that he would take this opportunity to show how he respected Kim Jong Il. The Russian people of all stripes warmly welcomed him regarding his visit to Russia as an auspicious event. Prominent political and public figures presented him with congratulatory telegrams and letters, and wherever he visited–Moscow, St Petersburg, Omsk, Novosibirsk– the Russian people warmly welcomed him.

Putin personally organized Kim Jong Il's personal safety, and frequently received reports of the programme of the latter's stay to ensure that everything was done at the highest level.

On August 4, Kim Jong Il arrived in Moscow.

At the meetings and talks between the top leaders of the two countries, they informed each other of their achievements and experiences and had an exhaustive exchange of views on how to develop Korea-Russia friendship and other issues of mutual concern, including the international situation, and reached a consensus of views on all matters discussed.

After the one-on-one and official talks, the two leaders, in the Vladimir Hall at the Grand Kremlin Palace, signed the DPRK-Russia Moscow Declaration, which would serve as a guidepost for bilateral friendship and the cause of independence in the 21st century. In the declaration, both sides expressed their firm stand on maintaining global stability and contributing to the establishment of a new world structure on the basis of giving priority to the rule of law and the principles of equality, mutual respect and reciprocal cooperation in politics, the economy, society, culture, information and other fields in the new century. The leaders of both countries, acknowledging that the 1972 ABM Treaty served as a cornerstone of strategic equilibrium and a basis for further reduction in the number of strategic offensive weapons, expressed their complete commitment to the strengthening of international security in the new century, too. They were also in agreement in recognizing that the further development of the traditional DPRK-Russia relations of friendship and cooperation conformed with the basic interests of the peoples of both countries at the turn of the new century and was highly conducive to peace and security in Asia and the rest of the world, and agreed on concrete directions and measures for further developing bilateral

A one-on-one meeting between Kim Jong Il and Russian President Vladimir Putin

cooperation in various fields. Then they agreed on support for the Korean people in their efforts to settle the country's reunification issue independently and peacefully, and by the concerted efforts of the Korean nation, in line with the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration, and emphasized that the withdrawal of US troops from south Korea is of vital importance in maintaining peace and security on the Korean peninsula and in Northeast Asia as a whole.

Kim Jong Il said to the officials accompanying him that the contents of the Moscow Declaration were very good, adding, **"The declaration reflected several problems on developing relations of friendship and cooperation between Korea and Russia, and clarified our principled stand on international issues."**

The DPRK-Russia Moscow Declaration was a declaration of independence in the 21st century and a banner for defending peace.

During Kim Jong Il's stay in Moscow Putin extended cordial hospitality to him. He accommodated his guest in the Kremlin Guesthouse, in which President Kim Il Sung had stayed on his visit to the former Soviet Union and which had been reserved for "the most honoured guests," and personally guided him. At a banquet held in honour of Kim Jong Il, Putin presented a performance of the Kremlin presidential orchestra, and, dispensing with diplomatic protocol, had five rounds of talks with him. He also arranged an unofficial meeting with Kim Jong Il at the end of the latter's stay in Moscow, a programme not planned in the guest's itinerary. He also ensured that Kim Jong Il visited the Khrunichev State Space Centre and the Flight Control Centre, establishments closed even to foreign heads of State and to the high-ranking officials of Russia, and all other places he was interested in and asked to visit, like the Omsk Transport Machine Plant and the Chkalov Aeronautic Complex.

During his visit to Russia, Kim Jong Il displayed his noble sense of obligation to the revolutionary forerunners and his utmost devotion to his motherland and people, leaving an indelible impression on the Russian people and the world as a whole.

He chose the Trans-Siberian Railway from Khasan, the border village between the two countries, as the course of his travel, the course President Kim Il Sung had covered on his visit to the former Soviet Union, furthering the latter's diplomatic achievements, and visited St Petersburg, a city the latter had visited.

His visit to the Lenin Mausoleum had a great impact on the world, for he was the first foreign head of State to visit the mausoleum after the break-up of the Soviet Union.

The Mausoleum in Red Square had been neglected by the renegades after the disintegration of the Soviet Union–the guard of honour had been withdrawn.

On August 4, Kim Jong Il visited the mausoleum. Standing in front of it was the guard of honour, which had not been seen for a long time. Kim Jong Il laid a wreath before the mausoleum. Inscribed on the ribbon of the wreath were the words **"To V. I. Lenin. Kim Jong Il."** He then looked round the mausoleum.

The editor-in-chief of the Russian newspaper *Glasnost* said frankly that Kim Jong Il's visit to the Lenin Mausoleum had instilled strength and courage into the true revolutionaries of Russia, who were fighting for socialism, and they were convinced that the socialist movement would surely emerge victorious when they followed him.

In Moscow, he visited the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier; in St Petersburg, he laid a wreath at the Monument "Mother-Homeland" in the Piskaryov Cemetery, where 470 000 victims of blockade and defenders of Leningrad are entombed; in Khabarovsk, he visited the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on Slava Square. And he met the widow of Ya. T. Novichenko[7], an internationalist; former Soviet Marshal D. T. Yazov; former Chairman of the USSR Committee of State Security V. V. Kruchkov; and other prominent figures.

Kim Jong Il arranged his itinerary tightly, visiting many factories, complexes, commercial networks, and scientific, educational and cultural institutions in Moscow, St Petersburg, Omsk, Novosibirsk, Khabarovsk and other cities. He continued his work all through the night in the train carriage while travelling and the guesthouses where he stayed.

On August 18, 2001, he returned to Korea.

His visit had caused a worldwide sensation.

Since the news that he had started his visit to Russia was reported, the whole world watched his diplomatic activities.

The major mass media of Russia reported his visit on more than 800 occasions, breaking their record. Xinhua, Prensa Latina, Kyodo, AP, Reuters, AFP and other news agencies throughout the world reported the news, and TV stations in 150 countries broadcast it at peak hours.

NOTES

1. Ri In Mo (August 24, 1917-June 16, 2007) – A war correspondent and former unconverted long-term prisoner. When the Korean war broke out, he followed the Korean People's Army as a war correspondent as far as the Raktong River. In October 1950, he joined in the guerrillas on Mt. Jiri. In January 1952, he was wounded while in action, and arrested by the enemy. Held behind bars for 34 years, he remained faithful to his political creed. Thanks to the deep concern of President Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il, he was repatriated to the north on March 19, 1993. He recovered his health, and lived happily until he died at the age of 89. p. 61

2. Kim Hyong Jik (July 10, 1894-June 5, 1926) – Father of President Kim Il Sung and grandfather of Kim Jong Il. He was the leader of the anti-Japanese national liberation movement in Korea, and the pioneer in the transition of the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle from the nationalist movement to the proletarian revolution. p. 97

3. Yun I Sang Music Institute – An academy which does research into foreign as well as Korean music, including the musical pieces created by Yun I Sang (September 17, 1917–November 4, 1995). It was founded on September 27, 1984. p. 259

4. Ri Song Gye (1335-1408) – The first king of the Ri Dynasty. p. 262

5. Mun Ik Hwan (June 1, 1918-January 18, 1994) –A democratic figure and clergyman in south Korea. Having studied theology, he worked as a clergyman until 1976, when he became a career activist in the movement for democracy and national reunification. Although he was imprisoned six times, he did not abandon his struggle. He paid a visit to Pyongyang from March 25 to April 3, 1989, and was received by President Kim Il Sung on March 27. p. 272

6. Queen Min (1851-1895) – Wife of King Kojong, the 26th king of the Ri Dynasty. Her political base was made up of her maiden family members and those who were opposed to the Regent, her father-in-law. She wrested power from the

Regent, and enforced a sycophantic and capitulationist foreign policy of depending on foreign forces. In August 1895, she was murdered by gangsters headed by a Japanese minister who had intruded into the royal palace. p. 285

7. Ya. T. Novichenko (May 1914-December 1994) – An internationalist soldier of Russia. He joined the Soviet Red Army in September 1938. He served in Korea after the war against Japan. He safeguarded the revolutionary leadership of Korea by throwing himself on a hand-grenade a reactionary had thrown at the viewing platform of the rally of South Phyongan Province, which was held at the Pyongyang Railway Station Plaza on March 1, 1946, in commemoration of the 27th anniversary of the March First Popular Uprising. Severely injured in the blast, he was demobilized as a disabled soldier in December 1946. On his way to Moscow, President Kim Il Sung met him at the Novosibirsk Railway Station on May 21, 1984. The President highly praised him as a hero, posed for a souvenir photograph with him and invited him and his family members to visit Korea. On May 25, 1984, he was awarded the title of DPRK Labour Hero, Gold Medal (Hammer and Sickle) and the Order of the National Flag First Class. p. 320

Printed in the Democratic People's Republic of Koera

No. 88394