KIM IL SUNG
WORKS
WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!
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Speech Delivered at a Joint Meeting of the Central People’s Committee and the Administration Council of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea

December 14, 1992

At today’s joint meeting of the Central People’s Committee and the Administration Council, I would like to dwell on the central tasks that must be tackled by the newly-organized Administration Council.

The most important task facing our Party, the Government of the Republic and our people at present is to firmly defend and successfully advance our socialist cause.

The imperialists and reactionaries are now resorting to all conceivable schemes to isolate and stifle our Republic, the fortress of socialism, and to obliterate our cause of socialism. The objective the imperialists are pursuing is to stifle us and make our country the same as the erstwhile Soviet Union and the East European countries that have been ruined by the wind of “liberalization” and are thrown into a bottomless pit. But their objective can never be realized. Whatever their pressure and their schemes to isolate and blockade us, we will never vacillate nor flinch. We will crush the anti-DPRK and anti-socialist manoeuvrings of the imperialists and reactionaries and staunchly defend our style of socialism centred on the masses and further develop it.

In order to defend the cause of socialism, we must further display
the advantages of our socialism by vigorously pushing forward socialist construction.

What is most important in socialist economic construction is to farm efficiently, to put industrial production on a steady basis, to develop foreign economic relations and to promote capital construction. The Administration Council must carry out these four projects.

For the Administration Council to satisfactorily perform its tasks, the Premier must efficiently work with vice-premiers, chairmen of state commissions and ministers.

I said this to the former Premier on many occasions. No undertaking can be successful unless the people are motivated through efficient work with them. There is a saying that a general without soldiers is no general. It means a man cannot do anything single-handed. During the Fatherland Liberation War the commander of a corps did not work with the soldiers properly and resorted to bureaucracy. So I wrote to him *Tok Pul Jang Gun* (A general without an army is no general–Tr.). Of course, an army acts on the order; for all that, armymen cannot fight well simply by orders, as they are not motivated ideologically. It is the same with economic work. Senior officials, including the Premier, should work with the people efficiently and bring them into action through the method of one moving ten, ten one hundred, a hundred one thousand and a thousand ten thousands, so as to ensure that they perform their responsibilities and role as masters of the revolution and construction; only then can economic work be performed well. The newly-appointed Premier must bear this in mind and properly work with the people.

In its guidance of economic work, the Administration Council must, first of all, channel great efforts to farming.

The most important thing is to farm successfully.

From the olden days it has been said that farming is the foundation of the country. As successful farming is very important in socialist construction, I long ago put forward the slogan, “Rice is socialism.” Solving the problem of food satisfactorily for the people through good
farming is also important in bringing the advantages of our socialism into full play at the moment. If we farm successfully so as to enable the people to eat their fill, we can easily solve other problems and we will have nothing to worry about however desperately the imperialists may make attempts to undermine our country from within.

If our officials buckle down to farming with determination, we will fully be able to farm with success.

We have a scientific farming method suited to the conditions of our country, the Juche-oriented method of farming. While directing agriculture in person from the early 1970s, I studied farming deeply and, in the course of this, I created the Juche farming method. In order to ensure the scientific accuracy of this method, I made many experiments through Farm No. 7, the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and many cooperative farms in Mundok, Sukchon, Anak, Sinchon, Jaeryong and several other counties. Through these experiments, it was proved that a rich harvest can be reaped if farming is done by the Juche farming method.

We have laid the material and technical foundations on which we can farm well as required by the Juche farming method. What is most important in farming as required by this method is water, seed and fertilizer. It can be said that of the three elements, the problems of water and seed have been solved. Water is a problem most difficult to solve; our country has carried out many irrigation projects for paddy and non-paddy fields, building many reservoirs and canals. Once the canal projects in the Ongjin area and Kwail County are finished, the major canal projects will be completed. With some more effort the irrigation projects for dry fields will also be completed. The problem of seed has also been solved in the main as our agronomists have developed new high-yielding varieties and we have introduced excellent ones from other countries. *Pyongyang No. 15* is a good variety of rice. If tended well, the variety will yield 10 tons per hectare. Several varieties of maize can also yield 10 tons per hectare.

An important problem to be solved now is that of fertilizer. We can solve this problem, too, as we have laid the foundations for its
production. In our country the supply of 1.8 million tons of nitrogenous fertilizer is enough to be applied to all paddy and non-paddy fields and orchards. The capacity to produce enough nitrogenous fertilizer has already been created–2 million tons in total. In one year we produced 1.8 million tons.

Fertilizer means rice. If we supply fertilizer to rural areas in sufficient amounts we can produce eight tons of rice or maize per hectare everywhere, and over ten tons at times. We can reap more than 10 million tons of grain at an estimate of eight tons of rice or maize per hectare. Our long-term objective for grain production is 15 million tons; for the present, we must set 10 million tons as our objective and strive to attain it.

If we produce 10 million tons of grain, we can use a few million tons as animal feed and keep a large amount in reserve after putting aside grain for human consumption.

The chemical industry sector must by all means produce 1.8 million tons of nitrogenous fertilizer next year. Along with this, 500,000 tons should be imported from other countries. It was planned to import this amount at the end of this year, but I have been told that it has not all been imported yet. The remaining amount must be imported by February 16 next year.

In order to increase the unit-area yield in agricultural production, we must apply nitrogenous fertilizer in proper combination with phosphate, potassium, silicon, magnesium and zinc borate fertilizers. The Juche farming method requires that 120 kg of phosphate fertilizer be combined with 100 kg of nitrogenous fertilizer. The more phosphate fertilizer that is applied, the better.

Next year, 1.5 million tons of phosphate fertilizer must be supplied. The Ministry of Mining Industry, the Ministry of Chemical Industry and other sectors responsible for producing phosphate fertilizer must take positive measures to increase its production. In addition, chief secretaries of provincial Party committees must pay considerable attention to this matter. As concurrent chairmen of the provincial people’s committees, they are responsible for taking control
of economic work in their provinces and guiding it. They must make positive efforts to produce and supply phosphate fertilizer and various microelement fertilizers as planned.

To increase the production of phosphate fertilizer, measures must be taken to supply apatite and sulfuric acid. If glauberite is produced and processed in quantities, sulfuric acid as well as caustic soda and gypsum can be produced. The Ministry of Mining Industry must step up developing a glauberite mine.

As we are producing potassium fertilizer in small amounts, we must import the fertilizer from other countries. The task of importing the fertilizer has already been assigned. The commissions and ministries must fulfil their assignments responsibly and in good time.

To produce 10 million tons of grain, all provinces must farm responsibly. South Hwanghae, South and North Phyongan Provinces in particular—the granaries of our country—must farm well so as to radically increase grain production.

The fertilizers to be applied next year must not be distributed to all provinces equally; their supplies must first be concentrated on South Hwanghae, South and North Phyongan Provinces. These three provinces must be supplied with nitrogenous fertilizer so that they can apply 800 kg per hectare. As I am familiar with farming in South Phyongan Province, I think this province can produce grain as planned if it applies 800 kg of nitrogenous fertilizer per hectare. Anak, Sinchon and Jaeryong Counties in South Hwanghae Province have the experience of producing eight tons of grain per hectare, so they will surely produce eight tons if they apply 800 kg of nitrogenous fertilizer per hectare. North Phyongan Province must also make efforts with confidence. The experience of this year’s farming at Wangjaesan Cooperative Farm, Onsong County, and at Nongpho Cooperative Farm, Saeppyol County in North Hamgyong Province shows that it is possible to produce over eight tons of rice or maize per hectare in the cold northern area if nitrogenous, phosphate and potassium fertilizers are applied as required. As the two farms situated in the northernmost part of the country are producing eight tons per hectare, there is no
reason why North Phyongan Province cannot produce as much grain per hectare.

In total, 500,000 tons of nitrogenous fertilizer is required for the three granaries of the country as planned. Regardless of how much nitrogenous fertilizer is produced at home, imported fertilizer of this kind must be supplied to these provinces. The fertilizer needed for applying to vegetable and fruit gardens in South Hwanghae Province must be supplied according to the national standards, but the fertilizer supply to Kwail County, a centre of fruit supply to Pyongyang, must be done particularly well.

Electricity for water pumping must be supplied to the countryside. We must unconditionally supply a sufficient volume of electricity for water pumping to rural areas even though its supply is strained in the country and even though this means some difficulty for the industrial sector. In the distribution of electricity, we must observe the principle of supplying electricity for water pumping on a preferential basis.

The electricity situation in South Hwanghae Province is more strained than in any other provinces because this province is the terminal unit in the supply system of electricity in our country. To solve the problem of electricity for water pumping in this province, the Haeju Thermal-power Plant must be built. But, its construction is not progressing as planned. The project must be finished as soon as possible by all possible means.

Trucks and tractors must be supplied to the rural communities so as to raise the level of mechanization of farm work.

This will facilitate the timely transport of fertilizers and other materials for farming and seasonal ploughing of paddy and non-paddy fields and harrowing of rice-fields.

Some cooperative farms, lacking trucks, are now carrying fertilizers from far-away places with tractors. One year I went to Wohonwa-ri, Phyongwon County. The chief secretary of the county Party committee told me that the cooperative farms in his county experienced difficulties in transporting fertilizers in time, explaining
that the cooperative farms adjoining Jungsan County carried fertilizers with tractors from the railway station in Opha only once a day. Such irrationality wastes oil and damages tractors, thus hampering ploughing and harrowing.

I keenly felt this year that cooperative farms failed to give precedence to harrowing because of the lack of tractors. I gave field guidance to the Chongsan Cooperative Farm, the Okto Cooperative Farm, the Jamjin Cooperative Farm, and the cooperative farms in Onchon County when they were transplanting rice seedlings. As they failed to harrow rice fields properly, many seedlings were floating on the fields where humus-cake cold-bed rice seedlings and modern rice seedlings had been transplanted. As rice seedlings are transplanted by machine, I have long since stressed the need to do harrowing one week before transplanting. Rice seedlings do not float on the water when they are transplanted one week after harrowing—as the soil has been deposited—as required by the Juche farming method. But as they were transplanted on the soft paddy fields soon after harrowing, they were not planted properly; they refloat on the water. This is no better than throwing seedlings on the field. If rice seedlings are not planted properly, it will take many days for them to strike root. Then, they will miss the tillering period and fail to develop many stems, resulting in low output.

Trucks must be supplied to cooperative farms for carrying farming materials so that they do not use tractors to carry them. From next year, tractors should be used only in farm work. This will be beneficial for raising a good crop. In future tractors must be controlled so that they do not run more than 40 kilometres beyond the district of the cooperative farm they belong to.

Sungni-58 trucks are suitable for carrying farming materials in cooperative farms. This type of truck can use such substitute fuel as methane or subbituminous coal instead of petroleum. Therefore, if farms are supplied with Sungni-58 trucks, they can not only carry farming materials in time but also save fuel in a large amount.

Next year, many Sungni-58 trucks must be produced for cooperative farms.
A large number of tractors must also be supplied to cooperative farms. If all the tractors in the rural communities were in full operation, harrowing could be ensured. But now quite a few of them are out of order. A great number of tractors are needed for mechanizing not only harrowing but other crop-raising work. The Administration Council must organize detailed production in accordance with the capacity of tractor-producing plants so as to increase the production of tractors year after year.

In addition to producing tractors for rural communities, we must ensure that the existing tractors are repaired and put in good work order at full capacity. For three months and a half—starting from now until March next year—the tractors which need overhauling must be overhauled and the parts of tractors which need changing must be changed. Repair of the tractors must be undertaken through the efforts of the whole country. The Administration Council must give detailed assignments to factories and enterprises in such a way as the Pukjung Machine Complex should repair such-and-such number of tractors and the Ragwon Machine Complex such-and-such number of tractors. Repair of the tractors in the provinces having few machine factories must be assigned to the provinces where several machine factories exist. The tractors in South Hwanghae Province must be repaired by Pyongyang and Nampho. If the repair and maintenance of tractors is finished by the end of March next year in this way, we can keep harrowing one week ahead of rice transplanting.

Oil for tractors must be supplied in sufficient quantities to the countryside. The Ponghwa Chemical Works must supply oil for tractors without fail next year. As farming is seasonal work, the oil produced by the chemical works must first be supplied to the countryside and then the remainder to other sectors.

I am told that measures have been taken to solve the problem of plastic sheeting, so I will not speak more about it.

The Administration Council should hold a consultative meeting this afternoon, discuss in concrete terms production, importation and distribution of fertilizers, repairing of tractors, supplying of oil and
other matters arising in farming, draw up a plan of measures and submit the plan to me.

The consultative meeting must also discuss the problem of agricultural chemicals. Supplying a sufficient amount of these chemicals to cooperative farms is very important. If the plant that produces torebôn under the Sinhung Chemical Complex has not yet manufactured trial products, any problems in producing this chemical must also be discussed at the meeting. We must provide the chemicals that can be produced by our own efforts and import only those that should be imported.

Vegetable production must be increased.

Vegetables were produced in great quantities this autumn for winter pickles. In Pyongyang 118 kg of vegetables were supplied to each person and in South Hwanghae Province more than 150 kg. South Hwanghae Province was the best in the supply of vegetables for winter pickles. People are delighted for having been supplied with enough vegetables for winter pickles and they are making favourable responses. From remote days Koreans have attached great importance to pickling vegetables. There is a proverb in our country which goes that pickles are half of the winter food. Our people have called the days of making pickles the pickling season.

Supplying vegetables for winter pickles must be done more effectively in the future. At least 150 kg of vegetables must be supplied to each person for winter pickling. With regard to this year’s supply of vegetables, some people expressed the opinion that the radishes supplied were small in quantity. The proportion of radishes must be increased a little in the vegetables supplied for winter pickles. I think it advisable to supply 110 kg of celery cabbage and 40 kg of radish–150 kg of vegetables in total–to each person for winter pickles. The radish is good for a man’s health.

In addition to supplying vegetables for winter pickles, we should supply them in all seasons. It is particularly important to supply Pyongyang citizens with various vegetables all the year round–spring, summer, autumn and winter–and without running short of them.
In order to provide people with vegetables every season, we must make energetic efforts-building greenhouses and growing vegetables in them. If we build greenhouses and make effective use of them, we can cultivate cucumbers, tomatoes and other varieties of vegetables in a large quantity in winter as well as in spring, summer and autumn.

The soldiers of the People’s Army are efficient in growing vegetables in greenhouses. You must have seen a scientific film on vegetable farming in greenhouses; the soldiers in one unit built solar greenhouses in many places and are producing vegetables. One of their greenhouses is 600 metres long. When the air and water warmed by solar heat are circulated, the temperature in the greenhouse can be maintained even in winter. So vegetables can be produced in all seasons in this way. Since they began cultivating them in greenhouses the soldiers of this unit have eaten vegetables without ever running short. Even in winter they can eat various fresh vegetables like cucumber and tomato available.

You should go and see the greenhouses they built and organize a model lecture to popularize their experiences.

It is better to build solar greenhouses in length along the foot of a mountain by cutting into mountain slopes than building them on flat lands. The city of Pyongyang must build greenhouses not on flat lands but in areas like Sangwon County.

Fruit production must be increased.

The people must be supplied not only with vegetables but with fruit. We must increase the production of fruit for the people. In particular, we must supply it to Pyongyang citizens without running short.

For the production of fruit for Pyongyang citizens, I have emphasized that the Administration Council should give effective assistance to the Kwail County Combined Fruit Farm. From last year I ensured that the office workers in Pyongyang performed Friday labour on the farm and helped its irrigation projects. I also ensured that the city transported night soil to the farm. This resulted in successful fruit production, rendering it possible to supply Pyongyang citizens with greater quantities of fruit than in the past.
I am going to ensure that two pieces of fruit are supplied to every Pyongyang citizen every day in the future. For this purpose, 180,000 tons of fruit are needed every year. The total area of fruit groves in the Kwail County Combined Fruit Farm, the Pyongyang State Fruit Farm, the Hwangju State Fruit Farm—the bases of fruit supply to Pyongyang—is about 10,000 hectares; if they produce 20 tons of fruit per hectare, this means 200,000 tons in total. This amount of fruit will be enough for every Pyongyang citizen to eat two pieces of fruit every day and with some to spare.

Pyongyang must give effective assistance to those fruit farms so that they can produce 200,000 tons of fruit every year. It must transport night soil to the fruit farms, give manpower support and help them build irrigation systems. I was told that if fruit groves are properly irrigated, not only does fruit production increase but also the fruit tastes better. As Pyongyang can mobilize large manpower resources, it must give the fruit farms substantial labour support.

Animal husbandry must be developed to increase the production of meat and eggs.

When I was guiding animal husbandry on my own responsibility, our people could buy meat at shops as they wanted and eat enough eggs. But this is not the case now.

We must develop animal husbandry by all means available so as to supply our people with adequate amounts of meat and eggs.

The stockbreeding base we built in the past is substantial. For instance in Pyongyang, there are such meat production centres as the Pyongyang Pig Plant with a capacity of 10,000 tons, the Tudan Duck Plant with a capacity of 5,000 tons and the Ryongsong Chicken Plant with a capacity of 5,000 tons and, such egg production centres as the Mangyongdae Chicken Plant with a capacity of 100 million eggs, the Sopho Chicken Plant with a capacity of 50 million eggs and the Hadang Chicken Plant with the same capacity of 50 million eggs. In addition, there is an assorted feed plant in Pyongyang with a capacity of 100,000 tons. If these plants are operated properly, Pyongyang citizens can be regularly supplied with meat and eggs. Pig, chicken and
duck plants should be supplied with sufficient amounts of animal feed, so that they can put production on a steady basis.

Next year Pyongyang must produce 200 million eggs. As the first stage, it must maintain steady production in chicken plants next year to produce 200 million eggs and develop the work after studying how to increase meat and egg production in the future.

Sericulture must be promoted.

As I emphasized at the meeting in September summing up this year’s farming, it is necessary to plant the silkworm grass on a large scale if we are to raise silkworms successfully. If we feed the silkworm grass to silkworms after mixing it with mulberry leaves, we can produce a greater amount of cocoons with the same mulberry leaves. I was informed that the mulberry leaves and silkworm grass mixed at the ratio of 7:3 makes a good silkworm feed. There is one opinion that the ratio of 5:5 is also suitable, but we are yet to become familiar with the ratio. If the ratio of mulberry leaves and silkworm grass in the feed is 7:3, then cocoon production can be further increased. If the silkworm grass is planted in greater numbers and cocoon production is increased, a large sum of foreign currency can be earned.

The silkworm grass must be planted on a wide scale. It can be planted between mulberry trees. Mulberry trees must be planted close together and in the fields where these trees are not planted closely, the silkworm grass should be planted in great numbers in the spaces between the trees.

I was advised that Jagang Province has failed to increase cocoon production for lack of fertilizers and chemicals. They can be imported with the money earned through exporting cocoons. Officials must rack their brains to solve knotty problems on their own; they should not expect the state to supply what they need. The great fault of our officials at the moment is that they do not do as I have stated. This is also why factories and enterprises have not put their production on a steady basis. In order to live on a limited land under cultivation, we must supply fertilizers and chemicals preferentially to the production of grain. Therefore, the silkworm-raising sector must strive to increase
cocoon production by importing fertilizers and chemicals with the money it earns on its own, instead of looking to the state for those materials.

The chief secretaries of the provincial Party committees must regard silkworm raising as an important task and give efficient guidance in increasing cocoon production.

Next, efforts should be channelled into putting production in the industrial field on a normal footing.

The capacity of our industrial production is substantial. If we make effective use of this capacity, we will be able to further increase production and make our people better-off. However, production is not steady in several fields of the national economy at the moment.

The main reason is that our officials do not throw themselves into economic work. If the leading officials organize economic work down to the last detail by devoting more of their energies, they will be fully able to normalize production.

In order for production in several fields of the national economy to be placed on a steady basis, the coal industry must be developed radically. The main requirement in putting production on a normal footing is to increase coal production. If there is coal, electricity, steel and cement can be produced and production can be put on a steady basis in several fields of the national economy. The coal-industry sector must launch a struggle to carry out the coal production plan.

As production cannot be normalized before the problem of coal is solved, I intend to have the problem of normalizing production discussed in detail after coal production is boosted. We must take disciplining action against the practice of people having an ambiguous attitude to the problem of supplying equipment and materials needed for coal production.

To proceed, efforts should be directed to developing foreign economic relations.

In order to develop the country’s economy, we must conduct trade, joint ventures and collaboration with other countries. For all that, our officials must not think about running the economy in a capitalistic
way. Introducing the capitalistic method in the economic field means taking the road to ruin.

The main purpose in trying to realize joint ventures and collaboration with other countries is to make use of their technology and funds. Therefore, we must pursue joint ventures and collaboration in the way that other countries provide technology and funds and we perform enterprise management, on the principle that we gain as a great profit as possible.

If we are to develop foreign economic relations, we must strictly maintain our credit worthiness. If we lose credit, we can neither carry on trade nor realize joint ventures and collaboration with other countries.

What is important in developing foreign trade now is to train a large number of qualified trading officials who can be engaged in trade with the capitalist market in conformity with the changed situation.

In the past we developed trade by dealing mainly with the socialist market, but this market has now virtually disappeared. The Soviet Union collapsed and capitalism was restored there; the socialist countries in Eastern Europe also collapsed and they are following the road of capitalism. We must change the policy of trading mainly with the socialist market into that of trading with the capitalist market. We must boldly venture into the capitalist market to develop foreign trade. To this end, there must be a great number of qualified trading officials who can skilfully conduct trade with capitalist countries.

In order to develop foreign economic relations, officials must be positive in their activities. They can never develop economic relations with foreign countries if they only wait for someone to take the initiative in joint ventures or collaboration or if they worry about the defunct socialist market.

If they make positive efforts, they can produce various kinds of goods and export them to other countries. The sector of the machine-building industry can produce as many machines, tools, bearings and the like as possible for export. It is misguided to think that only highly automated machine tools can be exported to other
countries. Many countries now ask that we sell them the machine tools we are producing for ourselves. We have a considerable number of big machine-tool factories and excellent bearing- and tool-producing factories; if we produce machines, bearings and tools in great numbers and export them, we can earn foreign currency and furthermore import steel so as to place production on a steady basis.

The light-industry sector can export celadon porcelain to other countries in great quantities. From earlier times, our country has enjoyed highly-developed porcelain technology. It is said that the Japanese porcelain is excellent nowadays; the Japanese took our technicians to their country by force during the Imjin Patriotic War and then started to develop their porcelain technology.

The February 10 Factory is an excellent factory. The factory’s capacity for producing white-iron plates is 30,000 tons. If it produces white-iron plates with imported tin and other materials and sells them to foreign countries, it can earn much foreign currency and put its production on a steady footing. And if the factory maintains its production on a steady basis, it can supply as many white-iron plates as needed for producing flip-top cans. The Phyongsong Synthetic Leather Factory is also an efficient factory. This factory will earn foreign currency and put its production on a normal basis if we supply it with sufficient raw materials and allow it to export a proportion of its products enabling it to import the raw materials it needs.

Officials will be fully able to place production on a steady basis if they actively explore untapped resources by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, export our products and import the necessary raw materials by developing foreign trade and promote joint venture and collaboration with other countries.

Next, capital construction must be vigorously promoted.

The Administration Council must take active measures to finish the construction of power stations, including the Kumgangsan Power Station, and other projects now under way as soon as possible.

An atomic power plant must be built. Our country cannot fully solve the problem of electricity only by building hydroelectric and
thermal-power stations. In order to solve the problem in a far-sighted way, we should build an atomic power plant.

In the past we planned to get the equipment for an atomic power plant from the Soviet Union; but now that the Soviet Union has collapsed and there is no hope of getting the equipment from that country, we must buy it from countries other than the Soviet Union.

Sokdo Port must be built on a large scale. Only then can it serve the oil-tankers of 200,000-ton capacity. We should envisage building an oil-processing factory of 5 million-ton capacity in this area.

When we build an atomic power plant and produce oil, we will have nothing more to worry about. At that time our country will be a rich socialist state. This being our future, senior officials of the Administration Council must be confident and think about making an uninterrupted advance.

For the successful implementation of the task of putting production on a steady footing and other tasks facing the several sectors of the national economy, the problem of transport must be developed. Transport is necessary for production.

You must not regard the solving of the transport problem as something difficult. As I always say, an important way of easing the strain on transport is to provide the railways with heavy-duty equipment. Then a larger volume of goods can be transported on the existing railways without doubling the tracks.

To enable the railways to perform a heavy-duty service, we must supply the railway sector with 10,000 to 15,000 tons of steel every month. The railway sector must strive to make the railways capable of performing heavy-duty service even if it means importing steel from other countries.

Substitute fuel must be widely introduced into the motor-transport industry.

Our country is not yet producing crude oil, so its supply is strained. Oil is needed not only for operating vehicles; it is used in many industrial sectors. Naphtha, an important raw material in the chemical industry, is produced from crude oil. As the supply of oil is strained,
we must think about supplementing the oil for vehicles by using substitute fuel.

We can substitute subbituminous coal and methane as motor fuel. I think it would be advisable to make all vehicles capable of using subbituminous coal or methane except for the diesel-fuelled large trucks. The Sungni-58 trucks running in the fields of agriculture, local industry and commerce must be transformed so that they are capable of using subbituminous coal and methane.

Last I will speak about strengthening defence capabilities.

While intensifying their economic blockade and ideological and cultural onslaught against our socialism, the enemy is now threatening us militarily. We must further sharpen revolutionary vigilance against the enemy’s aggressive manoeuvrings and make full preparations to defend our revolutionary achievements from the enemy’s aggression.

Before anything else, we must implement our Party’s policy of training the whole army into a cadre army, modernizing the whole army, arming the entire people and fortifying the whole country. Training the whole army into becoming an army of cadres and modernizing the whole army is a task to be carried out by the People’s Army and by the field of military industry; but putting the whole people under arms and fortifying the whole country can only be done by mobilizing the whole nation.

If we arm the entire nation and fortify the whole country, we will have nothing to be afraid of even if the enemy invades us. Fortifying the whole country literally means turning the whole country into an impregnable fortress. If we fortify the whole country, we can fight the US imperialists and defeat them. We openly say, “Let them pounce upon us if they dare.” The enemy knows they cannot easily defeat us. This is why they do not dare provoke us.

If we solidify the all-people defence system by implementing the Party’s military line, the enemy will not be able to realize their attempt of aggression on our country. Shipping up-to-date weapons of mass destruction into south Korea, the enemy is now trying to intimidate us; but we fear nothing. No matter how the enemy manoeuvres to conquer
us, socialism is imperishable in our country—a country in which the Party and the people are united with one mind and which has strong defence capabilities.

I emphasize once again; the most important task the Administration Council must carry out is, first and foremost, to raise a good crop. It is only when we thoroughly carry out the tasks of radically increasing grain production by placing great efforts on agriculture, placing production on a steady basis in the industrial field and developing foreign economic relations in conformity with the changed situation and of promoting capital construction, that we can display on a higher level the superiority of our socialism and staunchly safeguard its cause.

The Administration Council must effectively discuss on the implementation of the tasks put forward in today’s joint meeting and map out correct measures.

I hope that the newly-organized Administration Council will efficiently organize and direct economic work as the Party intends and thus bring about a new upsurge in socialist construction.
As I always say, cadres are the pivotal body of the Party and the leading officials in the revolution. The Party’s quality depends on cadres’ preparedness, and all its activities are ensured by their role. It is none other than cadres who manage and administer the state, economic and cultural organs. In the final analysis, cadres decide everything. Therefore, it can be said that the destiny of the Party, the revolution and socialism depends on how we train them and raise their role. In the whole course of leading the revolution and construction the working-class party must always pay close attention to properly training cadres and encouraging them to play their role satisfactorily.

Ever since we started building a new society our Party defined it as an important task to solve the problem of native cadres and has put a great effort into this work. Immediately after liberation, there was an acute shortage of native cadres in our country. At that time we had a great deal of work to do, but we had few university graduates. Veterans of the anti-Japanese armed struggle had a strong revolutionary spirit and had been good at fighting against imperialists, but they had no experience either in building and administering the state or in economic construction and cultural development. In this situation, we
could not build a new society successfully without solving the problem of native cadres.

Though the situation in our country was difficult shortly after liberation, we made up our minds to solve this problem by ourselves and began to build a university and Mangyongdae Revolutionary School. Using, as construction funds, the rice which Kim Je Won and other peasants had donated to the country out of patriotism after their first year in farming on the land they had been distributed, we built a university and Mangyongdae Revolutionary School and gave education to the sons and daughters of the revolutionary martyrs, workers and peasants. Moreover, we set up the Higher Party School and the University of National Economy and, as the economic situation in the country improved, we established various training centres and many universities and colleges and trained cadres in a planned way.

Even during the grim Fatherland Liberation War when we had to wage a life-and-death struggle against the enemy, we continued to train native cadres. I think that among those present here there are some who, while fighting at the front line, were recalled by the Party to study at the universities and colleges.

As we trained native cadres in a planned way, overcoming every kind of difficulty while tightening our belts since immediately after liberation, we could fully solve the problem of cadres which was an extremely difficult one in our country. We now have a large army of 1.6 million intellectuals.

This army of intellectuals trained by our Party is the most precious of all our wealth. It is a source of great pride for our Party and people to have a great army of competent native cadres who are armed firmly with the Juche idea and possess knowledge of modern science and technology. This is a sure guarantee of the victorious advance of the Juche revolutionary cause.

Foreign visitors to our country greatly envy the fact that we have a large number of qualified cadres. They say that Korea can have nothing to fear because we have many qualified cadres. Whenever I hear this, I feel proud and tell them about how we have trained our
native cadres with tightened belts and say in praise of them. When I met a foreign party delegation several years ago, I told them: As we have a lot of competent native cadres, we can do anything once we are determined; I have trained our officials with much care; so they call me father and I do not object to this; I always tell them that they should obey their father’s advice and be loyal subjects of the country and true servants of the people.

There are a large number of loyal subjects among the officials we have trained; those who have laid down their precious lives for the Party and the revolution, for the motherland and the people, those who have performed feats of labour in socialist construction and who are working conscientiously devoting their whole life silently on the important positions of the revolution whether they are seen or unseen. I think it is highly commendable.

However, some of our officials fail to work loyally and prove themselves worthy of the trust and concern shown to them by the Party that has trained and held them up as cadres. Some are simply maintaining their present position without displaying enthusiasm in their work and some others are wielding their power and behaving bureaucratically, regarding their posts as birthrights. As they have been trained into cadres under the Party’s care, they ought to work hard to repay its concern. Nevertheless, some officials are maintaining their present posts without showing enthusiasm in their work or are abusing their authority and behaving bureaucratically. This is wrong. Officials should never behave like this.

Bureaucratism is an anti-popular ruling method which is applied by bureaucrats in exploiting society to oppress and exploit people. It cannot be tolerated in socialist society where the working masses are the masters of the country. In socialist society the officials are not bureaucrats but servants of the people. If they act in a bureaucratic manner in this society, it will bring about very serious consequences.

The historical lesson of the international communist movement has clearly proved how grave the consequences of bureaucratism are. The collapse of the ruling socialist parties and the frustration of socialism in
the Soviet Union and several East European countries in recent years were mainly due to the fact that officials misused their authority and behaved bureaucratically. This had the result that the parties in these countries lost the support of the masses. A party, divorced from the masses and forsaken by them, is doomed to collapse. Should this happen, socialism cannot maintain its existence. In the final analysis, bureaucratism does the evil work of destroying the mass basis of the working-class party and undermining the socialist system. The great danger of bureaucracy lies precisely here.

Comrade Kim Jong Il has said that it is tantamount to taking a tonic for officials to mix themselves with the masses and work devotedly for them, but that it is like taking poison of their own free will if they wield their power and behave bureaucratically over the masses. I think he is right.

Overcoming the abuse of power and bureaucracy is vital to defending the cause of socialism. Our officials should correctly understand the harmful consequences of bureaucracy and never act in a bureaucratic manner, but must devote themselves solely to the people.

To serve the people faithfully is the noble mission of our officials who have grown up under the care of the Party. Nothing is more honourable and worthwhile for our officials, who are making the revolution in our people-centred socialist society, than to be true servants of the people. If they are fully aware of their noble mission and serve the people faithfully, they will enjoy the respect and love of the people and then the ties between the Party and the masses will become closer. A true servant of the people—this is really a noble appellation. No matter where they work and at what, officials should not forget even for a moment that the people are the masters of our society and that they themselves are the faithful servants of the people.

Recently, our Party put forward the slogan, “We serve the people!” This is a very good slogan. This slogan contains the Party’s intention and profound meaning to tighten the unbreakable ties between the Party and the masses and display the advantages of our people-centred socialism to a greater extent. Our officials should make this slogan
their motto in and out of their work and serve the people in good faith. They should value and love the people sincerely and take responsible care of their destiny and life. Whatever they do, they should first think of the interests of the people and work conscientiously for their realization. They should find the value and worth of their life in the realization of the people’s happiness and ideals without claiming any honour or acknowledgement.

I am most happy when I meet, on my tour of field guidance, those officials who strive to make the people still more prosperous. One year I directed a conference of agricultural officials in the field. At that time an official from a cooperative farm present there requested that rice bowls be provided for his farmers instead of asking for more tractors or fertilizers, things which other participants wanted. Hearing him worrying about the rice bowls of his farmers, I thought I could feel easy about his farmers’ lives. You should not neglect the problem of people’s rice bowls. If you fail to provide people with sufficient rice bowls, they will be inconvenienced. Hearing his request, I thought he was striving for the improvement of his farmers’ standard of living.

Whether officials discharge their duties or not as the faithful servants of the people is expressed by how they work to implement the line and policy of the Party.

Our Party’s line and policy are the most people-oriented. The masses’ desires and demands are incorporated in our Party’s line and policy. Therefore, in order for officials to perform their duties as faithful servants of the people, they should, above all else, carry out the Party’s line and policy. They should regard the line and policy as most correct and absolute and implement them thoroughly and promptly by displaying unreserved devotion and a self-sacrificing spirit.

What is most important today in implementing the line and policy of the Party is to provide a full solution to the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people in conformity with the requirements of socialism.

From ancient times our people have wished to live on rice and meat or fish soup and in silk and tile-roofed houses. Some time ago we put
forward, as the decision of the Central People’s Committee, the task to fulfill this age-long desire of our people before the year 1995, the 50th anniversary of our Party’s foundation. Officials should clearly understand the Party’s intention and make every effort to provide a full solution to the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people.

Fundamental to these problems is the problem of food. In order to solve the food problem satisfactorily, we should raise good crops to increase grain production. Only when we have enough food by producing a large amount of grain, will we enable our people to eat their fill and build socialism and communism successfully. For this reason, I advanced the slogan, “Rice is socialism” already long ago and today I put forward the slogan, “Rice is, in effect, communism.”

As it is very important to solve the food problem we designated this year as a year of large-scale farming and have decided to concentrate all our efforts on farming. Nevertheless, this year’s farming results cannot be said to be satisfactory.

We must raise good crops next year by all possible means.

To this end we must increase investment in agriculture and accelerate the comprehensive mechanization and application of chemicals in agricultural work. The review of this year’s farming shows that sufficient fertilizers were not supplied so that we could not increase the per-hectare yield, which otherwise would be possible. We must increase fertilizer production radically and provide sufficient fertilizers for the countryside. Crop yield depends on the amount of fertilizer applied. As we have completed the project of enlarging and modernizing the equipment of the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex, we will be able to increase fertilizer production by far from next year onward. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry and other institutions concerned must carry out the plan of fertilizer production for the current annual fertilization period without fail. Moreover, as decided at the joint meeting of the Central People’s Committee and the Administration Council, tractors must be completely repaired and kept in good condition by the end of March next year.

We must step up the green revolution and obtain many varieties
capable of ensuring a high and stable harvest. Last autumn I visited the Jangchon Cooperative Farm in Sadong District, Pyongyang and met the agricultural scientists who had achieved remarkable success in their research. Senior officials should provide the agricultural scientists with good conditions for their research so that adequate varieties of rice and maize can be obtained.

We should also put great efforts into developing stock breeding and poultry farming to increase the production of meat and eggs. In our country there are a large number of bases for the production of meat and eggs such as pig farms as well as chicken and duck farms. Nevertheless, they do not prove their worth to the full because of the shortage of feed. We must solve the problem of feed in every possible way so that these farms can be run at full capacity. Rural households should also raise large numbers of poultry and livestock such as pigs, chickens, ducks and geese. These animals breed fast; they are highly productive, consume a small amount of feed and are easy to raise. If rural households set to it with determination, they will be fully able to raise a lot of such animals.

Officials in light industry are responsible to a large extent in solving the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people. The existing foundation of our light industry is not weak at all. Our country has almost all the necessary light-industry factories such as textile mills, garment factories, footwear factories and foodstuff factories. The point is with what standpoint and attitude officials work. When they work hard with strong allegiance to the Party and the people, we can satisfactorily solve the problem of clothing for the people. If we are to find a full solution to this problem, we must radically increase the production of chemical fibres. Officials must take positive measures to put production on a steady basis at vinalon factories and other chemical fibre mills.

We should continue to build a large number of modern houses in cities and rural areas. In the next three years we are going to build 150,000 to 200,000 dwellings in cities and rural areas annually.

Comrade Kim Jong Il is putting in great efforts to solve the problem
of housing for Pyongyang citizens despite the pressure on his time guiding all the affairs of the Party and the state. On his proposal and under his guidance, modern houses for 50,000 families were already built in Pyongyang on the occasion of my 80th birthday. He has again suggested building dwellings for 30,000 families in Pyongyang before the 40th anniversary of our victory in the Fatherland Liberation War. In support of his intention, you should organize the work scrupulously to finish the construction of these houses in time.

Officials should bring the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and strenuous effort into full play in implementing the Party’s line and policy.

Self-reliance is the fighting spirit peculiar to the communists. A man without the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance cannot make the revolution and break through obstacles and difficulties facing him in the way of progress. It is because our people rejected dependence on others and displayed the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard work to a high degree to implement the Party’s line and policy thoroughly that they could get over numerous difficulties and trials after the war and build a socialist country which is independent, self-sufficient and self-reliant in its defence. As the historical experience of our revolution shows, when we rely on our own efforts, we can break through difficulties and create “things” out of “nothing”.

Today the international circumstances of our revolution are very complex. The imperialists and reactionaries are intensifying an economic blockade as well as political and military pressure as never before in order to isolate and stifle our socialism. In this situation, there is no other way but to rely on our own efforts if we are to defend, safeguard and advance the cause of socialism by implementing our Party’s line and policy.

Self-reliance and strenuous effort—this can be said to be the criterion of officials’ loyalty to the Party and the revolution. Officials’ loyalty to the Party and the revolution should be displayed not in words but in practice. An official loyal to the Party and the revolution is one who implements the Party’s policy to the letter by displaying the
revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and strenuous effort with the spirit of absolute and unconditional regard for the Party’s line and policy.

Our officials should never complain about bad conditions in implementing the Party’s line and policy. They should make strenuous efforts to carry out the Party’s line and policy, by finding out what is in short supply and producing anything that is not available with a firm conviction that when the Party is determined, they can do anything. In particular, they should make active endeavours to realize more satisfactorily the Party’s plan and strategy to raise the standard of living of the people.

The officials of the Jonchon County Commercial Agency in Jagang Province created a splendid model in implementing the Party’s line and policy by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and strenuous effort. Comrade Jong Chun Sil and the other officials there are very persistent in carrying out the Party’s policy. They have not only been efficient in their commercial service, their basic duty, but have also created mulberry fields and raw material bases by their own efforts. They succeeded in the raising of silkworms and maize farming and raised many beavers and silver-grey foxes. They have thus made a great contribution to improving the standard of living of the people in their county.

Last year I met Comrade Jong Chun Sil on my tour of field guidance in Jagang Province. At that time she told me about how she had worked. Indeed, she had taken great pains and done a lot of work. When I met her first, she was a 17-year-old girl with bobbed hair and was working as a shop assistant, but she is now a Twice Labour Heroine. It is not at all easy to become a Twice Labour Heroine. She is a faithful servant of the people and a true communist. She does not claim any fame or reward. I have endorsed her admission to the Party; however, it is Comrade Kim Jong Il who has brought her up to be a true servant of the people.

I think it would be desirable if there were at least one faithful servant of the people like Jong Chun Sil in each county. Then, they will go some way towards solving the problem of the people’s well-being.
by implementing the Party’s policy. Our officials should make every effort to become a true servant of the people like her.

Recently the Party put forward the policy on conducting a campaign to follow the example of Comrade Jong Chun Sil, and it is good to undertake a campaign to follow the example of those who work well. What is important in conducting the “Jong Chun Sil Movement” is to follow the example of devotion, self-sacrifice, setting personal examples and self-reliance shown by her in work to improve the people’s standard of living as required by the Party policy.

In order for officials to be true servants of the people, they should have a revolutionary viewpoint on the masses.

The revolutionary viewpoint on the masses is the conception that the motive force of the revolution is the masses. The masters of the revolution and construction are the masses; they are also the driving force of the revolution and construction. There can be no revolution divorced from the interests of the masses. They are the possessors of inexhaustible strength and are most intelligent and sagacious. If there are almighty beings in the world, they are the masses; they are the great teachers of the revolution. One who does not have the revolutionary viewpoint on the masses considers oneself a special being, looks down upon the masses and takes an overbearing attitude, resorting to subjectivism and arbitrariness and showing off one’s small wisdom.

I wrote “The people are my God” in my reminiscences and this means that I regard them as Heaven. That “The people are my God” is my constant view and philosophy. Throughout my life, since I embarked on the road of revolution up to now, I have considered the people as Heaven, served them and made the revolution drawing on their strength. Revolutionaries will win the whole world and always emerge victorious when they believe in the people and rely on them, but they will always fail when they keep away from and are forsaken by the people—this is a truth which has been clearly proved by the practice of the long-drawn-out revolution.

Our officials should have the revolutionary viewpoint on the masses and thoroughly apply in and out of their work the idea that
“The people are their God.” They should go among the masses at all times to lend ear to their voices and learn from them with an open mind. When they are assigned a hard and difficult task, they should not trust to luck but find the ways and means of its fulfilment relying on the strength and wisdom of the masses.

Officials should acquire noble and perfect people-oriented traits.

An official who lacks people-oriented traits cannot win the confidence of the masses no matter how hard he may try. People do not open their hearts to such an official. When officials approach the masses with people-oriented traits, their authority in work will increase and the masses will trust them more deeply.

Our officials should always treat the people as their true comrades. In our society the relationship between senior officials and the people is a comradely relationship of trusting in and leading each other forward. Though their posts differ, they are revolutionary comrades who share the same idea and purpose and fight on together as the masters of the country. Officials should be modest and polite to the people at all times and in all places and treat them kindly as their revolutionary comrades without discrimination no matter where they work, and at what.

Officials should share life and death and good times and bad with the people. They should not divorce themselves from the latter and seek any privileges and special favours. They should be with the masses at all times and eat at the same table with them and also share good times and bad with them. It should become ingrained into officials.

Integrity and uprightness is an important people-oriented trait of officials. If officials are to share life and death and good times and bad with the people and are to work as befitting their faithful servants, they should be honest and upright in their economic and moral life. They should never abuse their authority to encroach upon the interests of the people or pursue their selfish desires. They should particularly guard against a thirst for a high position and worldly desires. Love of material gain is like opium. When officials are blinded by it, they will
unconsciously be infected with bourgeois ideology and a corrupt mode of life; they will seek their own selfish desire and, in the long run, they will even unscrupulously commit the crime of betraying the Party and the revolution. Officials should never be blinded by love of material gain but must always be upright.

Officials should acquire the trait of setting examples for others. Only the official who throws himself into difficult work before anyone else and applies himself to it setting an example for others can enjoy the affection and respect of the masses and fulfil his duty as the servant of the people. Officials should always stand in the vanguard of the masses, climbing a mountain ridge or carrying a burden on their backs before anyone else if it comes to doing something for the people. If they achieve a breakthrough in the vanguard of the masses, everyone will follow them and nothing will be impossible.

In order to fulfil their duty as the faithful servants of the people, officials should continue to improve their political and practical qualifications in step with the developing situation.

Success in their work depends on their qualifications. The present developing situation requires that officials work with higher political and practical qualifications than ever before. Our country’s economy has now achieved unprecedented growth and its technical level is high. Even a university graduate cannot properly manage the modern and large-scale economy and organize and direct production efficiently if he does not strive continuously to improve his qualifications. At present, some officials are wielding their power and behave bureaucratically; this is largely due to the low level of their qualifications. Officials should work hard to improve their political and practical qualifications so that they can master their work and know the answers to everything.

In order to improve their political and practical qualifications continuously, officials should make a study of their everyday routine and regular habits. They should establish the revolutionary habit of studying and study hard. They must study at least two hours a day, however busy they may be and attend every Saturday study session and
public lecture and learn with sincerity.

First of all, they should study hard the Party’s policy. The Party policy is a guiding principle to which officials should always adhere in their work. Our Party’s policy elucidates the tasks facing every field and the ways and means for their implementation. If one is firmly armed with Party policy, one can fulfil any task with confidence and conduct all work as the Party intends. Officials should intensify the study of Party policy so as to know well the policy it sets from time to time and, in particular, to be well informed of the Party policy with regard to their individual branches of work.

Officials should also strengthen study to acquire the knowledge of socialist economic management and equip themselves with a knowledge of modern science and technology. If one is ignorant of them, one cannot guide economic affairs properly. Officials should study economic management in real earnest so that they have a clear understanding of the Juche-oriented system and method of economic management and their superiority and are kept well informed of the socialist economic laws and categories. In addition, they should have a good knowledge of world trends in modern science and technology and the latest breakthroughs in these fields, not to mention the scientific and technological problems arising in their respective branches of work. If they avail themselves of the Grand People’s Study House, they will be able to learn a great deal. This study house is an important place for the education of all people. There are a lot of books on modern science and technology there. Officials can read these books to their heart’s content and receive lectures on scientific and technological matters.

We should continue the reeducation of officials through cadre-training institutions at different levels. Our Party has long established the system under which officials leave their posts to study in the training institutions for six months, so that they can work reliably without lagging behind the developing reality. They should be sent for study in a planned way to the six-month course either of the Higher Party School or of the University of National Economy, the
course of which is for the officials. Six months is not a short period of
time at all. If they study hard during this period, they can learn a great
deal. Officials who study in the six-month course should work hard to
gain more knowledge by making the best use of their time.

The one-month course is also an important way of raising the
political and practical qualifications of officials. They should attend
the annual one-month course without exception to temper their Party
spirit and improve their political and practical qualifications.

Officials must intensify their Party life.

Party life is a furnace for tempering the Party spirit and a good
school for revolutionary education. Only when officials intensify their
Party life will they not become degenerate ideologically; they will be
more inclined to work invariably and faithfully for the Party and the
people.

Officials should have a proper appreciation of the Party
organization and take part in Party life willingly and faithfully so as to
steadily enhance their Party spirit and cultivate themselves. They
should, at all times, entirely rely on the Party organization in work and
life as rank-and-file members and strive purposefully to subject
themselves to its leadership and control.

You have resolved to work invariably and faithfully for the Party
and the people keeping in mind the Party’s trust and solicitude. Your
determination should not be for its own sake. Officials should not
forget for one moment the great trust and care of the Party and should
become true revolutionaries and faithful servants of the people
working devotedly for the Party and the revolution, the motherland and
the people.
Dear comrades,
Compatriots and brothers and sisters,
We have said farewell to a memorable year which will shine for ever in the history of our country and are welcoming the hopeful New Year, 1993.

In welcoming the New Year, I should like to offer warm congratulations and greetings to all the people of the northern half of Korea, to our brothers and sisters in south Korea and to our compatriots in Japan and to all other overseas compatriots.

I should also like to extend my New Year greetings to the progressive people and friends of the world who are advancing along the road to independence, peace and socialism.

The year 1992 was a year of splendid victory and glory in which our Party and all the people, firmly united in one mind and one purpose, overcame difficulties and trials and fully demonstrated the validity and invincibility of the cause of socialism.

Last year the imperialists and reactionaries persistently attempted to isolate and stifle our Republic, the bastion of socialism, and blot out our cause of socialism, but they could not check the advance of our people. Ours are not a people who will renounce their revolutionary faith and principle yielding to any pressure or threat, nor are they a people who will abandon their own road and follow another road because some wind blows. The more the challenge they were faced, the
higher our people upheld the revolutionary banner of Juche in their advance and, by working hard they achieved a brilliant success in the building of socialism. By doing so we were not only faithful to our historic cause but also were able to prove ourselves worthy of the trust and expectations of the people around the world.

Last year our people were further tempered, the unity and cohesion of the Party and the masses were consolidated still more through a difficult and worthy struggle and the foundation of our independent national economy which enables us to get along with our own efforts under any difficult conditions, was solidified. We have come to have a greater strength both politico-ideologically and materially and look forward to the way to a greater victory.

I offer my heartfelt thanks to our working class, farmers, intellectuals and the officers and men of the People’s Army and to all the other people who, displaying unfailing loyalty to the Party and the revolution and devotion, made last year a contribution to strengthening the bulwark of socialism and victoriously advancing the revolutionary cause of Juche.

This year is an important year which marks the 40th anniversary of the victory in the great Fatherland Liberation War.

In the past Fatherland Liberation War our people and the People’s Army fought heroically, firmly united around the Party and displaying indomitable fighting spirit and unparalleled self-sacrificing spirit, and thus repelled the imperialist invasion, honourably defended the freedom and independence of the motherland and demonstrated the revolutionary mettle of our people to the whole world. The present situation demands that our people continue to wage an energetic struggle with the same fighting spirit and mettle which they displayed in the grim days of the war.

Smashing every form of challenge and obstructive manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries and defending our socialism and adding luster to it are an honourable task which is raised before our Party and people today.

Upholding the slogan “The Party, the people and the army must all
be united in one mind and complete the cause of socialism to the last!” all the Party members and working people must display the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard-working as well as mass heroism, promote socialist construction energetically and bring the advantages of our socialism into fuller play.

Our socialism is people-centred socialism which embodies the Juche idea. In our country all the people, as the genuine masters of the state and society, are equally enjoying a most valuable and happy life in all spheres of politics, the economy and culture. Our society is a most stable society in the political aspect in which the political rights of the people are fully guaranteed legally and socially and there are no social evils which violate and infringe upon human dignity. In our country where the state is entirely responsible for the people’s life, people do not have any worries about food, clothing and housing; moreover, all of them are working creatively engaged in jobs which are suited to their aptitudes and abilities; here not a single jobless person or a vagabond or a beggar can be seen. In our country people are enjoying a long life and good health thanks to the free medical care system and all the people study to the best of their ability throughout their life and develop ceaselessly under the most advanced system of free compulsory education. On the basis of the collectivist principle “One for all and all for one” all the members of the society are forming one big family and sharing their joys and sorrows helping and leading one another forward. This is an important characteristic and intrinsic advantage of our society.

The dignity and happy life enjoyed by our people are inconceivable in a society of exploiter class; they can be ensured only in socialist society. Apart from socialism today’s happiness of our people and their hope for tomorrow are impossible. Socialism is, in effect, the life and soul of our people. Defending and bringing honour to our socialism which has been achieved through a long bloody struggle is the only way for the glorious life of our people and the way to victory.

The revolutionary principle and line of our Party in socialist construction are steadfast and invariable. Our socialist cause has
advanced along the straight road of victory without suffering any failure and setbacks even under the extremely difficult and complicated circumstances. This has been possible because our Party has invariably adhered to the Juche-orientated revolutionary principle and line. We must continue to adhere to the principle of Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-reliance in defence the validity and vitality of which have been clearly proved in the trials of history and must promote more vigorously the three revolutions—ideological, technical and cultural—following the general line of socialist construction without deviation.

The political and ideological unity of the masses is the source of our strength and the decisive guarantee of all victories. History shows that socialism is invincible when we strengthen the political and ideological unity of the people and build up the ideological fortress. We must vigorously promote the ideological revolution so as to equip all Party members and working people firmly with the Juche idea and must further strengthen the single-hearted unity between the Party and the people.

To realize the desire of our people to eat rice and meat regularly, wear silk clothes and live in tile-roofed houses is an important target of socialist construction. This year we must step up the building of socialist economy so as to further strengthen the independent foundations of the economy and quickly improve the material and cultural life of the people.

The main aspect on which we must concentrate our efforts in the economic construction is the coal industry, the power industry and the metal industry. It is particularly important to give absolute precedence to the coal industry. Only when the production of coal is sharply increased is it possible to ease the strain on electricity and to put production in various sectors of the national economy including the metal industry on a steady basis. Investment should be concentrated on the leading economic sectors including the coal industry and all the conditions needed for production must be provided on a preferential
basis, so that a growth in production will be effected first in these sectors.

In light industry bold technical innovations should be made and positive measures should be adopted to operate the equipment at full capacity so as to make the best possible use of the existing productive potential, and great national efforts should be put into increasing the production of consumer goods on a large scale.

In the sector of transport the material and technical foundations of railways must be consolidated still further and the Party’s policy on effecting a revolution in transport be carried out, thereby fully meeting the demand of the national economy for transport.

This year the agricultural sector should work hard to increase agricultural production by meeting the requirements of the Juche farming method. Now that the problems of water and seeds have been solved, a key to radically augmenting agricultural production by implementing the Juche farming method lies in the supply of enough fertilizers to the rural areas. The sectors concerned such as the chemical industry should be responsible for producing and supplying timely the chemical fertilizers needed for this year’s farming.

This year we should undertake large-scale housing construction in cities and rural communities including the building of houses for 30,000 families in Pyongyang, and thus provide the people with more cultured living conditions.

We should further step up the cultural revolution and achieve new progress in all spheres of cultural development including science, education, public health, literature and art and physical culture. Our intellectuals must make an active contribution to the development of socialist culture by displaying their creative talent and wisdom to the full taking pride in their being the revolutionary fighters of the Party and thus prove themselves worthy of the great expectations of the Party and the people.

We should channel our efforts into increasing the nation’s defence capabilities to cope with the aggressive provocations of the enemy.

We should implement the policy of turning the entire army into an
army of cadres, modernizing the whole army, arming all the people and fortifying the whole country, thereby strengthening the revolutionary armed forces and further solidifying the all-people defence system. All the officers and men of the People’s Army, members of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards and the Young Red Guards should be fully prepared politically and ideologically, militarily and technically so as to reliably safeguard the security of the motherland and the cause of socialism.

Success in the revolution and construction depends on how the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative power of the masses are organized and mobilized. All the officials in positions of leadership should inspire the masses to struggle and great feats by giving absolute priority to political work as required by the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method and the Taean work system which were created by our Party, and plan and organize the work to implement the lines and policies of the Party carefully, without overlooking anything. All officials must work in a militant way with a high sense of revolutionary spirit, and the revolutionary spirit of living and struggling like heroes should prevail the whole society.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic have consistently made strenuous efforts to achieve the reunification of the country on the principle of national independence.

For the past 20 years since our Party put forward the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity by embodying the idea of reunification based on national independence, the national reunification movement has been expanded and developed steadily on a nationwide scale. In the course of this the north-south talks progressed to a high stage, with the result that at last an epoch-making advance could be achieved of adopting and effecting the “Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, Cooperation and Exchange between the North and the South” and the “Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula”. The south Korean authorities are obstructing the implementation of the north-south agreement under an unreasonable excuse and attempting to resume the
provocative “Team Spirit” joint military exercise today when the entire nation can visualize reunification in the not distant future with hope and expectations. This is an anti-national act designed to deny the principle of reunification on national independence and achieve their dishonest aim by relying on the foreign forces.

The reunification desired by our nation is the reunification to realize national independence, but not the reunification to live shackled to others. If we intended to live subjected to others, we would not have needed to wage the protracted and arduous national-liberation struggle, nor would it be necessary for us to fight against the aggression and interference of foreign forces in the teeth of all sacrifices since our country’s liberation. The principle of national independence is the fundamental principle of reunification from which we cannot stand back. Talking about negotiations and reunification while denying this principle is trifling with the nation; this should not be permitted.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic will, in the future, too, make persistent efforts to reunify the country on the principle of national independence and by forming a federation which is based on one nation, one state, two systems and two governments. If anyone takes a sincere attitude to really settle the question of the country’s reunification on the standpoint of national independence, we will meet him or her, without questioning his or her past, and discuss the question of national reunification open-mindedly and make joint efforts to realize the cause of the country’s reunification.

The question of Korea’s reunification is a national issue which our nation should solve as the motive force and, at the same time, it is an international one for which the countries concerned should take responsibility and cooperate in every possible way. In order to solve the Korean question, the outcome of cold war, the countries concerned must renounce without hesitation their outdated policy of the cold war period. To cling to the one-sided policy of the cold war period, while threatening us militarily and putting economic pressure on us, is not an attitude to clear the aftermath of cold war; it is running against the
trend of the times. When the countries concerned take the stand to solve the Korean question fairly to meet the demand of the times and the principle of international justice, they will be able to fulfil their shares of responsibility and duty in the Korean question; this will also exert favourable influence on improving the relations between our country and these countries.

There are still obstacles and difficulties in the way to our country’s reunification. However, our people’s cause of reunification which is advancing in accordance with the principle of national independence will unfailingly emerge victorious.

The present international situation is complex, but the independent foreign policy of the Government of our Republic is invariable. In future, too, the Government of our Republic will continue to implement the foreign policy of independence, peace and friendship. However complex the situation is, we will hold fast to independence, be faithful to the revolutionary principle and our international duty and will make every possible effort to make the whole world independent and develop friendly and cooperative relations with the peoples of socialist and non-aligned countries and with the peoples of many other countries around the world.

Our revolutionary cause is just and our people-centred socialism is ever-victorious. As long as there are the Juche idea which illumines the road ahead of us, the correct guidance of the Party which leads our people to victory and the united people who are loyal to the leadership of the Party, no force will check the advance of us who are upholding the banner of socialism in the East.

Let all of us advance forcefully towards a new victory firmly united around the Party Central Committee!
ON LAYING OUT MT. KUWOL AS A SUMMER RESORT AND REBUILDING THE MAUSOLEUM OF THE FOUNDER KING OF KORYO

Talk to Officials after Inspecting the Sand Table of the General Plan for Land Development of the Kuwolsan Summer Resort Area and the Design of the Mausoleum of the Founder King of Koryo

January 15, 1993

The sand table of the general plan for land development of the Kuwolsan summer resort area is made well.

If we turn Mt. Kuwol into a summer resort for Pyongyang citizens, they will be delighted. Pyongyang has a large population including workers, scientists, technicians and office workers but it has few places where they can rest on hot summer days. So I decided to have Mt. Kuwol laid out as a resort so that Pyongyang citizens can rest there during the hottest days. They may go to Mt. Taesong on these days, but it is still hot there. So it would be good if they take a rest on cool Mt. Kuwol during this hottest period.

The scenery of Mt. Kuwol is beautiful. According to old novels, many people went to the mountain for sightseeing.

Situated near Pyongyang, the mountain is easy of access. When it is laid out as a resting place, Pyongyang citizens can have a few days’ rest there–leaving Pyongyang for the mountain on Friday afternoon and enjoying two days’ rest before returning on Sunday evening to attend to their work on Monday morning.
In view of its height, the mountain is suitable as a summer resort. The highest point being about 950 metres above sea level, if resting places are laid out on heights between 500 and 800 metres above sea level, it will be cool there even in the hottest days. Living in a place 500 metres above sea level is best for man’s health, I was told. That is why I instructed that Mt. Kuwol should be laid out as a summer resort for Pyongyang citizens.

For this purpose, public service facilities should be built up. Only then can we ensure that the Pyongyang citizens, the working people from Nampho and South Hwanghae Province and foreign tourists swim in the sea off Jingangpho and tour the cultural remains on Mt. Kuwol while resting there.

Rest homes should be built on the mountain—homes for accommodating our people in groups, homes for the overseas compatriots and foreigners and homes for individuals. These homes must be built on heights between 600 and 700 metres above sea level away from the scenic spots so that holidaymakers can see the sights walking on foot.

The water to be used in the rest homes is planned to be pumped up from the foot of the mountain; you had better find a spring. In the old days people who came to the mountain must have drunk water from a spring, not water fetched from its foot. As there are springs on Mt. Taesong, there must be a spring on Mt. Kuwol. A spring must be discovered and rest homes built near the spring.

The cultural remains on Mt. Kuwol must be preserved well. On the mountain there are Tangun Grotto in which Tangun is said to have been born, Tangun Rock on which he is said to have practised martial arts and studied, a site which he is said to have designated as the capital town, and a fort constructed in the days of Koguryo. If we fail to preserve historical remains and relics with care, this would give the enemy an excuse for propagandizing that communists do not know their nation and forefathers. As we preserve the historical remains and relics in Mt. Myohyang well and take good care of them, our fellow countrymen from the south and abroad will acquire a favourable
impression of us, communists, after visiting them.

The remains related to Tangun should be laid out well. Such remains as Tangun Grotto and Tangun Rock are related to the myth of Tangun who is said to have descended from heaven and founded Ancient Korea. When young, I heard the myth from my father. Mt. Myohyang also has a legend that the mountain is so beautiful that he descended on to the mountain from heaven and ruled his country. Although the legends about Tangun are a myth, we should lay out properly the remains and relics related to him in the sense of paying tribute to, and respecting, our nation and forefathers. Not caring who believes the myth, we must arrange in a proper way the remains and relics related to him. When he was living in exile in the United States, Mr. Choe Tok Sin published a newspaper titled *Paedal Sinbo*, calling the Korean people the Paedal nation; this means that the nation are descendants of Tangun.

Among the remains and relics related to Tangun we must keep the Tangun Rock in good shape. The Tangun Grotto, situated at a height 705 metres above sea level, will be convenient for tourists to gain access. I was told that it is a natural cave not too deep or high. The Prime Minister of the Administration Council should go to the mountain and see whether the cave can be laid out in a manner worthy of sightseeing. It is said that there were several temples on the mountain for sacrificial rites for Tangun; it would be advisable to rebuild Tangun Temple near Tangun Rock. Unless the Tangun Temple is rebuilt, there will be nothing for tourists to see other than the Tangun Grotto or the fort constructed in the period of Koguryo. I think it is unnecessary to rebuild Samsong Temple. According to a report, in the old days sacrificial rites were held at that temple at first before a wooden figure and later before an earthen tablet. There is also no need to reconstruct the site of the capital town in Ryongsan-ri, Anak County. Among the temples planned to be rebuilt on the sand table, only Phaeyop Temple must be rebuilt and Woljong Temple must be repaired and preserved as it is now. The rebuilding of Phaeyop Temple should be done later when raw materials and funds are available; first a
tourist road to the temple should be built.

As there are stones from the crumbled fort built in the Koguryo period, they should be gathered to rebuild the fort as the fort on Mt. Taesong was done.

The road being built on Mt. Kuwol must be paved. The soldiers of the Korean People’s Army are now building a road on the mountain. It must be finished quickly and bridges built where necessary. They must be paved. Now that the ground work is finished in the main, all that are needed are ballast and paving.

A road should be built from Mt. Kuwol to Jingangpho. The road must be laid out straight. I was informed that a rough road has already been laid from Mt. Kuwol to Jingangpho, Kwail County, via Kumsan Port, Unryul County, and a loop line from Kuwol-ri, Unryul County, to Mt. Kuwol through Talchon Spa, Samchon County, and Woljong-ri, Anak County. We must complete the work and pave the roads.

It is planned to build a cable car on Mt. Kuwol, but it needs further study. As we are going to ensure that people not only have a rest but see the sights on Mt. Kuwol, it would be better to make them do so walking on foot than by cable car. Building a cable car might damage the mountain’s beauty. Recently I met foreigners and south Koreans who had visited the Kumgang Mountains. I told them that we were planning to build a cable car to Upper Eight Pools for among the visitors to the mountains there are old people who find it hard to walk. They advised me not to do so lest it damage the beauty of the mountains and said that sightseeing on foot is better.

In summer large waterfalls on Mt. Kuwol look majestic. It is said that one can command a view of the Anak, Jaeryong and Sinchon areas from the site of the ancient fort as one does from a plane. A deep study must be made of whether a cable car can be built up to the site without damaging the scenery.

If we are thinking of building a cable car on Mt. Kuwol, we would be better advised to build a funicular railway like that on Mt. Paektu. It can be made in our country and it is safe. We are not familiar with cable car. Building a cable car requires foreign currency and there is no
need to go as far as building an unfamiliar cable way by laying out foreign currency. We must establish Juche in construction as well. I was told that the part of the mountain planned to be laid with a cable car is too steep for a funicular railway. If, after a field inspection, it is found too difficult then the project must be abandoned.

We must build cruise liners for those Pyongyang citizens who want to visit the Kuwolsan summer resort.

Some years ago after my return from a visit to the German Democratic Republic I assigned a task of building a cruise liner like the one I had been on there and launching it on the Taedong River. The liner built at that time must still be there somewhere. The German liner was a coal-burning ship, not an oil-burning ship, and it was good for its large capacity and low speed. We must build a few more liners of that kind so that Pyongyang citizens can use them when going to the Kuwolsan summer resort.

One of them can sail from Pyongyang to the West Sea Barrage and another from Pyongyang to Jingangpho nonstop; bus services should be provided from the West Sea Barrage and Jingangpho to the Kuwolsan summer resort. Another possible route is to go from Pyongyang to Sinhwanpho by ship and from there to the summer resort by bus; small liners should be built as large ones cannot sail on the Jaeryong. The Pyongyang citizens can also go there by bus detouring round Anak County. But it will still be better if they go to the resort cruising on the Taedong and enjoying the scenery. We must build the cruise liners with our own equipment and materials, thus requiring no foreign currency.

To provide a liner service, we must build a wharf. The wharf should be built in the place where liners can be moored and where people can embark on and disembark from liners and change for the bus without experiencing any inconvenience. If Jingangpho, Kwail County, suits the purpose, a wharf should be built there. Then it will be convenient for Pyongyang and Nampho citizens to get to Jingangpho by ship to swim in the sea and look around the cultural remains on Mt. Kuwol. When my father went to and fro to guide the work of the Korean
National Association he used to go to Unryul County by boat and disembark at a certain wharf to guide meetings. The wharf served only small boats. We must build a wharf at the West Sea Barrage as well so that Pyongyang citizens who cruise on the Taedong can disembark there, visit the West Sea Barrage and proceed to the Kuwolsan summer resort by bus.

A wharf to serve small cruise liners will be appropriate for Sinhwanpho. The wharf should be built in a simple way using some cement, so that travellers can board and disembark from liners.

For the building of a summer resort on Mt. Kuwol, projects including building various service facilities like rest homes and Children’s Union camps, rebuilding or maintaining cultural remains and building wharfs and roads should be undertaken, but we cannot carry them out all at a time.

It would be advisable to draw up a plan for building the resort over seven to ten years and to finish one or two projects at a time.

The projects should be divided among state organs, Pyongyang, Nampho and South Hwanghae Province. As the resort is a recreational centre, it must be built by the people who would stay there. The state organs must undertake large projects such as building wide roads, rest homes and CU camps and Pyongyang, Nampho and South Hwanghae Province must undertake smaller projects. Among the rest homes, the state organs must build those for accommodating individuals and the provinces those for accommodating people in groups.

We must rebuild the mausoleum of Koryo’s founder king.

On hearing the explanation of its design, I realized that you plan to rebuild the Mausoleum of King Wang Kon, the founder of Koryo, so as to be larger than that of King Tongmyong, the founder of Koguryo. I think you should not do so. The size of Wang Kon’s Mausoleum must be decided by careful consideration of the sizes of the tombs of other kings. The tomb of the founder of the Ri dynasty should also be taken into account. That our officials do not have a correct knowledge of the size of the tomb of the founder king of the Ri dynasty shows that they have not yet made sufficient studies. It is advisable to build the
Mausoleum of King Wang Kon to be smaller than that of King Tongmyong but a little larger than that of King Kongmin and to decide the sizes of the stone sculptures of military and civil officers to be placed there in proportion to the size of the mausoleum.

I studied the Mausoleum of King Tongmyong from various angles and had it rebuilt in a big way. The present one is larger than that which was planned at the beginning of its reconstruction. I saw photos of the royal tombs of Silla situated in Kyongju. They were all small. There are many royal tombs of the Ri dynasty in Seoul. It is because the dynasty had a history of over 500 years. A few stone sculptures of military and civil officers are erected before each of the tombs and there is nothing special about it other than some stones laid around it when it was being built.

The Mausoleum of King Tongmyong is the largest and most majestic of the tombs of the successive kings of our country. From now on the mausoleum should be regarded as the standard in rebuilding royal tombs.

These days I am reading a book on Korean history. I do not know how historians estimate Wang Kon; I do not think he is as great as King Tongmyong. Although he founded the first unified state in our country by merging the later three kingdoms and southern part of Palhae, he neither waged any large-scale war nor did he do anything worthy of particular notice at the time of the merging. He set up the unified state by easily occupying Later Silla and Later Paekje which had been exhausted by internal disturbances. Domestic conflict was the cause of the ruin of Later Paekje. Originally it was powerful and had a good fighting capacity. But as a power struggle erupted among the ruling circles over the issue of succession to the throne and as princes dethroned their father, the ruling system was paralyzed and the national power waned greatly. Wang Kon merged this weakened kingdom without much effort. In the long run his founding of the unified state called Koryo was not a creation of a new country like King Tongmyong’s founding of Koguryo. In consideration of the way he annexed Later Silla and Later Paekje, we can say that he knew full
well how to make use of an opportunity.

The miniatures of stone sculptures of civil and military officers, tigers, stone pole, stone lantern, altar and 12 earth gods are made well. Stone sculptures of tigers are planned to be placed both in front and at the back of the mausoleum, but I wonder whether they should be erected at the back, too. In the case of the Mausoleum of King Tongmyong, stone sculptures of tigers are not placed behind the mausoleum. If two stone sculptures of tigers were originally in front of the mausoleum and the other two at the back, four in all, then the sculptures should be set up at the back as well. You planned to set up eight tiger sculptures—a pair of male and female tigers at four places. I do not think it is necessary to set up so many tiger sculptures. Historians say that no historical record has it that eight tiger sculptures were set up at a royal tomb. Therefore, you should not try to set up many tiger sculptures for the sake of the appearance of the mausoleum in pursuance of the artists’ suggestion, but do as the historical records say. When rebuilding or restoring historical remains and relics, we must always observe the principle of fidelity to historical truth and examine their relationships with historical records. It seems good to set up four tiger sculptures around the Mausoleum of King Wang Kon—two, one male tiger and one female tiger, separately in the front and the other two, also one male tiger and one female tiger, separately at the back.

It is planned to set up stone sculptures of four civil officers and four military officers. That would be appropriate. We placed the same number of these officers in front of the Mausoleum of King Tongmyong.

Stone pole, lantern and other sculptures should be made based on the model of their miniatures.

According to a report, several relics including a mural have recently been discovered in Wang Kon’s Mausoleum. Measures must be taken to preserve them well. The relics except the mural are said to have been exhibited in the History Museum; it is a fitting principle to keep the historical remains and relics at their original sites.
The mural should be preserved in its original state. I was told that a pine tree and bamboos are painted on the mural and it seems fine. As it is a painting of the period of Koryo, we must preserve it well.

Measures must also be taken to show the mural to the people. We can fix a small door at the back of the mausoleum so that visitors can go inside to see the mural. If it is difficult to show it to all visitors, then only historians and other scientists and researchers must be allowed to see it. For those who cannot enter the mausoleum, a reproduction of the mural can be exhibited in the History Museum.

The reconstruction project of the Mausoleum of King Wang Kon must be carried on as has been designed.

A fish ladder must be built well in the West Sea Barrage. Only then can many fish swim upstream in the Taedong River. When building the West Sea Barrage, a fish ladder was built. As it was poorly made, mullet and other kinds of fish could not swim up to the Taedong. The Mirim and Ponghwa Barrages are also equipped with fish ladders and the same thing happened. Because mullet is a fish which teems in the confluence of fresh water and salty water, mullet concentrating in the sea off Nampho would swim up to the Taedong in a large shoal.

Before the liberation of the country, mullet teemed in the river. In those days, my uncle Kim Hyong Rok caught mullet on the river and sold them to buy millet to supplement the diet. During their occupation of Korea, the Japanese imperialists forced the Korean people to change their surnames and names into Japanese ones in order to obliterate the Korean nation. But my grandparents refused to do so. In my home village only my family held out to the last without changing their names to Japanese ones. If they did not change their names, the Japanese imperialists refused them schooling and food rations and considered them to be bad. Nevertheless, my uncle Kim Hyong Rok never changed his name and lived an honourable life. For this reason he was beaten and summoned to the police station several times. If the Japanese policemen asked what his name was, he answered it was Kim Hyong Rok. They slapped him across the face and asked once more.
But he still answered the same. Although he was slapped on the face for each answer, he never submitted. My grandfather is said to have said to his son at the time, “It’s a truly good thing that you haven’t changed your name to a Japanese one. When Song Ju’s fighting the Japanese, you can’t change your name into a Japanese one, can you? We must not change our names, on any account, even if it means we’re beaten to death.” As the Japanese policemen tormented him unbearably, my uncle would fish mullet by hiding under the Taedong Railway Bridge.

Before the liberation, Pyongyang was famous for mullet soup, cold noodle, onban (hot rice garnished with meat, vegetables, etc.—Tr.) and pancake. Visitors to Pyongyang, if they did not eat mullet soup, would say they had not made a full visit of the town. On an inspection of Phungjong-ri, Jungsan County one day after the armistice, I found a reservoir near the sea teeming with mullet. So I gave instructions to catch them and send them to a restaurant in Pyongyang specializing in mullet soup. As mullet was not regularly supplied, the restaurant was not always able to serve mullet soup to the citizens. I once asked the head of the Fish Farming General Bureau how they cooked mullet soup in the restaurant. He answered that they did not serve mullet soup on a regular basis because of failure in the supply of mullet but when they were supplied with it, they would cook the soup in the way hot-tasting flatfish soup is cooked. If mullet soup is cooked in this way, it does not retain its own taste. The soup must be boiled with the mullet first placed in cold water.

It is planned to build the fish ladder at the lock-gate No. 1. If fish teem about the lock-gate, the fish ladder should be built there. Its building should be undertaken by the Korean People’s Army and its design and technological guidance by the State Construction Commission. We must soon start building it and finish it in a short time.

Sokdo Port must be constructed as planned.
It must be built in a far-sighted way so that it can serve 100,000-ton and 200,000-ton ships. Nampho Port can provide anchorage only for
50,000-ton ships, but not for larger ships—100,000-ton and 200,000-ton ships.

In future, a great amount of crude oil, coking coal and iron ore must be transported. They have to be transported by 100,000-ton ships and larger ones. According to a report, there is a large deposit of crude oil under the West Sea. If crude oil is produced there, we can transport it through a pipeline or by ship to be unloaded on the wharf. If we are to transport oil through a pipeline, we have to lay it under the sea, and it will be difficult. Officials in the economic field should study how to transport crude oil. We must also build on the West Sea coast a plant capable of processing millions of tons of crude oil produced there. Even if crude oil can be transported through a pipeline, a port should still be built in Sokdo, because iron ore and coking coal must be transported by ship. It would be a good idea to start the building of a wharf right now. The soldiers of the KPA are building the port; the Administration Council, however, must be in charge of the construction.
I am very glad to meet you; you have performed a great deal of exploits while working in the field of art and literature over a long time. I called you not to have a consultative meeting, but to have a talk and dinner with you in a homelike atmosphere.

I am old and Comrade Kim Jong Il guides the general affairs of the country, so I thought of meeting my old friends occasionally, having dinner and talking with them in a homelike atmosphere. So from last year I have met many people including the anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans and those related to the revolution; and today I am meeting you, veterans in the field of art and literature.

A few days ago, I enjoyed *Song of the Seasons*, a folk dance suite created by the Phibada Opera Troupe, and there I saw Comrade Kim Won Gyun; I failed to talk with him. On my return I rang Comrade Kim Jong Il and said I would like to meet him. Comrade Kim Jong Il recommended that it would be better for me to meet some more officials in the field of art and literature along with Kim Won Gyun and listed your names one by one. This is how I am meeting you today.

You have so far worked a lot for nearly 50 years since the liberation of the country, true to our Party’s policies on art and literature. Highly appreciative of the achievements you have scored in those years, I congratulate you on your successes.

Since you are advanced in your ages, you have to pay deep attention
to the education of your offsprings and the younger generation. An
important task facing you now is to educate your children and the
younger generation effectively, so that they will uphold Comrade
Kim Jong Il with loyalty. You must ensure that they are rallied firmly
around Comrade Kim Jong Il and remain faithful to him.

Comrade Kim Jong Il is an outstanding leader possessed with the
power of pen and sword combined with loyal and filial mind. He is not
only an unexcelled ideological theoretician and military strategist but
also a prototype of infinite loyalty to the people and of filial devotion
to parents.

What I appreciate most highly in his personality is his valuing and
taking good care of those who fought shoulder to shoulder with me in
the revolutionary struggle. He respects them as the veterans of
revolution, pays high tribute to them and takes the utmost care of them
in and out of work. Therefore all the veterans of the anti-Japanese
revolution like him and respect him as their leader. This is a very good
thing in carrying forward the revolutionary cause of Juche through
generations, the cause we pioneered.

In approaching and estimating people. Comrade Kim Jong Il
always takes their fidelity into account and not their social origin.
Immediately after liberation we were particular about the social origin
of the people in order to distinguish those with whom we could join
hands from the targets of struggle in the building of a new country.
There is no need to do so now. Today’s generation were all educated
by us after liberation. For 50 years after liberation we have brought up
people of two generations; they are equipped with the Juche idea, so
there is no need to call their social origin into question.

In the past O Ki Sop, Pak Kum Chol and other anti-Party,
counterrevolutionary factionalists, contrary to our intention, called the
people’s social origin into question, judged and treated them by giving
first consideration to their origin. Pak Kum Chol, in particular,
dismissed the cadres whom I trusted on the plea of their undesirable
social origin. While I was on a visit to a foreign country, he removed an
official, whom I had selected and promoted, to a province on the
excuse of the man’s family background. His family background that Pak Kum Chol called into question was that his mother ran a pub before liberation, but this cannot be a problem. So I told Pak Kum Chol that one could scratch pot to eat scorched rice when he was hungry, but one must not scratch others; I ordered him to call the man there and then, saying I trusted the man. In subsequent days, too, Pak Kum Chol removed many cadres on the plea of their social origin. That he dismissed cadres at random calling their social origin into question was not because his social origin was better or the course of his life was cleaner than others’. Being engaged in the revolutionary struggle in the homeland, he was arrested by the Japanese police and became a turncoat in prison. I came to know of his treachery through Pak Tal. I told Pak Tal that, though Pak Kum Chol had written a letter of conversion in prison, he pledged that he would work well and so we could give him a chance and that it was not a problem since we knew the fact. He dismissed many cadres on the grounds of their origin because he had a guilty conscience. Even today there might be some among our officials who scratch others calling their social origin into question; those people have not freed themselves from the bad habit like O Ki Sop and Pak Kum Chol.

In order to rally more people from different sections around the Party, Comrade Kim Jong Il is executing an all-embracing policy and looking after the destinies of all people on his responsibility.

He is loyal and devoted to me. It is entirely thanks to him that I am engaged in revolutionary work and in good health though I am on the wrong side of 80. He always pays special attention to my health and subordinates everything to my health. He has the documents to be reported to me recorded before being sent to me lest my eyesight might be injured and I would feel tired if I read too many documents. So I listen to the recorded documents in my office or on a stroll. My technical staff read materials by me; this also makes me feel less tired. Whenever a new film or a piece of music is made, Comrade Kim Jong Il sends me a video or a tape recording so that I can enjoy a cultural and emotional life. Thanks to him, I live optimistically
enjoying an emotional life.

I am very satisfied with and highly appreciative of Comrade Kim Jong Il’s wise guidance of the general affairs of the Party, the state and the army. So on his 50th birthday I composed a poem in which I praised him as a great man possessed with the power of pen and sword combined with a loyal and filial mind. You say you were struck with wonder by the poem; I compose poems now and then when I witness emotional events. Today’s newspaper reported that a monument to the poem was erected in front of Comrade Kim Jong Il’s native home in the Paektusan Secret Camp and a ceremony was held to unveil it. It is good that the monument was built. I will include the poem in my reminiscences.

You wished me a long life, and I am hale and hearty. At the moment I feel like working 10 more years. The Indian vice-president, who was on a visit to our country last year, told me that I was quite healthy and that he would come again on my 90th birthday.

I can continue to perform revolutionary work in good health now because I have always lived full of optimism. I told this to the “Prime Minister” of south Korea, who came for the north-south high-level talks as head of the delegation of the south, when he asked me the secret of my good health. I never feel pessimistic however arduous and complicated the situation is and always live optimistically with conviction in sure victory. In the days of the armed struggle against Japan, a critical situation was created on several occasions as we ran out of food and ammunition, but we braved through all difficulties with the belief that there would be a way out even if the heaven collapsed, and we emerged victorious. Another secret of keeping good health is to do much physical exercise. I always do exercises like swimming and taking a stroll. Since you are also old, you should do much exercise so as to live for a long time.

You say you admired my memory while you were reading my reminiscences *With the Century*; I still have a good memory. The head of the Party History Institute was also amazed at my memory.

The other day I asked him if he had ever read *Kaeb yok*, a magazine
published in our country before liberation. He answered he had not. I
told him that it was wrong for him to have not read the magazine as he
was head of the Party History Institute. I advised him to find it. Later,
he reported that he got about 70 copies of the magazine. I told him: The
magazine would be carrying a travelogue on Manchuria and an article
on the pride of eight provinces written by Ri Ton Hwa; in the
travelogue he wrote what he saw and felt travelling as far as Xingjing
County, China, including the description of the Chinese people’s
making much smoke polluting the air and of their bad custom of
throwing dead children outside instead of burying them; there are
many things worth reading in the article about the pride of eight
provinces; you’d better read them and write many articles boasting of
our country. Afterwards, the head of the Party History Institute told me
that he read the magazine and, on finding Ri Ton Hwa’s writings, he
was moved to tears by my good memory. The people of these days do
not know the magazine, for it was published before liberation.

I remember all the details of the days of the anti-Japanese
revolutionary struggle. As you would read in the fourth volume of my
reminiscences With the Century, I still remember an event that
happened during the second expedition to northern Manchuria.
Leading my unit from Ningan County, I crossed Lake Jingbo and went
to Emu County. When we entered a village, we could not see a soul
there. Thinking it strange, I went into a house; the floor of the room felt
warm. The village school was also vacant, but it was quite evident that
pupils had been studying just before. Frankly speaking, the villagers
had hidden themselves before our arrival as they had been misled by
the evil Japanese imperialist propaganda that “Koryo red army” killed
people. In order to set the villagers at ease I brought a foot organ out
into the yard of the school and began to play it, singing the Song of Su
Wu together with men from the young volunteers’ corps company. It
was a song full of patriotism, a song which the Chinese people were
fond of. The men of the company were quite learned and they sang
Chinese songs well. The villagers and pupils, who had been hiding
near the village and watching our movements, began to come out as
they heard our singing. When they had all gathered, I made a speech in Chinese. Only then did they welcome us, saying that the “Koryo red army” was not a gang of bandits, but a people’s revolutionary army. The news about us soon spread over the area of Emu County. At that time we were waiting for the delegates we had dispatched to the Comintern.

You, Comrade Jo Ryong Chul, said you have lived to be nearly 80 years old with a weak physical constitution, one that could endure less than 60 years, and that is thanks to our excellent socialist system.

Whenever I visit the schoolchildren’s palace, I am amazed at the drawings and singing by the talented children. Young talented children are produced in a large number because our socialist system is advantageous. In capitalist society the children from rich families idle their time away, whereas the children from poor families cannot develop their talent because they have no money. But in our country the Party locates talented children and provides them with efficient teachers so as to bring their talent into bloom. So, today the number of young talents is increasing every year. When our children are told to sing songs, they do it; when they are told to perform acrobatics, they do it, too; they can perform any artistic skills. I was told that at the 17th Monte Carlo International Acrobatics Festival our trapeze artists were awarded the gold prize. And today even kindergarten children can perform acrobatics. Today even children can perform magic, which in the past only professional conjurers performed. It is all thanks to our excellent socialist system.

We must further display the advantages of the socialist system of our own style. Today, under the socialist system our people enjoy freedom and their rights to the full and live happily without any worries about food, clothing and housing; they also enjoy free education and free medical care. If we can only fill shops with more consumer goods by carrying out a revolution in light industry, then we will have nothing more to wish for. We must improve the people’s standard of living by carrying out a revolution in light industry by all means possible. The other day the head of the Light Industry
Department of the Party Central Committee sent me a letter in which she expressed her determination to carry out without fail a revolution in light industry. I believe in her determination. She is tenacious in carrying out Party policies, so she will perform without fail what she is determined to do.

I am thankful for your remark that you want to go to Jeju Island with me after the reunification of the country. Reunifying the divided country at the earliest date is the most urgent task facing us. At the moment the enemy is viciously scheming to isolate and stifle our country demanding that we present the alleged nuclear weapons for inspection, but we are not afraid of their demands in the least. I instructed my official to tell the Americans that they must not assume our country is similar to Iraq. It is better for us to be scolded by the enemy than to be praised. To be praised by the enemy means surrender to him, so we must never expect praise from him. There is a Korean saying that “if you take my cake, I will take yours”; we must make full preparations so as to fight the enemy if he dares attack us and to defeat him. We must drive out the US imperialists at any cost and reunify the country. If the country is reunified, our people will become well off. Since the climate in south Korea is mild, two crops can be raised a year there. Nowadays they plant barley as an early crop in the paddies.

Nearly 50 years have passed since you, Comrade Kim Won Gyun, composed the music for *Song of General Kim Il Sung*. You made much effort again when you were composing music for *Patriotic Song*. Comrade Ho Jong Suk made a great contribution in producing the song. As head of the information section of the People’s Committee of North Korea after liberation, she was responsible for producing the song. She was also instrumental in developing our acrobatics. During the Korean war she suggested teaching acrobatics to the pupils from the schools of bereaved children. I granted her permission. She ensured that pretty pupils were selected from those schools in various places and taught them acrobatics. Later I was able to enjoy a performance given by the first graduates from the Acrobatics School; it was excellent. Ho Jong Suk is Mr. Ho Hon’s daughter. Mr. Ho was a
lawyer before liberation; when Kim Chaek was on trial, he spoke for him, and on hearing that Kim Chaek was leaving for Jiandao after being released, he gave him money for his travelling expenses. He also defended those who had been arrested while fighting shoulder to shoulder with me, when they stood trial. After liberation, in their first letters to me Ho Hon and Ryo Un Hyong wrote that I should come to Seoul, expressing their wish to meet me. At that time, Ryo Un Hyong and Hong Myong Hui were waiting for me, expecting that I would come to Seoul. But south Korea had been occupied by the Americans by that time, so I could not go there.

To be candid, we would have liberated even southern Korea if the Japanese had surrendered about 10 days later at the time of our operations for liberating the motherland in 1945. We had mapped out operational plans for liberating the whole country and had a unit led by Comrade O Paek Ryong ready for landing at Chongjin with the Soviet troops; the airborne troops stood ready at airports to liberate Pyongyang, Sinuiju, Hamhung, Seoul, Suwon and Pusan. No sooner had we started the operations for liberating the country than the Japanese imperialists surrendered, so the airborne troops could not be airlifted to major areas in south Korea to liberate them. If we had liberated south Korea, we would not have allowed US troops to enter south Korea. The details of the operations will be dealt with in a forthcoming volume of my reminiscences.

I have known you, Comrade Sin Jin Sun, from the days immediately after liberation. I used to share a car with you. You were the only woman graduate from the Imperial University in Seoul. I once listened to the lecture given by your husband at the school run by the Party Central Committee. I have brought here a photo where I posed with you immediately after liberation. I have it here to show you. Immediately after liberation you conducted work with women. By that time Comrade Kim Jong Suk had not yet come to Pyongyang, so you did most of your work with women. You did the work accompanied by a woman, whom O Ki Sop had brought to Pyongyang. She did the work with women in the style of Hamgyong Province, so you took
much trouble to put work on the right track. In those days you did a
great deal of work keeping relations with Kim Chaek and An Kil. You
said you would like to go to Jeju Island and the Archipelago off South
Jolla Province with me after the country is reunified; I am grateful for
it. I hope that you will remain healthy till the country’s reunification.

You, Comrade Yu Kyong Ae, are good at reading novels. Every
night I go to bed after listening to the recordings of the novels you read
for about 45 minutes or one hour. The recordings put me to sleep
before I know it. Sometimes though I feel quite wide awake at the more
stimulating parts. I cannot listen to the recordings in the day as I have
to read documents related with my work, but at night I do not fail to
listen to them. These days I listen to the recording of the novel that
portrays the famous generals of our country. As I have listened
recently to the historical novels read by you, I was able to take
measures to rebuild the Tombs of Tangun, Ko Jumong and Wang Kon
well. The quality of your narration is wonderful. I have listened to the
recordings of novels read by some people, but you are best. Your
pronunciation is perfect. I can understand your reading well, but not
others’. That is why I only listen to the novels you recorded. You are
not only perfect in pronunciation but you imitate others’ voices well. It
seems to me that you can imitate at least 15 voices. You make the voice
of the old men and women, middle-aged women and girls differently.
You can be called a master of the art of narration in Korea. It would be
hard to find in the world a person with a high level of narration like
you. Now that you are 73 years old, you can declaim novels for 10
years more. I am grateful to you for your words that you will record
more novels so that I can live for a long time listening to them.

You, Comrade Mun Ye Bong, would be cast in feature films now
and then. You said you would like to perform a role in the multi-part
film “The Nation and Destiny” in the future. That is good. You are
saying you have only enjoyed my care so far without giving me
pleasure; do not say you have not given me pleasure. From the days
soon after liberation you have taken part in producing many films. I am
grateful for your determination that you will bring up your son and
daughters and their children to be loyal and dutiful to Comrade Kim Jong Il and to me. With one son, two daughters and 6 granddaughters, you have great assets.

All of you present here have performed many good deeds. I have arranged this dinner for you, so please help yourselves.

You say you will recite poems. Please recite poems and sing songs. Recitations and songs sung by old people have their own unique appeal. Comrade Yu Kyong Ae recited well the excerpt of the poem titled Mother’s Request. You should jot down the poem on a sheet of paper and leave it to me. You said you will bring up your grandson to be a composer so that he would compose many songs in praise of Comrade Kim Jong Il and me. Comrade Jo Ryong Chul recited A Great Holiday. Please give me the poem you wrote and recited before leaving. Comrade Kim Won Gyun sang March of Korea that he composed soon after liberation. I am very glad to meet you today. Comrade Sin Jin Sun sang a song she wrote and set to music, wishing me a long life and good health. Comrade Paek In Jun recited a poem he wrote in 1947. You sang Our One Mind well in chorus. Thank you for reciting poems and singing songs.

I had frozen-potato noodles prepared for you. Please help yourselves to the food. Some of you may not have tried this kind of noodles. You can take these noodles only when you meet me; it is hard to find them anywhere else. When we were in Changbai County during the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we learned from the people of Ryanggang Province how to make noodles from frozen potatoes. In those days the Japanese imperialists, in order to prevent people from sending grain to guerrillas, forced each household to register the crop it had harvested. In order to deceive the Japanese, the people removed only creepers and informed the guerrillas where they could find potatoes. Then, the guerrillas went to the fields and dug out potatoes. The potatoes we failed to dig out because of sudden snowfalls or cold weather got frozen in the earth during the winter. As it thawed in spring we dug out the frozen potatoes, dried and ground them before making noodles with the powder. Those are just the frozen-potato noodles.
Frozen-potato noodles have their own taste only when they are made from the starch of potatoes frozen in the earth, dried outside in the sun and in the wind as pollacks are dried and ground to powder.

I once had Koreans from the United States served with the frozen-potato noodles; saying the noodles tasted good, they asked me how they were made. As I explained the method, they wrote it on their pocketbooks and said they would make the noodles back home. I encouraged them to make the noodles on their return home as there are plenty of potatoes in the United States. On meeting them again later, I asked them if they had made the noodles. They said they had frozen potatoes in the refrigerator and dried them before making noodles, but they had not been palatable. I told them the noodles made in that way do not give their original taste. People in Ryanggang Province make these noodles best. When I returned to Pyongyang after liberation, I wanted to eat the frozen-potato noodles, so I asked Comrade Kim Jong Suk to get the powder of frozen potatoes and make noodles with it. But she could not obtain the powder in Pyongyang. When I went to Hyesan later, I happened to have a meal with Comrade Jong Tong Chol, the then chairman of the People’s Committee of Ryanggang Province. He served me frozen-potato noodles. He had been engaged in underground work before liberation as the village head of Taoquanli in Changbai County. It was the first time that I ate the food after liberation. Subsequently my cooks learned how to make the noodles and make them whenever I ask for the food.

I am glad indeed to have met you today. I wish you to work well in good health.
I speak highly of this visit to our country by your delegation of the March 26 Movement of Uruguay and bid a warm welcome to you.

I am very pleased to make your acquaintance today.

Our two parties maintain independence and struggle for socialism and for ensuring independence prevails throughout the world. There is a great difference between the parties that maintain independence and those which do not although they may be engaged in the movement for socialism. The parties that keep their independence, as our two parties do, have survived stoutly, whereas those parties which worshipped big powers, instead of maintaining independence, have perished. We are glad that your party fights staunchly to safeguard independence.

It is important for our two parties to maintain good relations because we both adhere to independence. Your visit to our country on this occasion will greatly contribute to strengthening friendship between our two parties.

Comrade Chairman, you have just spoken highly of us and said good things about your impression of my country on this visit. I express my thanks to you for that. Your compliment inspires us with strong feelings of confidence. In future, we will work harder, achieve the complete victory of socialism in our country and reunify the country to meet the expectations of the comrades in many countries who support our people’s just cause.
I highly value your struggle. You have taken the road of shaping the
destiny of your country by believing in your people and relying on
their efforts. The reality proves that your road is absolutely correct. I
believe that you will emerge victorious without fail by advancing
along the road you have taken.

The people’s destiny can be shaped only by the people themselves.
It would be futile to attempt to shape the destiny of one’s people by
begging a favour of a large or developed nation. One can shape one’s
destiny only by one’s own effort. This is the maxim I have cherished
ever since I started the revolutionary struggle.

In the early years of my revolutionary activity, people were keen on
going to study at the communist college run by the Comintern in
Moscow. In those years people from many countries went to study at
the communist college, and Korean communists were no exception. Many Koreans went to study there.

One year early in the 1930s, my revolutionary organization and
comrades recommended me for study at the communist college in the
Soviet Union, but I declined. Hearing word that my comrades were
going to send me to study in the Soviet Union, I turned up where they
were. They had prepared my travelling expenses, a suit, school things
and a suitcase and had been waiting to bid farewell to me. I said, “I
understand your intentions. I think, however, that there will be nothing
much to learn in the Soviet Union. Things like the theory of revolution
can be learnt here on my own by reading the works of Marx and Lenin,
without going to the Soviet Union. The good way of working for our
people can be learnt from the people in our country. The Soviet way of
working for the revolution is not the same as that of our people. Since
our people are better informed of the Korean revolution, it is better to
learn from our people than learning in the Soviet Union.” Thus I
decided to go and study there. Then, I obtained works of Marx and
Lenin and read them and went out among our people to learn from
them.

It was fortunate for me that I did not go to study in the Soviet
Union, for the people who had been to study in the Soviet Union were
not particularly better informed than those who had not been there. I met many of those who had been to study in the Soviet Union and found that they were extremely dogmatic. After liberation, therefore, I used to tell our students who were going to study abroad that they should learn only what is applicable to our country.

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

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

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

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

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

The United States continues to bring pressure to bear upon us, alleging that we have nuclear weapons and demanding that we give them up. As we have declared on many occasions, we do not need nuclear weapons, nor do we have techniques and money to produce them. Their continued pressure upon us on the “nuclear question” is aimed at compelling us to discard socialism. We have no intention, however, to yield to their pressure and give up socialism. On the contrary, we are determined to defend socialism and fight more resolutely for its victory.

When the Rev. Billy Graham, a renowned religious leader of the United States, was visiting our country, I met him and said to him, “You say that the American way is good, but to us our way is good. In your United States there are many homeless people who sleep on the roadside as well as many gangs, but in our country no one is homeless or sleeps without shelter and there are no robbers. In the United States there are many beggars who ask for money on the roadside as well as many unemployed people, whereas in our country there is not a beggar nor a jobless worker. You are a Christian who believes in God and more than 80 per cent of the American people are said to believe in Jesus Christ; how is it that they cannot see the real state of affairs in the United States? You may live in your own way if you like it, but we will not live in that manner. Although no one is particularly well off in our country, all our people are equitably well off.” Let us not speak ill of each other, I said, you not finding fault with us building socialism and communism, and we not worshipping or criticizing the American way of “democracy”. I said we were building a paradise on earth to live in happiness, whereas they were said to be building “Heaven” to be happy after death. The Rev. Billy Graham affirmed what I had said. During a recent morning prayer, he told the United States President that he had met me and had had a good talk with me on his visit to Korea. He said he would send his son to our country on a visit and I agreed. The Rev. Kim Song Rak, a Korean resident in the United States, had been to Pyongyang. Originally, he had been a
Pyongyangite. When he met me, he said he was praying to God for a long life in good health to me who had built an earthly paradise, not a paradise in Heaven.

What is most important for a people in their revolutionary struggle and in their work of construction is to believe in their own strength and carry them out in their own way. You, too, had better adhere consistently to the principle of believing in your own strength, the strength of your own people, in the revolution and carrying it out in your own way. Nobody will make you a present of the revolution. One must win the victory of the revolution by one’s own struggle and effort.

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

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

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

However, in the socialist society, which is based on collectivism unlike the capitalist society, the leaders must not practise bureaucratism. If the leaders of the socialist society pursue bureaucratism, it will have serious consequences on society. Because socialist society is for the people, the leaders must always go out
among the people and mix with them, getting to know what they want and how they live and work, and must administer the country in keeping with the people’s desires.

As to your question, Comrade Chairman, whether the Soviet rulers brought pressure to bear upon Korea, their pressure did not have any effect on us who follow an independent policy. They estranged us because we had not joined the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) that they had established. On the October Socialist Revolution Day and on May Day in the Soviet Union, they used to shout the slogan, “Long live the great socialist community!” By the socialist community they meant the community of the member states of the CMEA and excluded the socialist countries that were not members of the CMEA from the objects for which they shouted long live. All the socialist countries in Eastern Europe and Mongolia joined the CMEA, but our country declined. When I met Khrushchev some time in the past, he asked Korea to join the CMEA. I said that the pact of alliance concluded between our country and the Soviet Union would do and that we would build socialism by our own efforts without joining the CMEA. Since then the Soviet leaders did not want to consider us.

The CMEA made plans and dictated them to its member nations, and the member nations had to obey its orders. If we had joined it, the CMEA would have planned, for instance, how much construction we should undertake or how much electric power we should produce, and would have dictated the plan to us, so that we would have been unable to build socialism as we pleased. The member nations of the CMEA were not free to build even a theatre without permission from the CMEA. There are now many theatres in our country. If we had attempted to construct them with the permission of the CMEA, it would have been impossible for us to build any of them. The systems of universal free and compulsory education and free medical care have long been in force at state and public expense in our country. If we had joined the CMEA, it would not have financed these undertakings. Had we joined it, we would have no alternative but to be subordinated to it.
If we had been tied to the apron strings of the CMEA established by the Soviet Union, how could we have said that we are a legitimate independent country? The Eastern European socialist countries that were affiliated with the CMEA were like the republics of the Soviet Union although they were not in name. As they knew that their pressure had no effect on us, the rulers of the Soviet Union were reluctant to visit our country.

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

In order to build socialism and communism, we must capture the two fortresses, namely, the political and material fortresses. By the political fortress I mean the ideological fortress. The production of material wealth, without capturing the ideological fortress, cannot lead to success in the building of socialism and communism. The lessons of the countries where socialism collapsed show that material wealth, no matter how much of it is produced, will be useless unless ideological education is given to the people.

In order to occupy both the ideological and material fortresses of socialism and communism with success, we must strengthen the people’s government and steadily enhance its role and functions while at the same time pushing ahead with the ideological, technological and cultural revolutions. Only when the three revolutions are stepped up, can the people’s ideas be transformed on communist lines and production and construction be accelerated. A long time ago our Party put forward the idea that the people’s government plus the ideological, technological and cultural revolutions equals communism; it has been
struggling to capture both the ideological and material fortresses and is still firmly maintaining the line of forcefully carrying out the three revolutions while strengthening the people’s government and enhancing its role and functions in socialist construction.

We have achieved many successes in the ideological, technological and cultural revolutions, especially in the cultural revolution.

In the days immediately after liberation, there was no university in our country, and there were only 12 graduates of the college of technology. In those days there was only one intellectual per 700,000 people. We started building a university in 1946 and began to train intellectuals, and now we have an army of 1,660,000 intellectuals. The ratio of intellectuals to the population, which was 1 to 700,000 immediately after liberation, is now 1 to 12. As a result of the vigorous cultural revolution, our people’s culture and knowledge has attained a very high level by world standards.

We intend to develop all members of society into intellectuals by carrying out the Theses on Socialist Education. Developing all the people into intellectuals, in addition to their revolutionary transformation and assimilation to the working class, can ensure success in building socialism and communism. I wrote the Theses on Socialist Education and I think it would be beneficial if you read it once for your reference.

Intellectuals are indispensable for the building of a new society. When fighting, arms in hand, to seize political power, no serious problem arises even though there are not many intellectuals. All that is needed is to destroy many enemy troops by means of guns. When fighting to seize political power, therefore, a hammer and a sickle inscribed on the red flag to symbolize the working class and the peasantry will do. However, when building a new society after the seizure of political power, there is a need to inscribe a brush on the red flag to symbolize the intelligentsia. Intellectuals are essential for an efficient technological revolution and for success in building a new society.

The intelligentsia is a major component of the motive force of the
revolution. There were not many intellectuals in the ranks of the Communist Party that we organized immediately after liberation. Most of the communists were the people that had waged the armed struggle against the Japanese and some of them were those who had engaged in the underground struggle.

The Communist Party had a small membership. When we founded it on October 10, 1945, it had a membership of only several thousand. By contrast, the Democratic Party had a membership of 460,000. Its head was a Christian minister, and a large number of people joined the Democratic Party. The New Democratic Party, which was organized by the people from Yanan, China, increased its membership quickly. Many people were attracted by the Democratic Party and the New Democratic Party mainly because the Japanese imperialists had conducted misleading propaganda about communism before liberation. The Japanese imperialists had spread malicious rumours that the communists had wives in common or that they ate from the same pot, and so on. That was why many people did not believe what the communists said after liberation. At that time even workers were inclined to join the Democratic Party, not the Communist Party. So I thought that it would be impossible to build a new society with the small number of communists alone, and decided to rename the Communist Party as the Workers’ Party and recruit large numbers of peasants and intellectuals into it. In August 1946 we founded the Workers’ Party by merging the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party. Then, we recruited its members from among the peasants and intellectuals that had been educated through the struggle for the agrarian and other democratic reforms. As a result of these measures, the Party increased its membership to 450,000 in a short period of time.

At the time of founding the Workers’ Party, I proposed inscribing a brush in the Party’s emblem to symbolize the intelligentsia, in addition to the hammer and the sickle that symbolized the working class and the peasantry. Some people, however, objected to the proposal. They were mostly the people from the Soviet Union and those who had been to the
Soviet Union to study. They said that adding a brush to the Party’s emblem inscribed with hammer and sickle would contradict Marxism-Leninism. I said, “Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma but a creative doctrine. We must apply it creatively to the situation in our country. During the struggle for political power, the working class and the peasantry constitute the major components of the motive force, but now that we are in power, the intelligentsia is also a major component of the motive force. We can build a new society with success only when we regard the intelligentsia as a component of the motive force of the revolution and join their efforts with those of the working class and the peasantry.”

Those who were opposed to the idea of seeing intellectuals as a component of the motive force of the revolution held a view that intellectuals would side either with the capitalist class or with the working class but that more of them were on the side of the capitalist class. I told them that in view of their circumstances not many of the intellectuals in our country would side with the capitalist class and that an overwhelming majority of them would stand for the revolution because they had suffered national oppression and unequal treatment under Japanese imperialist colonial rule in the past. I pointed out that our intellectuals were not the object of the revolution, but the motive force of the revolution, that Marx, Lenin and Mao Zedong were once intellectuals, that many intellectuals participated in the revolution, so why could they not be the motive force of the revolution? I said that I was neither a worker, nor a peasant, nor an intellectual, my origin could not be defined otherwise than as a revolutionary. Hearing my explanation, they said nothing further. At a Party meeting, therefore, I said that those who were for inscribing the brush, the symbol of the intelligentsia, in our Party’s emblem, in addition to the hammer and the sickle, should raise their hands; they all raised their hands in support for my proposal. This is how our Party’s emblem bears the brush along with the hammer and sickle; the brush in our Party’s emblem is unique.

I believe that our Party’s policy was just and that we had advanced along the right path. If its policy had not been just, our Party would
have perished like those foreign parties that perished. Because our policy was correct, our Party has survived stoutly and is staunchly fighting against imperialism. In future, too, we will unite not only the working class and the peasantry but also the intelligentsia solidly behind our Party and thus expand and strengthen its ranks and continue to fight against the imperialists.

Comrade Chairman, you have said that you had signed the joint statement of the Workers’ Party of Korea and the March 26 Movement of Uruguay. In the past, however, our Party was not keen on publishing joint statements with parties of other countries. But today when the socialist movement of the world is undergoing a crisis, I consider it necessary for revolutionary parties to come to agreement upon joint statements and publish them. It is important to publish joint statements to give many people a correct understanding of socialism.

The imperialists are now making propaganda that socialism has perished. There is the need to let the world know that not all of socialism has collapsed and that not all communists have died, that they are alive. In fact, not all the communists have put their hands up. The communists, who aspire after socialism, are alive as ever. There is no doubt that socialism will make headway in the future.

In Pyongyang last year, the delegates from the Communist and Workers’ Parties and other parties that are heading for socialism in many countries around the world adopted and published the Declaration, “Let Us Defend and Advance the Cause of Socialism.” I believe that it is a very good thing. Whether or not the socialist parties in power sign the Pyongyang Declaration does not matter. It is necessary to let the world know that many revolutionary parties aspire after socialism, although they have not yet come to power.

Although socialism has collapsed in several countries, we believe that it will revive. Many parties are now struggling to revive it. New buds for the revival of socialism have sprouted and are growing up in those countries where socialism collapsed and capitalism has revived. In these countries many people feel remorse for their having been fools. The people of the perished Soviet Union that turned to the
United States for something and the peoples of the Eastern European countries are now all remorseful. They seemed to have believed that the United States would give them anything they requested. However, the United States is in an economic crisis and is so heavily in debt that it is in no position to take care of other people.

It is important to develop the socialist movement more actively in Latin America. As I said to the General Secretary of the Spanish People’s Communist Party on his recent visit to our country, the Latin-American people have no language barrier and this is a favourable condition for their joint struggle for the socialist movement. Speaking a common language is good for mutual support for the socialist movement. Most of the Latin-American countries speak the Spanish language and have similar customs. Few of them speak English. I believe that because Spanish is spoken in many Latin-American countries, their peoples will be able to develop the socialist movement successfully, supporting and encouraging each other.

You say that your party maintains close relations with the Spanish People’s Communist Party. That is a good thing. When I met the General Secretary of the Spanish People’s Communist Party last time, I said that I hoped he develops the socialist movement successfully in his country since Spanish is spoken in many countries, and that it would be necessary for the Spanish People’s Communist Party to play a great role in activating the socialist movement in Latin-American countries.

Looking back upon the history of the international communist movement, we can see that the Paris Commune was the first revolution in the world, the October Socialist Revolution in Russia was a second large-scale revolution, and the Spanish Civil War between 1936 and 1939 was the next major revolution. During the Spanish Civil War, communists from many countries went to Spain to support the struggle of the communists in that country. Although we Korean communists did not go to Spain, we fought against the Japanese imperialists in the East. At that time, the publications of our anti-Japanese guerrilla army
carried many articles about Ibaruri who distinguished herself in the Spanish Civil War. So she was known to all the anti-Japanese guerrillas. Our anti-Japanese guerrillas knew that she was a heroine and daughter of a miner.

You, Comrade Chairman, said that you would give wide publicity to Korea among the peoples of Uruguay and other Latin-American countries to give them a correct understanding of Korea. I am grateful to you.

You say that you have been ignorant of the existence of a concrete wall along the zone south of the Military Demarcation Line in Korea. The United States and the south Korean authorities are still hiding the existence of the concrete wall. It is necessary to make it widely known.

The news services and radios of large countries are now reluctant to deal with information published by us. The *AFP* and *AP* relay some information from the Korean Central News Agency. The Japanese news services deal with information from our Central News Agency, but not much of it. *TASS* of the Soviet Union in the past was keen on news from our Central News Agency, but not the *ITAR-TASS* now.

Many comrades from Europe, on a recent visit to our country, suggested to me the establishment of an international information centre. The same suggestion has also been made by non-aligned countries. But it is no simple job to establish an international information centre. The scheme will cost money, and the money can be raised through contributions by many parties. The problem is in which country or in which party the international information centre is set up. It needs to be established in a big party with worldwide authority. If it is established in a small party, it will be useless. News and radio broadcast made by the international information centre set up in a big authoritative party will be accepted by other news services and radio stations; those from the one set up in a small party will not be readily accepted by them. I told the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Norwegian Communist Party and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the New Communist Party of Great Britain of this problem.
I am grateful to you for your expressed idea of launching a widespread solidarity movement in support of our people’s struggle at the fourth conference of the left-wing political parties of Latin America and the Caribbean region to be held in Havana, the capital of Cuba, in July this year. I hope that you will give us active support and encouragement at the conference.

You have asked me about anything more that you can do for Korea. All that we need from you is your solidarity expressed with the struggle of our people.

It is important now to expose the imperialists’ manoeuvres against socialism. The imperialists hate Cuba most bitterly in Latin America and hate us Koreans most bitterly in Asia. The United States brings economic and military pressure to bear upon us on the one hand and pressure to open the door on the other. They themselves have blockaded our country and yet they are clamouring that we do not open the door. We have never shut our door. The Socialist Constitution of our country has no provision that our country should close its door. The United States has blockaded Cuba as well and demands that Cuba open its door.

The imperialists now continue to clamour for our open-door probably because they believe that we will yield to their demands.

We can survive whether or not the United States puts pressure upon us. We have food, clothing and housing. Our people are free from worries about food, clothing and housing, and everyone of them receives the benefit of free and compulsory education and free medical care and has a stable job. No matter what pressure the imperialists may put upon them, our people will be fully able to live on their own.

I am thankful to you for the present of the crystal pen holder you have given me as a symbol of the purity and unyielding character of revolutionaries.

I hope you will often visit our country. If we meet frequently, it will be beneficial because we can exchange a lot of opinions. Since you have invited a delegation from our Party to visit your country, I will see to it that a Party delegation is sent in compliance with your invitation.
A CONGRATULATORY TELEGRAM
TO THE CONFERENCE OF KOREAN INTELLECTUALS IN JAPAN

February 21, 1993

On the occasion of the conference of Korean intellectuals in Japan, the conference, which is attracting the great attention and expectations of all the Korean compatriots in Japan and the people in the homeland, I extend warm congratulations to the conference and all the intellectuals of Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan–Tr.), who, with a high sense of pride and confidence in being overseas intellectuals of Juche Korea, have devoted all their patriotic ardour and creative wisdom for the development of the movement of Koreans in Japan and for the prosperity of their socialist homeland.

It is of great significance that the meeting of Korean intellectuals in Japan is held at a time when socialism is being successfully built in the northern half of Korea thanks to our people’s unshakable determination and indomitable struggle to defend and accomplish the socialist cause through to the end under the banner of the Juche idea and the movement for national reunification is mounting higher with every passing day through the united effort of the entire nation.

Ever since the formation of Chongryon, the Korean intellectuals in Japan have stoutly advanced along the sacred, patriotic road in strong support of the policy of our Republic on intellectuals and made brilliant achievements for their homeland and nation by devoting all
their wisdom and talents. The Korean intellectuals in Japan have conducted ideological and cultural activities briskly among the officials of Chongryon and Korean compatriots in Japan to inspire them with the Juche idea and the spirit of national independence as their faith and educated the younger generation into proud Koreans so that they safeguard our nation and carry forward the patriotic movement down through generations. The Korean intellectuals in Japan have dedicated all the knowledge of science and technology they have acquired throughout their lives solely for the development of their homeland and the prosperity of our nation, not for their personal honour or comfort. The noble patriotic loyalty of these intellectuals that has been expressed through their devoted service to the country and nation clearly shows in practice the truth that scientists have their own motherland, although there are no national borders in science.

The fact that Chongryon has now developed into a powerful organization of our overseas compatriots and that its patriotic movement is renowned as a brilliant example of the overseas compatriot movement is associated with the noble patriotic spirit and silent efforts of the Korean intellectuals in Japan.

I highly evaluate the fact that the Korean intellectuals in Japan have brilliantly fulfilled their patriotic duties with unfailing loyalty to their socialist homeland. I am greatly pleased that we have such patriotic overseas intellectuals who are loyal to their motherland and fellow people.

Today the international situation is still complex, but the trend of history is developing in favour of our people’s revolutionary cause and the cause of independence of mankind.

The people in the homeland, in single-minded unity behind the Party and with confidence and optimism in the victory of the Juche cause, are courageously countering all the pressure and threats of the imperialists and reactionaries and stepping up the building of socialism by highly displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude.

Chongryon and our compatriots in Japan are faced with the
important task of strengthening the ideological system of Juche and its leadership system in their organization and making new advances in all spheres of patriotic work in step with the homeland people who are vigorously advancing under the banner of socialism.

In carrying out this honourable task of Chongryon, the Korean intellectuals in Japan are entrusted with an extremely heavy responsibility.

The Korean intellectuals in Japan are a major component of the reliable patriotic force of Chongryon as well as an advanced section of the masses of our compatriots.

The Korean intellectuals in Japan must be fully aware of the noble mission they have assumed before the times and the nation, cherish their loyalty to the country and nation as their faith and moral obligation, and devote all their creative talents and wisdom for the patriotic work of Chongryon and the construction of socialism in their homeland to make an active contribution to them.

All the Korean intellectuals in Japan must, with a single mind, strengthen their organization, expand its ranks steadily and cultivate their loyalty to the socialist homeland and their patriotic spirit through their organizational life.

The socialist homeland is vital to the Chongryon officials and the Korean compatriots in Japan. It is the symbol of their happiness.

The Korean intellectuals in Japan must become lasting companions of the revolutionary cause of Juche as well as its faithful assistants who always keep their destiny linked with their socialist homeland and share life and death with it.

The intellectuals in the fields of social science, the mass media, democratic national education and other ideological and cultural areas must clearly explain the validity and unconquerability of the Juche idea and the socialist cause among the Chongryon officials and our compatriots and better prepare the younger generation of Koreans in Japan to be reliable successors to the patriotic cause.

The knowledge of science and technology is the common wealth of humanity, but the intellectuals cannot exist or lead a genuine life
separately from their country and nation. Although living in a foreign land, the Korean scientists and technicians must always remember their homeland and become true patriots who contribute their knowledge of science and technology to the prosperity of their socialist motherland.

Independent and peaceful reunification of the country is the greatest desire of our nation, and the first and foremost patriotic task of the Korean intellectuals in Japan is to fight to hasten national reunification.

The Korean intellectuals in Japan must strengthen unity with the intellectuals in south Korea and other overseas Korean intellectuals, continue to increase the patriotic force for reunification and develop an active struggle to reunify the country through federation on the principle of national independence. In addition, they must further strengthen friendship and international solidarity with the progressive intellectuals in Japan and many other countries and call forth support for and sympathy with our revolutionary cause.

Strongly believing that all the Korean intellectuals in Japan will honourably carry out their noble mission and duty to the country and nation by making an active contribution to the patriotic cause of Chongryon and the prosperity of their socialist homeland by means of knowledge and technology under the revolutionary banner of the Juche idea and in single-hearted unity, I wish the conference every success in its work.
On the occasion of the Eighth Congress of the League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea, which is of great significance in our people’s revolutionary struggle and in the development of the youth movement, I extend warm congratulations to the Congress and express fervent gratitude to all members of the League of Socialist Working Youth and all the young people, who are devoted to the struggle for the Party and the revolution, for the development and prosperity of the socialist motherland.

The young people of Korea have followed a glorious road of struggle in step with the development of our revolution. Ever since the days of pioneering the Korean revolution, the young people have creditably played the role of the vanguard of the revolution and have made an imperishable contribution to safeguarding and victoriously advancing our revolution.

It was the young communists of the new generation who resolutely broke with the old ideological trend in the darkest years of Japanese imperialist colonial rule and pioneered a new path of the Korean revolution united as they were under the banner of the Juche idea. The
young communists and other young patriots took up arms and courageously rose in the sacred war against the Japanese in order to save the nation from their miserable lot. They fought with self-sacrificing devotion, created the glorious revolutionary traditions of our Party and made a historic contribution to the liberation of their country. It was also young people who, when our Republic was in a great danger due to invasion by the US imperialists, heroically fought for their country by unhesitatingly dedicating their precious youth to defend their one and only country and brighten its dignity and honour. Our young men and women not only displayed the revolutionary spirit and heroism in the struggle against imperialist aggressors, but also gave without stint their youthful energies, talents and precious sweat to build a new society, the people-centred socialism of our style which is independent, self-sufficient and capable of self-reliant defence. Whenever our revolution was in difficulty and under trial, the young people became guards and shock brigades of the Party, resolutely defended the revolution and stood in the forefront of carrying out the Party’s lines and policies. Our young people have followed the road of loyalty to the Party and the revolution, and the road of worthwhile creation for the country and fellow people.

Today the young people of the new generation are excellently growing up under the correct leadership of the Party as reliable successors to the revolution. Our young people, who have been educated and trained under the care of the Party, are not only defending their posts reliably as builders of socialism and defenders of their country in whatever complex world situation and no matter how dastardly a wind may blow; they are also displaying noble communist traits by going through thick and thin in response to the Party’s call and sacrificing themselves for society, their collective and their comrades without hesitation. They have a firm determination and will to live as the young vanguard and share the destiny with the Party as the Party hopes them to do. Our Party and our people are greatly proud of having such wonderful and laudable young people of the new generation as the reserve of the revolution.
Our revolution, which has advanced victoriously under the banner of the Juche idea, is now in an important historical phase, and our people, particularly the young people, are faced with heavy yet honourable revolutionary tasks.

The grave situation resulting from the collapse of socialism and revival of capitalism in several countries, and the wild manoeuvres against socialism and our Republic, which are perpetrated by the imperialists and reactionaries in this situation, have created great difficulties in our revolution and raised heavy tasks. Although our people have followed a grim and arduous path of revolution in the past, the difficulties we have to break through today are unprecedented in their seriousness and rigour. Whether or not we defend the socialist cause from all the imperialist and reactionary challenges is a question vital to the destiny of our revolution, vital to the existence of socialism and the future of mankind.

The present revolutionary situation is grim and complex, but the future of the revolution is optimistic and our cause will triumph without fail.

Although the imperialists are blustering with bravado, the internal contradictions and corruption of imperialism are worsening daily. It is the immutable law of history that imperialism perishes and socialism emerges victorious. The imperialists will never be able to break our people’s faith in socialism. Our socialism is neither a gift from somebody else, nor is it an imitation of somebody else’s. It is the socialism of our people’s own choice, and it has been built by their own efforts to meet their own requirements. Our socialism, under which the people’s independent and creative lives are guaranteed and the young people’s happiness and ideals are fully realized through the care of the Party and the state, has struck deep root in the lives of the people and the young men and women and has become an inseparable part of our destiny. The destiny of socialism is the destiny of our people and our young men and women.

We have strength to defend and develop socialism and carry out the revolution. The situation today is different from what it used to be
when we were fighting bare-handed against the Japanese imperialists, eating in the wind and sleeping in the open and from the years of the Fatherland Liberation War when the young People’s Army was fighting against US imperialist aggression. Today we have the seasoned leadership of the great Party, the people who are united solidly behind the Party, the powerful independent national economy, which is self-sufficient, and the unconquerable revolutionary armed forces capable of defeating however strong an enemy and safeguarding the gains of socialism. No military threat, no politico-ideological offensive and no economic blockade on the part of the imperialists can ever frighten our people or obstruct our advance.

We must crush the counterrevolutionary offensive of the imperialists and reactionaries by revolutionary offensive, defend the socialist cause securely and accomplish the historic cause of the complete victory of socialism and national reunification come what may.

Our revolutionary tasks and today’s situation require that our young people are fully prepared to be the vanguard unfailingly loyal to the Party and the revolution.

The future of the Party and the destiny of the revolution depend on how the new generation, the reserve of the Party and heirs to the revolution, is prepared and how their role is enhanced. If the Party is to become stronger and if the revolution is to develop onto a higher stage, the new generation must be better prepared on revolutionary lines than the previous generations. This is the law of the development of revolution. The historical experience and lessons of the revolutionary struggle show that the revolution advances vigorously down through generations when the young people are given revolutionary education and training and firmly prepared and that the revolution undergoes twists and turns and ceases advancing when the young people are not given revolutionary education. We must not consider it unavoidable that the revolutionary spirit of the younger people is gradually weakened as their lives grow richer with progress in socialist construction. Although they have not been trained through
revolutionary trials, the new generation has favourable conditions for acquiring a higher level of revolutionary qualifications by drawing on the experience and results of the struggle of their predecessors. The question depends on whether or not the younger generation is taught to correctly carry forward and develop the revolutionary spirit and the achievements of the struggle of their predecessors. We must train the young people to be reliable heirs to the revolution so that they brilliantly inherit and develop the revolutionary cause of Juche down through generations.

The basic task of our young people in inheriting and developing the revolutionary cause of Juche is to carry forward the tradition of single-hearted unity and remain unfailingly loyal to the Party.

The revolution can advance triumphantly only when the masses of the people are united solidly around the leader and support his leadership with all their hearts. Our people were able to emerge victorious from the arduous anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle precisely because they achieved the single-hearted unity of the revolutionary ranks behind the leader. Single-hearted unity around the leader is the core of our Party’s revolutionary traditions.

Today our revolution is carried forward and being developed successfully by Comrade Kim Jong Il, the leader who is unfailingly loyal to the cause of the masses. The young people must unite single-heartedly around Comrade Kim Jong Il and loyally support his leadership just as the first generation of our revolution that pioneered the glorious path of the Korean revolution fought in solid unity behind their leader. This is the requirement of our revolution, and exactly here is the guarantee for defending the socialist cause and carrying it out in however difficult and complex a situation and brilliantly accomplishing the historic cause of national reunification.

Our single-hearted unity is the unity of idea and purpose based on the Juche idea; it is the organizational unity of moving as one under the unified leadership of the Party. Loyalty to the Party means none other than loyalty to the revolutionary idea of the Party and loyalty to the Party’s leadership.
The Juche idea, the consistent guiding ideology of our revolution, is now being carried forward and fully developed in depth by our Party and is splendidly translated into reality in all spheres of the revolution and construction. The young people must espouse and champion the Juche idea more ardently than anybody else. Their hearts must throb with the Juche idea, and only the red blood of the Juche idea must circulate their bodies. All the young people must firmly equip themselves with the Juche idea, staunchly defend it and think and act at all times and at any place as required by the Juche idea.

The League of Socialist Working Youth is the political reserve of our Party, and the young people are organizationally linked with the Party through the LSWY. The system of Party leadership must be thoroughly established in the LSWY so that all the LSWY organizations and its members move as one under the Party’s unified leadership. Becoming members of the LSWY means becoming the Party’s revolutionary fighters who, with noble political integrity, share the destiny with the Party. The LSWY members must take an active part in its organizational life with a high sense of revolutionary pride and honour, train themselves ceaselessly through the organizational life and prepare themselves to be revolutionary fighters loyal to the Party.

Young people must acquire a high level of creative ability and noble qualities as builders of socialism in order to take over and successfully accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche.

The socialist cause is a gigantic creative undertaking to transform nature, society and human beings, which is carried out through a fierce struggle against imperialism. Therefore, if they are to become builders of socialism, the young people must acquire a rich knowledge of science and technology, cultural attainments and military qualifications in addition to intense loyalty to the Party and the revolution. Our young people must strive to become Juche-type revolutionaries and builders of socialism, who are equipped with civil and military virtues, loyalty and filial piety.

Young men and women must display their creative ability and
talent in the struggle to build socialism. The great worth of their lives lies in the devoted struggle for the people’s happiness, not in seeking personal pleasure. They must live their youthful lives in a worthwhile manner by dedicating all their youthful ardour and talent to the struggle to brighten the people-centred socialism of our country.

Placing confidence in the young men and women of the new generation, who have received Juche education, our Party has put them forward as the vanguard of the ideological, technological and cultural revolutions. They must carry out our Party’s Juche-orientated line of building socialism under the banner of the three revolutions and continue to effect innovations and upsurge on all fronts of socialist construction.

It is a matter of great honour for the young people to participate in the worthwhile struggle for socialist construction and perform brilliant exploits. Our Party calls on them to come to important posts of socialist construction and wants all of them to become innovators and heroes in production and construction. They should come to work in the difficult and tough fields of socialist construction, make breakthroughs in them and perform labour exploits. They should become pioneers in developing the economy and culture, science and technology by making energetic inquiries and creative efforts.

Safeguarding the Party and the revolution with arms is the sacred duty of young people. Young people must learn military arts diligently with a correct viewpoint on imperialism and war and work hard to carry out our Party’s military line of self-reliant defence. They must take great pride in serving in the People’s Army, the revolutionary armed forces of our Party, and each of the soldiers of the People’s Army must become a match for a hundred foes and keep the defence line of the country impregnable.

Noble moral qualities and a sound way of life are important traits the young people of our times must acquire. Their sound moral qualities and their revolutionary way of life can contribute to strengthening the unity of our people and establishing a revolutionary tone of life throughout the whole of society. The morality of the
exploiting class and the corrupt bourgeois way of life are a dangerous poison that corrupts young people. The young people must not be tempted by the wind of “liberalization” and the decadent way of life spread by the imperialists. They must categorically reject them. They must highly display noble morality and the revolutionary way of life that means being fond of learning, working and struggling, loving their comrades and collective, and everyone helping and leading each other forward and sharing weal and woe. There should be struggle, song and dance in their lives. They must live optimistically with beautiful hopes and rich emotions.

The greatest, cherished desire of our nation is to reunify the country for the entire nation to live in happiness on the same land. The struggle to reunify the country is the continuation of the national-liberation struggle that started with our revolutionary struggle against the Japanese imperialists. The young people are the standard-bearers for national reunification, and they will be masters of the reunified country. They must advance in the front ranks of the entire nation in the struggle for national reunification in the 1990s. Our young men and women must always remember the south Korean youth, students and other people who are fighting for independence, democracy and national reunification and give them active support and encouragement in their struggle. All the young Koreans in the north, south and abroad must struggle in solid unity under the banner of great national unity and hasten the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

Our people’s struggle for the accomplishment of the revolutionary cause of Juche is linked closely with the struggle of the progressive people around the world against imperialism and for a new world of independence. Building a free and peaceful new world, where there is neither domination and subjugation nor aggression and war, is the common cause of mankind. It is the noble duty of young people to take the lead in the struggle to accomplish this cause. Our young men and women must not only be loyal to the national duty of the revolution but also set an example in carrying out their international duty. They must strengthen friendship, unity and solidarity with the progressive youth
throughout the world, guided by the ideals of independence, peace and friendship.

The future belongs to young people. A happy future does not come automatically; it must be created and won through struggle. Young people can take pride and find the worth of life in shaping a bright future by overcoming the difficulties and trials in the way of the revolution. All our young men and women must have a high ambition and ideal and devote all their ardour and talent of youth for the struggle to accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche.

I firmly believe that the LSWY and our young people will brilliantly accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche in enthusiastic support of the Party’s leadership.
FOR THE ACCOMPLISHMENT
OF THE SOCIALIST CAUSE

Talk to the Veterans of Anti-Japanese Revolution
and the Children of Revolutionary Martyrs
March 13, 1992 and January 20 and March 3, 1993

I am very glad and full of deep emotions to see you, the old comrades-in-arms of mine ever since the years of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, and the children of the revolutionaries that have already left us.

I am grateful to you for your concern over my health and for your best wishes for my good health and long life.

Ever since I embarked on the road of revolution, I have always lived under the support and loving care of the people and my comrades in the revolution. I have been able to work for the revolution in good health until today when I am older than 80 years only because my comrades and the people loved me dearly and protected me in every way.

Our path of revolution has been thorny and full of trials. The circumstances were difficult in the early years of our revolutionary activities when we were pioneering the new path of the Korean revolution while recruiting Juche-orientated revolutionary ranks from among the young communists of the new generation. Indescribably arduous were the years of the armed struggle against the one-million-strong Kwantung Army of the Japanese imperialists; the guerrilla army we had raised on our own had to fight the formidable
enemy by enduring severe cold and hunger without any support from a homefront and a regular army. During the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle we were always shadowed by danger and we had to brave death innumerable times. Each time my comrades and the people helped me in every way, saved me from the danger and protected me with all their hearts.

Some time ago I met Han Yong Ae’s daughter. Han Yong Ae helped me in my revolutionary work and protected me in the early days of my revolutionary activity. She was one of my saviours I can never forget. She protected me from the danger of being arrested by the enemy when we were fighting against the construction of the railway between Jilin and Hoeryong by the Japanese imperialists. After the May 30 Uprising I went to Harbin via Jiaohe in order to restore the damaged revolutionary organizations. When I was working in Harbin, she also helped me with all her efforts. Later, she was arrested by the enemy while carrying out the revolutionary assignment I had given her. Even in her prison she remained honourable in spite of her torture by the enemy. In those days, the young communists faithfully carried out the revolutionary assignments I had given them. They also unhesitatingly laid down their lives to protect me.

Comrade O Jung Hup, a commanding officer of an anti-Japanese guerrilla unit, was always concerned about the security of the Headquarters before anything else. He was a faithful revolutionary who protected me at the risk of his own life. One winter when I was fighting in the Mt. Paektu area, I went to the Hongtoushan secret camp to spend the lunar New Year Day with a small number of my men. Sensing that we were a small force, the enemy surprised us with a more than 500-strong force to surround and destroy my Headquarters. At that time Comrade O Jung Hup was marching towards Linjiang in command of his unit. Having received word that the enemy’s “punitive” force had moved towards the Hongtoushan secret camp where the Headquarters was based, O Jung Hup turned his unit back at once and hurried towards us at a stretch, for he had thought that the Headquarters might be in danger. He attacked the surprising enemy
from behind and destroyed them. Thus the Headquarters was saved from the danger.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, countless guerrillas and people protected me and saved me from danger at the risk of their own lives. On my way back from the first expedition to north Manchuria I narrowly escaped death thanks to the self-sacrificing efforts of the guerrillas and the local people. At that time I got a bad chill and found myself in the jaws of death. But for the assistance given me by old man Kim we met at a lumber station and Choe Il Hwa’s family, who were living in Laoyeling, I might have died. Zhang Wei-hua and other Chinese people also protected me during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. While engaged in underground activity in touch with me, Zhang Wei-hua was arrested by the enemy because a stool-pigeon had informed against him. While being tortured, he was afraid he might reveal the location of my Headquarters unconsciously and killed himself. He was my comrade in the revolution and my saviour whom I cannot forget.

A person who does good things for his country and fellow people will find good comrades and saviours when he is in difficulty. I should like to say this from my own experience during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. We were able to fight through to the end and triumph in the revolution because we were always assisted by our comrades in the struggle for the country and people, for the revolution, and rescued by the people whenever we were in crisis. As the proverb says, a general by himself is no general. Without the people’s support he can neither survive nor emerge victorious from the revolution.

You say you are happiest when you see me in good health on the TV screen. I am still in good health. I think I can work for ten more years. A long time ago I said that 60 years of age means the prime of youth and 90 years means an old age. I do not recognize 60 years of life as old age. You and I are not yet ninety years old, so we have not yet reached old age. We must, therefore, refrain from considering ourselves old, and must think of working a lot more, full of hopes and optimism.
If we are to live for a long time, working for the revolution, we must live optimistically, with confidence in victory. Because I believe that the people’s cause will triumph without fail, I do not feel pessimistic in and out of work. I have lived and am still living cheerfully with a firm conviction that there will be a way out even if the sky falls in and with an unshakable confidence in victory. This is one of the secrets of my good health, so to speak. A few years ago, when I met the “Prime Minister” of south Korea, who came to Pyongyang for the north-south high-level talks, he asked me what was the secret of my good health. I told him that I was healthy because I was living with optimism, not knowing pessimism. Optimistic people will not grow old.

Today I am very glad to see you all in good health.

You say you owe your good health to me, but you should say that you owe it to the socialist system in our country and to the Party’s correct leadership, rather than to me.

The socialist system in our country is truly for the people. In our country, the masses, the makers of history, are the masters of everything, and everything serves them. In our country state power and the production means are in the hands of the people, and all the people live in happiness, receiving free education and free medical care, free from the worries of food, clothing and housing. All the policies of the Party and the state in our country emanate from the need to meet the people’s desire for independence and champion their interests to the maximum, to encourage them to display their creative ability higher, and these policies are subordinated to this end. In other words, our socialism is the embodiment of the Juche idea, the people-centred outlook on the world and the revolutionary idea. That is why socialism in our country is called the socialism of Juche or people-centred socialism.

In order to build this society that is truly for the people, we have fought under the banner of Juche unyieldingly for the past several decades ever since the years of the anti-Japanese revolution, enduring all the difficulties and hardships. We must take legitimate pride and confidence in the fact that we have built a splendid, people-centred
socialism by translating the Juche idea into socialist construction for the first time in history, and that we are solidly defending the banner of socialism in the East.

With the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries, the imperialists are working more frantically to destroy socialism in our country. However, they will not be able to pull down socialism in our country. Our socialism differs from that which crumbled in the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries.

Socialism in our country is strong in Juche character and has struck root deep among the masses.

In the whole course of our struggle for socialism, we have firmly and consistently maintained the standpoint of Juche and have done everything in our own way by relying on the efforts of the masses.

Ever since we started pioneering the path of the Korean revolution, we have kept the viewpoint of Juche that the masses are the motive force of the revolution and construction and that they have the strength to push forward the revolution and construction. At that time we resolutely broke with the nationalists and the communists of the initial period that were involved in the movement and engrossed in futile factional strife, dreaming of national liberation and independence by relying on foreign forces, instead of believing in the strength of the masses. With the conviction that the revolution would triumph only when we believed in the strength of the masses and relied on them, we united the masses from broad sections of the population and roused them to the struggle for national liberation. Not only in the years of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle but also in the years after liberation, we have always gone out among the masses, got to know the people’s aspirations and requirements in each stage of the revolution and formulated revolutionary lines, strategy and tactics in accordance with their aspirations and requirements for independence and found solutions to all the problems by educating them and mobilizing them. In this manner, we achieved the liberation and independence of the country through our own struggle for national liberation and carried out the socialist revolution and the building of socialism by our own
efforts. We have experienced many a difficulty because we have had to carry out the socialist revolution and build socialism in direct confrontation with the imperialists, but we have never depended on large countries. In building socialism we have relied on the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude, on our own efforts in all events. People of a large country invited us to the membership of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), but we declined. Because we have constructed a solid independent national economy by our own efforts, instead of joining the CMEA, we have been able to exercise our legitimate sovereignty free from any pressure or restraint and stoutly advance on our own feet, without vacillation even in complex situations.

Our Party’s traditional work method of leading the revolution and construction to victory by believing in the strength of the masses, always living among them, educating them and motivating them has found systematic expression in the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method. The Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method we have established are the Juche-orientated principle and method of mass leadership, which are the application of the revolutionary mass line. On the basis of the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method, our Party has established the Taean work system, the best system of managing the socialist economy. By the creation of the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method and establishment of the Taean work system we have acquired a new mode of statecraft, the mode of genuine socialist statecraft, that accords with the intrinsic requirements of the socialist society.

We have always thoroughly implemented the revolutionary mass line in Party and state activities. That is why we have been able to overcome bureaucratism that may appear in the ruling party, convince the masses that they themselves are the masters of the socialist society, and realize an unbreakable unity of idea and purpose between the Party and the masses. In our country the Party and the masses in harmonious unity constitute the powerful motive force of the revolution, and all the people treasure the socialism they have built at the cost of their blood
and sweat, as much as their lives. Socialism in our country, therefore, will not crumble.

In our country the revolutionary cause is steadfastly being carried forward from one generation to the next.

How the revolutionary cause is carried on from generation to generation is an important matter that affects the destiny of socialism. The masses’ cause for independence, the socialist cause, is an undertaking that is accomplished through a long period, through many generations. If the leadership of the revolution and construction is not succeeded properly at the time one revolutionary generation is replaced by another, the socialist cause will suffer twists and turns and end in failure. This is clearly illustrated by the situation in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was the first to triumph in the socialist revolution under Lenin’s leadership and the most developed socialist power but failed in the socialist cause because it had failed in the solution of the problem of succession to leadership. Because wrong persons succeeded the leader in the Soviet Union, the Party degenerated into a revisionist party and was unable to adhere to the revolutionary traditions and socialist principles; bureaucratism became rife in Party and state activities, and unity of the Party and the masses was not realized. The Party’s degeneration and divorce from the people made it impossible for the Party to give political leadership to the revolution and construction, and for the people, the motive force of socialism, to play their role as they should and defend socialism from the anti-socialist offensive of the imperialists and reactionaries. In consequence, the flag of socialism that had flown for 70 years in the Soviet Union fell into the mire overnight, and the downfall of socialism in the Soviet Union was followed by the collapse of socialism in the Eastern European countries that had been acting under the baton of the Soviet Union.

In our country Comrade Kim Jong Il has been giving wise leadership to all the work of the Party, state and army; the problem of ensuring continuity of leadership has thus been brilliantly solved.

In our country now Party work is successful, state work is
successful, military operations are successful and socialist construction is successful, under the leadership of Comrade Kim Jong II. Today in our country all the people have become a great family, single-heartedly united around the Party, and they are loyally supporting the Party’s leadership. In the course of many years of struggle under the Party’s leadership, our people have realized deep in their hearts that our Party is the true representative and stalwart champion of the masses and their great guide. Therefore, they entrust their destiny entirely to the Party. The recent conference of the families of martyrs from all parts of the country, the conference of Korean intellectuals and the Eighth Congress of the League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea and other conferences have clearly demonstrated again our people’s ardent and loyal support for the Party and their unshakable determination to defend and accomplish the socialist cause under the leadership of the Party.

We still have a lot of work to do to accomplish the socialist cause, the revolutionary cause of Juche. We must firmly adhere to our Party’s general line and press ahead with the ideological, technological and cultural revolutions to consolidate and develop people-centred socialism in our country and also realize national reunification, the cherished desire of our nation.

We have struggled for socialism all our lives, and it is inconceivable now to discard the best socialism of ours and restore capitalism, a society where “the rich grow richer and the poor grow poorer.” The road of socialism is the road of true freedom and happiness for the people, whereas the road of capitalism is the road of exploitation and oppression, misery and suffering for the people. The defence of socialism means victory, whereas giving up socialism means death. Since we pledged to build socialism when we started fighting for the revolution, we must defend socialism through to the end without the slightest vacillation and accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche.

In order to defend the people-centred socialism of our country and brilliantly accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche, the entire
Party and all the people must unite firmly behind Comrade Kim Jong Il and loyally support his leadership. Loyal support for Comrade Kim Jong Il’s leadership is the sure guarantee for continuing and accomplishing the socialist cause.

Comrade Kim Jong Il is the genuine leader of the people. He is loyal and dutiful and versed in civil and military affairs. He is a preeminent thinker and theoretician, statesman and military strategist, unfailingly loyal to the country and people and very dutiful to his parents. He is the paragon of loyalty and filial devotion.

The most important mission of the leader of the revolution is to develop the guiding ideology of the revolution and clearly show the road to be followed by the masses’ cause of independence. The people’s cause of independence can overcome the trials of history and advance along the road of victory only when it is guided by the beacon of ideology that correctly reflects the requirements of the times and the people’s aspirations.

Comrade Kim Jong Il has been engaged in ideological and theoretical activities with an unusually strong spirit of inquiry and energy, brightening our Party’s Juche idea as the great guiding ideology of the age of independence.

I put forward the Juche idea, which reflects the requirements of our revolution and the aspirations of the people in the new age of independence, and have led the revolution and construction, guided by this idea, but I have not given much thought to systematizing the principles of the Juche idea. This task has been carried out splendidly by Comrade Kim Jong Il. On the basis of his profound study of the basic principles and essence of the Juche idea, he defined our Party’s guiding ideology as the integral system of the idea, theory and method of Juche. He has also enriched the Juche idea with new principles and content to meet the requirements of our times and the development of the revolution and fully developed it in depth. In addition, he has worked energetically to equip our people with the Juche idea and give wide publicity to this idea abroad. He has thus ensured that the Juche idea is the revolutionary idea of the masses themselves in name as well
as in fact. In other words, he has cultivated the Juche idea, the seed which I had planted in the soil of our people and developed, into a thriving crop and has gathered a rich harvest, so to speak.

Our Party paper now publishes important documents written by Comrade Kim Jong Il one after another. This alone shows how hard he is working to develop and enrich the Juche idea and equip the people with it. Recently, *The Historical Lesson in Building Socialism and the General Line of Our Party* and *On the Fundamentals of Revolutionary Party Building* have been published. These documents have historic significance in that they provide a scientific exposition of the basic cause of the collapse of socialism in several countries and clarify the path of true socialism and the fundamental principles of building revolutionary parties. The documents he has published serve not only as excellent pabulum for the revolutionary education of our Party members and working people but also as the revolutionary banner that encourages the revolutionaries and progressive people throughout the world in their struggle for sovereignty, independence and socialism and lights their road ahead.

Comrade Kim Jong Il gives wise leadership to the revolution and construction with uncommon leadership ability.

The ability to lead the revolution and construction can be said to find expression in the leader’s capacity and skill with which to encourage the masses, the motive force of the revolution, to display their creativity to the highest. The masses have unfathomable strength. Success in the revolution and construction depends on how the masses are encouraged to exert their unfathomable strength. If the masses are to make such efforts, they need to be awakened to political consciousness, organized and ideologically motivated. The work of awakening them to political consciousness, organizing them and motivating them ideologically can only be done by the revolutionary party of the working class. This function and activity of the revolutionary party is ensured by the guidance of the leader with outstanding ability and skill.

Comrade Kim Jong Il strengthens the Party and enhances its
leadership role as the main link in the whole chain of leading the revolution and construction. He has put forward and implemented the policy of modelling the entire Party on the Juche idea, developed it into an unconquerable force, united on the basis of the Juche idea, into a seasoned leading political organization with strong fighting capacity. He has strengthened the motive force of our revolution as never before by uniting all the people around the Party. While thoroughly establishing the system of giving Party leadership to the revolution and construction on the one hand, he ensures on the other hand that priority is given to ideological education, the transformation of people, in Party activity under the banner of ideology. By so doing he makes sure that all the Party members and working people, firmly equipped with the revolutionary idea of our Party, fulfil their responsibilities and role as masters of the revolution and construction. Today our Party is working hard to protect the people’s interests more effectively and meet their desire for independence to the fullest under the slogan, “We serve the people,” and the people are displaying their revolutionary enthusiasm and creativity in the struggle to carry out the Party’s lines and policies under the slogan, “When the Party is determined, we can do anything!”

Under the leadership of Comrade Kim Jong Il, our revolution ushered in a new period of upsurge. Since he assumed leadership, a new change has taken place in all areas of political, economic and cultural work as well as in Party work. Important innovations and upsurge have been effected on all fronts of socialist construction.

For example, under his guidance, a great heyday of Juche art and literature was unfolded in the first few years of the 1970s. In this period, amazing progress was made in all areas of cinema and other arts and literature, masterpieces of world standard were created and made public one after another, and in the course of this, writers and artists became the front rankers in the revolutionary transformation of the whole society and its assimilation to the working class. People call this the “revolution in art and literature” or the “Renaissance in the 20th century”. I do not think they are mistaken.

Under the leadership of Comrade Kim Jong Il, our people have
been inspired with the pride of being victors and have exalted their honour and dignity in the eyes of the whole world. On their visits to our country leaders of many countries and other foreign guests enviously admire the solid unity of the Party and the masses and the vigorous advances of all the people, full of confidence in victory, under the Party’s leadership.

I should say that Comrade Kim Jong Il has rendered distinguished services when he has developed a powerful motive force, welding the Party and the masses into a single socio-political organism and effected a great historic change by transforming nature and society on the strength of the motive force. This bespeaks his loyalty to the revolutionary cause of Juche and also proves his pre-eminent qualities and ability as the leader.

Comrade Kim Jong Il’s leadership has brought about a new change also in building up the revolutionary armed forces.

As you comrades have seen, the parade held in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Korean People’s Army demonstrated the unfailing loyalty of our revolutionary armed forces, particularly the People’s Army, to the Party and the revolution, their high level of organization and discipline and their unconquerable strength. It is entirely the result of his correct leadership that the People’s Army has been strengthened into revolutionary armed forces, each soldier being fully prepared politically, ideologically and militarily and a match for a hundred foes. It has been discharging its honourable mission as the defender of the Party and the revolution, the country and the people. In line with the Juche-orientated policy of building the army, he stepped up the work of the Party’s political and ideological education, established the Juche-orientated military command system by which the entire army moves as one under the Party’s leadership, and made the People’s Army truly the army of the Party, the army of the revolution. In keeping with the requirements for modern warfare and the specific conditions in our country, he has developed the Juche art of war, built a powerful, modern defence industry and steadily increased the combative power of the People’s
Army and improved its weapons and equipment. Under his leadership, our People’s Army has become a loyal combat force laying down their lives for the Party and the revolution, and developed into an invincible force equipped with modern means of both attack and defence. The all-people defence system with the People’s Army at the core has been solidly established. Comrade Kim Jong Il has unbreakable will, audacity, outstanding strategic intelligence and the art of military leadership worthy of the supreme commander of the revolutionary armed forces. This is the guarantee for the continuous development of our revolutionary armed forces and their victory in every battle.

Comrade Kim Jong Il has all the best qualities required of the people’s leader.

He is, before all else, unfailingly loyal and devoted to the Party and the revolution, and to the country and the people.

He makes every effort and carries out whatever he thinks is needed for the country and the people. In particular he spares no effort to do things I wish and to solve the problems of my concern so that he can give me pleasure.

This can be illustrated by the fact that Pyongyang, the capital of revolution, has been constructed as one of the most magnificent and beautiful cities in the world. Constructing Pyongyang in such a way that it may be called the face of our country, was my desire and that of our people. On my return from a visit to the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in East Europe in 1984, I told officials that I had seen nothing envious in those countries and that one thing I regretted was that there were few modern streets in Pyongyang with accommodation capable of appropriately hosting major international functions. I said it would be desirable to build such a large street in the direction of Mangyongdae so that Pyongyang might take on a better appearance as the capital of the revolution. Comrade Kim Jong Il, in enthusiastic support of my idea, said that he would take charge of the construction of a new modern street in Pyongyang. He undertook a bold, building operation in a big way and constructed Kwangbok Street and Chongchun Street in a short span of time. Immediately after the
The project was completed, he proposed the construction of Thongil Street and carried it out with great effort. As a result, Pyongyang took on a new appearance; the people’s housing problem was also resolved. On the occasion of my 70th birthday, he ensured the construction of the splendid Ice Rink and the Grand People’s Study House in Pyongyang as I had hoped. In addition the Maternity Hospital, the Changgwang Health Complex and many other modern cultural facilities and monumental structures were completed. Whenever I look around magnificent and beautiful Pyongyang, I feel great pleasure.

As you can see, Comrade Kim Jong Il does everything to see that my wishes come true, and that the problems of my concern are resolved. Exactly here his loyalty to the Party and the leader, his devotion to the country and the people, and his filial devotion find concentrated expression.

He has been working day and night, with all devotion and without taking care of himself, in order to carry forward and develop the revolutionary cause of Juche. Concerned over his health, I have advised him to relax now and then, but he continues to overwork, saying that he is impatient over the passage of time while he has so much work to do.

I am now old, but still working in good health thanks to his loyalty and filial devotion. He always pays special attention to my health, rest and relaxation. He takes all the necessary measures to relieve me of inconveniences in my work. Worried over my eyesight growing weak and my fatigue from reading many papers, he has taken steps to get the reports to me typed in large letters and some of the papers and information for me tape-recorded. Thanks to his measures I do not feel tired even though I read a lot of papers requiring my approval.

Comrade Kim Jong Il has the virtue of respecting his seniors in the revolution.

He respects and gives prominence to the veteran revolutionaries, my comrades-in-arms in the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, and takes meticulous care of them in and out of work. He looks after retired veterans, providing them with good clothing and sending them to
holiday homes every year to keep them in good health. You comrades, who are present here, say that I need not worry over you because you are living in happiness, being provided with good houses, colour television sets and de luxe cars thanks to his consideration. That is a good thing. He sincerely cares for not only the veterans of the anti-Japanese revolution but also the aged officials, who have worked with me since the liberation of the country, and looks after them kindly. I am very pleased with this.

His respect for my comrades in the revolution and holding them in public esteem is an expression of his unshakable determination to accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche by carrying forward the revolutionary traditions we established. Revolutionaries must always bear in mind the roots of the revolution and inherit the revolutionary traditions in a pure way. Inheriting them does not mean anything special. Respecting the forerunners that pioneered the revolutionary cause and preserving and brightening their idea and achievements means inheriting and developing the revolutionary traditions. The attitude towards the revolutionary forerunners and the purity of the inheritance of their revolutionary traditions are the touchstone that distinguishes between the true successor to the revolution and a traitor. As for the behaviour of the persons that claimed to be leaders of a certain country, they disparaged their revolutionary forerunners and put themselves forward as soon as they came to power. This is an act of traitors. Such an act will cut off the lifeline of the revolution.

Judging from the single fact that Comrade Kim Jong Il respects the revolutionary forerunners and holds them in high public esteem, we can say that he has an excellent virtue as the leader of the people. If he trains many more officials loyal to the Party and the revolutionary cause and educates the younger generation so that all of them maintain the tradition of respecting their revolutionary forerunners, our revolutionary cause will be stoutly carried forward from generation to generation.

Comrade Kim Jong Il takes loving care of the people and his comrades in the revolution.
Once he trusts a person, he holds him dear as his revolutionary comrade and cares for his destiny through to the end on his responsibility. If officials make mistakes in their work, he feels very sorry for them. While criticizing them sternly, he sets store by their loyalty, trusts them invariably and leads them to brighten their political integrity all their lives. Therefore, our officials regard Party criticism as an expression of its trust in them and strive to correct their mistakes to remain loyal to the Party as long as they live.

Comrade Kim Jong Il takes care of the workers, farmers, intellectuals and all the other sections of the population in his embrace, puts them forward as the masters of our society and leads them to play their role as masters. He warmly looks after even people with stained family backgrounds or with chequered socio-political records without discrimination and enlists them as legitimate members of our revolutionary ranks if they follow our Party and support socialism at present. He always goes out among the people, shares weal and woe with them and spares nothing for their happiness.

I can say that love for and trust in his revolutionary comrades and the people are the basic characteristics of Comrade Kim Jong Il’s statesmanship. His statecraft of love and trust has produced loyalty and filial devotion among our Party members and other working people, brought about a full flowering of beautiful communist virtues in all parts of the country and changed the whole of society into a large harmonious family, which is united on the collectivist principle, “One for all and all for one!” Our people now call his state management the politics of love, politics of trust or all-embracing politics. This is an expression of their confidence in him and praise of him, one who trusts the people and dedicates himself to the struggle for them.

For his leadership ability and character and for his loyalty, devotion and achievements, Comrade Kim Jong Il has earned the people’s respect and love as well as high prestige as their leader.

A person that makes sincere efforts and fights for the people with all devotion will enjoy the people’s support and a high public reputation although he refrains from showing off. Comrade
Kim Jong Il does not like being in the limelight in the belief that all that he needs to do is to work with loyalty to the country and his fellow people, but our people respect and support him, calling him “Dear Leader” for a long time. This title carries with it our people’s love and confidence in him.

It is a matter of great pleasure that Comrade Kim Jong Il, as the leader carrying forward the Juche revolutionary cause, is respected, loved and praised by the people. That is why I composed a poem in praise of him, representing the unanimous feelings of the people on the occasion of his 50th birthday.

The 19th Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of our Party acclaimed Comrade Kim Jong Il as the Supreme Commander of the Korean People’s Army. This is a high evaluation of his qualifications and his revolutionary achievements as well as the expression of the unshakable will of our Party and the people to accomplish the Juche revolutionary cause under his leadership.

The officers and men of our People’s Army and all the people take great delight in having Comrade Kim Jong Il as the Supreme Commander of the Korean People’s Army and are bidding him an enthusiastic welcome. His acclamation as the Supreme Commander strengthens our People’s Army further and inspires our people with higher spirits. In contrast, the enemies tremble with fear of him.

Because Comrade Kim Jong Il carries forward our revolutionary cause splendidly, everything in our country is going successfully at present and will proceed with success in the future as well. The era of Kim Jong Il is glorious today and will be more prosperous and resplendent in the future. Our revolution has a really great future.

Our people now sing a song to the effect that without Comrade Kim Jong Il there would be no motherland. This is a good song. As the song says, without him both you comrades and the socialist motherland would not exist. His destiny is your destiny and the destiny of the country. The destiny of the leader, the Party and the people is one. You must, therefore, remain unfailingly loyal to him and brilliantly accomplish the socialist cause and the reunification of the country.
under his leadership.

In order to support his leadership as you should, you must continue to strengthen the single-hearted unity of the Party and the revolutionary ranks.

The single-hearted unity we are speaking of is the single-hearted unity around a single centre, the leader. Only when the masses are united rock-solid around the leader as a socio-political organism can they be the independent motive force of the revolution and play their role as such. Our revolution has been able to advance victoriously, overcoming incomparably arduous trials and we are now defending and brightening socialism, changing adverse conditions into favourable ones. This has been achieved in the difficult situation in which the imperialists’ offensive against socialism has been unprecedentedly intensified. This is because our revolutionary ranks have become a powerful motive force of the revolution, one which is single-heartedly united behind the leader. All the officials must make active efforts to strengthen the unity of the Party and the revolutionary ranks around Comrade Kim Jong Il by carrying forward the tradition of single-hearted unity of our revolution.

In order to fortify this achievement, all the Party members and working people must support Comrade Kim Jong Il with pure hearts, safeguard him and protect him in every way on the basis of revolutionary faith in him and revolutionary obligation. There should not be the slightest affectation, pretension or self-interest in supporting one’s leader. A person with self-interest may be affected by the general trend and change with the change in the circumstances. One must always support one’s leader with a pure and sincere mind. Our Party members and working people must believe in their leader Comrade Kim Jong Il, follow him and support him invariably with unfailing loyalty whether in peace or in harsh trials.

The system of Comrade Kim Jong Il’s unified leadership of the entire Party and the whole of society, must be strengthened.

The leader’s unified leadership is essential for ensuring the unity of idea and purpose of the revolutionary ranks and their concerted action
and for accelerating the revolution and construction in keeping with the aspirations and demands of the masses.

The unified leadership of the entire Party and the whole society is realized in the process of carrying out the leader’s lines and policies. All our officials and working people must accept Comrade Kim Jong Il’s lines and policies as absolutely valid and carry them out in whatever difficult conditions and circumstances. A person that strives with all his heart to carry out the Party’s lines and policies and works with all devotion, though speaking little, is a truly loyal person that knows how to support his leader.

We must establish revolutionary discipline by which the entire Party, all the people and the entire army move as one under Comrade Kim Jong Il’s leadership and prevent the infiltration among us of bourgeois idea, revisionist idea, flunkeyist idea and all other heterogeneous ideological trends that are contrary to our Party’s revolutionary idea, so that everyone in our Party and revolutionary ranks breathes the same air as the Party, speaks in accordance with the Party’s intention and walks in step with it.

The veterans of the anti-Japanese revolution must set an example in supporting Comrade Kim Jong Il.

Anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters are the honourable first generation of our revolution, who, together with me, pioneered and developed the revolutionary cause of Juche. You, the veterans of our revolution, must make sure, by your practical example, that the people and the younger generation sincerely support and follow their leader. Anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans must sincerely support and help Comrade Kim Jong Il just as they have been loyal to me until now, and ensure that the socialist cause, the Juche revolutionary cause, is accomplished. Since our revolution continues down through generations, loyalty to the leader must be carried forward down through generations. When loyalty to the leader continues to be loyalty to his successor, it will be genuine loyalty, and the person with such loyalty is a true and loyal revolutionary.

Anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans must educate their sons and
daughters to support Comrade Kim Jong Il with loyalty and become stalwart heirs to the revolution.

The younger generation is the heirs to our revolutionary cause. The future of socialism we have built and the destiny of the Juche revolutionary cause depend entirely on how the new generation, the heirs to the revolution, are prepared. As history shows it, the younger generation in some countries has not been educated on revolutionary lines, so that the younger people were deceived by the imperialists and reactionaries, came out in opposition to socialism and followed the road of restoring capitalism. In view of the great importance of the younger generation’s education in the continuation of the revolutionary cause, we have for a long time put great efforts into training the younger people to be reliable heirs to the revolution.

Today the ideological and spiritual state of the young men and women, who have been educated by our Party, is very good. They are intensely loyal to the Party and work with all devotion to resolve the problems of our Party’s concern. Our young men and women volunteer to work in coal-mines, country areas and other fields where work is difficult and toilsome. Some have married honourably disabled soldiers and adopted orphans as their children. These laudable deeds have become universal in our country. We are greatly proud of these excellent young men and women, and exactly for this reason the future of our revolution is securely guaranteed.

We must not rest content with success in education and training of the younger generation; we must continue to put great efforts into this work. The veteran revolutionaries must teach their children how their parents fought in the past for the freedom and independence of the country and for the people’s happiness and how socialism has been built as we see it today, and implant intense loyalty and an unbreakable revolutionary spirit in their hearts. In this way you will make sure that not only your children but also your grandchildren and great-grandchildren take over the Juche revolutionary cause, securely defend it and brilliantly develop it.

The children of revolutionary martyrs, who are present here, have
pledged to be single-heartedly loyal to dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il just as their parents were faithful to me in the past. That is good.

Your parents were loyal revolutionaries. They devoted everything to the struggle for the victory of our revolution in the past. None of your parents started the revolution in the hope of winning personal honour or an official position. They embarked on the road of revolution solely for the liberation and independence of the country and for the people’s happiness and unhesitatingly laid down their precious lives for that purpose. I can never forget your parents, who died while fighting heroically for the country and the revolution.

You must purely inherit the loyalty and revolutionary spirit of your parents and struggle with all devotion for the victory of the Juche revolutionary cause.

The Party deeply trusts the children of revolutionary martyrs and expects a great deal from them. The Party regards you as the hard core of our revolution and expects you to keep the important posts of the revolution rock-solid. You must always bear in mind the Party’s trust and expectations and become guards and shock brigades in support of Comrade Kim Jong Il’s leadership.

In order to fulfil your duties, you must firmly prepare yourselves to be Juche-type communist revolutionaries.

As I always say the son does not become a revolutionary automatically simply because his father is a revolutionary. The children of revolutionary martyrs, to be true revolutionaries, must have high ambitions and a strong determination to carry forward the revolution following the example of the revolutionary spirit of their parents and steadily train themselves through revolutionary practice.

Only those who have high ideals and ambition and realize them without fail can become genuine revolutionaries. My father advanced the idea of “Aim High” and educated me to cherish it. I have fought with his words as my maxim and still keep them in my mind. You must bear in mind that the Juche revolutionary cause pioneered and developed by your parents is a great, noble undertaking for the
prosperity of the country and the people’s happiness; you should become loyal men and women who share the same destiny with the Party for ever in the struggle to accomplish the cause.

The children of revolutionary martyrs, to be Juche-type communist revolutionaries who are unfailingly loyal to the Party and the revolution, must firmly equip themselves with our Party’s Juche idea.

The Juche idea is the sole guiding ideology of our revolution and the revolutionary outlook on the world that the Juche-type communist revolutionaries must acquire. Only when you are solidly armed with the Juche idea can you have the awareness of being masters of the revolution and confidence in the victory of the revolution and fight for the victory of the Juche revolutionary cause through to the end. You the children of revolutionary martyrs must study the Juche idea harder, make it your unshakable belief and translate it thoroughly into work and life. You must, on no account, be affected with heterogeneous ideas that run counter to the Juche idea and with the decadent way of life. If you are affected with corrupt bourgeois ideas and way of life, you will become ideologically and mentally degenerate. If this happens, you will be unable to work for the revolution. You must reject these evils and think and act only in keeping with the requirements of the Juche idea.

Participating faithfully in organizational life is extremely important. People can add lustre to their valuable socio-political integrity and lead worthwhile lives only through organizational life. The children of revolutionary martyrs must always value their organization, participate faithfully in organizational life so as to train themselves ideologically and prepare themselves into stalwart revolutionaries with a high sense of organization and discipline.

The children of revolutionary martyrs must be free from greed for high positions and refrain from hoping for privileges and special benefits. Greed for high positions and the desire for privileges and special benefits are alien to the qualities of revolutionaries. Since the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, I have considered it an iron rule of life to “oppose eating from a small pot”. This means opposing
to live in a manner different from the ways of the masses without mixing with them. In the years of the anti-Japanese armed struggle I always shared bed and board with my men. During the Fatherland Liberation War when the people had to live on foxtail millet, I fought, eating foxtail millet. I still live in the way I did in the past. Only then can I feel peace of mind. Whatever you do and wherever you work, you the children of revolutionary martyrs must refrain from hoping for high positions and special treatment and carry out the assignments given by the Party in a responsible manner. You must also love and respect the people at all times and share hardships and pleasure with them.

The children of revolutionary martyrs must not be greedy for material wealth. Such greed is like opium that paralyses people’s revolutionary spirit. If people covet articles and money, they will become ideologically degenerate and end in betraying the revolution. You must work and live in a clean and pure way with a noble revolutionary spirit so that you want nothing more than to work for the revolution, even if you have to eat only frugal meals with soyabean paste.

Today I have had a pleasant time with you, old comrades-in-arms of mine and the children of revolutionary martyrs.

I strongly believe that you will stoutly fight for the accomplishment of the socialist cause, the Juche revolutionary cause, in loyal support of Comrade Kim Jong Il’s leadership.
ON THE NEED FOR THE KOREANS IN THE UNITED STATES TO UNITE AND STEP UP THE MOVEMENT FOR NATIONAL REUNIFICATION

Talk to the Koreans from the United States

March 11, 1993

Today I am very glad to meet you, my compatriots, from the United States.

You have said that you are very grateful to me for my meeting you like this in spite of the extremely tense situation, but I think it is natural for me to meet you who are struggling for national reunification. Although the situation in the country is tense due to the adventurous “Team Spirit 93” joint military exercise staged by the US imperialists and south Korean rulers, I have taken time off to meet you because you are visiting us with a determination to fight resolutely against the enemy’s manoeuvres to unleash a new war and for national reunification.

I think you fully understand our position because you have had talks with my officials and have studied the Juche idea since you came to the motherland. So I shall talk briefly about the question of national reunification.

The most important task of our people today is to put an end to the split of the nation and reunify the country. Only when the country is reunified can our people get rid of the calamities and sufferings caused by division and live in happiness on the reunified land.
In order to reunify the country we must realize great national unity. My hope is to reunify the country through great national unity. Ever since the country was divided, I have maintained great national unity as a major principle of national reunification and tirelessly struggled for its realization.

When I met a high-ranking official of south Korea who visited Pyongyang to participate in the high-level north-south political negotiations many years ago, I advanced the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity. The three principles of national reunification are aimed at reunifying the country independently, free from the interference of foreign forces, by peaceful means through dialogue and negotiations without recourse to the method of war, and on the principle of promoting great unity of the whole nation, regardless of the difference in ideology, system and religious belief. Of the three principles of national reunification, great national unity is the most important. Great national unity is the prerequisite for the implementation of the principle of independence and for facilitating the realization of the principle of peaceful reunification.

If the entire nation achieves great unity, we can reunify the country through federation.

I have already taken various opportunities to propose the idea of reunifying the country in the form of federation on the basis of one nation, one state, two systems and two governments. This proposal is the most rational, fairest and above board in reunifying the country by transcending the difference in ideology, system and religious belief.

As you know, there are now different ideologies and systems in the north and the south. The only way to reunify the north and the south with different ideologies and systems into a single state is to enforce federation on the basis of recognizing each other’s ideology and system.

We have no intention to force socialism on south Korea, nor is there any need to do so. Probably you know from your experience of life in south Korea that foreign capital has made inroads into south Korea
from the United States, Japan, Germany, Britain, France, Canada and so on. The United States and Western capitalist powers have completely seized the mainstay of the south Korean economy by their capital inroads. Although the south Korean industry is alleged to be developed, it in fact is not worth mentioning. According to a recent report of a south Korean newspaper, only 4 per cent of south Korean industry is indigenous. Take television sets for example. It is said that only the frames are made in south Korea and most of the machine parts are imported and assembled. The south Korean economy is dependent and export-orientated, and its mainstay is in the hands of the major powers. So if these countries put pressure to bear upon it, it will be stifled overnight. The United States and other capitalist countries that have invested their capital in south Korea are afraid of losing their economic concessions if socialism is established in south Korea. That is why these countries are opposed to the reunification of our country. We do not wish to make many more countries hostile towards us by establishing socialism in south Korea. We intend to reunify the country in the form of federation and ensure the economic concessions of the United States, Japan and other countries that have made investments in south Korea.

We are against an introduction of capitalism in the northern half of Korea. In the north, the socialist system of independence, self-sufficiency and self-reliant defence, the requirements of the Juche idea, has been solidly established, and the people live equally in happiness free from exploitation and oppression. We do not wish to turn this good socialist system into capitalism. Why should we change the socialist society, which is liked by the people, into a capitalist society with increasing imbalance between the rich and the poor as in south Korea? Even if we were to undergo some difficulty in economic construction, we will preserve the independent national economy of socialism. We will never invite foreign capital to make the people the victim of foreign monopolies.

We will leave the problem of unifying different systems in the north and the south to the next generation. We believe that this problem will
be slowly and smoothly solved by the next generation. However, the
task of establishing the reunified state of federation regardless of the
difference in ideology and system must not be delayed any longer.

If we reunify the country through federation and manage the unified
federal state properly, the south Korean economy will become
gradually free from dependence on foreign capital, and our
independent national economy will grow stronger.

The unified federal state must be an independent neutral state.

The reunification of our country is not aimed at becoming a major
power or a satellite of any other country. Japan and other large
countries around our country have long been engaged in a scramble to
make our country their satellite. To make matters worse, the feudal
rulers of the Ri dynasty, devoid of independence, worshipped and
depended on large countries and ended in being robbed of their country
by the Japanese imperialists in the past. One of the best ways for the
unified federal state to avoid being a satellite of a large country is to
become an independent neutral state. For this reason, when I made the
proposal for national reunification through federation, I said that the
unified federal state must be an independent neutral state. I always say
this when I talk to foreigners.

Once the former Chancellor of Austria paid a visit to me. He had
been unable to walk because of some disease and had received
treatment for years from foreign doctors he had invited, but their
treatment had not much effect. So he had invited Koryo doctors from
our country. Koryo medicine is the traditional remedy of our country.
On receiving the report from our ambassador in Austria that the
ex-chancellor had invited our Koryo doctors, I sent able Koryo doctors
to him, and they had completely cured his disease. The ex-chancellor,
who recovered his health thanks to our doctors, said that he could find
no way of repaying his indebtedness and that he should meet President
Kim Il Sung and at least express his gratitude to me. So he came to visit
me.

In my talk to him, I told him that it was splendid that his country
had become a neutral state and that it was best for a country surrounded
by large countries to pursue a neutral policy. If our country is reunified through federation and becomes an independent neutral state, our large neighbours will be unable to make it their satellite.

In order to realize great national unity all our compatriots in the north, south and abroad must unite solidly under the banner of national reunification, regardless of the difference in their ideology, system and religious belief.

Many of the overseas compatriots have different political views and religions, to say nothing of the different political views and religious beliefs now existing between north and south. However, this can never be an obstacle to great national unity. If all our compatriots in the north, south and abroad value the nation’s common interests and subordinate everything to the cause of national reunification, transcending the difference in their ideology, system and religion, they will be able to realize great national unity.

During the anti-Japanese revolution, I rallied a broad section of religious believers, not to speak of workers and peasants, under the banner of national liberation. When we were waging an armed struggle in the area around Mt. Paektu, I decided to rally the believers in Chondoism in the northern region of Korea behind the anti-Japanese national united front and put great efforts into effecting a united front with them. I made this decision because Chondoism that succeeded Tonghak was a national religion and its believers were strongly anti-Japanese. At that time, Choe Rin, the leader of the central Chondoist organization, was a turncoat who preached to the believers that they should achieve Korea’s independence by the method of autonomy with Japan’s approval and build an “earthly paradise”. It was preposterous to introduce autonomy with Japan’s approval. So a large number of Chondoists came out against Choe Rin and in consequence Chondoism became divided into two factions.

I brought Pak In Jin, the leader of Chondoists in South Hamgyong Province, round to our point of view in order to rally the believers under the banner of national liberation. Having read the Ten-Point Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland,
Pak In Jin came out in active support of us and mobilized a large number of Chondoists in strong support of our armed struggle. In those years we maintained close relations with the believers not only in the Phungsan and Samsu areas but also in the Changsong and Sakju areas.

In the post-liberation years, too, I enlisted religious believers in building the new country. An important matter in our work with religious people was to rid them of the idea of worshipping the United States and implant the idea of national independence in their minds. So in my interviews with the Rev. Kang Ryang Uk and other Christians, I told them to believe in a Korean God, not a Western God. In my interviews with Buddhists, I told them to believe in Korean Shakyamuni. Still now I say this to religious people whenever I meet them. When I met the Rev. Kim Song Rak, my compatriot from the United States, I told him the same thing. Because we worked hard with religious people, they got rid of the idea of worshipping the United States and acquired the spirit of national independence and joined hands with us in building the new society.

We are now trying as far as possible to unite with the south Korean authorities, to say nothing of the south Korean people in general. In my New Year Address this year, therefore, I said that I would meet anyone and discuss the problem of national reunification frankly with him and make efforts with him to reunify the country without asking his past records if he should take a sincere attitude to settle the issue of national reunification from the standpoint of national independence. In his recent “Presidential” inaugural speech, the south Korean ruler expressed his readiness to meet President Kim Il Sung, saying that no allied country would be better than the Korean nation. He said he would meet me at any place and at any time, be it at the foot of Mt. Halla on a warm spring day or on Lake Chon on the top of Mt. Paektu on a summer day to exchange views frankly. We have noted his statement. Of course, there is no need to harbour illusions about him, but his word that he would meet me is good. If he truly wants to meet me, I am ready to meet him. However, whether I should meet him right
now needs further study. Although he has become the “President”, he has no real power because he can control neither the military nor the “Agency for National Security Planning”. In addition, the standpoint and attitude with which he will take part in the north-south summit need serious consideration.

Our standpoint on national reunification is invariable. On many occasions I have already made many proposals for national reunification, particularly the idea of federation. All my proposals are aimed at reunifying the country, and none of them will obstruct reunification. The solution of the question depends on the standpoint and attitude of the south Korean ruler.

The US imperialists and the south Korean authorities are now conducting the risky “Team Spirit 93” joint military exercise against us by mobilizing more than 200,000 troops and modern lethal weapons and equipment. We strongly oppose this aggressive joint military exercise, but we do not denounce the present ruler of south Korea. The arrangement for reopening the “Team Spirit 93” joint military exercise with the US imperialists was made by the former south Korean ruler, not the present south Korean ruler. The former south Korean ruler accepted the “Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, Cooperation and Exchange between the North and the South” and the “Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula” and announced them, promising to build a house at Panmunjom for the reunion of the scattered families. However, he made the arrangement for reopening the aggressive “Team Spirit 93” joint military exercise by challenging the agreements.

The enemy says that the joint military exercise is a defence exercise rather than for an aggressive war against us, but that is a lie. It is an aggressive war exercise thoroughly against us. The enemy threatens us by staging the large-scale joint military exercise, but we are not afraid of it in the least. The present south Korean ruler says nothing in support of the “Team Spirit 93” joint military exercise. We will continue to watch his attitude in the future.

Our compatriots in the United States must naturally struggle hard
for national reunification because they also belong to the Korean nation.

To develop a powerful struggle for national reunification, our compatriots in the United States must solidly unite. There are now over one million Koreans in the United States, and that is a greater number than that of Koreans in Japan. If the Koreans in the United States closely unite, they will be able to make a great contribution to hastening national reunification. If over one million Koreans in that country demand that the US government support the proposal for national reunification through federation, they can produce good results.

To achieve solid unity, our compatriots in the United States must rise above all differences in their political views and religious beliefs. True, there may be difference in their political views and religious beliefs. But if people with different political views and religious beliefs are solidly united, they can produce great strength just as five fingers with different lengths join to make a fist. That is why all Koreans in the United States must closely unite under the banner of national reunification, regardless of difference in their political views and religious beliefs. They must, on no account, form sects or create antagonism or feuds among themselves. If they do such things, they will be unable to realize great national unity and will also be denounced by foreigners.

Let me tell you of an incident I witnessed during my days at the Yuwen Middle School in Jilin. In those days Jilin used to be a favourite resort of Korean communists and nationalists. In my middle-school days I met Kim Chan, Sin Il Yong, An Kwang Chon and other leaders of the Tuesday group, Seoul-Shanghai group and M-L group and the leaders of Jongui-bu, Chamui-bu and Sinmin-bu. At that time the leaders of these organizations were having a meeting at Fuxingtaic Rice Mill in Jilin to amalgamate the three organizations. One day I dropped in on them on my way back from school. They were in a futile argument, insisting only on their own assertions. So I prepared a play entitled, “Three Pretenders”, to stimulate them and got it performed for
them. At first, they were interested in the play but, knowing that it was a satire on them, they became enraged. However, as they knew that I was a son of Kim Hyong Jik, who organized the Korean National Association, they dared not touch me. I told the angry men that they should do something as soon as possible, instead of scolding me, and asked why they should quarrel day and night in a foreign land without winning the independence of the country. Later, they organized Kukmin-bu by merging the three organizations. The drama, “Three Pretenders” has been adapted as a revolutionary play under the direction of Comrade Kim Jong Il and is now being staged, exciting deep interest among the audience. I say this to emphasize that our compatriots in the United States should refrain from sectarian acts and unite on the principle of subordinating everything to the cause of national reunification.

The United States is keeping its armed forces in south Korea on the excuse of deterring us from a fictitious threat, but its real aim is to contain China and Japan. The United States is not afraid of Russia because the Soviet Union has perished. The Koreans in the United States must work properly with the American people to give them a correct understanding of our country. If they do so, the United States may pull out its armed forces from south Korea. If it withdraws its forces from south Korea, it may bring about friendship with us.

We will make every effort to reunify the country and preserve the socialism of our own style. I have been working for the revolution until now by cherishing the slogan “Aim High” that my father taught me. My father established schools in many places while fighting for national independence, and put up the motto “Aim High” on their walls. He also told me to aim high in driving out the Japanese imperialists and winning the independence of the country. Referring to the need for the Koreans to rectify their two shortcomings, he said that lack of unity was their first defect. To achieve the independence of the country, he said, all the people must unite, but many people were forming various parties and groups in their own way such as a three-man party, a five-man group and so on. Their second defect was
to do things on the spur of the moment. He warned me not to fight for the revolution bubbling in enthusiasm for a while and then losing heart. Bearing his words in mind, I organized the Down-with-Imperialism Union in 1926 and ever since I have been fighting for the Korean revolution consistently for nearly 70 years. In future, too, I will devote all my efforts to accomplishing the Korean revolution adhering to the slogan “Aim High”.

I thank you for your promise to work hard to spread the Juche idea in the United States.

Some people still take socialism in our country for the same socialism in the Soviet Union or in the Eastern European countries. Socialism in our country differs from the ones in those countries. It was chosen by our people in accordance with their own conviction and has been built by their own efforts. It is people-centred socialism that has embodied the Juche idea in itself. We have solved all the problems arising in socialist construction in a creative way to suit our situation. This can be understood from the single fact that the emblem of our Party bears a brush that symbolizes intellectuals, side by side with a hammer and a sickle that symbolize workers and peasants.

As a consequence of colonial rule by the Japanese imperialists, there were very few intellectuals in our country immediately after liberation. Before liberation there were only a few colleges but no university in north Korea. The Japanese imperialists did not admit even to primary school the Koreans that refused to change their names in Japanese fashion. So the children of Koreans with a strong national spirit had no access to education. In our country immediately after liberation there were some graduates of the college of law but only a dozen people who had received higher technological education.

With resolve to find a solution to the problem of the shortage of intellectuals on our own, we established Kim Il Sung University. When we decided to set up the university, some people doubted the utility of the project, asking how we could do it when the country was in a difficult situation. However, we did not waver in the least. In order to make up for the shortage of teachers, we sent for intellectuals even
from south Korea. Many of the old doctors now in Kim Il Sung University came from south Korea at that time.

In subsequent years, we have established other universities in many parts of the country and produced a large number of intellectuals. We have now over 1.6 million intellectuals. The intellectuals, who have studied in Kim Il Sung University and other universities in our country, are playing major roles in all fields of the revolution and construction. Comrade Kim Jong Il, too, graduated from Kim Il Sung University and is giving efficient leadership to our revolution.

We intend to develop all members of society into becoming intellectuals in the future by ensuring that they acquire the knowledge of university graduates. Then, our country will be the most civilized in the world, and our people will be the most civilized nation. At present, there are no beggars, no opium addicts and no drunkards. That is why the Rev. Kim Song Rak, a Korean in the United States, said to me on his visit to his motherland that President Kim Il Sung had built a paradise on this land.

You have said that you were deeply impressed by my sense of obligation to my comrades in the revolution while reading my reminiscences. I cannot forget my comrades who laid down their lives in the struggle for national liberation and for the cause of socialism and communism. From here at the Kumsusan Assembly Hall I can have a good view of Jujak Peak on Mt. Taesong where there is the Revolutionary Martyrs Cemetery. Whenever I miss and feel sorrow for my fallen comrades, I cast my eyes from here upon the Revolutionary Martyrs Cemetery on Mt. Taesong.

Not all the anti-Japanese revolutionary martyrs were buried in the cemetery on Mt. Taesong. So many people fell in the fight for national liberation and for socialism and communism that it was impossible to bury them all in the Revolutionary Martyrs Cemetery. So we could only bury there some of the top commanders and those who had worked in important positions; we have set up their busts in front of their graves.

In the Revolutionary Martyrs Cemetery there is the bust of
Comrade Kim Pong Sok, my most beloved orderly. He died in battle on August 14, 1945, the day before the liberation of the country. He participated in the operation to liberate the country and on his way back from his liaison mission he was so hungry that he dropped in on a person to get something to eat. He might have returned from his mission enduring his hunger as he used to do, but on that specific occasion he probably thought that there was no need to put up with his hunger with the prospect of liberating the country very soon. So he must have asked for something to eat at some house. Unfortunately, however, the master of the house was a stooge of the Japanese imperialists. As soon as Kim Pong Sok left, the man informed the Japanese imperialists. While crossing the Tuman River, Kim Pong Sok was shot by the pursuing enemy. As he was hit in the middle of the stream, his body was not discovered.

I thank you for your compliment that my reminiscences have a worldwide impact and give you much help in your activity. I am now writing Volume 4 of the reminiscences and I intend to finish my plan of writing them before I grow older.

I hope you will visit the motherland frequently in the future.
I bid a warm welcome to you on your visit to my country.
Today I am very glad to have met you, Comrade General Secretary, and have made your acquaintance.
I thank you, Comrade General Secretary, for your warm congratulations upon my birthday and for your best wishes for my long life and good health.
The October 8 Revolutionary Movement of Brazil has sent us a letter of solidarity and announced a statement in support of our Party’s struggle. Comrade General Secretary, here you have also spoken highly of the struggle of our Party to keep the socialist principles and defend the sovereignty of my country and have expressed your solidarity with the struggle. I am very grateful to you for your movement’s active support for our Party’s struggle.
Your movement named itself the October 8 Revolutionary Movement of Brazil. I think October 8 is the day when Che Guevara died in battle. He visited my country immediately after the victory of the Cuban revolution. At that time I met him and had a long pleasant talk with him and dined with him. He was an excellent revolutionary and a true internationalist.
As you, Comrade General Secretary, have just said, the international communist movement has been undergoing serious trials
over recent years. Caught in the trap of the imperialists’ strategy of “peaceful transition”, the Soviet Union and the Eastern European socialist countries collapsed. This has occasioned serious vacillation among Communist Parties in capitalist countries and caused various abnormal developments. Some of these parties changed their names, some of them discarded their communist slogans, and some of them even disorganized themselves. In Latin America, however, the practice of giving up socialism has not been widespread. We are pleased with the fact that the socialist movement is advancing in Latin America under the influence of the Communist Party of Cuba.

On the occasion of my 80th birthday in April last year, many delegations and delegates of political parties from various countries the world over visited my country. Availing themselves of the opportunity of meeting in Pyongyang, they discussed and announced the declaration on defending and advancing the socialist cause. This was splendid. The announcement of the Pyongyang Declaration aimed at stopping the retreat of the parties that had aspired after socialism and making preparations for advancing the socialist movement. Nearly one year has passed since the Pyongyang Declaration was published. The people of the erstwhile Soviet Union and the East European countries now regret that they have restored capitalism by discarding socialism. As a result of the revival of capitalism, they have become unemployed and beggars. They had believed that when they restored capitalism, the United States would give them a lot of aid, but it has given them nothing. The socialist movement has now got out of the state of frustration and is gradually entering the stage of reactivation. In other words, the socialist movement has stopped its retreat and is preparing for advance. The parties that had been heading for socialism in the former Soviet Union and the East European countries are now being reorganized, and in Latin America and Asia, too, the parties that had been heading for socialism have recovered their breath and are making preparations for advancing again.

The US imperialists consider that we are playing an important role in reconstructing the socialist movement in Asia and that Cuba is
playing an important role in rebuilding socialism in Latin America. They are concentrating all their efforts on the campaign against my country and Cuba.

The United States is unwarrantedly bringing pressure to bear upon my country, fussing about what they call a “nuclear issue” that does not really exist.

We are a non-nuclear peace-loving country. We have no intention or ability to manufacture nuclear weapons. More than once have we made this clear. Nuclear weapons would be useless for us even if we were to produce them. It is self-evident that we cannot use nuclear weapons against south Korea, against our compatriots. We cannot confront the United States by means of nuclear weapons. The United States has many nuclear weapons. If we made one nuclear weapon and used it, the United States would probably use more than ten nuclear weapons. The United States has warships and aircraft capable of carrying nuclear weapons, but we do not have such means. However, the United States is making a military threat against us, insisting that we have nuclear weapons, and is instigating even international organizations to bring pressure to bear upon us.

The United States is picking a quarrel with us by taking up the fictitious “nuclear issue” for the purpose of crushing our Republic. Although socialism has collapsed in many countries, my country is defending socialism firmly and under this influence the socialist movement is reviving worldwide. Seeing this, the United States has raised the “nuclear issue” that does not really exist, in order to crush us by hook or by crook. Their clamour about the “nuclear issue” against us is also aimed at finding a pretext for keeping south Korea in their grip. They have been occupying south Korea until now on the excuse that we are going to “invade” the south. The non-aggression agreement and the joint declaration on the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula that have been adopted by the north and the south leave no justification for the continued presence of US nuclear weapons and their aggressive armed forces in south Korea. Therefore, in order to find another pretext for the continued occupation of south Korea, the
United States makes unreasonable demands that we should give up nuclear weapons when we do not have them while intentionally aggravating tension in the Korean peninsula.

Originally my country was not a party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty nor did it sign a safeguard accord with the International Atomic Energy Agency. We joined the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1985 with a view to getting the US nuclear weapons withdrawn from south Korea and realizing the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, and later we have signed the accord with the IAEA. Since the signing of the accord with the IAEA, we have received an inspection of our nuclear facilities as requested by the IAEA. The agency has made nuclear inspections of my country on six occasions. Nowadays, the agency under the aegis of the United States has requested “special inspection” of two military facilities which have nothing to do with nuclear activities. If we were to permit the “special inspection” of the two military facilities, that would mean exposing our vital spots to the United States, the belligerent country that is opposed to us. That is why we have refused to permit the agency’s “special inspection” of the two military targets. We have requested first an inspection to confirm the United States’ statement that they have withdrawn their nuclear weapons from south Korea. Although the United States says that they have withdrawn their nuclear weapons from south Korea, they refuse an inspection of their nuclear bases in south Korea. They are trying to pass off the nuclear weapons they have brought in south Korea by simply saying that they “have withdrawn them” while loudly clamouring that my country should receive a “special inspection”. Is there anything more absurd than this in the world? We do not understand why some Westerners believe the Americans who say that they have pulled out all their nuclear weapons from south Korea while disbelieving our words that we have no nuclear weapons. On my honour as the President of my country I say only the truth. For the purpose of threatening us, the United States has resumed this year the “Team Spirit” joint military exercise that had been suspended.
As self-defensive measures to maintain the nation’s dignity and protect the country’s sovereignty from unfair dealings and pressure of the United States and the IAEA, we have declared a state of semi-war throughout the country and our withdrawal from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. If the United States wants to settle the “nuclear issue” through negotiations even now, we are ready to accede to them. However, if the United States continues to pursue bringing pressure to bear upon us, we will resolutely counter them. If the Americans try to force us to our knees by means of pressure, they are foolish. If anybody beats us on the right cheek, we will not offer the left to be beaten as Christians would do. If the United States bombs my country, we will immediately respond with powerful strikes. Counterattacking an attacking enemy is our invariable, principled position.

The United States is now attempting to bring our “nuclear issue” to the UN Security Council. Even if they do so, they dare not touch us. They can never unleash a war. They will use power to apply economic sanctions at most. We are not afraid of economic sanctions. The United States has imposed economic blockades upon my country before now, but we have survived by relying on ourselves. We have food, clothing and housing. There is not an unemployed worker in my country; everyone is living in happiness, learning to his heart’s content. Even if the imperialists resort to economic sanctions, we will stay firm and step up the building of socialism, erecting great monumental structures and constructing high-rise apartment blocks. True, we may have some difficulty if the enemy applies economic sanctions. Apart from other things, the supply of electric power may become somewhat strained. For the purpose of increasing power production by constructing a nuclear power station, we made arrangements to import the equipment of a nuclear power station from the Soviet Union a few years ago. So Soviet technicians came to my country and were making preparations for the construction of the nuclear power station. However, the project fizzled out because of the fall of the Soviet Union. If the enemy imposes economic sanctions upon my country in the future, we may
find it difficult to import the equipment of a nuclear power station from another country. Nevertheless, the socialism of my country will not go to ruin. If we construct more hydroelectric and thermal power stations by our own efforts and make economic use of generated electric power, nothing serious will happen. In the future, too, we will advance invariably, holding high the flag of socialism.

You have said there is nothing more important than in building socialism and communism to find solutions to problems in the political and ideological field. I think you are right. In order to build socialism and communism, we must occupy two fortresses, one the ideological fortress and the other the material fortress. The occupation of only one of them will not realize socialism and communism. Socialism and communism can only be realized when both the ideological and material fortresses are occupied. Definite priority must be given to the occupation of the ideological fortress over the occupation of the material fortress. Of course the occupation of the material fortress is important because people need food, clothing and housing in order to live. But without occupying the ideological fortress, it would be impossible to occupy the material fortress with success. We must, therefore, work hard to occupy the two fortresses on the principle of always giving precedence to the occupation of the ideological fortress in the whole course of building socialism and communism.

For the occupation of the ideological and material fortresses of socialism and communism, we must work hard to carry out the ideological, technological and cultural revolutions. Our Party has defined these three revolutions as its strategic line of building socialism and is making great efforts to implement this line.

The ideological revolution is the most important of the three revolutions. The ideological revolution is the struggle to transform all members of society on revolutionary, working-class and communist lines. Without transforming people on these lines through ideological revolution, it would be impossible to succeed in the construction of socialism. In the Soviet Union, however, ideological revolution was extremely neglected. As a result, people became interested only in
money, and even the communists thought of nothing but making money to buy cars and build villas. That was why the Soviet Union perished. The historical lesson shows that if people are ideologically degenerate, they cannot defend socialism.

Our Party always attaches importance to ideological revolution and steps up revolutionary education, communist education, centring on the work of equipping all members of society solidly with our Party’s Juche idea. We intend to transform them on revolutionary, working-class and communist lines by intensifying various forms of education and train them to be stalwart revolutionaries who can fight through to the end with unbending belief and unstained honour in whatever adversity.

Our Party is now holding Comrade Ri In Mo in high esteem as the incarnation of faith and will. He is now 76 years old. He was an eyewitness to our struggle against the Japanese imperialists. He saw my uncle, Kim Hyong Gwon, making a speech before the people after killing the wicked chief of the sub-police station on arrival in his village. My uncle was in command of a working team of the Korean Revolutionary Army operating in the homeland. Before liberation Ri did information work against Japanese imperialism, and during the Fatherland Liberation War he went to south Korea as a war correspondent following a unit of the Korean People’s Army advancing south, leaving his wife and daughter behind. Later, he was captured by the enemy while fighting as a member of the guerrilla force in Mt. Jiri. Since he was a prisoner of war, he should have been returned at the time of the exchange of prisoners of war immediately after the armistice. However, the enemy kept him behind bars for 34 years and attempted to bring him over to their cause by force. He remained firm in his revolutionary belief in spite of the enemy’s cruel torture and all kinds of temptation. When he was released from prison, we highly valued his struggle and awarded him the title of Hero of the Republic and made every effort to get him returned to the embrace of our Republic as soon as possible.

Because we strongly demanded his return, and because his health
had worsened to a critical degree, the south Korean authorities were compelled to return him to us a short time ago. He has returned to the embrace of the Republic after 43 years of struggle. He had been beaten so hard by the enemy that he can neither speak properly nor can he walk. At present, our health workers are making strenuous efforts to return him to health.

If you have time, you had better call on Comrade Ri In Mo on this occasion and see how strong-willed the Korean communists are. At his home you can see his wife and daughter. Because he cannot speak properly, you may be unable to exchange opinions freely with him. But since you are revolutionaries, you will be able to see how strong his revolutionary faith and will are if only you meet him who has stoutly fought behind enemy lines for 43 years.

The technological revolution is the struggle to develop productive forces and free people from difficult and toilsome labour. The socialist and communist societies are distinguished from each other by the level of their development. The socialist society is where the people work according to their ability and get distributions according to the amount of work they have done, whereas the communist society is where the people work according to their ability and get distributions according to their needs. If the people are to work according to their ability and receive distributions according to their needs, they must develop the productive forces by carrying out the technological revolution.

The technological revolution should be carried out by stages. Production processes should first be semi-mechanized and mechanized, and then semi-automated and automated, and then unmanned. This is the way to free people from difficult and toilsome work, switching over from an 8-hour working day to a 6-hour and then to a 5-hour working day, and increasing the production of material wealth sufficiently to introduce distribution according to needs.

It is important to carry out the cultural revolution, along with the ideological and technological revolutions. Socialism and communism can be successfully built when the people’s cultural and intellectual levels are raised through the cultural revolution.
Our Party has long paid deep attention to the cultural revolution. Immediately after liberation there were only a dozen graduates of the college of technology as a consequence of Japanese imperialist colonial rule. At that time we had only one technician or specialist for every 700,000 people. When we started building a new society, we badly needed intellectuals. So we set up Kim Il Sung University in 1946, a year after the liberation of the country, and started training cadres of our own nation, and in subsequent years we have established many other universities.

Kim Il Sung University has produced a large number of national cadres, who are now working in important positions of the Party and state. Comrade Kim Jong Il, the sagacious leader of our Party and our people, is a graduate of Kim Il Sung University.

We now have an army of 1,660,000 intellectuals. The ratio between the population and intellectuals in my country is now 12 to 1, whereas it was 700,000 to 1 immediately after liberation. My country is now rich in intellectuals. The intellectuals we have trained are playing their roles excellently in all fields of socialist construction.

We have established a well-regulated educational system and are educating all the younger generation. In my country the younger people are taken care of at creches and kindergartens, and then educated at primary schools, senior middle schools and universities. We bring up and educate the children of creches and kindergartens and schoolchildren at state and social expense and provide them with clothing for every season. Our schoolchildren do not even know the term school expense, and university students even get scholarships from the state. Probably ours is the only country in the world that educates all the younger generation at state and social expense.

Thanks to the people-orientated educational policy of our Party, all the people in my country have attained the level of knowledge of at least senior middle school graduate. Some of our people over 60 years old received only primary school education in the past, but they have acquired the knowledge of the senior middle school graduate through adult education.
We are going to train all the people to become highly educated by developing education further. People can be civilized through education. In the *Theses on Socialist Education*, therefore, I set the task of making the whole society better educated. If this task is carried out, my country will develop more rapidly.

The parties heading for socialism must have a correct viewpoint on intellectuals and enlist them actively in the revolution and construction. The intelligentsia constitutes an important part of the motive force of the revolution. When reorganizing the Communist Party into the Workers’ Party, into a mass political party of the working people, in August 1946, I got a brush which symbolizes intellectuals inscribed in the emblem of our Party side by side with a hammer and a sickle which symbolize the workers and peasants. In those days some foreign parties said that intellectuals were not the motive force of the revolution because they vacillated between the capitalist class and the working class, without making an independent class. However, we regarded intellectuals, along with workers and peasants, as masters of the country in the new society where the people came to power and became masters of the country, and we defined intellectuals as the component of the Party. Ours is the only party that has the emblem inscribed with a brush, together with a hammer and a sickle.

Comrade General Secretary, you have asked what is the secret of my good health. I am in good health because I live with optimism. I do not know pessimism. I live optimistically always with the conviction that there will be a way out even if the sky falls in. I do not worry in however difficult circumstances. A revolutionary must live optimistically always with a firm confidence in victory. Only then can he produce things to make up for what is lacking and overcome difficulties, emerging victorious from the revolution. Living optimistically, not knowing pessimism, is an iron rule of my life.

I live optimistically always with firm confidence in victory because I believe in the people and rely on them in carrying out the revolution. I conducted five years of underground struggle and 15 years of armed
struggle for the liberation of my country. In all, I fought against Japanese imperialism for 20 years. After liberation I fought for three years against the US imperialist invasion, and in the postwar years reconstructed the country from the ashes. From my experience of many years of the revolutionary struggle I have come to the conclusion that believing in the strength of the people and relying on them in the struggle is the sure way to victory and that if one turns one’s back on the people, one cannot avoid failure.

To make a revolution, one must go among the people. We revolutionaries must always go out among the people, learn from them and teach them.

Since the first days of my revolutionary activity, I have worked among our people and learned from them, sharing life and death, weal and woe, with them. One year in the early 1930s, my revolutionary organization and my comrades recommended me for study in the Soviet Union and even prepared a suit of Western clothes, school things and a suitcase for me. In those days there was a communist college in Moscow run by the Comintern. Organizations engaged in the communist movement recommended many people for study there. Although I was grateful to my comrades for the recommendation, I decided not to go to the Soviet Union to study. So I said to the comrades who came to bid me farewell, “I understand why you are going to send me to study, but I don’t think there is much to learn in the Soviet Union. I shall be perfectly able to teach myself things like revolutionary theory here by reading the works of Marx or Lenin. I think it is better to learn the methods of the Korean revolution here than in the Soviet Union. The Soviet people may know well about the revolution in their country, but not about the revolution in my country. Our people are best informed on the Korean revolution. So I will learn the theory and method of the Korean revolution by going among the people, instead of going to the Soviet Union.” Then, I, together with my comrades, went among the people and learned from them, and in the course of this I acquired a stronger belief that I would win victory without fail by relying on the people.
In the postwar years the situation in my country was extremely difficult. The war destroyed everything and only ashes remained. I met people to discuss the problem of postwar reconstruction, but none of them had any idea how to start and what to do. I told them that we would be fully able to rise again even from the heaps of ashes as long as we had our territory, the people, the government and the Party that was leading the revolution.

In view of the specific situation in the country, we laid down the line of giving priority to the development of heavy industry and promoting the simultaneous development of light industry and agriculture. When we put forward this line, many people doubted it. Some people cocked their heads, asking where in the world was there a theory of giving priority to the development of heavy industry and advancing light industry and agriculture at the same time, saying that they had not discovered such a theory in Marxist-Leninist books. However, we carried out this line consistently without the slightest vacillation by relying on the masses.

In the years after the war, we produced tractors on our own by relying on the efforts of the masses. When we set about making tractors, we had many bottlenecks. The most difficult problem was that the blueprint for the tractor was not available. We asked the Soviet people for the blueprint, and they declined, asking what was the use of producing tractors for a small country like Korea, and saying that they would produce them and sell them to us. We said that if they did not want to give the blueprint to us, they could do as they pleased. We decided to make it by our own efforts. Our technicians in cooperation with workers dismantled a tractor and drew up the blueprint of each machine part one by one until it was complete. We made the first tractor in accordance with the blueprint. In a trial run, the tractor moved backward, not forward. On receiving the report about it, I encouraged the officials and workers, saying that the backward movement of the tractor meant also the possibility of it being able to move forward, and that the manufacture of the backward moving tractor itself was already a success. I told them to try harder and
complete the machine. The Korean Film Studio produced a film on the making of the first tractor. The film skilfully and vividly described the process of the backward moving tractor being remade to move forward by our technicians and workers in cooperation.

Because we have believed in the people and relied on them until now, we have been able to triumph continually in the revolution and construction, without suffering any failure.

You have said that you were greatly impressed by the West Sea Barrage you visited yesterday. The West Sea Barrage plays a very important role in preventing flood damage in the area along the Taedong River and in supplying the people in this area with drinking and irrigation water. In 1967 there was a flood in my country and Pyongyang suffered great damage. At that time there was torrential rain in the upper reaches of the Taedong River, and the flood near Pyongyang met the rising tide from the lower reaches to overflow the banks into the city. The water level of the Taedong River was so high that the people living on Rungna Islet were unable to escape and some of them climbed trees only to be rescued by helicopters. At that time, the May Day Stadium was not yet constructed on Rungna Islet. As the city became flooded, mud piled up in the thermal power station, the textile mill and machine-building factories. We had a lot of trouble removing the mud. Although the mud was removed, a large number of machines and large amounts of products were damaged. We suffered a loss of several billion dollars.

In subsequent years, we took active measures to prevent flood damage along the Taedong River. We constructed the Mirim Barrage, Ponghwa Barrage, Songchon Barrage, Sunchon Barrage and the Taedonggang Power Station along the upper reaches of the Taedong River, and the West Sea Barrage in the estuary of the river. We finished the construction of the West Sea Barrage in June 1986, and in July the same year there was torrential rain again in the Pyongyang area. The amount of rainfall at that time was greater than that of the summer of 1967. However, nothing happened to Pyongyang because the rain water was retained by the barrages that had been constructed
along the upper reaches of the Taedong River and the rising tide was stemmed by the West Sea Barrage that had been constructed in the estuary of the river. By preventing the possible loss by flooding that year alone, we got back the capital invested for the construction of the West Sea Barrage.

In dry seasons before the West Sea Barrage was constructed, we had had a lot of trouble because of the shortage of drinking water for Pyongyang, but after the construction of the barrage we had plenty of water. The water stored between the West Sea Barrage and Mirim Barrage alone amounts to as much as 2,900 million tons. In subsequent years we have constructed 800 kilometres of canals by which we supply water from the reservoir of the West Sea Barrage for the irrigation of the Yonbaek and Ongjin Plains in South Hwanghae Province. As a result of the construction of the West Sea Barrage, the irrigation of our agriculture has been completed on a higher level. I can say that my country is the best irrigated country in the world.

Comrade General Secretary, as for your question about my opinion of Stalin, I think he did a lot of good things. Some people now talk much about his mistakes, but his meritorious services must not be ignored just because he made some mistakes. He realized socialist industrialization in the Soviet Union and led the Soviet people to victory in the Second World War. If Stalin had not given the Soviet people an ideological education and had not established strict discipline among them, it would have been impossible for the Soviet Union to have defeated Nazi Germany in the war. The officers and men of the Soviet army fought self-sacrificingly under the slogans, “For the motherland” and “For Stalin” in the Second World War because they had been well educated by Stalin. Even though the German invaders approached close to Moscow during the Second World War, Stalin stayed in Moscow, giving leadership to his army and people, and organized the parade in Moscow in celebration of the anniversary of the victory of the October Socialist Revolution. In fact, nobody had ever imagined that the Soviet army would hold the parade with the enemy so close at hand. At that time Moscow was virtually surrounded by the enemy. It was admirable
that Stalin stayed in Moscow among the fighting soldiers and people, leading them to victory. If you can spare the time, it would be advisable for you to see the Soviet film, “Defence of Moscow”, dealing with the battle. If you see the film, you will understand how courageously the Soviet army and people fought under Stalin’s leadership. One can never ignore the distinguished services rendered by Stalin for the Soviet Party, the Soviet state and the Soviet people.

You have expressed your hope for the establishment of diplomatic relations between Korea and Brazil and said that you would make efforts to realize it. I think it is a good thing. We are not against the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

I fully agree to the development of cooperative relations between our two Parties. If you have anything further to discuss about the relations between our two Parties, you had better talk with the Secretary in charge of International Affairs of the Central Committee of our Party.

I hope you will visit my country frequently in the future. I am so old that it would be difficult for me to visit your country, but you will be able to visit my country frequently. We have made each other’s acquaintance this time, and we will meet next time as old friends. It is a very good thing for us to meet frequently and discuss the matter of developing the revolutionary movement in the present situation.

Comrade General Secretary, you have said that on this visit to my country you have got an impression that the socialist system established in Korea fundamentally differs from those established in other countries. Ours is people-centred socialism that has been established in accordance with the people’s aspirations and demands. In my country the remnants of capitalism were eliminated a long time ago. So if you visit my country again, you will experience many things and see with your own eyes the happy lives of our people under a genuine socialist system.

I hope that there will be many more stalwart revolutionaries like you in Brazil, and wish your movement success in its struggle for socialism.
To put an end to the nearly half a century of division and confrontation and reunify the country is the unanimous demand and desire of the whole nation. For the independent and peaceful reunification of the country it is necessary to achieve the great unity of the whole nation. All those who are concerned about the destiny of the nation, whether they be in the north, or in the south, or overseas, and whether they be communists or nationalists, rich or poor, atheists or believers, must unite as one nation, transcending all their differences, and together pave the way for national reunification.

Those with strength devoting their strength, those with knowledge giving their knowledge and those with money donating their money, all should make a tangible contribution to the reunification of the country and the development and prosperity of a reunified land, so putting an end to national division and displaying the dignity and honour of the reunited 70 million fellow countrymen to the world.

1. A unified state, independent, peaceful and neutral, should be founded through the great unity of the whole nation.

The north and the south should found a pan-national unified state to represent all parties, all groupings and all the members of the nation from all walks of life, while leaving the existing two systems and two
governments intact. The pan-national unified state should be a federal state in which the two regional governments of the north and the south are represented equally, and an independent, peaceful and non-aligned neutral state which does not lean to any great power.

2. **Unity should be based on patriotism and the spirit of national independence.**

   All the members of the nation should link their individual destiny with that of the nation, love their nation passionately and unite with the single desire to defend the independence of the nation. They should display dignity and pride in being members of our nation and reject sycophancy and national nihilism that erode the nation’s consciousness of independence.

   **3. Unity should be achieved on the principle of promoting coexistence, co-prosperity and common interests and subordinating everything to the cause of national reunification.**

   The north and the south should recognize and respect the existence of different beliefs, ideas and systems, and achieve joint progress and prosperity, with neither side encroaching on the other. They should promote the interests of the whole nation before regional and class interests and direct every effort to the accomplishment of the cause of national reunification.

   **4. All political disputes that foment division and confrontation between fellow countrymen should be ended and unity should be achieved.**

   The north and the south should refrain from seeking or fomenting confrontation, end all political disputes between them and stop abusing and slandering each other. As fellow countrymen they should not be hostile to each other and, through the united efforts of the nation, they should counter foreign aggression and interference.

   **5. The fear of invasion from both south and north, and the ideas of prevailing over communism and communization should be dispelled, and north and south should believe in each other and unite.**

   The north and the south should not threaten and invade each other.
Neither side should try to force its system on the other or to absorb the other.

6. The north and south should value democracy and join hands on the road to national reunification, without rejecting each other because of differences in ideals and principles.

They should guarantee the freedom of debate on and of activities for reunification and should not suppress, take reprisals against, persecute or punish political opponents. They should not arrest anyone because of their pro-north or pro-south tendencies and should release and reinstate all political prisoners so that they may contribute to the cause of national reunification.

7. The north and south should protect the material and spiritual wealth of individuals and organizations and encourage their use for the promotion of great national unity.

Both before reunification and after it they should recognize state ownership, cooperative ownership and private ownership and protect the capital and property of individuals and organizations, as well as all interests concerned with foreign capital. They should recognize the social reputation and qualifications of individuals in all domains including science, education, literature, the arts, public debate, the press, health care and sports, and continue to guarantee the benefits granted to people who have performed meritorious services.

8. Understanding, trust and unity should be built up across the nation through contact, exchange visits and dialogue.

All the obstacles to contact and exchange visits should be removed and the door should be opened for everyone without discrimination to undertake exchange visits. All the parties, groupings and people of all social standings should be given equal opportunities to conduct dialogue, and bilateral and multilateral dialogue should be developed.

9. The whole nation, north, south and overseas, should strengthen its solidarity for the sake of national reunification.

Things beneficial to national reunification should be supported and encouraged in an unbiased manner and things harmful to it should be rejected in the north, in the south and overseas, and all should assist
and cooperate with one another, going beyond their own narrow enclosure. All political parties, organizations and the people from all walks of life in the north, in the south and overseas should be allied organizationally in the patriotic work to achieve national reunification.

10. Those who have contributed to the great unity of the nation and to the cause of national reunification should be honoured.

Special favours should be granted to those who have performed exploits for the sake of the great unity of the nation and the reunification of the country, to patriotic martyrs and to their descendants. If those who had turned their back on the nation in the past return to the patriotic road, repentant of their past, they should be dealt with leniently and assessed fairly, according to the contribution they have made to the cause of national reunification.
I am delighted to meet you, Mr. Jo Tok Chon. I am grateful to you for having revisited the homeland. You have hitherto made great efforts for the reunification of the country. I hope you will, in the future, too, continue your endeavours to achieve this in every possible way.

You say you wish I will take office as the President of the reunified federal republic. I do not wish to become the President, but I want the country to be reunified as soon as possible.

In order to reunify our country, we must, above all else, achieve the great unity of the entire nation.

This is the only way to national reunification at present. To reunify the country, there is no other way but to realize the great unity of all Koreans in the north, the south and abroad. The unity of the entire nation enables us to succeed in solving all the problems which we encounter in reunifying the country.

With a view to promoting the work for achieving the great unity of our nation to a higher stage, I drew up the 10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for the Reunification of the Country, and made it public at the recent Fifth Session of the Ninth Supreme People’s Assembly. I am thankful to you for your comment that this
programme constitutes impressive basic principles for national reunification.

The recently published 10-point programme is the development of the spirit of the Ten-Point Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland to suit the present situation. In 1936, I founded the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland (ARF), an anti-Japanese national united front organization, and published the ten-point programme of this association, in order to rally the entire nation under the banner of national restoration. At that time we suggested naming the anti-Japanese national united front organization the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland, but a considerable number of people objected, claiming that this name had a strong nationalist flavour. So I said to them: Communism is inconceivable apart from the nation. It is no use conducting the communist movement without regard for the interests of the nation. The communist movement itself is needed for the nation. We must always attach prime importance to the national interests. Explaining thus, I told them that we should name the anti-Japanese national united front organization the ARF. When we were founding the ARF, there was an old man called “Tobacco Pipe”, whose real name was Ri Tong Baek. He had tramped from place to place allegedly being engaged in the communist movement, and had been involved in various factions. Disillusioned with the factional strife, he came to see us. Upon seeing me, he told me about his past life and said that he was an opportunist. When I asked him why he, an opportunist, had come to see me, he replied that he had come to meet me, having heard that General Kim Il Sung was famous. At first he also opposed naming the anti-Japanese national united front organization the ARF, but he strongly supported the idea after listening to my explanation.

The 10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation contains the idea that all Koreans, who are concerned about the destiny of the nation, whether they live in the north, the south or abroad, whether they are communists or nationalists, the have or have-nots, atheists or believers, must first unite as one nation, transcending all
their differences, and that all should make a contribution to the reunification of the country and the prosperity of the reunified country, men of strength contributing their strength, intellectuals their knowledge and moneyed people their money. This programme also reflects all problems arising in achieving the great unity of the whole nation—the problem of founding a unified state, independent, peaceful and neutral, through the great unity of the entire nation, the problem of achieving unity on the principle of promoting co-existence, co-prosperity and common interests and subordinating everything to the cause of national reunification, and the problem of believing in and uniting with each other by dispelling both the fear of invasion from the south and the north and the ideas of prevailing over communism and communizing south Korea.

There is no response as yet from the south Korean authorities to the 10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation published by us. They are probably giving careful consideration to it. I expect a favourable response from the south Korean authorities.

In order to expedite the reunification of the country through the great unity of the entire nation, we must hold fast to the principle of national independence.

The report made by the Premier of the Administration Council at the recent session of the Supreme People’s Assembly pointed out that the south Korean authorities should aspire for national independence, and that, to this end, they should clarify their attitude to the four items. The purport of his statement is to reject foreign interference and reunify the country through the efforts of our own nation on the principle of national independence.

It is impossible to reunify the country by depending on foreign forces. People in the United States and some other countries do not want our country to be reunified. Once the north and the south are reunified, our country will become a great country with a population of 70 millions. Historically, ours is a sagacious and civilized nation. Therefore, if they are united, they will be able to build our country into a world power. That is why people in the United States and some other countries do not
welcome our country to be reunified; they are afraid of it.

In order to uphold the principle of national independence, in contrast to being dependent on foreign forces, south Korea must overcome flunkeyism, make the US troops withdraw and free itself from the domination of the United States.

In the past, flunkeyism was rampant among our people. Flunkeyists had been split into the pro-Chinese group, the pro-Russian group and the pro-Japanese group, immersing themselves in factional strife, each with the backing of a large country, with the result that our country was ruined. The historical lesson shows that if people are engrossed in factional strife, backed up by large countries, they will ruin their country and be subordinated to the big countries.

Some time ago the person in authority in south Korea pointed out in his “presidential” inaugural address that no allied country can be better than the country of his fellow people. I am not sure whether he said this because he has the consciousness of national independence and national conscience, but I think his remark itself is meaningful. His statement means that he values his own nation more than any allied country. True, no ally can be more intimate than one’s fellow people. If the entire nation of the north and the south firmly maintains the consciousness of national independence, nothing will be impossible for them. So I advised the Premier of the Administration Council to include in his report to the recent session of the Supreme People’s Assembly the above-mentioned remark made by the person in authority of south Korea in his inaugural address and to state that we are paying attention to his remark. If the person in authority of south Korea had listened to his report, I think he would have had a good impression about us.

In the report to the recent session of the Supreme People’s Assembly, we demanded that if the south Korean authorities are unable to have the US troops withdrawn immediately, they should, at least, express their will to compel the withdrawal of the US troops.

At present, the Americans are resorting to all possible means to avoid withdrawal of their troops from south Korea. Until now they have claimed they are keeping their troops stationed in south Korea, in
order to hold the Soviet Union in check and prevent the “southward invasion” of the north. However, now that the Soviet Union has collapsed, and the agreement on nonaggression was adopted between the north and the south, there are no grounds for the US troops to stay in south Korea any longer. Such being the case, the Americans have started the “Team Spirit” joint military exercise again on the pretext of a fictitious “nuclear issue”, refusing to leave south Korea.

At the moment the United States is bringing pressure to bear on us, demanding that we should expose atomic bombs. As we have already declared on many occasions, we have no atomic bombs; we have neither the capacity nor the funds to make them, nor do we need to produce them. The United States possesses thousands and tens of thousands of atomic bombs, as well as a large number of launch vehicles. It is useless for us to make only one or two of these bombs. It is no use having only a couple of them. The United States is claiming that we have missiles with a range of 1,000 kilometres, but we have no such missiles, either. Americans are fussing about the “nuclear issue”, even though they know well that we have no nuclear weapons. In doing so they aim at putting pressure on us and isolating us under the pretext of this issue and overthrowing our socialism. Following the ruin of socialism in the former Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries, the United States, believing that Korea will follow suit, is concentrating the spearhead of its attack against us. The Americans are quite ignorant of the fact that our socialism is different from the socialism that collapsed in these countries.

The United States is unwilling to withdraw its troops from south Korea also because it intends to maintain its colonial rule over south Korea. As I referred before in my answers to the questions raised by the managing editor of the Japanese politico-theoretical magazine Sekai, the United States regards south Korea as a tasty piece of fat and will not let it go. I think that yet another reason for the United States’ refusal to withdraw its troops from south Korea lies in the fact that it intends to restrain China and Japan. The Americans consider they should hold China and Japan in check because these are great powers.
They think that, for this reason, they should not withdraw their troops from south Korea. If we hold talks with the United States in the future, we intend to inquire into the real purpose of the US troops being stationed in south Korea.

Publishing the 10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation recently, we once again made clear that we have no intention of invading the south or “communizing” south Korea. The reunified Korea should be an independent, peaceful, non-aligned and neutral state which does not lean towards any big country. Therefore, I think it is high time the Americans reconsidered their Korea policy.

If our country becomes a neutral state after its reunification, we may become friendly with the United States. There are no reasons why we and the United States should not be friends. We want to be friendly with the United States. There is no harm in the United States being on cordial terms with our reunified country. If there are people among the Americans who are able to put forward a correct policy, they will support our reunified country becoming a neutral state.

In April last year the Rev. Billy Graham, a US religious leader, visited our country, bringing with him a verbal message from the US President. I thanked him for it and said that there were no reasons why Korea and the United States should not become friends, and that a new spring seemed to begin between the two countries. Then he said that he would make every possible effort to bring about Korea-US friendship.

The Americans must have a clear understanding of our attitude and endeavour to be on good terms with us. They are groundlessly clamouring about a nuclear inspection under a false charge and complicating the matter. They must be circumspect now and set about solving the problem in a decent way through negotiations, getting on well with us. Though there are complex problems between Korea and the United States, they will be solved smoothly if we have face-to-face talks. If the Americans hold talks with us with a friendly attitude, a consensus will be reached.

You say that ex-President Carter seems to be willing to accept my invitation. If he comes to our country, I will meet him.
You advise me to meet the person in authority of south Korea, too, in due course. I remember his inaugural address in which he said he was willing to meet President Kim Il Sung either on Mt. Paektu or on Mt. Halla. His remark means that he is willing to come here if I invite him, and that he wants me to go to him if he invites me. If you go to south Korea, I should like you to tell him that I remember his remark.

Immediately after he came into power recently, the person in authority of south Korea said something good, released the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan, Rim Su Gyong and other people who had visited north Korea and sent back Ri In Mo. We must wait and see what an attitude he will take in the future, but the start is quite good, I think.

I met the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan only two times during his stay in Pyongyang, but I feel very friendly towards him. The day before he left for south Korea, I visited his lodging and told him that I was worried about him because he would have a hard time of it in prison when he went back to south Korea. He replied that he had already expected it, and that since he had experienced prison life several times, the prison seemed his own home. Moreover, he said that when he returned to south Korea he would probably serve a term of about three or four months in prison, but that he would not be treated so badly as he was on good terms with warders. He said that Roh Tae Woo pointed out in his “speech” that he did not regard north Korea as a stranger, but considered it a companion and added that because Roh’s remark meant he was not hostile to the north, he himself came to the north believing that he would be all right even if he visited it. As soon as the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan returned to south Korea, however, Roh Tae Woo had him arrested and imprisoned. Since then, we have taken every opportunity to demand that the south Korean authorities release him. At the north-south high-level talks we also raised the problem of setting free the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan, Rim Su Gyong and other figures who had visited the north. Nevertheless, Roh Tae Woo did not free them.

I ignored Roh Tae Woo’s proposal for summit talks because he had not discharged them. Last year I met a south Korean businessman. He told me that Roh Tae Woo wanted to have summit talks. So I said to
him: I have no intention of meeting Roh Tae Woo. He is too heartless and cruel. He imprisoned the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan on a charge of having been to the north and meeting me. The Rev. Mun is more than 70 years old and, on top of that, he is supporting his sick mother, and yet Roh Tae Woo put him behind bars. What is the use of meeting such a merciless person? The businessman said that they were obliged to put the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan behind bars according to the south Korean law. So I said to him: The law is made by people. Mr. Shin Kanemaru asked me to send back the Japanese who had been arrested while committing espionage acts in our country. So I had them sent back, although they had violated our law. If Roh Tae Woo, the “President”, tells them to release the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan, they will do so. I will have no dealings with such a cold-hearted man. I am not sure whether the south Korean businessman conveyed my words to Roh Tae Woo. Anyhow, Roh released Mun later and then imprisoned him again to hold out against us. There is no need, of course, to criticize him now that he had been ousted from the “presidency”. However, the fact that the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan underwent hardship in the prison for a long time always weighs on my mind. When parting from me, he said that, when he returned to south Korea, he would serve his term in prison for three or four months at the longest, but he was put behind bars for nearly four years.

The Rev. Mun Ik Hwan is an old acquaintance of mine. We promised each other to form a close friendship. I respect him and miss him.

We can say that the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan is a symbol of national reunification. It was for the reunification of the country that he came to meet me all the way across the death line. I highly appreciate it. I found him to be a true person. I have not met many people from south Korea, so I have no clear idea of them. Nevertheless, I place unqualified trust in the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan.

If you meet him, please tell him that I was sad to hear that he was suffering troubles in prison and that I always missed him. I also hope that you will convey to him that I am delighted at his release from prison. I feel like running to him and embracing him right now if he were near me, but I regret that I cannot do so.
Mr. Yu Won Ho, who had been here with the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan, is said to have also been released recently. Please give my regards to him, too. I shall be grateful if you convey my thanks to those who made efforts for the repatriation of Ri In Mo.

You say that there are good people even in the south Korean “government”. We can bring the country’s reunification nearer only when there are a large number of such people. I hope all the south Koreans will be good people who strive for national reunification. While you are active abroad, you should render efficient help to those good people who are in south Korea.

You have said that the publication of the *10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for the Reunification of the Country* and the acclamation of Comrade Kim Jong Il as the Chairman of the National Defence Commission of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea at the recent session of the Supreme People’s Assembly are of special importance at home and abroad. I am grateful to you for your remark.

I am handing over to Comrade Kim Jong Il the important affairs of state one after another. In order to discharge the important duty of Chairman of the National Defence Commission, I must 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 the 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.

You say that you will inform the figures in the south Korean movement of the 10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation and get them to accept it as the fundamental principles of national reunification; I am extremely thankful to you for this.

I hope that patriots like you will work hard abroad and make a major contribution to achieving the country’s reunification.
TALK WITH RI IN MO

April 15, 1993

You seem to have got much better. I am delighted to see you in better shape.

When crossing Panmunjom, you were in a critical situation. You were so feeble that you could not sit up and speak properly. Now, I hear your health has taken a favourable turn and you have gained more than three kilogrammes. You have a good complexion and you understand things well. The doctors and nurses in this hospital have done their job well.

You were saved from the jaws of death entirely because you have the great socialist motherland to look after you and you are under the warm and unfathomable care of the Party.

The improvement in your health is ascribable to the painstaking efforts of Comrade Kim Jong Il. He asked about your condition several times a day and took every necessary measure. You must always remember that you owe your recovery to the benevolent socialist motherland, the Party’s warm care and the devoted affection of your revolutionary comrades.

I am going to hand you a membership card of the Workers’ Party of Korea which I have signed. You are a veteran Party member who was admitted into our Party immediately after the liberation of the country.

I will give you, your wife and your daughter each a gold wrist-watch inscribed with my name.
You, Comrade Ri In Mo, are a steadfast communist. You bravely fought in defence of the revolutionary principles without yielding to the enemy’s torture and appeasement of every description for 40-odd years and demonstrated to the whole world the lofty revolutionary spirit and unbendable will of a Korean communist, a member of the Workers’ Party of Korea.

The people hailing from Phungsan, your home town, were by nature strong-willed. They fought well during the anti-Japanese armed struggle. I enjoyed much help from them in those days. There were many Chondoists in the areas of Phungsan, Samsu and Kapsan and a large number of them were patriotically-minded. The man who was in charge of these religious believers there was a member of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland.

Your wife also remained faithful to the revolutionary principles as befitting the wife of a revolutionary.

I heard that the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan came to inquire after you when you were in Pusan. If he comes to the northern part of Korea again, I will ensure that you meet each other.

This year is a significant year marking the 40th anniversary of the victory in the Fatherland Liberation War. You should receive treatment patiently so as to make it possible for you to participate, with the help of a cane if necessary, in the functions to be held in celebration of the anniversary. You must fight the illness as you fought the enemy. You can get over illness if you have a strong will and faith. I see you cannot stand up and walk by yourself now. It is because you could not walk for a long time. You must therefore receive treatment intensively. You must recover your health as soon as possible and be present without fail at the military parade to be held in celebration of the 40th anniversary of the victory in the Fatherland Liberation War.

Your participation in good health in the military parade will be a great victory for us and a demonstration of the attributes of our socialist system.

So, you must recover your health at the earliest possible date and make a contribution to achieving the country’s reunification in support
of Comrade Kim Jong Il, the Supreme Commander of the Korean People’s Army.

These days the US imperialists are putting pressure upon us, but they cannot check the advance of communists. Victory is definitely in store for us.

Let us meet again in the military parade on the 40th anniversary of the victory in the Fatherland Liberation War.
A CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE TO THE CONFERENCE OF KOREAN YOUNG ACTIVISTS IN JAPAN

May 15, 1993

I extend my warm congratulations to the participants of the Conference of Korean Young Activists in Japan, which is being held amid the great interest and expectations of the 700,000 Korean compatriots in Japan and the people in the motherland, and my heartfelt thanks to all members of the Korean Youth League in Japan (KYLJ) and other Korean young people in Japan, who are devoting their youthful enthusiasm and intelligence to the prosperity of their socialist motherland and to the development of the movement of Koreans in Japan.

It is of great significance that this conference is being held at a time when all the fellow countrymen in the north, south and abroad are waging a nation-wide struggle to realize the 10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation and the generation of the patriotic cause of Chongryon is being inherited reliably.

Under the correct guidance of Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan), the KYLJ and Korean young people in Japan have faithfully fulfilled their role as the vanguard of the movement of Koreans in Japan. They have made a great contribution to defending the socialist motherland and carrying forward the movement of Koreans in Japan always with confidence in the victory of the revolutionary cause of Juche. They have done this despite the
continuous manoeuvring of the enemies at home and abroad aimed at division and subversion and carried out their work under difficult working conditions.

The officials of the KYLJ and other young activists in Japan have built up the league organizations to be ranks of loyalty where the ideological system and leadership system of Juche has thoroughly been established; they have also rallied the broad sections of our young compatriots closely around our Republic.

It is one of the valued successes of the KYLJ that it has brought into being a reliable hardcore of young people who are fully equipped with the Juche-oriented world outlook and who will inherit dependably the patriotic cause of Chongryon, whatever the storm.

By motivating the patriotic ardour and creative talents of the young compatriots, the workers of the KYLJ and other young activists have rendered distinguished service in defending their socialist motherland and exalting its brilliance. This helps to hasten the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

In the complex and grave situation in which the enemy’s schemes against the DPRK and Chongryon are getting more and more vicious, they have not vacillated in the least; they are vigorously advancing the movement of Korean youth in Japan upholding the banner of the Juche idea as they share the same feeling with their socialist motherland.

I feel very delighted to have such an excellent and patriotic youth organization and young people abroad and regard it as worthy of great national pride.

The present complex situation and the heavy tasks facing Chongryon require the Korean young people in Japan to prepare themselves more zealously to be reliable successors to the patriotic cause of Juche and to develop the movement of Korean youth in Japan to a higher stage.

The future of Chongryon and the destiny of the movement of Koreans in Japan depend on how young people are prepared and their role enhanced. In order to further strengthen Chongryon and develop the movement of Koreans in Japan to a new, higher stage as required
by the rapidly-changing situation, young people should be prepared better than their predecessors. This is a lawful requirement in the overall development of the patriotic movement of Chongryon.

With a full understanding of the lofty mission they have assumed for their motherland and nation and the demands of the times, all the officials of the KYLJ and other young activists must ceaselessly intensify the work of establishing the ideological system and leadership system of Juche in the league organizations and channel a particularly great effort to inheriting and developing the tradition of unity around the leader, the tradition their predecessors achieved.

The destiny and life of the Korean young people in Japan can be carved out and brought into full bloom only when they are linked ideologically and organizationally to the leader who has taken the responsibility of the destiny of the motherland and nation and leads them along the right path.

The officials of the KYLJ and other young activists must lead the rising generation to unite single-heartedly around our people’s leader Comrade Kim Jong Il as the first generation of the patriotic movement of Chongryon did. The new generation and later generations can then enhance the precious patriotic achievements of Chongryon achieved by their predecessors.

In order to inherit the patriotic cause of Juche reliably, the Korean young people in Japan should cherish a firm revolutionary faith.

Otherwise, they cannot overcome the difficulties and trials they encounter in trying foreign circumstances and lead a worthwhile life. The compatriots who still live in the hearts of our people, enjoying immortal social and political integrity, were all patriots who had cherished a correct mental support from their youthful days and kept it preciously throughout their lives.

The officials of the KYLJ and other young activists must intensify education in the Juche idea and in socialist patriotism among the Korean young people in Japan to ensure that they get a full understanding of the justness and truth of the revolutionary cause of Juche and follow the road of patriotism without deviation.
The league officials must firmly build up the structure of the league organizations, make these organizations at all levels viable, living ones with their roots struck deep among young compatriots and rally the broad sections of young people, including the young men of commerce and industry, firmly around the ranks of patriotic youth.

The KYLJ officials and other young activists should set in motion the patriotic zeal and creative wisdom of the Korean young people in Japan who boundlessly love their socialist motherland so as to wage more vigorously the patriotic movement of defending our style of socialism centred on the masses and enhancing it.

It is the supreme desire of our nation and an important task facing Chongryon and the Korean young people in Japan to realize the cause of the country’s reunification at an earlier date by the united efforts of all the countrymen under the banner of the 10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for the Reunification of the Country. The KYLJ officials and other young activists must achieve national unity with the Korean young people of various sections in Japan and in other foreign countries and give active support and encouragement to the students and young people in south Korea in their just patriotic struggle. In this way they can become an example to overseas young compatriots and pioneers in realizing the 10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation.

The Korean young people in Japan are successors to the patriotic cause of Chongryon and the future of the movement of Koreans in Japan is theirs. Only victory and glory will be in store for the Korean young people in Japan, who are reliably inheriting the patriotic cause of Chongryon with a firm confidence in the victory of the revolutionary cause of Juche.

Believing that the current Conference of Korean Young Activists in Japan will occasion a radical development of the movement of Koreans in Japan to a new higher stage, I wish the meeting a great success.
ON VIGOROUSLY CONDUCTING THE NATIONAL REUNIFICATION MOVEMENT AMONG OVERSEAS COMPATRIOTS

Talk to the Chairman of the Association for the Promotion of Korea's Reunification in the Commonwealth of Independent States and His Party

June 6, 1993

I am very glad to meet you again after the interval of one year. During this time, you have conducted various activities for national reunification, resolutely struggling against reactionaries. I am delighted at the fact that you have achieved a great success in your efforts for national reunification and in your work with our compatriots who are living in the Commonwealth of Independent States, and highly appreciate it.

You must consolidate the success you have already attained and conduct the national reunification movement more vigorously.

The present situation of our revolution at home and abroad is very complicated and our people are still confronted with many obstacles and trials on their way to national reunification.

As you know, in recent years, due to the manoeuvres of the imperialists and renegade socialists, an abnormal situation was brought about, a situation in which socialism collapsed and capitalism revived in the former Soviet Union and Eastern European countries.

The former Soviet Union was ruined by Gorbachev, but it began to
be undermined from the time of Khrushchev. Khrushchev viciously vilified Stalin, allegedly to oppose the “personality cult” and denied the role played by the leader in the revolutionary struggle. Since then, the Party of the Soviet Union has lost the centre of its leadership. If a working-class party loses the centre of its leadership and is not guided by the leader, its fighting efficiency will be paralysed, and thus it will not be able to lead the revolution and construction correctly.

These days I meet those who were active in the former Communist Parties of the European countries. Whenever I meet them, I explain to them the correlation between the leader, the party and the masses by comparing it to a peach, greatly emphasizing the role played by the party and the leader in the revolution and construction. I tell them: The external part of the peach consists of flesh, and inside the flesh there is a stone which contains the seed. The seed of the peach can be likened to the leader, the stone to the party and the flesh to the masses. In order to strengthen the party, you must rally the masses firmly around the party centred on the leader. Our Party has been able to become the powerful party we see today because it has achieved the unity and cohesion of the entire people with the leader as the centre.

Negating the role of the leader is aimed, in the long run, at destroying the party and making a mess of the revolution. As Khrushchev denied the leader’s role after he came to power, the Communist Party of the former Soviet Union gradually became impotent and people opposed the party’s leadership, claiming “democracy”. The party almost neglected ideological education among its members and the working people. Instead of doing this, it only emphasized material incentives, with the result that people became miserly. They cared nothing for the party, the country and the people. They only gave thought to how they could make money and live in comfort by buying cars and villas, and girls wanted to marry only those men who had cars or villas. As the people’s ideological and mental state came to such a deplorable pass, they could not distinguish the reactionary nature of the “new way of thinking” put forward by Gorbachev. The “new way of thinking” means that one should join
hands with the imperialists, too, because there is no more enemy at present. When Gorbachev was loudly advertising “glasnost” (openness) and “restructuring” under the fraudulent slogan of the “new way of thinking”, the people of the former Soviet Union accepted them meekly. As a result, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with a membership of 18 million was ruined overnight and the Soviet Union collapsed.

The people of the former Soviet Union who have learned a lesson from the collapse of its Communist Party and the Soviet Union are now fighting to reconstruct socialism. It seems that they have realized that capitalism is good only for the capitalists but bad for the people, because they have experienced a good deal of the bitter taste of capitalism. If they are to restore socialism, they must make vigorous efforts, rallied in the same ranks.

These days, many people from the Commonwealth of Independent States visit our country and they ask us to defend socialism unfailingly. Whenever they ask us, I tell them that we will not abandon the banner of socialism, and that we will continue to advance under the red banner of socialism, singing loudly the revolutionary song which reads in part, “Let cowards flinch and traitors sneer; we will keep the Red Flag flying here.” I think that they will be able to accomplish their aim before long if they make energetic efforts.

The present situation at home is also very tense. The US imperialists and their stooges are trying all means and ways to stifle our Republic regarding it as a thorn in their flesh, as we are defending the banner of socialism without any vacillation even under the grave circumstances when socialism has collapsed in the former Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries. The United States is now making the situation extremely tense by instigating some undesirable forces in the International Atomic Energy Agency to impose a “special inspection” upon two of our military sites. We have not yielded to the unreasonable demands and pressure of the United States and the IAEA, which follows its dictates. We declared a state of semi-war throughout the country and took a decisive measure to declare our withdrawal
from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in order to safeguard the sovereignty of the country and the supreme interests of the nation. The United States has brought our “nuclear issue” to the UN Security Council and is threatening that it will take sanctions unless we rejoin the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. However, we are not afraid of any pressure, intimidation or blackmail on the part of the United States. The DPRK-US talks are now being held on the “nuclear issue” and we will never make any concession on the principle.

Adhering to the revolutionary principle is the firm conviction which we have been maintaining for a long time. In the past a paean dedicated to Lenin was sung frequently in the Far East of the Soviet Union and in Northeast China, a song which read in part that Lenin was loved by the workers, but hated by the capitalists. I started singing the song when I was 12, and was resolved to start a revolution. It is good to be loved by the workers and hated by the capitalists. We are not in the least afraid of being hated by the enemy, nor do we make any concession on the principle by yielding to the pressure of the enemy. The United States and its satellites are now viciously manoeuvring to stifle our Republic under the pretext of the “nuclear issue”, but they will never bring our people into submission. We will firmly defend the people-centred socialism of our own style, resolutely countering the manoeuvres of the enemy.

We are now living in the era of revolution, in the era of struggle. There may be temporary difficulties and trials on the road of the revolution. Therefore, you must not hesitate in the face of temporary obstacles and difficulties, but should conduct the national reunification movement more dauntlessly among our compatriots.

To this end, you must, before anything else, closely unite all compatriots living in the Commonwealth of Independent States behind the Association for the Promotion of Korea’s Reunification (ASOK). It is a good thing that you have established your own newspaper office even under difficult conditions. In order to rally the compatriots around this association by awakening them, you must ensure that all of them read the newspaper by building a newspaper office and increasing its
circulation. A considerable number of Koreans are living in the Commonwealth of Independent States, so publishing the newspaper in large numbers will be of great effect in educating the compatriots.

In order to vigorously conduct the national reunification movement among the compatriots, it is necessary to organize various functions including art festivals. You have said that you intend to hold the Second Conference of the Association for the Promotion of Korea’s Reunification in the conference hall in the centre of State Duma in Moscow. I think it will be very good to do so. If you do so, this will enhance the prestige of the association among the compatriots and also raise their spirit.

You must efficiently work with the young compatriots. You have said that you will convene a rally of young compatriots in Moscow in September to form their organization. It will be good to do so. If you form an organization of young people in future and unite all of them behind it, they will play a great role in the struggle for national reunification.

Since you are conducting the national reunification movement while living in the Commonwealth of Independent States, you must establish close relations with the Communist Parties, the young communist leagues and other progressive political parties and social organizations there and vigorously wage a joint struggle.

We are now fighting to reunify our country under very difficult conditions. However, the just cause of our people for national reunification will surely emerge victorious.

I believe that you will conduct the national reunification movement more vigorously in the Commonwealth of Independent States in future.
Esteemed delegates,
Comrades and friends,
I am delighted that the Fourth Conference of the Ministers of Information of Non-aligned Countries is being held in our country and would like to bid a warm welcome to the ministers and delegates from various countries and to the delegates from international organizations.

It is very important for the Information Ministers of the non-aligned countries that aspire to independence to sit together, share their successes and experience in public information and work out a common strategy for the further development of exchange and cooperation.

I strongly believe that this conference, through your strenuous efforts, will produce excellent results and thus contribute to developing national information work in the non-aligned and developing countries, establishing a new international information order, strengthening the Non-aligned Movement and making the whole world independent.

Esteemed delegates.
Today humanity is living in a new age of historic change, and the
progressive people throughout the world are faced with the common tasks of giving stronger impetus to the trend of the times towards independence and of building an independent new world.

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

The cold war, which hindered historical progress, has come to an end, but the old force which tried to dominate the world by means of its strength, contrary to the trend of independence, still remains. The contradictions inherent in imperialism, which had been temporarily hidden by the confrontation between the superpowers during the years of the cold war, have come to the fore with the end of the cold war and are producing a variety of problems. Now in the Western world movements to form new blocs have appeared in the complex relations of mutual rejection and alignment, motivated by self-interest, and the manoeuvres to expand spheres of political, economic and military domination are becoming more blatant. In addition, the imbalance between the rich developed capitalist countries and the poor developing nations is daily increasing. We must remember that the nuclear weapons, military blocs, money, reactionary bourgeois culture and all other means in the hands of the old force are being used as an instrument of domination and plunder, aggression and intervention mainly against the non-aligned and developing countries, to make a victim of them.

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

The Non-aligned Movement is a movement to oppose domination and subjugation and safeguard independence from aggressive blocs and to strengthen international solidarity among independent countries. It is, in essence, a movement to make the whole world
democratic and independent. As long as there exists on the globe a force that seeks domination and intervention, aggression and plunder, the Non-aligned Movement must be continuously developed and further expanded and strengthened as the leading force in the building of an independent new world. The process of developing the Non-aligned Movement is the process of making the whole world democratic and independent.

The governments and peoples of all the non-aligned countries must unite solidly under the banner of independence, peace and friendship and struggle forcefully to develop the Non-aligned Movement and achieve global independence.

Information services play a very important role in developing the Non-aligned Movement and in building an independent new world. At the present time when the masses of the people have emerged in the historical arena and are shaping their destiny independently, information services form an important front in the acute confrontation and struggle between the new and the outmoded, between progress and reaction.

Today the imperialists, with a monopoly of modern mass media, pour out torrents of reactionary ideas and culture as well as distorted information to meet their own needs and interests. They suppress the people’s voice of justice, deliberately mislead public opinion, invent lies, embellish their anti-popular societies and fan aggression and war. It will be impossible to defend the independence of the peoples of the progressive countries and implement the principles of justice in international relations so long as the present international information order, which allows the imperialists to act arbitrarily because of their position of monopoly, remains unchanged.

The present situation requires that the non-aligned and developing countries rapidly develop information work and radically enhance the role of the progressive information services.

The basic mission of non-aligned public information services is to make an active contribution to the people’s just cause of independence, peace and social progress. Non-aligned information services must be
the genuine mouthpieces of the progressive countries and peoples who champion independence, and must take the lead in encouraging the people to carry out the cause of independence. They must also become the fair judges of history that defend justice and condemn injustice.

If non-aligned public information services are to discharge the mission and role they have assumed before the times, the non-aligned countries must firmly maintain the anti-imperialist, independent stand and fully apply the principles of justice in information work.

Anti-imperialist independence is the basic ideal of the Non-aligned Movement. The information services of the non-aligned countries must fully expose with their sharp pens the aggressive and predatory nature of imperialism and its neo-colonialist methods; they must resolutely oppose the infiltration of narcotic bourgeois ideas and culture which poison the sound minds of the people, and must smash the reactionary information offensive by the imperialists through progressive information. Public information from the non-aligned countries must give wide publicity to the just struggle of the people for independence, sovereignty and social progress and raise a strong voice of international solidarity. It must denounce all forms of domination, interference and aggression which trample upon the people’s freedom and rights, infringe on the sovereignty of the countries and nations and threaten world peace.

In order to develop public information in the non-aligned countries and enhance the role of progressive information services, it is necessary to develop international exchange and cooperation in the field of information.

Doing so is a major guarantee for the non-aligned countries to develop their national information services and make louder the just voice of the progressive people of the world.

Thanks to a joint effort by the non-aligned countries, a common strategy and resolutions on developing exchange and cooperation in the field of public information have been adopted at the Summit Conference of Non-aligned Nations and at many other international meetings. In accordance with them an international system of
cooperation in information among the non-aligned countries and the international information organizations have been established and put into operation. This is a great success and an important condition for successful South-South cooperation in the field of information services.

The non-aligned countries must, on the basis of this success, share their successes and experience and cooperate closely with one another in the spirit of collective self-reliance and on the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual accommodation. This will make it possible to expand and improve the national media in each country, train information workers, ensure the variety and rapidity of information services, and bring other benefits for the development of public information.

Strengthening international information organizations and the international system of cooperation in information services and enhancing their functions and role is important in establishing a new international information order which accords with the principles of justice. Through a joint effort the non-aligned countries must improve the function and role of international information organizations such as the inter-governmental council for the coordination of information and communications among the non-aligned countries and the Non-aligned News Agencies Pool, and adopt measures for further strengthening the international system of cooperation in information. At present, a just demand is being raised by the governments, progressive organizations and people of many countries to set up new international information centres which are capable of the fair reporting of the voices of justice and independence. If these international information centres are established in appropriate places on the different continents, they will be able to play an important role in eliminating the outmoded international information order and establishing a new one, thus making an effective contribution to promoting the cause of global independence.

Ever since the initial period of the building of a new society, the Workers’ Party of Korea and the Government of our Republic have
worked hard to establish a Juche system of national information and develop it. By establishing Juche firmly in public information work we have ensured that all our information organizations are in the hands of the masses, the masters of the state and society, and that public information helps towards our people’s effort to accomplish the just cause of independence, sovereignty and socialism.

In our country public information plays the role of leading the masses: It increases the people’s revolutionary consciousness and their creative enthusiasm and encourages everyone to carry out his or her role and responsibility as a master in the struggle to build socialism, displaying solid unity in ideology and purpose. The rapid social progress and development and all the brilliant achievements made by our people in the revolution and construction in our country would be inconceivable without the role of public information. The information organizations in our country are making an active contribution to the world people’s cause of independence through various news reports and information activities, promoting friendly and cooperative relations with the non-aligned and other developing countries and through a forceful telecommunications offensive against imperialism and every manner of injustice.

Today our people are struggling to defend and develop people-centred socialism, the embodiment of the Juche idea, and to reunify the country on the principle of national independence, in the challenging situation in which the imperialists are resorting to ceaseless manoeuvres for aggression and intervention.

For the purpose of isolating and stilling our Republic which is advancing in the East under the unfurled banner of socialism, the international reactionary forces are complicating the situation on the Korean peninsula by raising a clamour against our Republic. Using their reactionary media they are stepping up their propaganda to distort the situation in our country and slander our socialist system and our people’s just cause. But falsehood cannot conceal truth, and no obstructive moves can ever check the forward movement of our people who are advancing with the conviction that their cause is just and in
solid unity behind the Party. With the unshakable belief that they are the masters of their own destiny and that they are capable of shaping their own destiny, our people have worked consistently in single-hearted unity and built a fine socialist country which is independent, self-sufficient and self-reliant in defence. They value more than their own lives the people-centred socialism which they have established by shedding their sweat and blood. They will never yield to intimidation or slander, nor will their belief falter in the face of a difficult situation. No matter how the situation may change, favourably or unfavourably, they will continue to advance vigorously along the road of independence, the road of socialism, indicated by the Juche idea.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I express my deep gratitude to the governments and mass media of the various non-aligned countries and to the non-aligned information organizations for their support and encouragement to our people in their just struggle, and I express my hope that they will voice their solidarity louder in the future.

It is the unwavering foreign policy of the Government of our Republic to fight to realize the noble ideals of the Non-aligned Movement and develop and strengthen it. In the future, too, our people and the Government of our Republic will unite and cooperate closely with all the non-aligned countries under the banner of independence, peace and friendship and strive for the development of the Non-aligned Movement and for the victory of the cause of global independence. The Government of our Republic will make every effort to develop exchange and cooperation with the non-aligned and developing countries in the field of public information, and will discharge its responsibility and duties faithfully.

You delegates are social pioneers who are devoted to realizing the noble ideals of the Non-aligned Movement, and the distinguished guests of our people. Our people will receive you cordially and welcome you warmly everywhere you go.

I hope that you will enjoy a pleasant and valuable time during your stay in our country and wish you from the bottom of my heart great success in your just work.
THE MONUMENT TO VICTORY IN THE FATHERLAND LIBERATION WAR IS AN OPEN-AIR MUSEUM THAT SHOWS THE GREAT FEATS OF THE HEROIC FIGHTERS

Talk to the Officials While Looking Around the Monument to Victory in the Fatherland Liberation War

*July 26, 1993*

The Monument to Victory in the Fatherland Liberation War is built in a splendid way. This monument is an open-air museum that shows the great service of the heroic fighters who devotedly fought for the freedom and independence of the country. No other country has such an open-air museum. With regard to wars, some countries erected monuments to commemorate individual campaigns or battles, but they are no more than monuments in their memory. Ours is the only monument that depicts the whole course of the victorious war.

The Monument to Victory in the Fatherland Liberation War is a grand historic monument, which is of great significance in handing down and depicting through the generations the immortal exploits performed by our heroic People’s Army and people in their struggle to defeat the imperialist forces of aggression and defend the freedom and independence of the country during the Fatherland Liberation War. It also educates the working people and the new generations in patriotism and the indomitable revolutionary spirit.

The monument delineates in a vivid and comprehensive way the
heroic struggle of our People’s Army and people to repel the armed invasion of the US imperialists through the main statue and several other group sculptures. It is fitting that the sculptures of the Party’s flag and the army’s flag are erected at the entrance to the monument.

The group sculptures Battle for the Liberation of Taejon and Battle for Crossing the Raktong are depicted well.

Dean, a division commander of the US army, was captured during the battle for the liberation of Taejon. This is the first time that the People’s Army captured a division commander of the US army.

Raft and waves in the group sculpture Battle for Crossing the Raktong give a vivid description. During the Fatherland Liberation War the soldiers of the People’s Army drilled on several occasions for the successful crossing of the Raktong. However, they experienced much difficulty in the real battle for lack of proper river-crossing equipment. Had our People’s Army had the hundred rubber boats it has now, they would have crossed the river without shedding so much blood.

The group sculpture Defending the Sky over the Homeland is depicted well. During the Fatherland Liberation War our pilots bombed the enemy positions in the Po-2. It was an effective plane. It flew low and freely over the mountains, so it was difficult to shoot it down or locate it through radar devices.

Women pilots were good at flying the Po-2. Thae Son Hui also flew the plane to bomb enemy positions during the war. As you can see in the Soviet films, the Soviet women also flew the plane during the Soviet-German war.

During the Korean war the enemy, with the help of the information supplied by Pak Hon Yong, a US imperialist spy, tenaciously dropped bombs on our Supreme Headquarters. The US planes bombed Changsong when the Supreme Headquarters was situated there and Kosanjin when it moved there.

The Supreme Headquarters was also bombed when it was situated in the suburb of Pyongyang. Once the enemy’s machine-gun bullets penetrated the wall of my office. At another time the enemy’s bomb
was dropped near the entrance to the tunnel; it was a blind one. Ri Ul Sol and other comrades, ready to sacrifice their lives, kept their Party membership cards in a safe place before carrying it on a pole to another place.

We frequently moved the Supreme Headquarters and each time the enemy planes bombed it a few days after the move. We did not know how they located it. Suspecting that an enemy spy was within our ranks, I held a meeting of the political committee of the Party Central Committee one day and ordered the head of the operations bureau, in the presence of the others, to bomb an enemy military target on the coming Sunday. On Friday evening I phoned him to cancel the plan. However the US planes, expecting our planes’ bombing mission, kept flying in the sky over Seoul and Inchon from Saturday night. Later, when we were examining Pak Hon Yong, he confessed that he delivered military secrets to the enemy. In this way it was revealed that Pak was a spy on the payroll of the Americans.

The group sculpture In the Liberated South is also portrayed well. Comrade Ryu Kyong Su performed a great role in liberating Seoul. He smashed the gate of Seoul prison by a tank and saved many patriots and revolutionaries.

A delegation of war veterans of the Russian Federation is on a visit to our country now. The delegation is headed by Ryashenko, who helped us sincerely when we were forming a tank unit after liberation. On the current visit he brought with him a photograph he had taken with me after liberation. He is tall and his feet are big. So I had his shoes made to order at that time.

The group sculpture Defending the Territorial Waters of the Motherland is appealing. During the war our naval force sank an enemy heavy cruiser with four torpedo boats. This is unprecedented in the history of world sea battles. Kim Kun Ok, who then commanded the fleet of torpedo boats, is still alive.

The group sculpture Struggle of the People’s Guerrillas behind Enemy Lines is also depicted well. During the war, Jo Ok Hui fought in the Jinamsan guerrilla unit and Ri Hyon Sang commanded the Jirisan
guerrilla unit. Ri In Mo also fought in Mt. Jiri with Ri Hyon Sang. Pak U Hyon guided the guerrilla struggle in the region of North and South Chungchong Provinces.

The group sculpture *Support to the Front by the People in the Rear* gives a vivid description of the struggle of the people in the rear, including the women in Namgang Village, to support the front.

The group sculptures *Defenders of Height 1211* and *Direct-firing Gun onto the Height* are both depicted well.

We did not have many guns during the war. The direct-firing gun of 76 millimetre calibre was the largest. Comrade Choe Hyon’s unit pulled this type of gun up to a height of 1211 metres to smash the enemy. At that time the height was a strategically important height. If we had failed to defend it, we would have had to yield to the enemy Mt. Kumgang, Kosong and even Wonsan. Choe Hyon fought at the risk of his life then.

Heroes Ri Su Bok, Kang Ho Yong, Jo Kun Sil and Jo Sun Ok are all depicted well.

When a group sculpture was erected at the West Sea Barrage, drivers were not depicted there. As the drivers who took part in the construction of the barrage wondered why they were not portrayed in the sculpture, a driver was added to it later, so I was told.

The main statue *Victory* is well depicted. It vividly delineates the great victory in the Fatherland Liberation War and the heroic spirit of the Korean people who followed up one victory after another and their proud mettle as victors. Its depiction is emphatic and full of vitality.

I was told that the Mansudae Art Studio created the main statue collectively on the basis of the germ of an idea that Comrade Kim Jong Il selected. The studio did its work well.

We must ensure that in future foreign delegations visiting our country lay wreaths on the Monument to Victory in the Fatherland Liberation War. They could perform the ceremony at the Monument to Fallen Soldiers of the People’s Army but it would be good to let them lay a wreath on the monument here. Individual persons or delegations should be allowed to lay wreaths on the Monument to Fallen Soldiers.
of the People’s Army according to their wishes.

Under the detailed and meticulous guidance of Comrade Kim Jong Il, creative workers of the Mansudae Art Studio and members of the Party-member shock brigade worked intensively with a high degree of loyalty and finished the construction of the monument in less than one year, which was expected to take three years. This is laudable. All the creative workers and builders who participated in the construction have done a great deal of work. I extend my thanks to them.

I would like to have a souvenir photograph taken with cadres in front of the main statue of the monument. The photograph should be taken so as to show the main statue in full.
At this consultative meeting we are going to discuss livestock and poultry farming, fishing and fish culture. These are important sectors relating to the people’s livelihood. That is why I saw to it that provincial Party chief secretaries are present here.

First of all, I would like to dwell on livestock and poultry farming. It is only when we increase the production of meat by developing livestock and poultry farming that we can provide our people with a diet of rice and meat soup. Living on rice and meat soup is our people’s centuries-old desire. We must develop livestock and poultry farming by all means to realize this desire.

If we work efficiently we can increase meat production so that our people can eat rice and meat soup. At one time we produced meat in large quantities. We produced so much meat that we had the problem of its disposal. The state pig farms produced meat in large quantities, so they were reluctant to purchase meat produced in rural areas. One year I took the provincial Party chief secretaries with me to Hwangju County, North Hwanghae Province, to give them a demonstration lecture on how to butcher pigs and process meat and by-products. The
grocer’s shops in Pyongyang kept a good stock of chicken, duck and pork to sell to the citizens. In South Hamgyong Province the Kwangpho Duck Farm alone produced 8,000 tons of duck annually and supplied 5,000 tons to Hamhung. The maximum annual egg production was 610 million.

However, in recent years we have not been producing enough meat and eggs, so the grocer’s shops do not satisfy the people’s need for meat and eggs. If we fail to supply sufficient meat and eggs to the people, it will be impossible to display the advantages of socialism to the full.

In order to develop livestock and poultry farming, we must increase grain production. We must develop livestock and poultry farming as grain production grows.

Farmhouses should be encouraged to produce more meat.

To this end, they must raise large numbers of geese, goats, rabbits and other grass-eating domestic animals. They can breed these animals as much as they want, provided grass is available.

On my visit to China several years ago I saw the farmhouses in Shandong Province raise many geese. The provincial Party secretary who guided me said that each farmhouse in the province raised three to four geese and one or two ganders in winter and hatched 40 to 50 geese in spring. He added that geese were fed on kitchen waste in winter, and in spring when grass sprouts, they were set free to eat grass without consuming any feed grain. I was also told that rural families in China raised two pigs, butchering one on the lunar New Year’s Day and the other at the harvest moon festival for family consumption.

If rural households raise many geese, they can solve the problem of meat in the rural areas. Recently we have imported geese which weigh as much as seven kilogrammes per head. Breeding this kind among rural families would be profitable. Butchering one head of goose that weighs seven kilogrammes means one kilogramme of goose every day for a week. If the rural families raise geese, they will not be short of meat.

We must encourage rural families to breed many rabbits. Since they
grow by eating grass, it is easy to raise them and they are prolific. Among rabbits there is a variety which weighs much more than others. Previously I took steps to import a big breed of them to be sent to the People’s Army. It will be good to raise such breeds widely.

Rural families should be encouraged to raise goats, too. The breeding season of a goat is comparatively long, and it is advisable for farmhouses to keep many goats.

To raise grass-eating domestic animals on a wide scale, feed grass must be got ready.

It is realistic to cultivate green crops to be used both for livestock feed and as manure. We have arable land enough to cultivate green manure crops. Our country has 600,000 hectares of maize field. If we plant green manure crops in 500,000 hectares of it, we can obtain a large amount of feed grass. At an estimate of 20 tons of green manure crops per hectare of maize fields 10 million tons can be produced from 500,000 hectares, with which we can feed a lot of domestic animals to produce plenty of meat. Its effectiveness has been proved by firsthand experience.

You must plant silkworm grass in many places to be used as animal feed. Silkworm grass is fed not only to silkworms but also to rabbits and other grass-eating domestic animals. It is excellent feed for domestic animals. It is ideal to plant silkworm grass in mulberry fields. Then, this method will make effective use of mulberry fields by producing both cocoons and meat. Silkworm grass must be used first for raising silkworms and then for growing livestock.

You can plant barley as the first crop of the rice field and cut green barley to use as feed. On my recent visit to the Yonbaek Plain, South Hwanghae Province, the farmers said they would plant barley in one hectare or two in a workteam as the first crop of the rice field, and reap it before the rice transplanting season to feed domestic animals. This seems feasible in such west coast areas as the Yonbaek Plain. So I said that the cooperative farms in the Yonbaek Plain should do as they had planned and then transplant rice seedlings in the season.

In order to plant a great deal of green manure crops as feed for
domestic animals, you must do the work of seed selection properly. If the Agricultural Commission has the seeds of green manure crop only for 80,000 hectares to be planted in autumn this year, it must obtain the seeds for the next year. You must arrange seed farms to produce the green manure seeds there. Twelve kilogrammes of rape seeds are needed for one hectare. So there must be 5,000 hectares to produce the seeds for 500,000 hectares of green-manure-crop area. If it is feasible to plant rape as an earlier crop in maize fields to produce seeds before planting maize, instead of putting aside separate areas for seed production, that will be preferable. We must produce the seeds in every possible way next year and plant 500,000 hectares for green manure crops. Next year we must start harvesting maize at the end of August on one hand and plant green manure crops as a later crop there.

We must ensure that every rural household raises pigs.

If rural households are to raise pigs, the state must supply them with grain feed. The state must supply each farm family with 100 kg of maize to raise one pig of 100 kg, that is, at the ratio of one to one. In order to supply every farm family with 100 kg of maize as pig’s feed, 100,000 tons of maize are needed as there are one million farm families. This must be supplied by the state.

In the future, we must supply each of the farm families with 200 kg of maize and let it raise two pigs each of which weighing 100 kg. To do so, 200,000 tons of maize are needed. If every farm family is supplied with that amount of maize and raises two 100-kg pigs a year, we can supply a considerable amount of meat to the urban population.

The state sector must operate chicken, duck and pig plants at full capacity.

We have constructed chicken, duck and pig plants in many parts of the country. If we operate them at full capacity, we shall be able to solve the problem of meat supply to a considerable extent.

We must provide the children in nurseries and kindergartens with sufficient meat and eggs. Children can grow tall and their bones can become strong if they have sufficient proteins, calcium and various other nutrients. As I always say, it is because they cat much fish, living
in a coastal town, that the children in Sinpho are taller and their bones thicker than those in other areas. All the children in our country are raised in the care of the state, so we must provide them regularly with meat and eggs so that they can grow up strong. To this end, chicken, duck and pig plants must produce large amounts of meat and eggs.

The state sector must run, first of all, chicken and duck plants at full capacity. Producing chicken or duck meat costs less than producing pork. Four kilogrammes of feed are consumed to produce one kilogramme of pork, whereas two and a half kilogrammes of feed are used on average to produce as much chicken or duck meat. Chickens and ducks breed more easily than pigs. It takes time to breed pigs because a long gestation period is needed. But hens and ducks multiply quickly as their laying and incubating periods are short. To increase meat production rapidly it is best to operate chicken and duck plants at full capacity and raise large numbers of hens and ducks.

The production capacity of the existing state-run chicken and duck plants is 56,500 tons of meat. This is not a small amount. In Pyongyang there are several large chicken plants, among them the Mangyongdae Chicken Plant, Sopho Chicken Plant and Hadang Chicken Plant. As for eggs, the Mangyongdae Chicken Plant can produce 100 million eggs a year, the Sopho and Hadang Chicken Plants 50 million eggs each and the Ryongsong Quail Plant 100 million eggs. If we run these chicken plants at full capacity, we can produce meat and eggs enough for the people and nursery and kindergarten children in Pyongyang.

The state sector must also make every effort to run pig plants at full capacity.

This work must begin with those existing in Pyongyang. We have to build more pig plants if we are to provide Pyongyang citizens with more meat. But the construction of new pig plants should wait till grain production increases to ease the shortage of feed. For the present we must operate the existing pig plants at full capacity.

To this end, the state must supply feed. If the state does not supply feed, the pig plants in Pyongyang have no source of feed supply, nor can they produce feed by themselves. The state must supply feed to
them to ensure that they operate at capacity.

In order to develop state-run livestock and poultry farming, we must solve the problem of protein-rich feed. Protein feed, in addition to grain feed, is important in developing livestock and poultry farming. In order to raise livestock, balanced feed is needed, and protein is an essential element of balanced feed. Without finding a solution to protein feed, it would be impossible to develop poultry and livestock farming.

Soy beans are best for protein feed. With soy beans we can produce soya milk for children in nurseries and kindergartens and pupils in primary and secondary schools and use bean cakes from them as protein feed. However, we cannot produce quantities of soy beans to be used as protein feed. Cooperative farms are now cultivating beans on the ridges between paddy fields, but that is not the way to find a solution to the problem of beans. However, we cannot afford to put aside the land for bean cultivation from the area of grain cultivation. This will reduce the area of grain cultivation, and grain production will decrease. Beans have a poor yield per hectare. Maize yields eight tons per hectare whereas bean yield is no more than one and a half or two tons at the most per hectare. With our limited cropland it is difficult to solve the problem of protein feed by planting beans. We have to import soy beans to obtain protein feed.

The state-run poultry and livestock farming needs 50,000 tons of bean cakes to be used as protein feed at present, I was told. There must be approximately 60,000 tons of beans to satisfy the need. We are to import that amount annually till 1995, so we must produce soya milk with the imported beans and the bean cakes should be used for state-run poultry and livestock farming. In the future we should import 200,000 tons of soy beans a year. The agricultural sector must earn foreign currency to import that amount of beans. We cannot afford to spend foreign currency earned by the industrial sector on importing beans to be used as feed for domestic animals. It must be spent on importing coking coal, oil and other raw materials, fuel and other necessities which we do not have.
Yams must be planted widely. It is a good feed for domestic animals. I got to know this during the Fatherland Liberation War. Comrade Pak Tu Gyong, who had waged the anti-Japanese armed struggle with me, planted yams in the small plot of land behind his house with his wife during the war and raised two pigs every year by feeding yams.

An imported yam-seed has been planted in Sepho County, Kangwon Province. They say that it contains much protein, so it can be used as protein feed and its stem can be fed to pigs and rabbits. Now that good yam-seed has been obtained, it should be cultivated widely to be used as feed for domestic animals. It is advisable to plant yams around pig, chicken and duck plants. Pyongyang must plant several hectares of yam around the Pyongyang Pig Plant and the Ryokpho Farm. Then it will be convenient to transport them and there will be no waste.

*Songgang* grass must be widely planted if it is good as feed for domestic animals.

The area of cultivated land in our country is limited, so it is impossible to supply sufficient grain feed. We must therefore widely plant grass to solve the problem of feed for domestic animals. I have long ago put forward the policy of exchanging grass for meat. The poultry and livestock farming sector must not accept this policy only in word but put it into practice.

You must not plant feed grass in the area devoted to grain cultivation, because you have been told to plant it widely. You must bring waste land under cultivation and plant yams and *songgang* grass and other kinds of feed grass there.

We must make effective use of land in our country with its limited area of cultivation. There are many riverbanks which can be used in a rational way. I ensured that grape vines were planted on the riverbanks around the Kumsusan Assembly Hall, from which a considerable amount of grapes is picked every year. I have the grapes sent to the children in nurseries and kindergartens.

There are many embankments in Pyongyang where grape vines can
be planted. I gave the city an assignment to plant 500 hectares of grape vines, but it has not yet been carried out. If it fails to do because of the shortage of seedlings, the grape vines planted around the Kumsusan Assembly Hall must be cut and transplanted. Cuttings of grape vines grow well.

You must breed earthworms in large quantities. As an organic feed, they can be used as a substitute for bean cakes. If you breed a lot of them, you can raise hens, ducks and other domestic animals without soy beans. Earthworms multiply quickly.

I have been to the Sopho Chicken Plant this spring to solve the problem of breeding earthworms. It is commendable that the farm has laid out earthworm breeding grounds with annual capacity of 150 tons.

The state must assign institutions and enterprises that do sideline farming the task of producing meat. The area of land the institutions and enterprises cultivate has increased a great deal. The state must assign those units specific quotas of meat production in keeping with their grain production per hectare and control their achievement.

The senior officials of the Administration Council and provincial Party chief secretaries must buckle down to find solutions to the problem of livestock and poultry farming with a high sense of responsibility as masters of the country and determination to do more work for the people. Provincial Party chief secretaries, in particular, must not emphasize only to subordinates in their offices the need to develop poultry and livestock farming. They must instead take control of this work in person and push it forward. If they get down to work with a high sense of responsibility and determination, the Premier and vice-premier of the Administration Council, provincial Party chief secretaries and other cadres will be fully able to find solutions to the problem of poultry and livestock farming.

Next, about the fishing industry.

In order to provide people with better food we must also channel efforts into developing the fishing industry. Our country is mountainous and farm land is no more than 1.5 million hectares. Farming on this land alone cannot provide the people with better food.
In order to provide the people with better food in our country which is sea-bound on three sides, we must increase seafood production including fish and seaweed by developing the fishing industry.

The output of seafood has decreased over recent years. It is now said that the fish catch is decreasing because the resources of fish such as pollack and sardine are being depleted. Of course, it can be one of the reasons. But this decrease is related in no small measure to the inactive work attitude of the officials in this sector.

If they cannot catch fish like pollack and sardine in large quantities with large vessels, they should step up small-scale fishing with small boats. They can catch a large quantity of fish if they simply set fyke nets in the shallow sea. I have emphasized more than once the need to set many fyke nets in the East Sea but they are not doing so.

If fishing does not thrive, you should at least undertake aquaculture with a will. If you develop aquaculture and produce a variety of seafood to make up for the dwindling fish resources, you will be able to render great help in improving the people’s living standards.

If you develop aquaculture with success, you can produce a lot of kelp, seaweed, mussels and various other seafood. If you produce kelp in large quantity, you can export it. I was told that 10,000 tons of kelp were exported to Russia last year. Many countries demand kelp. If 100 tons of kelp are produced per hectare on average, we can earn 7,000 dollars at a price of 70 dollars per ton. This will be enough to import 70 tons of maize at a price of 100 dollars per ton. If they develop kelp farming in South Hamgyong Province where agriculture does not thrive because of cold damage, they can obtain food to meet the needs of the province in exchange for their kelp. Not only South Hamgyong Province but other coastal provinces can find a solution to their problem of food if they produce kelp in large quantities and export it. However, our officials do not organize aquaculture with a will.

South Hwanghae Province must develop kelp farming on a large scale, especially in the coastal waters off the Yonbaek Plain. South Hamgyong Province and other provinces on the east coast must do the same. The east coast is not favourable as waves are higher than on the
west coast, but aquaculture is still possible there.

Ever since liberation I have emphasized that people in the mountainous region should make good use of mountains and people in the coastal region should exploit the sea. Nevertheless, our officials do not work hard to provide the people with better food by making use of the sea and mountains and do not pay deep attention to the fishing industry. They must pay close attention to the fishing industry and work hard to increase seafood production.

In order to increase seafood production we must develop pelagic fishing properly.

Our country has many ships capable of pelagic fishing. There are many 3,750-ton fishing vessels, several 12,000- and 14,000-ton factory ships like Paektusan as well as a considerable number of large carriers such as Pirobong and Moranbong. If only you make good use of the existing vessels, you can do pelagic fishing with success.

Until now we have gone to Kamchatka in Russia, the cold region, for deep-sea fishing. We must do pelagic fishing not only in the cold areas but also in the warm region.

There are many southern countries where we can engage in fishing. People of Cambodia invite us to fish in their waters, saying that their sea is teeming with fish. Many African countries invite us to fish in their seas. The Seychelloises also invite us.

If we catch large quantities of fish in Cambodia, the Seychelles and other countries in Southeast Asia and Africa, we can exchange them for oil and various kinds of fishing tackle. In future, the fishing sector must send vessels to Southeast Asia and Africa and conduct pelagic fishing on a large scale.

You must also develop small-scale fishing widely.

A considerable amount of fish can be caught by means of small-scale fishing with the use of fyke nets and by means of angling.

You must set a large number of fyke nets. If you can catch 100 or 150 tons of fish a year with a fyke net, you can catch a large amount with the use of many fyke nets. That is why I said to set many fyke nets in the vast coastal waters from Kosong, Kangwon Province, to
Sonbong, North Hamgyong Province. In the future you must set as many as 1,000, 1,500, 1,700 and 2,000 fyke nets closely there.

You must also fish by means of line and multiple hooks in various forms and methods.

To increase the production of seafood we must supply fishing tackle and materials. The fishing sector must be supplied with vinalon yarn which is produced in the February 8 Vinalon Complex. Vinalon yarn is needed for making fishing nets including fyke nets and for aquaculture. The February 8 Vinalon Complex should therefore produce vinalon yarn needed in the fishing sector even though it fails to produce other things.

The vessels for pelagic fishing in the southern sea must be equipped with refrigerators, which are essential for preserving fish in the tropical region.

The Fisheries Commission must build up the trading corporation and enhance its role.

If its trading corporation works with efficiency, the commission will be fully able to obtain fishing tackle and other materials needed for seafood production. There are many trading corporations in our country now, but they are not trading properly. It is said that foreigners earn much money by resale that does not require much capital. Our trading officials, however, do not know how to do such a thing.

The Fisheries Commission must build up a competent staff for the trading corporation so that they promote trade with success.

Now about fish farming.

There are many places in our country suitable for fish farming. We have many large and small reservoirs for power stations and irrigation. The reservoirs for irrigation alone number 1,500 in our country. Fish can be raised in all these reservoirs. Large quantities of fish can be raised in Kwangpho and Homanpho in South Hamgyong Province. The Fish Farming General Bureau, too, has many reservoirs.

There are many rivers in our country in which we can raise fish. The Taedong River is as good as a large lake. The reaches between the West Sea Barrage and the Mirim Barrage, between the Mirim Barrage
and the Ponghwa Barrage and between the Ponghwa Barrage and the Sunchon Barrage are like lakes suitable for raising fish. In the past the Taedong River teemed not only with carp and crucian carp but also with grey mullet, perch and eels. They say the Taedong River teemed with fish before liberation. I was told that my uncle in Mangyongdae caught, as an angler, dozens of fish every day before liberation in the river and sold them for rice. He sometimes took the rice to my grandparents in Mangyongdae and he himself ate it. In the past the Taedong abounded in fish but it does not now because fish in the West Sea cannot come up the river. Fish like grey mullet, perch and eels used to swim upstream from the West Sea. Eels used to grow in the Taedong but swim down to the sea to spawn and hatch. Grey mullets also grow up in the fresh water but they hatch the spawn in the salt water. I ensured that water was drawn up from the sea to build a fish farm in Onchon County and raise grey mullet. Tens of thousands spawn and hatch annually there. The fish farm is now teeming with grey mullet.

Since the construction of the West Sea Barrage the fish in the West Sea cannot come upstream along the Taedong River. When constructing the barrage, a fish ladder was made in the barrage. But not many fish in the West Sea come upstream through it.

For this reason I ensured that a fish ladder was cut either in the area of Unryul, South Hwanghae Province, or in the Nampho area so that fish can freely swim into the Taedong River. For seven years since the construction of the West Sea Barrage, fish in the West Sea have not come up the Taedong River because the fish ladder was blocked. This is why grey mullet, perch, eels and other fish do not abound in the Taedong.

Another reason is that the Fish Farming General Bureau does not hatch spawn and breed many fries in the river. The Fish Farming General Bureau should have hatched many kinds of fish to breed in the river every year, but they have not done so. The Yonphung Reservoir was teeming with fish before but not now because fries are not put into the reservoir.
In the alpine region there are many rivers and streams where cold water flows. Cold-water fish like char and rainbow trout can be raised there. Rainbow trout can also be bred in the stream flowing along the Sudong Valley in South Hamgyong Province. In the past a fish farm was built in Jiktong, Sudong District in South Hamgyong Province, to breed a large quantity of rainbow trout. The Pukchang Fish Farm in South Phyongan Province is now breeding rainbow trout. This is the farm I assigned the People’s Army to build. Char, rainbow trout and other cold-water fish can be bred in the stream flowing along the Komdok Valley in South Hamgyong Province.

In order to breed a large quantity of fish, a lot of spawn must be hatched and fries released in the rivers, lakes and reservoirs. I am told that the Fish Farming General Bureau is releasing 130 million fries in the rivers, lakes and reservoirs each year. This is too little. Ten billion fries should be hatched and released in the irrigation reservoirs alone every year. As many fries must also be put into the Taedong River. With only a few million fries released in the Taedong each year, there will be no noticeable increase in fish numbers.

The Fish Farming General Bureau is growing only the hatched fries of variegated carp, grass carp and some other kinds of fish that are included in the fish farming plan before they are released, whereas the spawn of other kinds of fish are put into rivers and lakes without being hatched. This should not be done. It is useless to put the spawn of fish into the rivers and lakes. If you do so, you cannot make sure how many fries are hatched. Even though they are hatched, only a few can survive because they may be eaten by big fish. Fries should be bred in the fish farm for some time after being hatched and then be released into the rivers and lakes when they can swim freely.

I got a unit of the People’s Army to build a fish farm in Ryanggang Province and put 20,000 to 30,000 fries of rainbow trout and char every year into the river. The fries are bred for a year after being hatched.

Fish farming must be undertaken without a large investment of money. You say that eight to ten kilogrammes of raw salt-water fish
like pollack were consumed to produce one kilogramme of rainbow trout when studying the method of breeding cold-water rainbow trout in the sea. It does not pay. Rainbow trout is a bit tastier than pollack and yet it contains nearly the same amount of protein as pollack. It is of no use to breed rainbow trout by feeding so much pollack meat no matter how tasty it is.

According to my experience in breeding fish, the problem of feed can be solved without the investment of money. Rainbow trout and char are growing well in the fish farm built in Ryanggang Province even though they are not fed with fish meal. The pisciculturists had troubles in breeding char for three years until they found a solution to the problem of feed. They tried in every way and managed to hatch maggots to be fed to the char.

Fish feed can be made also with grass, rice bran and pupa. If they are pulverized, pressed into noodles and crushed into small grains, fish eat them well.

Fish can be bred with natural feed in the fish farms. I released 50 *kinyomo* (Hypophthalmichthys molitrix) in the Jangsuwon Reservoir in the past. They grew well on natural feed, although they were not given the usual feed. They are now large enough to push a boat. So I told the officials concerned to catch one of them with a net. It weighed 47 kilogrammes.

This fish grows well in the Taedong River. It does not take to a hook, so it is difficult for anglers to catch it.

On my visit to a European country in 1956 I saw they were breeding rainbow trout on natural feed in a fish farm. One Sunday the Premier of that country took me to a recreation site in the mountain valley where successive kings used to go hunting and fishing. A 12- to 16-kilometre section of the valley was fenced off to raise deer and rainbow trout in the river. I was told that rainbow trouts are not given any special feed, but they grow well eating insects and butterflies which fall from the trees and worms in the water.

In addition to breeding a large quantity of fish, we must protect fish resources with care.
On my cruise to and from the Ponghwa and Sunchon Barrages last Sunday, I saw some people catching fish with nets on boats on the Taedong River. We cannot conserve fish resources if we allow net-fishing in the rivers, lakes and reservoirs.

We must forbid net-fishing in the rivers, lakes and reservoirs. The state must strictly prohibit this practice. Nets must be confiscated from those who net fish in the rivers, lakes and reservoirs.

It is permitted to catch fish with a rod and line in the rivers, lakes and reservoirs. Since it is an exercise and an aspect of emotional life, angling must be permitted.

The Administration Council must pay attention to the work of fish farming.

It has not paid much attention to this work. The officials of the Administration Council have not inspected fish farms nor have they received any report on the actual situation of fish farming. Fish farming cannot be successful because the Administration Council shows no concern about this work.

The Administration Council must inspect fish farms, grasp the actual conditions and take measures to develop fish farming. It must assign the Fish Farming General Bureau a correct quota of fish production and get the officials of the bureau to report on their work regularly and thus direct and control the work of fish farming.

The Premier of the Administration Council is directly in charge of fish farming, but he has no time to deal with it because he has to direct the country’s overall economic work. It would be better to assign the work of fish farming to a vice-premier of the Administration Council.

The Premier must summon the officials concerned, discuss further detailed measures to develop poultry and livestock farming, fisheries and fish farming as I instructed today and report the planned measures to me.
ON SOME TASKS FACING CHONGRYON
IN THE PRESENT TIME

Talk to the Congratulatory Group of Koreans Who Came
from Japan to Celebrate the 45th Anniversary of the Founding
of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, the Delegation
of the Chongryon Educational Workers and the Delegation
of the Chongryon Branch Officials

September 10, 1993

I am very grateful to you, the congratulatory group of Korean residents in Japan and the members of the several delegations of Chongryon, for your visiting the socialist motherland on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Republic and having celebrated the national holiday as a meaningful event together with the compatriots at home. It is of great significance that you visit the socialist motherland demonstrating the single-hearted unity of the compatriots of Chongryon and the people at home, when the enemies are intensifying their manoeuvres to stifle our Republic and disintegrate Chongryon.

The imperialists and reactionaries are resorting to all sorts of machinations to isolate and obliterate our country, but such attempts do not work on us. The enemies may apply economic sanctions at most against us, but we are not afraid of them, because we have built a strong independent national economy by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance to the full. In fact, we have built socialism so far in the economic blockade of the enemies. Now that food, clothing and
housing are available to us, the enemies can never suffocate our country, no matter how frantically they may try. Their scheme to stifle our country is a delusion.

Present circumstances in the homeland are fairly good. Socialism has collapsed in the former Soviet Union and Eastern European countries, but our socialism is prosperous.

This year our country raised a good crop. A particularly good harvest is expected in the Yonbaek Plain, South Hwanghae Province. The officials concerned told me about a rich crop in that plain, so I went there to see. It was true. I was told that cooperative farms there could produce eight to nine tons of grain per hectare and a particular farm as much as ten tons.

Sufficient water supply is an important factor which brought a rich crop in the Yonbaek Plain this year. In former days, a water shortage caused a trouble in the farming of that plain, for the peasants had to draw water from the Kuam Reservoir. One year the rice seedlings withered away because they were not watered after being transplanted.

Rice thrives from tillering freely when it is hot in the daytime and cool at night. In the Yonbaek Plain, a hot weather region, water in a rice paddy becomes hotter than the temperature of the air when it reaches 31 degrees centigrade. The temperature of water in the paddy does not fall easily even at night when the temperature drops, unless heated water is replaced. Therefore, the water which has been heated during the daylight should be drained and the paddy fields should be flooded with cool water. If not, rice plants cannot grow properly because it is like a man sleeping under a thick cotton-wool quilt on a midsummer night. In the past, it was impossible to change water regularly in the Yonbaek Plain because of the shortage of irrigation water, so rice plants could not be tilled freely and their roots rotted, with the result that only five tons of rice were produced per hectare. But, in recent years, projects were undertaken to draw the waters of the West Sea Barrage and of the Ryeseong River into the Yonbaek Plain, making it possible for peasants to use water freely. This year the water in paddy fields was changed frequently after transplanting, so a good crop of rice could be raised.
Enough electric power, too, was provided to the countryside this year to run water pumps to irrigate rice fields. The power supply was somewhat strained, but we allocated power for pumping water with no questions attached.

The peasants of the Yonbaek Plain told me that they would raise a better crop next year and produce ten tons of rice per hectare in every field.

Farming in North Hamgyong Province, too, is quite promising. Though rice plants there suffered damage from cold weather in spring and in summer, a good harvest is expected for the climate is favourable in autumn.

In south Korea farming was ruined this year by the cold weather and in Japan crops were damaged by a typhoon which went through Honshu to Hokkaido. We wondered if the typhoon would strike our country around September 3, but fortunately our country was not affected by that typhoon.

If we produce grain as estimated this year, we can satisfy the demand for food, develop stock breeding and create a great reserve of grain.

Next year we mark the 30th anniversary of the publication of the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. The theses set forth irrigation, mechanization, electrification and use of chemical means as the four tasks of the technical revolution in the countryside. We have already accomplished irrigation and electrification of the rural economy and now strive to realize mechanization and use of chemicals. If we work harder to send more tractors and trucks to the countryside, we can realize the comprehensive mechanization of the rural economy. Then, we can increase grain production remarkably. When we produce a great deal of grain in future and increase the production of daily necessities by developing light industry, our people will lead a more prosperous life.

One obstacle in economic construction now is the shortage of electric power.

In the past, in an attempt to relax the strained power problem by building an atomic power station, we made a contract with the Soviet
Union to import its equipment, but it was of no avail because the country collapsed. Therefore, we are now building many more hydroelectric power stations including the Kumgangsan Power Station as well as thermal power plants. When these power stations now under construction are completed, the pressure on electric power supply will be eased. The satisfactory solution to the strained power problem will make it possible to run the existing factories at full capacity and then, we can demonstrate the advantages of our socialism to the full. As we have reliable bases for vinalon production, more power supply can put production there on a steady basis and it will then be a solution to the clothing problem.

In the homeland, successes have been achieved in work of brightening our long history. Recently, our archaeologists unearthed the Tomb of Tangun and discovered his remains. By the analyses of the experts Tangun’s skeleton is over 5,000 years old. Our ancestors for ages worshipped Tangun as a mythical being. People held memorial services for him even in the period of the Ri dynasty, but the Japanese imperialists forbade such events after occupying Korea. Excavation of the Tomb of Tangun and the confirmation of the fact that his remains are over 5,000 years old prove by archaeological data that Tangun who had once been considered as a mythical being was, in fact, a real person and that ours is a civilized nation with a long history of 5,000 years behind it. These scientific grounds made us renew our conception of Tangun. So I instructed that we should build up the Mausoleum of Tangun in an excellent way. When I was approving the document concerned with building the mausoleum submitted by the Information Department of the Party Central Committee, I advised them to build it up more magnificently than the Mausoleum of King Tongmyong, avoiding any resemblance to the latter. We have already built up the Mausoleum of King Tongmyong, the tomb of the founder-king of Koguryo and are now reconstructing the Tomb of King Wang Kon, the founder-king of Koryo. If we build up the Tomb of Tangun well, people will say that the dedication to the ancestors is at last put on a right track in the era of the Workers’ Party.

Here in your homeland, the leader, the Party and the masses are
united as one, and nobody can destroy this unity. Our people are full of conviction that they will surely emerge victorious in the struggle to accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche as long as they have our Party, no matter how difficult and complicated the situation may be. They will strive to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country and carry out the socialist cause to completion following the Party’s leadership under the banner of the Juche idea. They will also make every possible effort to build an independent new world together with the world people who advocate independence. You can feel relieved about the socialist motherland.

We are always worried about Chongryon which is working in a capitalist society where reactionaries are rampant. They are trying in every manoeuvre to break up Chongryon. Sometime previously, too, the south Korean puppets worked out a plot to destroy the Chongryon organization using the people of “Mindan”, but no matter how frantically they may try, they cannot cause it to collapse. It has been seasoned through struggle and has grown up into a powerful organization, an integral part of the homeland.

Chongryon officials and the compatriots resident in Japan must firmly unite with the people of the homeland and actively fight to bring national reunification nearer and make the socialist motherland prosperous, cherishing the pride of being members of a dignified overseas compatriots’ organization of the Republic.

Chongryon must, first of all, strive to implement the 10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for the Reunification of the Country.

As you all know, we advanced this programme at the Fifth Session of the Ninth Supreme People’s Assembly and it is the embodiment of the basic idea of the Ten-Point Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland. We founded the ARF in 1936 and published its ten-point programme. At that time some people said that if the word “fatherland” was put in the name of the anti-Japanese national united front body, it would smell of nationalism and disagreed with my proposal. So I explained that if we were to unite the broad
masses from all strata behind the anti-Japanese front, the name should be acceptable to the broad anti-Japanese patriotic forces. Then we named the united front organization the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland. As a result, we could embrace even the conscientious national capitalists and religious believers in the anti-Japanese patriotic forces and achieve national liberation.

We wrote in the 10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for the Reunification of the Country: The whole nation should unite on the basis of patriotism and the spirit of national independence, transcending differences in thoughts, ideals and systems; if those who had committed crime against the nation in the past return to the patriotic road, repentant of their past, they should be dealt with leniently; those with strength devoting their strength, those with knowledge giving their knowledge and those with money donating their money—all should make a tangible contribution to the reunification of the country. This is a reasonable reunification programme in that it conforms with today’s situation in which the entire nation ardently desires national reunification. If we materialize this programme, we can achieve a great national unity and achieve national reunification at an earlier date. Therefore, we can say that this programme is a cure-all for achieving national reunification by uniting all the Koreans in the north, south and abroad.

From the very time when it was made public, it evoked a great sympathetic response for its validity not only among the entire Korean nation but also among the world’s progressive people.

Nevertheless, the south Korean authorities have not given any response so far. We published the programme last April and conveyed its message by letter to different figures of south Korea including the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan, overseas compatriots and even the south Korean authorities. Progressive figures in south Korea and abroad expressed their active support for the programme, but the south Korean authorities uttered no word as to their opinion. We can notice from this that the present “civilian government”, like successive military, dictatorial “regimes” of south Korea, is nothing but a puppet regime moving at the
manipulation of the United States. The “president” of south Korea is a governor in name only; the real ruler is the United States. The south Korean “president” moves as dictated down by the United States. The present “president” is alleged to have established the “civilian government” and trying to do something, but we cannot believe him. South Korea is a colony of the United States which has no sovereignty.

It is also owing to the plot of the United States that the south Korean authorities, who went so far as to adopt the joint declaration on denuclearization with us, are trying to bring pressure on us on the excuse of a “nuclear issue”. When they have talks with us, too, they behave as the US instructs. Some months previously, we made a proposal to exchange special envoys of the top authorities of both sides. The south Korean authorities had not accepted it, but recently they agreed to have talks with us after receiving notice of the America’s intention. So we replied that if they were going to have talks with us, they should not launch a mock nuclear-war against us in cooperation with foreign forces, nor should they resort to an “international cooperation system”. But they gave no response to our demand. The head of the US side for the DPRK-US talks is now on a visit to south Korea. The south Korean authorities will apparently give an answer to our proposal after his returning home.

The United States is so insidious. She is more cunning than Japan. Japan placed the government-general in Korea and ruled the latter directly, but the United States places her stooges in the “presidency” and lords it over south Korea using her ambassador on the spot.

As I mentioned several times, the United States has taken south Korea in her mouth considering it a tasty morsel and is trying not to lose her fortune, just as a wolf does not give up a morsel, once it bites it. She considers that her occupation of south Korea, a zone of military and strategic importance, makes it possible to check the influence of the countries around the Korean peninsula. Recently the United States stuck to her unreasonable insistence that we have nuclear weapons, so we must reveal the alleged weapons, in an attempt to cook up a lame excuse for staying in south Korea. She clamours that a photograph by
an artificial satellite discovered nuclear weapons in the Nyongbyon area, but we have no nuclear weapons. We clarified more than once that we have neither intention nor ability to make such weapons. Nevertheless, the United States unreasonably brings pressure on us to open the alleged weapons to the public.

In order to reunify the country a powerful struggle should be launched to drive the US army out of south Korea with the united efforts of the whole nation.

If we fight actively, the US army can stay no longer in south Korea. The DPRK-US talks were held recently as a result of our active struggle against the United States. We never begged her to have the talks. First she had no intention of having a talk with us. We took the active offensive against her challenge based on the fictitious “nuclear issue”. Afterwards, the United States apparently considered everything possible. She is afraid of conducting another war against us because she was once defeated by us even though she mobilized the armies of 15 satellite countries in the Korean war. Our people do not want war, but they are never afraid of it. We are ready to bomb the enemy area, if they make a bombing raid against us. Those who are afraid of death are not us but landlords or capitalists. The United States has tried to apply economic sanctions against our country, but apparently she realized that it would not exert any influence on us who have lived in the enemies’ blockade up to now. Though in the blockade, we built the West Sea Barrage and continue to construct highways and dwellings. After all, she agreed to have a talk with us considering that it is of no use to stand against us, I think. In this way, the DPRK-US talks could be held on our initiative and active struggle. It is a considerable gain to have led the United States to the talks, the country which had stubbornly opposed the talks with us.

At the first stage of the talks, both sides agreed that they would not use nuclear weapons and other arms nor would they threaten each other with them, that they would respect each other’s sovereignty, not interfering in its internal affairs and that they would support the peaceful reunification of Korea, and issued a joint statement on these
agreements. At the second stage of the talks, held in Geneva, Switzerland, we told the Americans: It is true that we develop the nuclear power industry to produce more electricity; our test reactor is a graphite-moderated reactor; if you help us with a light-water reactor, we will change the graphite-moderated reactor system into a light-water reactor system. The Americans said that our idea sounded interesting and proposed to find a way together. They are interested in our proposal because they think that we may use ashes from the graphite-moderated reactor for the production of nuclear weapons. They assume that our possession of a graphite-moderated reactor would encourage other countries to build such reactors and produce nuclear weapons. They told us at the Geneva talks we should seek out a way together to build a light-water reactor; we shall watch the development. Though they have talks with us, they are playing for time in an attempt to perpetuate their presence in south Korea.

Chongryon organizations and the compatriots in Japan must sharpen their vigilance against the craftiness of the US imperialists and wage a powerful struggle to drive out their army from south Korea and achieve national reunification, in firm unity under the banner of the 10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation.

Chongryon officials must not be fooled by the provocation of the Japanese reactionaries. They are resorting to various plots to break up Chongryon. Chongryon must pay due attention to these plots. But, for all that, it should not take defensive measures only. It must work efficiently among the compatriots under the “Mindan” organization as well as the Japanese people so as to make a counterattack upon the enemy.

Next, Chongryon must direct efforts to the education of the rising generation.

Education of the rising generation is very important work; we have paid much attention to bringing up successors to the revolutionary cause since the days immediately after liberation. After liberation we put great emphasis on bringing up bereaved children of the revolutionaries to become reliable successors of the revolutionary cause. During the arduous anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle many
comrades fell in action. While breathing their last, they requested us to bring up their children soundly. So, after liberation I made up my mind to take their children to Pyongyang and educate them, and sent anti-Japanese fighters everywhere for them. Many of the bereaved children had lived in want, selling cigarettes or polishing shoes before they came to Pyongyang. When we brought them to Pyongyang, there was no school in which they could study. We made sure that Mangyongdae Revolutionary School was established by turning into capital the rice peasants donated to the country out of patriotism following the example of the peasant Kim Je Won. He raised good crops in the first year on the land he received, thanks to the land reform. He told his wife that they could lead a prosperous life because they received the land thanks to the General, and discussed with her taking only what they needed for their family out of the harvest and donating the rest to the General. He came to Pyongyang carrying 30 straw bags of rice on carts. I was so grateful to him that I took him to my house to have a meal with him. This fact was carried in the newspapers at that time. Afterwards, donating rice as a token of patriotism became a nationwide movement, following the example of the peasant Kim Je Won. We built not only Mangyongdae Revolutionary School but also Kim Il Sung University using the funds raised by the rice the peasants contributed. The bereaved children who graduated from the revolutionary school now work in important posts of the Party and the state. The Premier of the Administration Council is a graduate of this school and many of the chief secretaries of provincial Party committees are its graduates, too.

I attached great importance to the training of native cadres immediately after liberation and set up Kim Il Sung University. As we started to build the university empty-handed, we faced many obstacles. When we were establishing the university, the shortage of teaching staff bothered us most. Some people rejected the proposal for its foundation asking how could it be established without teachers, but I turned down their assertion and sent for teachers staying in many places including Seoul, thus having an opening ceremony of Kim Il Sung University in
September, 1946. Afterwards, we set up many universities all over the country. As a result, our country has now a great contingent of 1.7 million intellectuals. Immediately after liberation we had only a few scores of intellectuals, but now our country is blessed with lots of intellectuals. The great contingent of 1.7 million intellectuals is a reliable asset. Since they are in the middle of their working age, their latent faculties are considerable. Our single-hearted and united revolutionary ranks are more powerful as they have a great army of intellectuals who have grown up under the care of the Party.

There is no other country in the world which directs such great efforts to the education of the rising generation. On the occasion of conferring “International Kim Il Sung Prize” to the Director-General of the International Institute of the Juche Idea two days ago, I had a talk with him and the members of International Kim Il Sung Prize Council and gave a luncheon for them. At that time the Secretary-General of the Council said that there is no country in the world but Korea where the entire people study and that it is inconceivable in his country. In fact, no other country gives education to all its people. Our country brings up children from birth at state and social expense. The children who are bred in nurseries and kindergartens and the students studying in schools at all levels from primary school to university amount to 8.5 millions in our country. This means that nearly half of the population of our country is growing up and receiving education at state and social expense. Though it is not easy to provide education to the whole nation, we made it a rule. It is the advantage of our socialist system to provide all members of society with education at state and social expense. In order to realize the policy of improving the level of education of the whole of society, our Party set up a lot of factory colleges, farm colleges and fishermen’s colleges under the study-while-work system in addition to full-time universities and colleges so as to provide many people with an opportunity to study. When the whole of society is well educated our country will develop more rapidly.

Chongryon must direct its efforts to education and establish a good compulsory education system. This is important work for
strengthening Chongryon down through the generations. Chongryon educational workers have charge of a very important duty in establishing the compulsory education system. They should make positive efforts to enrol all children of the compatriots of school age in the Korean schools under Chongryon.

Chongryon educational workers said that they would bring up the rising generation to become people who are loyal and dutiful to Comrade Kim Jong Il. It is natural.

Comrade Kim Jong Il loves the overseas compatriots boundlessly and always pays much attention to their movement. When they support him well, they will be successful in their work. Chongryon officials and the compatriots in Japan should follow him faithfully as they support me and carry out the patriotic work as he wishes.

In order to fulfil its duty with credit, Chongryon must strengthen its organization.

To this end, it must strengthen the unity of organization. What is most important in Chongryon activity is, in every case, to ensure strong unity. Chongryon must firmly rally all fellow countrymen organizationally and make organizations at all levels into a disciplined body which moves as one. This makes it possible to crush the enemies’ machinations with the united might.

Another factor of importance in building up Chongryon organizationally is to strengthen its branches. As emphasis is laid on strengthening Party cells in the homeland, so Chongryon must direct efforts to build up branches. If all Chongryon branches are built up the central organization will be strengthened and its combative power increased. Being clearly aware that they are the cornerstone of Chongryon, the branch officials must work substantially to make solid its basic units. You branch officials say that you will build up your branch organizations into reliable basic bodies of Chongryon. I am grateful to you.

I hope that you will set an example in uniting our compatriots in Japan firmly behind Chongryon and supporting and helping the Republic under the guidance of the Central Standing Committee of Chongryon.
ON INCREASING FRUIT PRODUCTION AND PLANTING MANY FORESTS OF OIL-PRODUCING TREES

Speech at a Consultative Meeting of Officials of the Economic Sector
October 4, 1993

At this consultative meeting we intend to discuss the problems of fruit-growing, forests of oil-producing trees and electricity.

I would like to speak first about the problem of fruit-growing.

I thought of convening the meeting on the matter of fruit-growing a long time ago, but I have postponed it until now as I intended to hold it when I am familiar with fruit production. In the course of conducting an experiment on fruit farming while giving personal guidance to the Pyongyang State Fruit Farm and the Kwail County Combined Fruit Farm I have become confident about the possibility of boosting fruit production and certain of its prospects. So I have summoned you here today to give some orientation on how to increase the production of fruit.

With a view to increasing fruit production, over recent years I personally guided the Pyongyang State Fruit Farm and the Kwail County Combined Fruit Farm. I gave field guidance to the Pyongyang State Fruit Farm on May 4 this year, too. Fruit did not thrive at this fruit farm in the past, but it has been growing well since I gave it trucks and saw that night soil was applied to the orchards, sufficient fertilizer and chemicals were supplied and irrigation was introduced. This farm envisages producing 22.5 tons of fruit per hectare this year. If this goal
is attained, 7,700 tons of fruit will be produced above the amount of last year. Fruit production at the Kwail County Combined Fruit Farm has also been increasing since I personally directed this farm. I have given field guidance to this farm on five occasions in all. This year I visited it on September 19. This farm forecasts the per-hectare yield of fruit to be 13 tons this year. If this target is reached, fruit production here will be increased by 6,695 tons compared with last year. I have been told that if it works well, this farm will be able to produce 20 tons per hectare next year.

There are 180,000 hectares of orchards in our country. This is a big asset enabling us a prosperous life; it is a good horse. If we produce only 20 tons of fruit per hectare, we will be able to yield 3,600,000 tons from 180,000 hectares of orchards. This amount is more than enough to supply two pieces of fruit to each of our population every day. If we estimate that out of the 180,000 hectares of our orchards the area of productive ones is 150,000 hectares, we will be able to produce 3 million tons of fruit. If we harvest this amount, we will be able to supply 1.5 million tons to our people and export the remaining 1.5 million tons and earn a tidy sum of money. At the rate of 500 dollars for one ton of apples, we will earn 750,000,000 dollars by selling 1.5 million tons of them. This amount is enough to buy 7.5 million tons of maize; so if we succeed in fruit-growing alone and export it, we will be able to provide food for the people. If we are efficient in fruit farming operations, we will be able to solve the problem of food for the people by importing it with the money we earn by selling fruit, even when we fail to raise grain well. The 180,000 hectares of orchard is a source of great pride for us as our country has a small area of land; it is valuable wealth of the country. However, at present we do not make proper use of this valuable asset.

The General Bureau of Fruit Farming under the Agricultural Commission does not give efficient guidance to fruit production. Therefore, the state-run fruit farms and the fruit workteams of cooperative farms neither increase the area of orchards nor tend fruit trees carefully with the result that they do not produce fruit as they
should. At present they are not enthusiastic about ensuring that there are no empty spaces in the orchards. It will be all right for fruit farms to plant saplings by orchards and grow them until they are large enough to bear fruit in two or three years and then transplant them where trees are missing, but they do not do so. Fruit farms renew fruit trees in such a way that they cut down all the trees at the same time and plant small trees instead of planting large ones. Hence, they fail to increase the production of fruit which otherwise is possible. It is clear from this alone that the General Bureau of Fruit Farming under the Agricultural Commission does not give proper guidance to fruit farming.

At present we do not do properly the work of cultivating early-ripening fruit trees such as strawberry, Prunus tomentose Thunberg, cherry, apricot and peach trees. If Pyongyang produces a large amount of these fruits and sells them, the city will become alive and the people will be very pleased.

At present proper measures are not taken to dispose of fallen fruit. On my recent visit to the Kwail County Combined Fruit Farm I found a large amount of fruit rotting under the trees, but no one carried it off, or processed it. If fruit is sliced and dried, it is good to eat, but fallen fruit is left to rot in the orchards because no one collects and dries it. I have been told that a large amount of early-ripening fruit is also left to rot because it is not disposed of promptly. Although we have a good horse, it does not prove its worth because officials in charge of economic affairs are not adept at riding it.

We must tend orchards carefully and augment fruit production as soon as possible.

I once told you to increase the area of orchards to 200,000 hectares, but it is not necessary to do so now. We will be able to solve the problem of fruit if we only take good care of the existing 180,000 hectares of orchards. Almost all of these orchards have been planted after the Pukchong Enlarged Meeting of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee. Therefore, it is possible to increase fruit production considerably if old trees are renewed and the orchards are tended carefully. Because nearly all the fruit trees of the Kwail County
Combined Fruit Farm have been renewed, they will bear a large number of fruit if only they are taken good care of.

In order to increase fruit production, a proper manuring system must be set up and the orchards must be fertilized well.

Our orchards mostly contain weathered stones, so they will not bear a large amount of fruit if they are not made fertile. Even land with weathered stones can be improved if it is fertilized and manured liberally.

A large quantity of fertilizer must be applied to the orchards. It is a good idea to apply 700 kg of nitrogenous fertilizer, 800 kg of phosphate fertilizer and 200 kg of potassic fertilizer per hectare of orchards. Hukposan fertilizer and fertilizer made by magnetizing ash as well as night soil must be applied to the orchards. The application of night soil enables fruit to grow well. The Pyongyang State Fruit Farm produces more than 20 tons of fruit per hectare by applying 11 tons of night soil, but it will be difficult for other fruit farms to spread so much. It would be best to spread ten tons of night soil per hectare of orchards, but five tons would be acceptable. If five tons of night soil is calculated in terms of another kind of manure, it will be tantamount to 20 tons. The Pyongyang State Fruit Farm applies excrement by mixing it with soil, and fruit thrives there.

A large quantity of manure must also be applied to the orchards. I instructed a long time ago that two pigs be raised per hectare of orchards and the manure produced there be spread over them. Ten tons of manure will be produced from two pigs, and if this is applied to the orchards, it will be a great amount. If five tons of night soil and ten tons of manure are spread per hectare of orchards, fruit may thrive.

Chemicals must also be sprayed over fruit trees at the right time. Timely spraying of insecticides and other chemicals is very important in fruit farming. If chemicals are not sprayed over fruit trees at the right time, they will be infested with insects and this will be detrimental to fruit farming.

The chemicals needed for fruit trees must not be bought by the state, but the fruit farms must import them with the money they earn by
selling some of the fruit they produce, to meet their own demands. It is
difficult for the state to import the chemicals needed for the orchards. If
the fruit farms sell some of the fruit they produce, they will be quite
able to import the chemicals they need. The Kwail County Combined
Fruit Farm will be able to earn 5 million dollars if it sells 10,000 tons of
fruit. This sum is enough to buy all the chemicals it needs. From now
onwards the fruit farms must import chemicals with the money they
earn by selling some of their fruit. It will be a good idea for the trading
company of the General Bureau of Fruit Farming under the
Agricultural Commission to buy the chemicals needed for the state-run
fruit farms and for the provinces to import those needed for the fruit
workteams of cooperative farms. The Agricultural Commission must
make detailed calculations of the amount of fruit needed to be exported
to provide the funds required for chemical imports and map out a plan
specifying the amount of fruit to be sold and that of the chemicals to be
bought by each fruit farm.

To increase fruit production, the orchards must also be irrigated.

Fruit trees, like grain crops, bear fruit well only when they are
watered sufficiently. It is clear from the examples of the Hwangju State
Fruit Farm and the Pyongyang State Fruit Farm that orchards do well
only when they are watered. The former has produced only five tons of
fruit per hectare this year because the farm failed to irrigate its orchards
whereas the latter properly irrigated orchards, producing 22.5 tons.
This shows that there is a great difference in fruit production when the
orchards are irrigated and when they are not watered.

Irrigation projects must be undertaken first for the orchards of the
state-run fruit farms. Nearly all the orchards of cooperative farms are
on mountain slopes, so it is difficult to carry out irrigation works for
these fields at the same time. If we are to irrigate the orchards on
mountain slopes, a large amount of money will be needed because we
have to install water pumps and lay pipes. The irrigation project for the
orchards of the Pyongyang State Fruit Farm was completed because,
after assigning the task, I continued to urge them to do this and gave an
impetus to this work; otherwise, it would not have been carried out.
To increase fruit production, it is essential to mechanize fruit farming.

A large number of Chungsong tractors must be supplied to the fruit farms. The Chollima tractor is suitable for ploughing the fields and hauling loads, but not good for fruit farming. The Chungsong tractor is able to move between fruit trees because it has a low height. It is suitable for depositing manure between fruit trees deeply and carrying fruit.

We must mass-produce Chungsong tractors by channelling our efforts into the factory which manufactures them, and concentrate on supplying them to the fruit farms.

There is as yet no clear plan regarding how to make a machine suitable for manuring fruit trees in depth. It would be a good idea to make it in such a way that it will work with the help of a Chungsong tractor.

We must also make a machine for spraying chemicals over fruit trees. A machine made with a 4-hp engine would be satisfactory. A 4-hp engine is all that is needed to carry chemicals between fruit trees and spray them.

We must also provide trucks to the fruit farms. They need these vehicles because they have to carry fruit and night soil. If fruit farms are provided with trucks, Chollima tractors must be used only for carrying loads within the premises of the farms.

The Administration Council must be held responsible for providing the machines needed for the fruit farms and organizing work for carrying night soil, and the fruit farms must take charge of the management activities concerning fruit culture.

We must grow on a large scale early-ripening fruit such as strawberries, Prunus tomentose Thunberg, cherries, apricots and peaches. Strawberries can be planted under fruit trees or on the ridges of orchards. Among the early-ripening fruit there are many kinds that thrive even when they are planted on the ridges of fields.

It is a good idea to plant Korean grapes on dikes.

Korean grape is obtained by grafting grapevines with wild grapevines. It is very tasty because it contains a large amount of sugar.
A large amount of labour is required to grow other grapes because their vines have to be buried in autumn and spread on wires or trellises in spring, but we need not do so with Korean grapes. Korean grapevines are not affected by frost in winter even if they are left as they are without being buried. Korean grape thrives if the vines are planted either on the edges of fields or on banks. Racks are made for these vines to climb on before they are manured. Korean grapevines have been planted on the banks of the Hapjang River, and 15 tons have been gathered per hectare. I would send the grapes picked there to the children of nurseries and kindergartens.

Korean grape was invented by a researcher of the Sariwon experimental fruit farm under the Institute of Fruit-growing Science of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences. He has performed a distinguished service. It would be a good idea for you present at this meeting to go and see the Korean grape growing on the banks of the Hapjang River. I encourage cultivating Korean grape over a large area. Several years ago I assigned Pyongyang the task of planting Korean grape over some 500 hectares, but it has not implemented the task as it should. Nor has it carried out my instructions to plant large grapes over some 500 hectares, complaining that vacant lots and something else are unavailable.

There is a large area of vacant lots suitable for planting fruit trees in the Sangwon area. If we register such vacant lots in Pyongyang, they will probably amount to tens of thousands of hectares.

Our officials do not know how to make use of vacant lots. The Chinese even make use of all the pools. During my visit to China in 1991 I went to Yangzhou. People there were growing lotuses in all pools and breeding fish there. I asked them what the lotuses were used for. They told me that their seeds, roots and leaves were edible and added that if fat was roasted wrapped in their leaves, it tasted good. At that time I ate this dish and found it tasty. Lotus seeds are like a chestnut and their roots resemble a yam. Lotuses are propagated by cutting roots and planting them.

Since we have a small area of cultivated land and our population
continues to increase, we must make good use of vacant land. There are many vacant lots suitable for growing fruit in all parts of our country. The city of Pyongyang and provinces must find a large area of vacant land and plant strawberries, *Prunus tomentose Thunberg*, cherry trees as well as apricot trees and Korean grapevines. It would be a good idea to plant these trees by giving an assignment to each unit. For instance, it will do if each central district of Pyongyang and every outlying district of the city is given an assignment with regard to the kinds of fruit trees and the area where they should be planted. Grocers’ shops may also be given assignments to plant fruit trees. The Agricultural Commission should take measures for each province to grow early-ripening fruit according to the number of its population.

In addition to growing early-ripening fruit on a wide area, we must take measures to pick it and carry it to greengroceries without delay.

Fruit must be packed well. Because fruit is now carried by truck without being packed, a large amount of it becomes damaged. In order to pack fruit well, we must make the regulations clear about packing and exercise rigid inspections. We must establish a discipline under which only well-packed fruit will be passed for transportation and poorly-packed fruit will be rejected.

We must make a large number of flip-top cans to contain fruit syrup. All the provinces must install the equipment for making these cans. Pyongyang must first install the equipment capable of making 150 million cans and, following its production of such cans, other provinces should also install similar equipment. The machine-tool factory concerned must make this equipment. We should import from abroad the aluminium plate needed for making the lids of flip-top cans. The lids of the cans made of aluminium plate are easy to open, but those made of steel plate are difficult to open and, therefore, are inconvenient. It is advisable for each province to earn money and buy the aluminium plate needed for making such lids to meet its own demand.

Since it is impossible to make a large amount of flip-top cans immediately, it would be a good idea to sell fruit syrup either in plastic bottles or in glass bottles.
We must supply fruit properly. We strive to increase fruit production and pack it well in order to provide the people with plenty of fruit. Only when people eat fruit regularly, can they take in enough vitamins A, B and C. Only when one takes in sufficient vitamin C will one’s teeth become strong. In particular, when children are provided with fruit regularly, their teeth will become strong and they will be well-nourished. Since the state is responsible for bringing up the children in our country, we must pay particular attention to their health. It is an intrinsic advantage of our own style of socialism that the state takes responsibility for bringing up the children from their nursery and kindergarten days until they leave senior middle schools, providing them with good food and giving them free education.

Because our children are brought up under the tutelage of the state, I pay special attention to their health. Ever since we established nurseries and kindergartens, I have been stressing the need to provide sufficient nutriments to the children and have taken all the necessary measures. One year when I went to Kyongsong County, North Hamgyong Province, I emphasized to the chief secretaries of provincial Party committees the need to set up children’s food factories in many parts of the country and provide the children with tasty and nutritious foodstuffs.

At present you are not carrying on the production of children’s food as you should. You must not do so. If children are not provided with sufficient meat and fruit, they will not become tall. Since the children are brought up under the care of the state, the chief secretaries of provincial Party committees should take responsibility for their care. They are concurrently chairmen of provincial people’s committees. Therefore, they must take care of the children’s health and ensure that sufficient nutriment is provided to them.

To ensure children grow up in a healthy way, we must provide them with fruit and meat. I intend to emphasize the problem of providing them with meat in future when we discuss the matter of stock and poultry farming. I have emphasized on many occasions to the Chairman of the Fisheries Commission the need to provide the
children of nurseries and kindergartens with regular supplies of fish. I have been told that recently they have been provided with it.

We must also provide the children with goat’s milk or soya milk. It is appropriate to provide soya milk together with goat’s milk to those who have been weaned.

At the same time as providing the children with sufficient nutrients, we should prevent them from contracting diseases. The Aeguk Prophylactic Factory now under construction at Thongil Street will be commissioned soon. When it is put into operation, it will produce serum to prevent hepatitis. If an injection of the anti-hepatitis serum is given to a baby, it is said, the baby will not contract hepatitis. Korean women of commerce in Japan have sent the equipment to the motherland, so they can make these fluids. We are very grateful to them for this. Some of these women are said to be coming to take part in the inaugural ceremony of the Aeguk Prophylactic Factory. When they arrive, I intend to meet them and arrange a banquet for them. If injections to prevent hepatitis are produced, an end may be put to this disease in our country. In future, while running the Aeguk Prophylactic Factory, we will be able to make and install some more items of similar equipment by our own efforts.

We must first do those things which are for the good of the children and then do other things. We must also supply fruit to the children first and then to the adults.

It would be a good idea to provide a daily supply of two pieces of fruit to each child and one for every adult. It will be sufficient to provide daily two apples or pears to every primary school and senior middle school pupil up to the fifth grade and one to every sixth-grade student, the graduating class, of the latter school and to each adult. It will be advisable to fix the norms of fruit supply in this way. We must supply fruit first to the children and other citizens of Pyongyang in line with these norms. The fruit produced by the Pyongyang State Fruit Farm and the Kwail County Combined Fruit Farm alone will be enough to provide, from this year, a daily supply of two apples or pears to every nursery and kindergarten child and each pupil of primary and
senior middle schools and one to every adult.

Provincial seats should also supply fruit to their children and other residents. North Phyongan Province is said to have many pear trees and a small number of apple trees; it is advisable for this province to produce and supply large quantities of pears. In olden times our country grew pears over a wide area, but it cultivated apples on a small area. The history of apple cultivation in our country is not long. There was only a small number of small apples, but not the large apples we see today. Therefore, from ancient times people put pears on altars in our country. Our pears are tasty and easy to store because their peels are thick. Pears thrive in all parts of our country.

North Phyongan Province should, through discussions with technicians, take measures for storing the pears produced by the fruit farms for a long time so as to supply them to the children and other residents of the provincial seat on a regular basis.

Providing them with regular supplies of fruit requires that fruit production bases be built well. These people must be supplied with fruit produced by the state-run fruit farms. The areas of orchards owned by the state-run fruit farms throughout the country are over 33,000 hectares of which productive orchards amount to 22,724 hectares. This is not a small area. If the night soil from the provincial seats is carried and spread over the orchards of the state-run fruit farms, we will be fully able to produce large quantities of fruit and supply it to the children and other residents there.

It will do if fruit produced by the orchards of cooperative farms is provided to the children and other inhabitants of county seats and ri. It will be a good idea for counties to provide fruit first to the children and other dwellers of some two ri according to the norms and gradually supply it to all their children and residents. If we are to provide fruit to the children and other people in county seats and ri in accordance with the norms, we must examine the area of orchards and the amount of fruit produced in each farm and work out a detailed plan.

Next, I will refer to the need to plant forests of oil-producing trees on a large scale.
It is very important to make the best use of the mountains of our country. It has many mountains and a small area of cultivated land. If we plant forests of oil-producing trees by making use of the mountains and take good care of them, we can produce a large amount of cooking oil and solve the problem of oil for industrial use to a considerable extent.

I have been emphasizing for a long time the need to do the work of creating forests of oil-yielding trees well. If officials had planted a wide area of these forests and taken good care of them in accordance with the Party’s policy, we would already have solved the problem of oil and would be leading a better life. Nevertheless, when I emphasized the need to create such forests, they pretended to do something for some time, but they abandoned the work. Therefore, this work is not going on well. Even the existing forests are not tended carefully so that a small amount of fruit is gathered and no amount of oil worth mentioning is produced. The forests of pine-nut trees we have created alone amount to 400,000 hectares. This is not a small area at all. If we estimate that 400 kg of pine nuts can be picked per hectare and 38 kg of oil extracted from this, we will be able to produce 15,200 tons of oil from the 400,000 hectares of pine-nut forests. However, because these forests are not properly taken care of, only a small amount of pine nuts is gathered and pine-nut oil is not produced. Because of the shortage of oil for industrial use, we cannot produce various paints as we should, and passenger trains look shabby because they are not painted when they need it. Nevertheless, our officials do not make every effort to solve the problem of oil for industrial use. If we establish a large area of oil-producing forests and take good care of them, we will be fully able to find solutions to the problems of cooking oil and oil for industrial use. We must not think of importing oil from abroad to meet our needs, but should solve the oil problem by our own efforts by planting oil-producing forests on a wide area in the mountains and tending them carefully. There are many mountains in our country suitable for creating such forests. Many of the mountains are bare because saplings have not been planted in the places of those trees which were felled to meet our demand for timber. It would be a good
idea to plant a large number of oil-producing trees in these mountains.

In order to establish a wide area of oil-producing forests, we should decide on proper species of trees through discussions with experts.

What is important in creating these forests is to plant those trees from which we can harvest fruit in a short time and produce a large amount of oil. This is the way to prove their worth quickly and solve the problem of oil. We should give thought to planting good oil-producing trees and tending them well, obtaining by our own efforts the oil needed for making various paints in five years. For the time being we will have to buy some palm oil from abroad, but we cannot continue to do so.

It is a good idea to plant tall oil-producing trees like pine-nut trees as well as short ones such as thornless ashes to suit the natural and geographical conditions of our country. So far as tall oil-producing trees are concerned, it would seem a good idea to plant such trees as pine-nut trees and walnut trees. Evodia Daniellii Benn bears fruit a long time after it is planted, but the recently ameliorated one is said to bear fruit in three years. It would be advisable to plant such short trees as thornless ashes and bush clovers on a wide area. It is said that bush clovers bear fruit two years after they are planted and that two tons of fruit can be produced per hectare and 200 kg of oil can be obtained from this. It is quite good. Korean pepper bushes have many prickles and it is difficult to pick fruit from them.

In order to create a large area of forests of oil-producing trees, definite tasks must be assigned to factories and enterprises as well as to schools for their care. We have planted a fairly wide area of these forests. Nevertheless, we have not benefited from them much since no one takes the responsibility for their care. Even if a larger area of these forests is created in future, we will not be able to solve the problem of oil if no one tends them.

It would be a good idea to give factories and enterprises as well as schools the assignment of planting and caring for forests of oil-producing trees so that they will do this in a responsible manner. I have summoned the Chairman of the Education Commission to this
meeting to give the task of planting and caring for these forests to all schools across the country. The Education Commission should encourage all the educational institutions throughout the country, from primary schools to universities and colleges, to create and take care of 20 hectares of these forests. This will not be so difficult. It would be advisable for each school to plant and care for ten hectares of tall forests and ten hectares of short forests.

Factories and enterprises must also be made to plant and tend these forests. All the factories and enterprises with more than 300 employees should each create and care for 20 hectares. Such factories and enterprises are said to be more than 10,000 throughout the country. We should investigate their exact total number. If 10,000 schools across the country create 200,000 hectares of oil-producing forests, each planting 20 hectares, and if 10,000 factories and enterprises establish 200,000 hectares, each creating 20 hectares, their total area will be 400,000 hectares. If we take good care of this area, we will solve a big problem. It is not very difficult for factories and enterprises to plant and take care of these forests. All that is needed is to plant trees on the tree-planting day, weed the forests on Fridays, designated as labour days, and gather the fruit in autumn.

We must also take measures to pick and process the fruit of oil-producing trees at the right time. We should closely examine the kinds and amount of oil needed for the production of the painting materials necessary for the railway sector as well as for factories and enterprises. And then we should adopt measures to plant the necessary oil-producing trees and pick and process their fruit. The target figures you have worked out are not realistic. You should map out the plan on the creation and tending of oil-producing forests in keeping with the actual conditions on the basis of acquiring a full picture of the situation at the subordinate levels and accurately considering everything. You should give a definite task to each province with regard to the amount of fruit of oil-producing trees it should pick and process.

The Administration Council should push ahead with the work of planting and caring for oil-producing forests. If we take proper
measures with regard to this and persist in this work, we will be able to solve the oil problem and become more prosperous.

We should also do the work of creating forests for industrial use well.

This is the way to provide the timber needed both for making boxes to pack fruit and for paper production.

This year fruit farming is successful and so we expect to pick large quantities of fruit including apples. However, the trouble is that we have no boxes to pack them. If we are to pack the 70,000 tons of fruit produced by the Kwail County Combined Fruit Farm, we will need hundreds of thousands of boxes. At present we cannot produce sufficient paper because of the shortage of timber. As a matter of fact, it is important to solve the problem of caustic soda in paper production, but it is more important to solve the problem of timber. As we are unable to produce enough paper because of the shortage of timber, we cannot print all the books that are needed.

We must solve the problem of timber needed for industrial production by doing well the work of establishing forests for industrial use. It would be a good idea to plant poplars, fast-growing trees, over tens of thousands of hectares in a planned way. According to my experiment with this tree planted on the bank of the Taedong River, it grew to be an armful in girth in ten years. Such big poplars can be used both for making fruit-packing boxes and as raw material for paper. We do not need good timber in making paper. They say it is possible to produce 200 cubic metres of poplar timber per hectare if we grow the trees well. This is not a small amount. We should take definite measures for making these boxes by growing poplar and other fast-growing trees over a wide area.

Now I will speak about the problem of electricity production.

Although our country has created a capacity for generating millions of kilowatts, hydroelectric power stations are not run as they should because of a shortage of water. Because we had little rain this summer, the reservoirs of hydroelectric power stations are short of water. Without water, it is impossible to operate hydroelectric power stations.
The only way to increase the output of electric power for the moment is to run thermal power stations at full capacity. Nevertheless, the Administration Council is not giving any thought to this. I have been told that the Chongchongang Thermal Power Station has planned to produce 70,000 kw less electricity than its capacity since it sends steam capable of producing this amount of electric power to another factory. This is wrong. It is absurd to leave generators idle in order to supply steam to another factory when there is a shortage of electricity. If the power station is unable to generate electricity at this capacity because it has to send steam to another factory, it should operate all its generators even if this means having to install more boilers; it should not leave them idle.

The plan with regard to electricity production submitted by the Administration Council is tantamount to one proposing to draw back, yielding to difficulties. At present senior economic officials think of moving backward, submitting to hardships, instead of thinking about breaking through them. When soldiers fighting the enemy start retreating because the circumstances are unfavourable and difficult, they cannot win the battle and eventually there will be no place for them to retreat to. On the other hand, if they fight bravely by displaying the revolutionary spirit to a high degree, they will be able to win victory under any difficult circumstances.

When our soldiers were engaged in the battle to defend Height 1211 during the Fatherland Liberation War, some commanders asked for reserves when the enemy intensified its offensive. However, I did not send them reserves although I had them. As the following scene appears in the feature film “Revolutionary”, I told Comrade Choe Hyon one day: The reserve lies in heightening the ideological determination and combat morale of the soldiers. I’ll send you beans. Grow bean sprouts and provide the combatants with soup made from them and take good care of them. Encouraged by this, the fighters on Height 1211 waged do-or-die battles against the enemy and defended the height to the end under the slogan, “Let us not yield even an inch of land to the enemy!”
Once some soldiers fighting on the frontline sent me a letter in which they expressed their desire to shoot as many shells as they wished. On the night of the very day I received the letter, I went to a munitions factory scores of kilometres away. There I found that they did not actively press ahead with the production of shells under the pretext that their circumstances were difficult. I gathered the factory officials and told them that the soldiers at the front were requesting a large number of shells, and asked them how it would be possible to produce more shells for the front. However, the manager of the factory, yielding to difficulties and drawing back, told me it was difficult to do so. Then one official rose from his seat and said that it would be fully possible to increase their production if only some additional work force was sent to them. Hearing this, I saw to it that discharged soldiers were quickly sent to that factory and roused the workers there, making it possible to produce a large amount of shells. Because the workers of that factory then turned out large quantities of shells overcoming the hardships, we could successfully conduct the battle on Height 351. At that time the enemy, occupying this height which was important from a tactical point of view, was threatening the areas of Kosong and Mt. Kumgang. If we failed to take this height, there would be a danger of yielding those areas to the enemy. Under the backing of powerful gun fire, the brave men of the People’s Army seized Height 351 by waging a do-or-die battle. Because they occupied this height, we were able to defend the area around Kosong.

Just as the soldiers of the People’s Army fought during the Fatherland Liberation War under the slogan “Let us not yield even an inch of land to the enemy!” our officials now should work hard to increase the output of electric power under the slogan “Let us not flinch even a step in electricity generation!”

In order to increase the production of electric power, officials should work by displaying the revolutionary spirit of making strenuous efforts. Needless to say, it is not easy to boost electricity generation under the present circumstances. However, we should sharply increase it by all possible means. Unless the problem of electric-power is
solved, it is impossible to operate factories and enterprises fully and accelerate economic work as a whole. Electric power is, in effect, production and production is, in effect, electricity. Officials in charge of economic affairs must increase the output of electricity as soon as possible by tapping and utilizing all reserves and possibilities with the determination to break through any difficulties by their own efforts.

As an immediate task, we must run the thermal power stations at full capacity.

We should operate the Chongchongang Thermal Power Station at full capacity. Should steam be insufficient, we have to install more boilers; if there is a shortage of coal, we have to provide more coal and if the quality of coal is low, we have to build a dressing plant.

The Pukchang Thermal Power Complex should also generate more electric power by operating its generators at full capacity. This complex should ensure the capacity operations of its generators by taking measures to provide enough cooling water if it is in short supply and quickly repair any equipment in need of repair.

The Pyongyang Thermal Power Complex should not decrease the output of its electricity in winter because it has to provide steam needed for heating in this season. This complex must take measures to maintain capacity operations of all its generators in winter while supplying the steam. To this end, it should install more boilers for heating.

In order to run the thermal power stations smoothly, their equipment must be repaired when necessary. The Administration Council should unconditionally provide steel and other materials needed for the repair of the equipment of these power stations so that they can do the work as soon as possible.

Coal should also be provided smoothly to the thermal power stations. Almost all our thermal power stations are fed with coal, so they can be run at full capacity only when enough coal is provided. The Administration Council and the provinces concerned must provide coal to these power stations regularly by trying every possible means so that they will produce electricity according to their capacity.

The hydroelectric power stations should produce power by running
their generators to the extent of the volume of water that is available. It will be difficult to generate a large amount of electricity since there is not much water in the reservoirs of these power stations.

If we are to solve the problem of electricity, we should complete as soon as possible the power stations now under construction. At present you do not do much work dilly-dallying over their construction. You did a little in the way of building the Songwon Dam and the Kumyagang Power Station, but have given it up halfway. You are not accelerating the building of the Kumsangsan Power Station, either. You should step up the construction of the power stations and finish it as soon as possible instead of merely talking about the shortage of electricity.

We must also speed up the building of the Kumsangsan Power Station and complete it as soon as possible. The Minister of the People’s Armed Forces told that it would be difficult to finish the Imnam Dam even in eight years if it is built by filling it with rocks, and proposed that, if I allowed it to be constructed with concrete, the People’s Army would take upon itself the building of the railway for carrying cement and finish the project in a few years. So I permitted him to do so. I have been told that the Imnam Dam can be built in a short time if rock and concrete are used in combination. It is said that other countries also build the dams of power stations by combining rock-fill and concrete dams. We should accelerate the project of the Imnam Dam by introducing appropriate methods. The Administration Council and the commissions and ministries concerned should give proper guidance to the construction of the Kumsangsan Power Station and provide cement and other materials on schedule. It is said that cement is not produced as it should because of the shortage of electricity. We must supply electricity to those factories which are producing cement needed for the building of power stations so that they will provide cement to their construction sites.

The Administration Council should examine the power stations under construction one by one and adopt measures for finishing them in a short time.
Today I am very glad to see you, Korean businesswomen from Japan. You have visited your socialist homeland at a good time.

In the homeland work is now under way to unearth and reconstruct the Tomb of King Tangun, the founder of our nation.

I saw that King Tangun’s Tomb was unearthed. The remains of King Tangun and his wife were excavated in Kangdong County, Pyongyang. We have now verified that Tangun was over 170 centimetres tall. It is said that in those days the average height of Koreans was some 160 centimetres. Tangun was therefore a man of above-average stature and seems to have had a powerful build.

Our archaeologists have measured Tangun’s remains by modern dating methods and these are reported to be 5,011 years old. His remains were preserved for all those years without decomposing because they were buried in a limestone area.

As a result of the excavation of Tangun’s remains and scientific verification of their age, it has been clarified that Tangun was not a mythological being but one that really existed. Having occupied Korea, the Japanese imperialists perpetuated the myth about Tangun in order to deny the fact of his Korea much earlier than Japan and to justify their “theory of Koreans and Japanese being of the same
descent”. In consequence, Tangun was known to our people as a mythological being. However, the mythology that Tangun was born of a relationship between Hwanung who had descended from heaven and a bear that had changed into a woman should of course be ignored. Now that the remains of Tangun have been unearthed and scientifically proved to be 5,011 years old, our nation can justly take pride in being a homogeneous nation with a history of 5,000 years.

The unearthing of King Tangun’s Tomb and the evidence of his remains brings great joy and pride to our entire nation. At this news, the people in the homeland could hardly repress their excitement and are now full of pride to know that the Koreans can be regarded as a wise and civilized nation that built their country earlier than any other nation in the East. South Korean people are also greatly interested in our report of the unearthing of King Tangun’s Tomb, giving publicity to it by their news media. This shows that it is impossible to split our nation whose founder is King Tangun. You had better read the report on the unearthing of King Tangun’s Tomb.

We intend to reconstruct King Tangun’s Mausoleum in such a way that is larger and more majestic than the Mausoleum of King Tongmyong, the founder of Koguryo. The Committee for the Restoration of King Tangun’s Mausoleum has been formed and is now making the necessary preparations taking the opinions and advice of archaeologists into consideration. We intend to build King Tangun’s Mausoleum with stones in the style of a pyramid and preserve the remains of King Tangun and his wife in glass coffins. In addition, we plan to make a door at the back of the mausoleum so that visitors will be able to enter it and see King Tangun’s relics as they please.

When King Tangun’s Mausoleum is rebuilt, we intend to invite believers in the Taejong religion from south Korea and show it to them. The south Korean Taejong religion worships King Tangun. The believers in this religion will want to see the Mausoleum of King Tangun and his relics. The leader of the Taejong religion will be delighted to see the mausoleum. So I told the Chairperson of the Central Committee of the Korean Chondoist Chongu Party to invite
believers in the Taejong religion from south Korea. At present these believers are using the Tangun era with the year of King Tangun’s birth as the beginning of the era. Now that King Tangun’s remains have been unearthed and proved to be 5,011 years old, the Tangun era should be revised accordingly.

The Women’s Union of Chongryon and Korean businesswomen in Japan have done many good things for their socialist homeland. During the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students held in Pyongyang in 1989, a large number of Korean women in Japan came to their motherland and rendered active service and contributed to enlivening the festival atmosphere. The Women’s Union of Chongryon and Korean businesswomen in Japan gave much assistance to the modernization of the Specialized Digestive Organs Hospital of the Red Cross General Hospital of Korea and to the operation of the Mangyongdae Schoolchildren’s Palace. The businesswomen also presented a modern prophylactic factory to their motherland. This factory was constructed and has gone into operation. It will make a great contribution to the promotion of people’s health in the motherland. I am grateful to you, Korean businesswomen in Japan, for the assistance you have given to the socialist homeland in various ways with warm love for the country. I hope that in future, too, you will do a lot of good things for your socialist motherland.

As I said before, the motherland is like your mother. A mother gives birth to a child and brings it up in her benevolent embrace; the motherland is a cradle that provides people with a genuine life of happiness. It is children’s moral obligation to respect their mother. Likewise, it is a noble duty of all Koreans to support their socialist motherland with all their efforts. Although living in a foreign land, the Korean businesswomen in Japan must work hard to make their motherland more prosperous with a high sense of awareness that they are legitimate masters of the socialist motherland.

The Korean businesswomen in Japan should whole-heartedly support Chongryon.

Chongryon is a patriotic organization that is fighting for the
socialist motherland. Support for Chongryon, therefore, means support for the socialist motherland. You should unite more of our women compatriots from all walks of life behind Chongryon and the Women’s Union and always take the lead in the patriotic work of Chongryon. You should make strenuous efforts to develop democratic national education in particular. I have heard that our women compatriots are enthusiastic about the love-our-school movement. I hope you will continue to develop this kind of work.

The Korean women in Japan must educate their children well. There is a saying that a good man has a good mother behind him. Our women compatriots have a heavy responsibility to bring up their children to be good Koreans. If our women compatriots bring up their children to be true Koreans, our compatriots, though living in Japan, will be able to carry forward their national traditions and patriotic traditions firmly.

You want to do service work in the homeland as you did at the time of the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students. It will be a good thing to do so if there is an opportunity in the future. But it would be difficult now to organize such a world festival of youth and students. This festival was of great significance in promoting friendship and solidarity among the youth and students of different countries of the world and in educating them. Although it is now impracticable to organize such a festival in the future, it would be a good idea to conduct a new world festival of youth and students, centring on youth and students of the non-aligned countries and the third world nations.

If you have not paid a visit to the Mangyongdae Schoolchildren’s Palace, you should visit it now. If you do, you will see clearly how good the socialist system in the homeland is.

Every year I attend the schoolchildren’s New Year gathering and spend the New Year’s Day with them. The schoolchildren from Chongryon also participate in the gathering with their counterparts in their homeland. It is the greatest pleasure for me to attend their New Year gathering and see the talented young people.

In our country everyone can develop his or her talent to the full. In capitalist society, children of the rich cannot develop their talent
because some idle away their time; the children of the poor have less money to improve their education although they may be talented. In our society, however, the state is responsible for the education of the children so that all the children can develop their talent to the full. There are many technicians and talented people among those who have returned to their homeland from Japan, because they have learnt to their heart’s content under the socialist system in our country.

It is regrettable that you were unable to climb Mt. Paektu to see the revolutionary battle sites because of the poor weather during your visit. Visitors to the battle sites should climb up Mt. Paektu and see Lake Chon. The lake is indeed magnificent. Nowhere in the world is there such a beautiful and magnificent lake on the summit of such a high mountain as Mt. Paektu. The sight of the lake from Mt. Paektu inspires every visitor with love for the country. Without seeing Lake Chon on Mt. Paektu, you cannot claim that you have seen Mt. Paektu.

If you want to see the lake, you should come to the homeland in summer. August is the best month to see it. You had better come again to the homeland in August next year and see Lake Chon on Mt. Paektu then.

It would have been even better if you had visited Mt. Kumgang and Mt. Myohyang on this occasion. These mountains, together with Mts. Paektu, Kuwol and Jiri, rank among the five famous mountains in our country. Of the five famous mountains, four are in the north and one is in the south.

The Great Buddhist Priest Sosan in ancient times said that Mt. Myohyang was the best of the five famous mountains in our country. According to him, Mt. Paektu is high and magnificent but it is cold there, Mt. Kumgang is exquisite and beautiful but not magnificent, Mt. Jiri is large and unattractive, and Mt. Kuwol is beautiful but too small. He said that Mt. Myohyang was the best because it was beautiful, magnificent and large. Thus, he lived in Mt. Myohyang.

Although the Buddhist Priest was in a robe, he was an ardent patriot who knew how to dedicate himself to the cause of the country. During the Imjin Patriotic War provoked by Japanese invaders in 1592, he
paid a visit to King Sonjo, who had taken refuge in Uiju, and pledged
to summon monks from all parts of the country to destroy the enemy
on the battlefield. He organized an army of Buddhist priests and as its
commander fought the Japanese invaders, centring on Pyongyang.
Kim Ung So, in cooperation with the priests’ army under the command
of Saint Sosan, took back the walled city of Pyongyang from the
enemy. It was no simple matter, in fact, for a priest to organize an army
by mobilizing his fellow priests from all parts of the country. He was a
renowned priest in those years.

After repulsing the Japanese to the south, the saint selected
priest-soldiers and got them to escort King Sonjo to Seoul. Speaking
highly of his distinguished service, the king offered him a high office,
but the saint declined the offer and went back to Mt. Myohyang. At
that time he was over seventy years old. He was so courageous and
intelligent that people called him Buddha incarnate, so it is said.

In Mt. Myohyang there is the Pohyon Temple where Abbot Sosan
lived. The complete collection of Buddhist Scriptures with more than
80,000 articles of Sutras, Laws and Treatises is on exhibition in that
temple. The main building of the temple was bombed by the US
imperialists during the Fatherland Liberation War but was
reconstructed to its original state.

We have laid out Mts. Paektu, Kumgang and Myohyang as
recreation grounds for the people and are now laying out Mt. Kuwol as
such. Mt. Kuwol has many legends about King Tangun. If you come to
the motherland next year, you will see the sights of this mountain.

You had better visit the motherland every year. A large number of
Korean compatriots are now living in Japan and America. It is a fine
thing for them to visit their socialist homeland. It is said that all the
Korean compatriots in Japan wish to visit their homeland. We must see
that their wishes come true. The Koreans in Japan can visit their
homeland by air or by sea, so they will find it quite convenient to do so.

I believe that the Korean businesswomen in Japan will work hard
for the patriotic cause of Chongryon and for the prosperity and
development of their socialist motherland.
ON THE DIRECTION OF RECONSTRUCTING TANGUN’S MAUSOLEUM

Speech at a Consultative Meeting of the Officials in Charge of the Reconstruction of Tangun’s Mausoleum

October 20, 1993

At today’s consultative meeting, I shall speak about the reconstruction of Tangun’s Tomb.

Reconstructing Tangun’s Tomb properly is important in showing that our country has had a time-honoured history of five thousand years, that our nation is a homogeneous nation that has maintained a single bloodline since its emergence, and that Pyongyang, the revolutionary capital, is the Koreans’ birthplace where Tangun was born.

Archaeologists have recently excavated Tangun’s Tomb, discovered the remains of Tangun and his wife, and proved that the remains date back 5,011 years from now. As a result, it has been scientifically proved that Tangun was not a mythical being but the Koreans’ father, a person who really existed and founded Ancient Korea. If we reconstruct his mausoleum well, the mausoleum will help the world to know that the Korean nation has a history of five thousand years, and it will also prove effective in educating the south Korean people and our compatriots abroad.

At the news of the discovery of Tangun’s remains and their age our people are now greatly delighted and proud of the fact that the Koreans are a resourceful nation with a history of five thousand years. Our
disinterment and discovery of his remains are creating a great sensation not only among the south Korean people and our compatriots abroad but also in Japan and China.

Tangun has been talked about as a mythical being until now. This is because our ancestors created many legends about him by regarding the father of the nation as sacred. There are many legends about him in Mt. Myohyang and Mt. Kuwol, and in my childhood I heard a lot of legends about him from my father. The recent disinterment of his remains and the scientific dating of the remains have made it clear that Tangun, whose story has been known and handed down only in the form of legends, really existed five thousand years ago.

Overjoyed at the report that our archaeologists had excavated Tangun’s remains from his tomb and proved that the remains are 5,011 years old, I asked Comrade Kim Jong Il whether it was true. He said it was true and explained that Tangun’s remains had been discovered from his tomb and that the remains had been scientifically dated through dozens of measurements with modern dating equipment by the Archaeological Institute and many other research organizations. According to their investigations, Tangun was over 170 centimetres tall, a man of above-average height with a large build compared to his contemporaries. The dating of the remains is said to be very accurate because they were measured with modern equipment by the method of electron-spin resonance, one of the most sophisticated techniques of modern physics. Therefore, anyone who recognizes modern science is bound to believe information on the dating of the remains. Denying it would amount to denying the most advanced techniques of modern science.

The discovery of Tangun’s remains from his tomb and the establishment of the proof of his real existence five thousand years ago are a great success of historic significance in confirming the long history and the homogeneous character of our nation and its origins. Through the excavation of Tangun’s Tomb, our people have discovered the father of the nation and can take legitimate pride in the fact that ours is an advanced, civilized country in the Orient with a
time-honoured history of five thousand years and that our nation is a homogeneous nation that descended from Tangun. The scientific establishment of the fact that Tangun’s Tomb is the tomb of the founder of Ancient Korea, has substantiated the belief that the tombs of all the founders of Ancient Korea and its succeeding states, Koguryo and Koryo, are located in the northern half of Korea. The Tomb of King Tangun, the founder of Ancient Korea, and the Tomb of King Tongmyong, the founder of Koguryo, are in Pyongyang, and the Tomb of King Wang Kon, the founder of Koryo, is in Kaesong. This is convincing evidence proving the authenticity of the nation’s birthplace.

Occupying Korea in the past, the Japanese imperialists made heinous attempts to obliterate the history of Tangun and ancient Joson in order to reduce our country’s standing to that of a permanent colony. After their occupation of Korea, the Japanese imperialists robbed our people of the books on the history of Tangun and on the ancient history of our country and burnt them. In the end they even concocted the doctrine of the “same ancestry and same stock” in an attempt to obliterate the Korean nation. Because of their wicked acts in attempting to obliterate the Korean nation, valuable historical materials of our country and the heritage of our national culture were lost, and national traditions were trampled upon. Some people became the stooges of Japanese imperialists and supported their doctrine of the “same ancestry and same stock” aimed at destroying our nation.

Before liberation, Choe Nam Son and Ri Kwang Su betrayed our nation and clamoured about the “same ancestry and same stock” and “oneness of Korea and Japan” in an attempt to paralyze the spirit of our nation. In subservience to the Japanese imperialists, they even prepared and scattered hand bills to entice our anti-Japanese guerrillas into surrender.

Hong Myong Hui, one of the renowned intellectuals in those days, was conscientious and opposed to the Japanese imperialist doctrine of the “same ancestry and same stock”. Ri Ton Hwa, too, refused to support their doctrine. He wrote and published many articles while
working as the editor of the *Kaebyok* (Creation), the monthly of the Chondoist religion.

Although the Japanese imperialists occupied Korea and viciously pursued the policy of obliterating our nation, they failed to destroy our nation.

The excavation of Tangun’s Tomb and the discovery of his remains is the great victory of archaeology in our country and an immense pride of the Korean nation.

Our historians must deepen their research on the history of Tangun and ancient Joson on the basis of the recent archaeological successes. The ancient history of our nation was distorted in no small measure by the sycophants and scholars on the payroll of Japanese imperialists. We must correct all the distortions and mistakes about the history of Tangun and Ancient Korea from a firm standpoint of Juche.

Now that it has been scientifically proved that Tangun was a real man, the myth that he was born of the marriage between Hwanung from the sky and a bear that had changed into a woman should of course be ignored.

Since it has been proved that Tangun was the father of the Korean nation, his tomb must be reconstructed to be worthy of the mausoleum of the founder of the state.

We have splendidly reconstructed the Tomb of King Tongmyong, the founder of Koguryo, and are now reconstructing the Tomb of King Wang Kon, the founder of Koryo. I instructed that the project for the reconstruction of King Wang Kon’s Tomb must be finished by the end of this year so that the ceremony of the completion of the project can be held on January 30 next year, that is on his birthday. If we reconstruct Tangun’s Tomb, we shall have rebuilt all the tombs of the founders of Korea.

Tangun’s Tomb must be reconstructed in such a way as to be larger and more magnificent than that of King Tongmyong because it is the tomb of the father of the Korean nation. Tangun’s Mausoleum should be made higher and larger than King Tongmyong’s and built in a stone structure of a pyramid type rather than an earthen mound as is the case
with King Tongmyong’s Tomb, so as to give prominence to the founder of the Korean nation.

Reconstructing Tangun’s stone mausoleum will need a large amount of stone, though not much steel. Stones should be processed skilfully in view of the importance of the stone structure of the mausoleum to be reconstructed. Because of its large size the hilltop will have to be cut off a great deal. This work may take you some time, but the high quality of the project must be ensured without undue haste.

A door for visitors should be made at the back of the mausoleum, and the room should be large enough to accommodate two coffin supports and many visitors.

You must take thorough measures to preserve the remains of Tangun permanently. His remains are the proof of the fact that our nation has a history of five thousand years and a time-honoured culture. Therefore, ensuring the permanent preservation of the remains must be basic to the reconstruction of the mausoleum. The remains of King Tangun and his Queen should be put in glass cases, sealed airtight for permanent preservation and then placed in the chamber of the mausoleum.

Tangun’s remains should be placed to face the south on the right side in the chamber, and the Queen’s remains on the left side. According to the ancient customs of wedding ceremonies and the celebrations of the sixtieth birthday in our country, the man stood on the eastern side facing the south, and the woman on the western side. This can be inferred from the Chinese character 好 which means being good. This character is the combination of 女 which means a woman and 子 which means a man. In this combination, the letter meaning a woman is written on the left side, and the letter meaning a man on the right side. However, when viewed from the standpoint of the man, the woman stands on the right side of the man. Such an arrangement is called placing man on the left and woman on the right. After the death of the couple, their positions are changed with each other, so that the husband’s body is placed on the right side of his wife’s and the wife’s
body on the left side. King Kongmin’s Tomb is an example of this arrangement.

The mural paintings in Tangun’s Tomb should not be reproduced in view of the difficulty of reproduction. Judging from an ancient book referring to the existence of mural paintings in Tangun’s Tomb, there is no doubt that the tomb had mural paintings. But there is no trace of them in the tomb at present, so there is no knowing what the mural paintings looked like, and it would be difficult to reproduce them. An artist, however skilful, would find it impossible to reproduce the mural paintings of Ancient Korea without ever having seen them. Not because modern artists are less talented than those in Ancient Korea but because they have never seen mural paintings of Ancient Korea, it would be impossible for them to paint pictures as well as their ancient counterparts no matter how they awaken their imagination. Even if good pictures were to be painted on the walls of Tangun’s Mausoleum, these would show no more than that there had been pictures, so they would have no historical value. It will be better, therefore, not to paint pictures there, but to explain to visitors that although there were mural paintings in the tomb in the ancient times, they have all faded.

The mural paintings of Anak Tomb No. 3 are valuable because they still remain as they were. These paintings vividly show the customs of the period, for instance, the hanging of hunted animals. Your report on the establishment of the identity of Anak Tomb No. 3 as that of King Ko Kuk Won of Koguryo sounds authentic.

The mural paintings of the Tomb of King Wang Kon in Kaesong remain intact. They must be preserved with care.

The stone basement of Tangun’s Mausoleum should be moderately high, not so high that the stone-tiger and other sculptures on it can be seen from below. If the stone basement were constructed too high to permit the view of stone sculptures from below in an attempt to give prominence to the mausoleum, it would be ineffective. A high stone basement would not contribute to the prominence of the mausoleum, so the first plan of the lower basement should be adopted so as to permit a good view of the stone sculptures from below. It is advisable
to decorate the low basement in relief.

The gate of the mausoleum should be made of stone so that it reflects the tastes of the architectural style of Ancient Korea. Since the picture of Tangun’s Tomb carried in a publication before liberation shows a stone gate, erecting a stone gate to the Mausoleum of Tangun agrees with historical facts and the architectural style of Ancient Korea. The gate of the wooden architectural style of Koguryo has already been erected at the Tomb of King Tongmyong, so there is no need to erect another wooden gate for Tangun’s Mausoleum. Tangun’s Mausoleum can dispense with a gate, but it would be appropriate to erect a stone gate so that the mausoleum reflects the tomb of Ancient Korea.

We are reconstructing Tangun’s Tomb not to hold a memorial service but to show our people that there is in Pyongyang the mausoleum of the founder of Ancient Korea in the style of a stone structure. So we may omit the altar. However, south Korean pilgrims or our compatriots from abroad may want to hold memorial services, so it would be a good idea to provide a stone offertory table for the mausoleum. It is said that in south Korea there are hundreds of thousands of believers in the Taejong religion who worship Tangun. They may visit his mausoleum. If travel between north and south is realized in the future, the believers in the Taejong religion may visit Tangun’s mausoleum just as Christians and Muslims in the Middle East make their annual pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Mecca. Jerusalem is now also called Quds, and Christians regard Jerusalem as a sacred place where Jesus was born and died on the cross. They use the Christian era that starts with the year of Jesus’s birth. The south Korean believers in the Taejong religion use the Tangun era that begins with the year of Tangun’s birth. They say that this year is the 4326th year in the Tangun era. This number is smaller than the number that has been measured from the disinterred remains of Tangun. Although they say that this is the 4326th year of Tangun, there is no convincing proof. If we reconstruct Tangun’s Mausoleum well, the believers in the Taejong religion will be glad to see it in Pyongyang.

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Choe Tok Sin, the late Chairman of the Chondoist Chongu Party, worshipped Tangun. He said that the Koreans are the Paedal nation that has descended from Tangun. He published the newspaper *Paedal Sinbo* in the United States. His wife is now the Chairperson of the Chondoist Chongu Party. In Beijing she has met the leader of Chondoism from south Korea, and is discussing with him the matter of commemorating the 100th anniversary of the uprising of the Tonghak Party with south Korean Chondoists.

If the *10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for the Reunification of the Country* we have published is realized, not only believers in the Taejong religion but also various sections of the population in south Korea may visit the north of the country. We should receive all the south Korean people that want to visit the north.

We must give wide publicity to the *10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for the Reunification of the Country*. It has as hearty a response as the Ten-Point Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland had when we published it during the anti-Japanese armed struggle. At that time not only the revolutionaries in the homeland and abroad but also young patriots including students and even religious believers came out in support of the programme. Pak In Jin, the leader of the Chondoists in South Hamgyong Province, supported and actively responded to the Ten-Point Programme of the ARF. He was in charge of the Chondoists in Samsu, Kapsan, Phungsan, Pukchong and the surrounding areas. Last year I met his wife and later I heard the news of her death.

Tangun’s Mausoleum must be reconstructed perfectly so that it will leave nothing to be desired even in the eyes of the visitors from south Korea, our compatriots from abroad and foreign visitors.

In addition to reconstructing Tangun’s Mausoleum, you must lay out neatly the historical sites associated with Tangun. The neatly laid-out historical sites will give visitors a better understanding that Tangun really existed.

The historical sites will play an auxiliary role in proving his real existence. The historical sites associated with Tangun are located in the
area around the mausoleum and many of them in Mt. Myohyang and Mt. Kuwol. If there are dolmens of the Bronze Age around the mausoleum, these should also be preserved for the visitors to see, and Lake Tangun where Tangun is said to have gone boating and its surrounding area should be laid out like a pleasure ground.

The Tangun Rock in Mt. Myohyang where he is said to have had archery practice and Chonju Rock in that mountain should be preserved with care. The king must have had archery practice in that mountain, so the place should be well prepared for visitors. If there is any building in Mt. Myohyang associated with Tangun, it should also be repaired, and an imaginary portrait of him should be drawn and hung there. Since we have an imaginary portrait of Tangun drawn by Solgo in ancient limes, that should be reproduced and explained to visitors as such.

The Tangun Rock that is in Mt. Kuwol should also be preserved with care and the Tangun Temple should be rebuilt. Because the legend that Tangun was born of the marriage between Hwanung and a bear is to be ignored, the Tangun Cave in Mt. Kuwol need not be repaired.

As for the monument to Tangun at his mausoleum, it should be explained that it was erected by nationalists and public-minded people before liberation, as it was reconstructed by raising money in order to preserve Tangun from the Japanese imperialist policy of obliterating Tangun.

The Committee for the Reconstruction of the Mausoleum of Tangun must discuss the matter in detail according to the directions I have given today and rebuild it to be worthy of the mausoleum of the founder of Ancient Korea. I hope that the committee will work in a responsible manner.
ON THE DIRECTION OF SOCIALIST ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION FOR THE IMMEDIATE PERIOD AHEAD

Concluding Speech at the 21st Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the Workers’ Party of Korea

December 8, 1993

This Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Party has reviewed the implementation of the Third Seven-Year Plan and discussed the direction of socialist economic construction for the immediate period ahead.

Under the leadership of our Party our people have struggled to carry out the Third Seven-Year Plan in the unprecedentedly complex and difficult situation and, in the course of this, have achieved a great success in the construction of socialism. Our Party and the people have not only honourably defended the socialist cause from the vicious imperialist and reactionary manoeuvres against socialism and our Republic, but also strengthened the foundations of the socialist independent national economy capable of ensuring self-reliant national life in whatever situation. This cannot but be a proud victory.

All the success and victory we have achieved during the Third Seven-Year Plan patently prove the validity of our Party’s line of building socialism.

Our Party has been consistently maintaining the line of struggling to occupy both the ideological-political and material fortresses in building socialism.
In order to build socialism, we must occupy two fortresses, the ideological-political and material fortresses. Of the two fortresses, it is especially important to occupy the ideological-political fortress. Without occupying the ideological fortress, it would be impossible to build socialism and communism. Giving priority to the occupation of the ideological-political fortress is the prerequisite for success in the occupation of the material fortress.

The Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries in the past were caught in the trap of the US imperialists’ strategy of “peaceful transition” and collapsed, mainly because they neglected the struggle to occupy the ideological-political fortress, trying to occupy only the material fortress.

The Soviet Union was a strong and large country that had destroyed fascist Germany in the Second World War. The Soviet Union was strong because it was under Stalin’s correct leadership and because the party of the Soviet Union and its people were united behind their leader. Even when the German troops were approaching Moscow during the Second World War, Stalin stayed in Moscow, giving leadership to his army and people. He even held a parade then in celebration of the anniversary of the victory in the October Socialist Revolution. He straightened out the difficult war situation, organized counteroffensives and dealt crushing blows to the enemy and ensured the historic victory of the Soviet Union. This fact alone is enough to prove that Stalin was a great leader.

After Stalin’s death, Khrushchev seized power by the method of intrigue and pursued a revisionist policy. Under the pretext of opposing the “cult of personality”, he disparaged Stalin, weakened the party systematically and dulled the revolutionary spirit of party members and working people by neglecting ideological education among them. In the years subsequent to Khrushchev’s days, the party’s ideological work was also neglected. In consequence, people gave up the idea of working for the revolution and were infected with the growing bourgeois, revisionist idea of taking an interest only in money, villas and cars, and a corrupt and dissipated way of life became rife in
society. Because people were not given a revolutionary education, economic construction was not successful, either. In the Soviet Union, because of the party’s ideological degeneration and because of widespread subjectivism and bureaucratism in party and state activities, the party became divorced from the masses of the people, was unable to give political leadership to society, and ended in a failure to defend socialism from the imperialists’ anti-socialist offensive. If the party of the Soviet Union had strengthened itself and solidly armed its members and other people in ideology, the Soviet Union would not have crumbled overnight even though the renegades from the revolution appeared in the party.

In July last, I met a delegation of war veterans from the Russian Federation who were on a visit to our country to attend the 40th anniversary celebration of the victory in the Fatherland Liberation War. The head of the delegation had been in our country after the liberation of our country. He was a hero of the Soviet Union. In the past he had been on intimate terms with me and Comrade Kim Jong Suk. At that time I had given him a pocket-watch as a present and had a photograph taken with him. He brought that photograph with him on his last visit. Talking with him for the first time in many years, I asked him whether I should address him as comrade or as Your Excellency. He asked me to call him comrade. I said if I was to call him comrade, he should be in possession of his party membership card. He said he was still keeping it. I asked how was it that the 18 million communists allowed the Soviet Union to perish. He answered that the disaster happened because the party of the Soviet Union neglected ideological education.

The socialist countries in Eastern Europe perished because they had been extremely servile towards the Soviet Union. In the past, the people of the Eastern European countries used to say “A” if the Soviet Union said “A”, and they used to say “B” if the latter said “B”. Formerly the people of the German Democratic Republic had adulated the Soviet Union to such an extent that an anecdote had it that if rain was forecast in Moscow, Berliners walked under umbrellas even
though it was fine in Berlin. The parties of the Eastern European
countries also practised bureaucratism and neglected the ideological
education of their people. That was why socialism collapsed in these
countries as soon as socialism in the Soviet Union collapsed.

Since the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and the Eastern
European countries, the imperialists are more tenaciously working to
stamp out socialism in our country. However, their attempt is doomed
to failure.

Our Party has been vigorously carrying out the ideological,
technological and cultural revolutions to occupy the
ideological-political and material fortresses in building socialism.
Lenin put forward the idea that Soviet power plus electrification equals
communism. We have further developed the idea and evolved the
proposition that the people’s government plus the three revolutions
equals communism. Pressing ahead with the three revolutions while
strengthening the people’s government and steadily enhancing its
function and role is our Party’s general line of building socialism.

Our Party has always put great efforts into the ideological
revolution and paid close attention to stepping up organizational life
among the Party members and working people. Everyone in our
country belongs to a particular political organization and leads an
organizational life. Children lead a politico-organizational life in the
Children’s Union, young people in the League of Socialist Working
Youth, workers in the Trade Unions, farmers in the Union of
Agricultural Workers, women in the Women’s Union, and Party
members in the Party. In accordance with our Party’s policy of the
ideological revolution, a powerful struggle has been unfolded to
transform all members of society on revolutionary, working-class and
communist lines and model them on the Juche idea. As a result, the
whole of society is permeated with the communist way of life, “One
for all and all for one.” In our country today, all the people are firmly
equipped with the Juche idea, whole-heartedly trust and follow the
Party, and the leader, the Party and the masses are single-heartedly
united. So everything is going successfully.
In response to our Party’s proposal, a national conference of the pioneers of communist virtues was held recently. Hearing the news of the conference, a Cuban woman lawyer on a visit to our country has greatly admired the communist virtues displayed by the participants in the conference, saying that such fine virtues can only be found in Korea.

Our Party has consistently maintained the revolutionary line of independence, self-sufficiency and self-reliant defence in socialist construction.

We did not join the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) in the past, but have developed the independent national economy and unshakably maintained independence. Khrushchev once invited Korea to join the CMEA, saying that all the other socialist countries had joined it. I said, “The economies in the European socialist countries are highly developed, but our economy is not. You can be likened to university students, whereas we are like kindergarten pupils. So how can we be a match for you in the CMEA? We will build socialism on our own outside the CMEA.” Khrushchev also suggested that we should use electric power from a hydroelectric power station built near Lake Baikal. If we had accepted his offer, the Soviet people might have cut off the electric supply whenever they deemed it necessary. Then, we would have been made helpless. So I declined his offer, saying that it was too far from our country. In subsequent years we have built many more hydroelectric power stations.

We were absolutely correct when we declined to join the CMEA and constructed the independent national economy. If we had joined the CMEA and failed to construct the independent national economy, we would have been unable to maintain political independence and might have perished just as the socialist countries in Eastern Europe did.

We can now resolutely confront the imperialists against their manoeuvres for war and aggression because we have steadily developed our defence industry in keeping with our Party’s line of self-reliant defence. When we put forward the line of simultaneously building up
the economy and defence in the early 1960s, the Soviet Union in those
days argued against it, reluctant to supply weapons to us and, even when
they did, they sent us outmoded weapons. So we made belt-tightening
efforts to develop the defence industry, produced large amounts of
modern weapons and have modernized the entire army.

Because we have adhered to the line of independence in politics,
self-sufficiency in the economy and self-reliant defence, we have been
able to defend and develop socialism firmly by defeating all the
imperialists’ attempts to isolate us and blockade us and their
aggressive moves at every step.

The imperialists’ manoeuvres against our Republic are still
continuing, but we stay firm. Until now the United States has said that
their armed forces are stationed in south Korea in order to “protect”
south Korea from the “threat of aggression” from the north. However,
they have no more excuse for their presence in south Korea because we
have adopted the “Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression,
Cooperation and Exchange between the North and the South” at the
north-south high-level talks. South Korean students, young men and
women and other people are raising their voices demanding the
withdrawal of the US forces from south Korea. The United States is
doggedly raising the issue of nuclear inspection for the purpose of
producing an excuse for a continued presence of their armed forces in
south Korea. We have already made it clear more than once that we
have no intention or ability to develop nuclear weapons. The United
States is producing a large number of nuclear weapons to invade and
dominate other countries, but there is no need for us to make nuclear
weapons because we only want to reunify our country. The United
States is now raising the issue of nuclear inspection, but if we accept
nuclear inspections they will raise a new issue, clamouring about
human rights and whatnot, to bring pressure to bear upon us. The
imperialists’ pressure upon our country will continue as long as we
advance under the banner of socialism.

Our position on the revolution is unshakable and invariable. Our
position is to have talks if the United States wants them, and to fight a
war if they want it. This position of ours has been made clear in the recent statement of the Vice-Minister of the People’s Armed Forces. If a war breaks out, our cities and villages may be damaged, and the enemy, too, will not go unscathed. It is not we but the enemy that dreads war. The enemy dares not attack us.

Our people’s struggle to build socialism has entered a new stage, and we are building socialism in a changed international situation.

The socialist market, which dealt with the overwhelming proportion of our foreign trade in the past, has crumbled over recent years. The one-time Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries have, in obedience to the United States, almost suspended trade with our country since the revival of capitalism in these countries. In consequence, our country cannot import materials badly needed for economic construction, nor can we sell our commodities to these countries. This is no small impediment to our economic construction. Imports of crude oil, for instance, which used to come from the Soviet Union, are now almost suspended, so that the Sungni Chemical Complex is not operating smoothly. Formerly, our country almost held the monopoly in the export of magnesia clinker to the socialist market, but now its market is closed. Some of the Eastern European countries, in their years of socialism, used to import a large amount of magnesia clinker, a raw material used in fire-proofing, from our country, but now they will not import it from our country partly because their blast furnaces are not working at capacity and partly because they are under pressure from the United States.

In order to succeed in economic construction when there is no socialist market, we must change the direction of foreign trade. Only then can we export our goods to other countries and import the goods essential for economic construction.

Right now, however, it seems difficult to deal on a large scale with capitalist countries. If capitalist countries have trade with our country, they will be subject to pressure from the United States. So they read the face of the United States and refrain from having active trade with our country.
However, newly-emergent countries, the third-world countries, do not study the pleasure of the United States. These countries need more light-industry products than heavy-industry products. If we develop light industry and produce large amounts of high-quality consumer goods, we shall be fully able to promote trade with these countries.

If we promote trade with the third-world nations, we shall be able to import crude oil, coking coal, crude rubber, palm-oil and the salt we badly need. Palm-oil is needed for the production of soap, crude rubber for the production of tyres and footwear, and salt can solve the problem of caustic soda. Imports of soya beans can solve many problems in our effort to improve the people’s living standard.

We must boldly change the direction of foreign trade towards the countries in Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Africa and other newly-emergent countries, the third-world nations. It is especially important to advance into the market of Southeast Asia, which is geographically near to our country.

We must restructure the economy in keeping with the changed situation and the requirement for the development of the revolution and work for several years in the direction of giving the highest priority to the development of agriculture, light industry and foreign trade in economic construction.

We have been able to lay solid foundations in heavy industry by consistently carrying out the basic line of economic construction, the line of developing heavy industry with priority and advancing light industry and agriculture at the same time until now. Our heavy industry has tremendous capabilities. A comparison of our production capacity of electricity, steel, nitrogenous fertilizer and cement with that of other countries shows that our country is at a very high level in the per-capita output of these items.

People-centred socialism in our country is incomparably superior to American capitalism. In our country there are no beggars, no people who sleep in the open without shelter, no drug addicts, no gangs and no unemployment as are seen in the United States. Foreign visitors to our country express great admiration for socialism in our
country where the people live in happiness as its masters, saying that it is the best of all.

If we carry out the strategic policy of giving the highest priority to the development of agriculture, light industry and foreign trade by relying on the solid foundations of heavy industry we have already laid, we shall be able to find better solutions to the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people. Then, our people will be better off, and our socialism will be here to stay, no matter how frantically the imperialists may try to destroy it.

We must, first of all, carry out the agriculture-first policy and markedly increase agricultural production.

Although the area of farmland in our country is not large, we shall be perfectly able to solve the food problem by our own efforts if we do farm work efficiently.

If we carry out irrigation, electrification, mechanization and project involving the extensive use of chemicals, the four major tasks of technological revolution defined by the theses on socialist rural questions, we shall be able to produce 10 million tons of cereals even from the existing farmland. It is not very difficult to carry out the four major tasks of technological revolution in the rural areas. The irrigation and electrification of agriculture in our country were already completed a long time ago, and mechanization and chemical projects are being realized on a high level. This year we have finished the construction of the canal to channel water from the West Sea Barrage to the Ongjin peninsula for the purpose of raising the level of irrigation. All the farmland in South Hwanghae Province can now be sufficiently irrigated. Now that the problem of irrigation has been resolved, the supply of fertilizer will make it possible to increase the yields of cereals much more. An analysis of farming on cooperative farms in South Hwanghae Province this year shows a yield of six tons of grain per hectare where 600 kg of nitrogenous fertilizer were applied, a yield of eight tons where 800 kg of the same fertilizer were used, and a yield of ten tons where one ton was spread. The ratio between nitrogenous fertilizer and the yield of cereals is one to ten.
This means that the yield of cereals can increase in proportion to an increase in the amount of fertilizer applied. We must produce fertilizer on our own and import some of it needed for next year’s farming.

We have now approximately 1.3 million hectares of land for grain production. At an estimate of eight tons of yield per hectare, at least 10 million tons can be produced, and even a greater amount when more successful.

Next, we must carry out the light-industry-first policy and markedly increase the production of consumer goods for the people.

We must improve and reinforce light-industry factories, modernize them, and take more effective measures to ensure the supply of raw materials for light industry, so that all the light-industry factories work at full capacity. The people in this sector must strive to achieve a high and steady rate of production and improve the quality of products.

To proceed, we must carry out the foreign-trade-first policy and make a new advance in foreign trade.

In foreign trade, it is important to earn a good reputation. All the economic sectors must build up the bases for the production of export goods, increase their output and improve their quality.

We must improve the method of foreign trade and increase processing trade.

By an efficient garment-processing trade we can earn much foreign currency. A certain Asian country is said to earn 18,000 million dollars annually by means of the garment-processing trade. When other countries earn a lot of foreign currency through an efficient processing trade, there is no reason why we cannot do it. If we earn approximately 18,000 million dollars through an efficient garment-processing trade, that will be a great success.

If our officials are efficient in economic diplomacy, they will be able to effect a joint venture or collaboration in the field of agriculture with other countries that are rich in farmland. People of a certain country reportedly said that they would offer us approximately 100,000 hectares of farmland so that we might irrigate and cultivate it and take away its products in return for approximately 200,000 suits of
ready-made clothes or cloth for as many clothes. If we deal efficiently with another country and get some farmland to grow soya beans for half-half sharecropping, that will also be beneficial.

We must also continue to pay close attention to developing the coal industry, electric power industry, metal industry and rail transport.

Without developing them it would be impossible to advance agriculture and light industry, nor would it be possible to speed up the country’s economic construction as a whole.

In order to ease the strain on the power supply, we have to put an effort into thermal power stations. Because there was not much rainfall this year, it seems that hydroelectric power stations will find it difficult to generate electricity at capacity next year. That is why we must ensure a sufficient supply of coal to thermal power stations so that they can operate at capacity. We must concentrate on the coal industry to ensure an adequate production of coal for a capacity operation of thermal power stations. It is reported that coal mines are not supplied with sufficient U beams at present. The Hwanghae Iron and Steel Complex must produce them for the coal mines.

In order to solve the problem of electric power once and for all, we must create more power-generating capacity. If we construct nuclear power stations, we can find an easy solution to the problem of the strain on the power supply. But that would take us at least six or ten years. We cannot wait until then, without doing anything to ease the strain. We must speed up and finish the construction of the Kumgangsan Power Station and other power stations now under way as soon as possible to ease the strain on the power supply.

We must lay heavy-duty railway tracks. This is the way to resolve the problem of transport. We must mass-produce heavy-duty rails, 100-ton-capacity waggons and eight-axle electric locomotives needed for heavy-duty rail transport.

We must also direct great efforts to the development of the defence industry.

To develop the defence industry by our own efforts cannot but be a heavy burden on our country, which is not large. If we converted all the
munitions factories into light-industry factories and if the defence money and materials were diverted to the work of improving the people’s standard of living, our people would be much better-off than they are now. However, if we were to slight the defence industry in the hope of living a more comfortable life, we might be conquered by the imperialists. Even though we have to endure some hardships and put up with simple clothing, we must continue to develop the defence industry. If we make the whole country a fortress like a hedgehog by developing the defence industry, nobody dares to provoke us. The Administration Council and the relevant sector must unfailingly carry out the Party’s policy on developing the defence industry.

In order to carry out the Party’s revolutionary economic strategy with success, all our officials must highly display the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance.

Revolutionaries must believe in their own strength and think of carrying out the revolution by their own efforts. Whenever difficulties cropped up during my revolutionary struggle, I have broken through them by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude.

During the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle I went through a great many crises. The most difficult of them was the crisis I had to deal with when advancing to the Mt. Paektu area after the meeting at Nanhutou in February 1936. At that time I left the guerrillas whom I had taken on the expedition to North Manchuria from East Manchuria with the units operating in North Manchuria, and then even turned over one platoon from the Hunchun young volunteers’ corps to Wei Zheng-min at Mihunzhen. So I had to proceed to the Mt. Paektu area in command of less than 20 guardsmen. I did so because I had calculated that I would meet the Second Regiment in the Fusong area and could organize a new division with the regiment as a parent body. However, when I reached the Fusong area, I found the situation there unspeakable. The Second Regiment, from which I had expected a great deal, had moved away towards Jiaohe, and there were only a hundred-odd men in that area who were suspected of having been
involved in the “Minsaengdan” case. They had neither rifles worth mentioning nor ammunition.

I decided to organize a new unit with them by boldly trusting them. I made the decision because I believed that none of them had belonged to the “Minsaengdan” and also because the Comintern supported our position about the “Minsaengdan” case. I got all the “Minsaengdan” suspects to assemble and destroyed the bundle of their personal files in their presence. The Minister of Public Security will remember this. Setting fire to the bundle of the “Minsaengdan” files, I said to them, “I trust you and declare the charges against you null and void. If you had been ‘Minsaengdan’ members, why should you have endured all the hardships by following us, instead of surrendering to the Japanese? I declare that there is not a ‘Minsaengdan’ member here now. Those who have been suspected as ‘Minsaengdan’ on a false charge need not worry because they have nothing to do with ‘Minsaengdan’ from the start. If any of you were involved in it, though I don’t believe it, he can make a fresh start and that will settle the matter.” Hearing this they embraced one another and cried in tears, grateful for my trust in them. I went on to say, “You must now fight the enemy but you have neither rifles nor ammunition. What is to be done? You should go down to the enemy area in groups of 10 to 15 persons and capture rifles and ammunition from the Japanese imperialists before you come back. However, you must not fight in Fusong County.” In those days we had an agreement with the puppet Manchukuo army unit in Fusong County not to fight against each other. They all went down to the enemy area, raided Japanese army units, captured new weapons from the enemy as well as several hundred rounds of ammunition each, and then returned. This was how we organized a new division with the “Minsaengdan” suspects at the core.

When I met the people in the Chechangzi guerrilla base and the Children’s Corps members in Maanshan in the past, I was acutely hurt at their ragged and starving appearances. So I provided the ragged children with clothes. At that time I had 20 yuan my mother had given me. I made up my mind to spend that money on the children’s clothing
and gave it to Kim San Ho, telling him to go and buy cloth at the town of Fusong. Kim San Ho had been the servant of a landowner in Wujiazi. When he was working at the landowner’s he got his left hand thumb cut off in a fodder-cutter. Seeing his suffering I took him away with me and treated his wound. He followed me and joined the guerrilla army. At that time he was the regimental political commissar. I had intended to take leave of him in North Manchuria, but Choe Chun Guk, seeing that I was leaving only with young boys, without an experienced bodyguard, urged Kim San Ho to accompany me. The material he bought for 20 yuan was not enough for making clothes for all the children. So I sent Kim San Ho again to Fusong, telling him to meet Zhang Wei-hua there. Zhang had made Kim’s acquaintance when he was a teacher in Wujiazi. Receiving my letter from Kim, Zhang bought a large amount of cloth and sent it to me. With it we made the clothes for the children and the men who had been suspected of involvement in the “Minsaengdan” case. It seems that the proverb, “Even if the sky falls in, there is a way out” is meant for such a situation.

After the formation of the new division, I mapped out the Ten-Point Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland while advancing to the Mt. Paektu area and in May 1936 we inaugurated the ARF at a meeting in Donggang.

Whenever I found myself in difficulty in the years after liberation, I faced the difficulty with a strong will and in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance by recollecting the event we had experienced on our way to the Mt. Paektu area.

In the postwar years the situation in our country was extremely complex and our circumstances were very difficult. We were short of funds, labour, equipment and materials. To make matters worse, the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique clamoured again that they would push north. The anti-Party factionalists lurking in the Party challenged the Party, with the backing of large countries, taking advantage of the difficult situation in the country. At that time the parties of the large countries openly interfered in our disposal of the
anti-Party factionalists and brought pressure to bear upon us. However, our Party did not yield to their pressure but took a resolute stand on the principle of independence.

At that time we had nobody but our people to rely on. I trusted the people and decided to break through the difficulty by relying on them and immediately after the December 1956 Plenary Meeting paid a visit to the Kangson Steel Works. I asked the senior officials of the steel works whether they could produce 90,000 tons of rolled steel, and they answered that it would be difficult to do it because the rated capacity of the blooming mill was 60,000 tons. That day I took my lunch at the manager’s house and lay down to take a rest, but I could not sleep. When we had to increase the production of rolled steel in any way possible, the senior officials said that it was impossible, so I had no other alternative but to appeal directly to the workers. I got the men to assemble in one place. As there was no meeting hall worth mentioning, I got an empty drum installed in a building that had been intended for a store-house, got a fire built in it to heat the room, gathered the men in the building and made a speech. I explained to them the country’s situation, the decision of the Plenary Meeting and the need for steel to undertake more construction and strengthen defence capabilities, and then appealed to them to increase the production of rolled steel by 10,000 tons over and above the original plan by tapping reserves if they trusted the Party and supported it. Hearing my speech, the men stood up shouting cheers and expressed their resolve to produce 90,000 tons of rolled steel that was required by the Party. In hearty response to the Party’s call, the workers of the Kangson Steel Works modified the blooming mill by their own efforts and skill and turned out 120,000 tons rather than 90,000 tons. That was a miraculous success. We were able to develop the defence industry and the machine-building industry by using the rolled steel produced by the workers of the Kangson Steel Works.

In the past the ten Party members at Ragwon always carried out with credit the tasks given by the Party by highly displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. As you might know if you paid a
visit to the Kiyang second-stage pumping station, the large water pump installed there was made by the ten Party members at Ragwon who used to make hand grenades with a cupola during the war. Until then, the one at the Kum Song pumping station was the only large water pump, which had been imported. I decided we should make large water pumps on our own and gave the workers of Ragwon an assignment to make a large water pump on the model of the one at the Kum Song pumping station. They succeeded in making it in spite of many shortages and inadequacies by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance.

Our officials will find nothing impossible if they work with the same revolutionary spirit and the same Chollima spirit displayed by the workers of Kangson and the ten Party members of Ragwon. However, not many of our officials are working with such a revolutionary spirit. Nowadays, our officials cannot ensure increased steel production although they have good steel works, and cannot find a solution to the coal problem although they have many coal-mines. If coking coal is in short supply, they should produce a large amount of iron by using other kinds of fuel and increase steel production, but they are not doing so. They lack the spirit of self-reliance and the revolutionary spirit.

The same can be said of the problem of oil prospecting. If our officials had worked hard to prospect for oil by their own efforts by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude, they could have started oil production a long time ago. Because they have not worked in this manner, they are not yet producing oil although oil prospecting started many years ago.

The officials in this sector are aware that there are large deposits of oil in our country, but they hope for foreign aid, instead of thinking of prospecting for oil by their own efforts. They are mistaken. Other countries, not to speak of the United States which tries to isolate and stifle socialism in our country, have no reason to help us. Even if some of them may wish to help us, they will be unable to help us because the US imperialists obstruct it. The officials must not depend on foreign countries for oil prospecting, but think of doing it by their own efforts.
If we prospect for oil ourselves, we shall be perfectly able to extract it. When the people of other countries prospect for oil and produce it by their own efforts, there is no reason why we cannot. The officials must work hard to prospect for oil by their own efforts with confidence in themselves.

We must build a physical oil prospecting ship. Recently, I convened a consultative meeting of the senior officials of the oil industry in order to get to know how oil prospecting was going on. They said that they were building a physical oil prospecting ship but it was not completed because electronic equipment was unavailable. If foreign currency for its import posed a problem, they should have reported it to me, but they did not. I have instructed the disbursement of the necessary sum of foreign currency, so you must import the electronic equipment and build the ship as soon as possible.

I once again emphasize that the direction of socialist economic construction for the immediate period ahead is to develop agriculture, light industry and foreign trade in every way possible and that self-reliance is the method of doing it.

I firmly believe that all the Party members and other working people will bring about a revolutionary advance in the construction of the socialist economy by working hard in the spirit of Chollima with the “speed of the ’90s”, displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude in hearty response to the decisions of this Plenary Meeting.
Dear comrades,
Compatriots, brothers and sisters.

Today we are ringing out 1993, a glorious year marked by a heroic struggle and great exploits, and ringing in the new year 1994, full of confidence and optimism.

On this New Year’s Day I extend warm congratulations and hearty greetings to our working class, our cooperative farmers, our intellectuals, the officers and men of the People’s Army, and all the other people who have been working with devotion for the socialist cause of Juche, displaying unfailing loyalty to the Party and the revolution.

My warm congratulations and compatriotic greetings go also to our brothers and sisters in the south, to our fellow Koreans in Japan, and to all the other Koreans abroad who have been striving to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country.

I also extend New Year greetings to the progressive people and our friends on the five continents who value justice and peace and are advancing towards a new world of independence.

Last year was a historic year in which we powerfully demonstrated the validity of our Party’s revolutionary line of independence and the might of Juche Korea.

The imperialists and reactionaries worked with greater malevolence than ever before to isolate and stifle our Republic and crush our
socialist cause. As a result, the situation in our country became extremely tense. When the country and the revolution were facing a stern trial, our Party adopted the resolute self-defensive measure of declaring a state of semi-war to the whole country, all the people and the entire army in order to cope with the situation. It called on all the people to meet the enemy’s challenge and bring about a great upsurge in socialist construction by displaying the same revolutionary spirit and militant stamina as that displayed during the years of the grim Fatherland Liberation War.

The officers and men of our heroic People’s Army and all the people, in hearty response to the Party’s militant call, rose as one to defend the country’s sovereignty and revolutionary achievements with unshakable confidence in victory and great enthusiasm, foiled the enemy’s challenge and scheme for aggression and safeguarded the dignity and security of their socialist motherland. Thus they fully demonstrated the unbreakable spirit of Juche Korea. This was a victory for our Party’s revolutionary line, a great victory for the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses.

Last year, while achieving one victory after another under the Party’s leadership in the political and military confrontation with the enemy, our people glorified the final year of the Third Seven-Year Plan by displaying great revolutionary enthusiasm and accelerating the construction of the socialist economy. During the period of the Third Seven-Year Plan we made great strides in all fields of socialist economic construction in spite of the enormous difficulties and obstacles caused by unexpected international events and the tension in our country.

The production capacity of our Juche industry has undergone comprehensive expansion, the standard of its technical equipment has been considerably raised and its structure has been improved; thus its independence and capability have been increased. In agriculture grand nature-harnessing projects to improve the irrigation system have been carried out, a great advance has been made in mechanization and in the application of chemicals, and agricultural science and technology have
been developed still further to meet the requirements of the Juche farming method, with the result that solid foundations for agricultural production have been laid, guaranteeing a bumper crop every year. Numerous monumental creations, such as magnificent Kwangbok and Thongil Streets, the Monument to Victory in the Fatherland Liberation War, the Three-Revolution Exhibition and the May Day Stadium were built in Pyongyang during the period of the Third Seven-Year Plan in accordance with our Party’s plan for the construction of the capital. They illustrate the great creative might of our working people and of our independent national economy and demonstrate the heroic mettle of socialist Korea which is advancing triumphantly despite the upheavals in the international arena.

Under our people-centred socialist system our people are enjoying a worthy and happy life on an equitable basis free from any social and political unrest and without any worries, even in the present complex situation. Pure communist morality is flowering throughout our society and the people share weal and woe and help one another and lead one another forward, on the principle of one for all and all for one.

Through the recent trials and struggle we have proved once again that our Party is a great party that possesses an iron will and displays seasoned leadership, that our people are a heroic people with unshakable revolutionary confidence and an unbreakable fighting spirit, and that the socialism of our own style that embodies the Juche idea is unconquerable socialism which has struck deep root among the masses of the people.

I express my warm gratitude to our workers, our farmers, our intellectuals, the soldiers of the People’s Army and the rest of our people who, under the Party’s leadership, performed brilliant exploits last year in the revolution and construction.

The new year 1994 shall be a year of revolutionary progress when the building of socialism in our country shall enter a new stage of development; it shall be a year for the entire Party, the whole country and all the people to make an all-out effort and effect a great revolutionary upsurge on all fronts.
The internal and external situation for our revolution is still complex and tense, and we are building socialism in confrontation with the enemy.

In order to meet the requirements of the present situation and of the development of our revolution we must implement the revolutionary line of independence, self-sufficiency and self-reliant defence, step up the three revolutions—ideological, technological and cultural—and thus further increase the political, economic and military might of the country. We must consolidate and build on the successes we have achieved so far in socialist construction and achieve renewed, greater success. In this way we will add glory to our country’s socialism that is centred on the masses and fly the socialist banner of Juche more proudly.

At the 21st Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Party Central Committee, the next three years were set as a period for adjustment in socialist economic construction and during this period we must implement the agriculture-first, light industry-first and foreign trade-first policies. Along with this, we must give precedence to the coal industry, power industry and rail transport, which must advance ahead of the other sectors of the national economy, while continuing to develop the metal industry.

By implementing the revolutionary economic strategy of our Party during the period of adjustment in socialist economic construction we shall consolidate the foundations of the nation’s independent economy, further improve the people’s standard of living to meet socialist requirements and secure a new base for reaching higher levels of socialism.

This year we must concentrate on the development of agriculture, light industry and foreign trade.

This is an important year which will mark the 30th anniversary of the publication of the Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country. By carrying out the historic tasks set in the theses we shall make a new advance in the development of the rural economy. We must consolidate the successes achieved in the irrigation and
electrification of the rural areas, raise the level of mechanization and of the application of chemicals, thoroughly implement the Juche farming method and thus boost grain and all other agricultural production. Our working class must produce more tractors, lorries and other modern farm machines, fertilizers and agricultural chemicals, as well as more of a variety of other farming materials, for the rural communities. All the cooperative farmers and agricultural working people must work carefully and methodically with the attitude of masters of the nation’s granaries to attain without fail the high goal for grain production set by the Party for this year.

We must step up the revolution in light industry and effect a great upsurge in the production of consumer goods. We must adopt positive measures to improve light-industry factories, modernize them and increase the production of chemical fibres, synthetic resin and other materials for light industry. By doing so we will be able to run all our light-industry factories at full capacity and maintain a high and steady rate of production. All sectors and units, ranging from those in large-scale centrally-run light industry to those in medium and small-scale locally-run industry and those engaged in the production of “August 3 consumer goods” must produce a greater variety and larger quantities of consumer goods of higher quality.

In order to adapt our foreign trade to the new circumstances and develop it, we must do all we can to cultivate new foreign markets and establish an excellent reputation. We must strengthen our bases for the production of export goods in many sectors of the national economy, increase their production and improve their quality. All sectors and regions must further boost the production of export goods by discovering and making use of the appropriate resources, and they must develop processing trade.

In order to develop agriculture and light industry and accelerate economic construction across the country, we must concentrate on the coal, electric power and metal industries and improve rail transport. The coal and electric power industries must make effective use of their existing production bases and create a greater production capacity in
order to increase coal production and power generation radically. We must strengthen the material and technical foundations of the railways, organize and direct transport carefully, lay heavy-duty rails extensively and thus satisfy the ever-increasing demands of the national economy for transport.

All economic sectors and units must launch a vigorous mass campaign for increased production and economy and make effective use of the existing labour, equipment and materials. They must tap potential reserves to the full so as to increase production to the maximum.

All economic officials must organize economic work and direct production efficiently, in accordance with the Party’s economic-strategy. They must give full rein to the people’s revolutionary enthusiasm and creative ability and encourage them to overfulfil their quotas under this year’s national economic plan.

Our intellectuals have the honourable duty of contributing their knowledge and scientific skills to socialist construction. Adhering to our Party’s policy of the cultural revolution, they must strive with devotion to make fresh advances in science, education, literature and the arts, public health and all the other fields of socialist culture.

This year, too, we must naturally work to strengthen the country’s defences in order to counter the enemy’s moves to unleash a war. We must be fully prepared politically and ideologically, militarily and materially, to deal with any contingency by ourselves; we must establish a social climate of regarding military affairs as highly important and assisting the People’s Army whole-heartedly.

In order to push ahead with the revolution and construction in the present situation, we must hold fast to our Party’s policy of the ideological revolution, further strengthen the single-hearted unity of our revolutionary ranks and display to the full the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance.

Single-hearted unity and self-reliance are the imperishable, glorious traditions of our revolution and our banner of victory. Thanks to the strength of our single-hearted unity we have come through harsh
trials and opened up a bright road to victory; thanks to our revolutionary spirit of self-reliance we have overcome all the difficulties and brought about great changes in the revolution and construction. When all the people are united with a single heart behind the Party and the leader and fight courageously, displaying a high revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude, we can defend and develop the socialism of our own style for ever, whatever the trials, and take the socialist cause of Juche to victory.

We must ardently defend the single-hearted unity of our revolutionary ranks that have become as solid as a rock under the leadership of our Party and consolidate and develop them further.

We must display at a higher level the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude, overcome the difficulties in our way and effect a fresh upsurge in the building of socialism. “Let us hasten the general march of socialism in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude!”—this is the call of our Party and a militant slogan which our people must uphold. All officials, all Party members and all the other working people must, in hearty response to the Party’s militant call, make continued innovations and uninterrupted progress in the spirit of Chollima spurred on by the “speed of the ’90s” and make the new year 1994 a year of a historic advance in the revolution and construction in our country.

To reunify the country is our nation’s supreme task which brooks no further delay. We must accomplish the cause of national reunification as soon as possible, so as to meet the unanimous, ardent desire of the entire nation and hand down a reunified country to the generations to come.

With a view to paving the way to national reunification through the united efforts of the nation, our Party and the Government of our Republic last year put forward the 10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for the Reunification of the Country and have made every effort to implement it. The 10-point programme embodies the noble desire of our 70 million compatriots to achieve the solid unity of the whole nation, transcending differences in ideology,
ideal and system, and achieve the reunification and prosperity of our nation that has a history of five thousand years. We hoped that the south Korean authorities would take the road of reconciliation and cooperation in response to our 10-point programme of the great unity. We also made an important proposal for the exchange of special envoys of the highest authorities between the two sides.

But the south Korean authorities have taken the road of dependence on foreign forces, not of national independence, and of confrontation between north and south, not of national unity, ignoring our magnanimous proposal and the desire of the entire nation for reunification. They have staged frequent large-scale military exercises against our Republic in collusion with foreign forces and have jeopardized north-south relations by clamouring about a “military counteraction” and an “international cooperation system”, on the pretext of the north’s “nuclear issue”.

The so-called “civilian” regime in south Korea is only a disguise; in fact it is no different from the successive military dictatorial regimes. Evil anti-communist, fascist laws are still in force in south Korea, and the desire of the south Korean people for independence, democracy and national reunification is still being ignored. So it is natural that the south Korean people and public figures say that they can expect nothing from the present south Korean regime.

As for the “nuclear issue” about which the United States and its followers are creating such a fuss, it is the product of the obstinate manoeuvres by the United States against socialism and our Republic. It is the United States that has invented the “doubt about nuclear development by the north”, and it is the United States that has introduced nuclear weapons onto the Korean peninsula, to threaten us. Therefore, the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula must be settled through DPRK-US talks.

Pressure and threats will have no effect on us and may invite catastrophe, far from achieving a solution to the problem. The United States must face the facts squarely and behave with circumspection. Now that a joint statement has been adopted by the DPRK and the
United States, the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula can be settled fairly if both sides implement the principles that have been agreed upon.

The principles and line adhered to by our Party and the Government of our Republic for national reunification remain unchanged. We will continue to make every effort to reunify the country in the form of a federation based on one nation, one state, two systems and two governments, and on the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.

The destiny of our motherland is immediately the destiny of our nation, as well as the destiny of all our compatriots at home and abroad. All the Korean people in the north, in the south and abroad must conduct a nationwide struggle, rallied as one under the banner of the great unity of the whole nation, and this year open a new phase for national reunification.

Now in the international arena the imperialists are vaunting the “end” of socialism, but they cannot arrest the people’s aspiration to independence, sovereignty and socialism, nor can they reverse the tide of history. If the progressive people of the world promote historical development by strengthening their unity and solidarity under the banner of independence against imperialism, they shall soon be able to shape a bright future for humanity.

Our Party and the Government of our Republic shall consistently adhere to the foreign policy of independence, peace and friendship to meet the requirements of the present situation. On the principle of independence we will make positive efforts to unite with the socialist and non-aligned countries and develop good relations with the capitalist countries which respect the sovereignty of our country. The Government of our Republic shall work hard to abolish the old international political and economic orders of domination and subordination, establish new ones on the basis of equality, justice and impartiality and develop South-South cooperation on the principle of collective self-reliance.

Our people face an arduous struggle, but it is a noble and
honourable struggle for the prosperity of our country and for the future of humanity. Our people, who are fighting for a just cause under the leadership of our great Party, shall surely emerge victorious.

Let us all fight on vigorously to achieve renewed success in socialist construction and hasten the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, firmly united behind the Party Central Committee under the unfurled banner of the Juche idea.
FOR AN ULTIMATE SOLUTION OF THE RURAL QUESTION UNDER THE BANNER OF SOCIALIST RURAL THESES

Letter to the National Agricultural Conference

February 24, 1994

The grand national agricultural conference, which coincides with the 30th anniversary of the publication of socialist rural theses and evinces the keen interest and expectations of our agricultural working people and the nation as a whole, is a matter of great jubilation and a momentous event.

I extend my warm congratulations to all those present at the national agricultural conference and all agricultural working people, who have worked devotedly to implement socialist rural theses under the leadership of our Party, and express my heartfelt gratitude to our working class and our people for the active assistance they have accorded rural communities.

This conference will review the great victory achieved by our Party and our people in the implementation of socialist rural theses. It will mark a new milestone in furthering the construction of socialist rural communities. It will be a historic conference powerfully demonstrating the validity of our Party’s socialist rural theses and the advantages of the socialist agricultural system in our country and inspiring our people, who safeguard the socialist cause of Juche and ensure its consummation, to new successes.

The rural question occupies a very important place in realizing the
people’s cause of independence, the cause of socialism.

The rural question encompasses the peasant and agrarian questions. The peasantry, like the working class, is a component of the main force of the revolution. Agriculture, along with industry, is one of the two major sectors of the national economy. The solution of the rural question is a protracted, very complex and difficult task, owing to the social and economic characteristics of rural communities and their age-old backwardness. As historical experience goes to show, success in the revolution and construction depends largely on how the rural question is resolved in each stage of the revolution.

Ever since the first steps to build a new society after liberation, our Party has always paid deep attention to the rural question. At each stage of the revolution, our Party has put forward the correct line and policy on the rural question from the standpoint of Juche and carried them out. Consequently, it has successfully found a solution to the rural question without making any deviations.

The completion of agricultural cooperativization on socialist lines and the victory of the socialist revolution were great events, which effect ed a radical change in the peasants’ social and economic position and in the development of agricultural productive forces.

The completion of the socialist cooperativization of agriculture marks a historic turn in resolving the rural question. However, it does not imply its ultimate solution. Owing to the backwardness of rural communities, a vestige of previous society, differences between urban and rural communities and the working class and peasantry still remain, even after agriculture’s cooperativization on socialist lines. As long as these differences exist, we cannot claim that the rural question has been fully resolved. To find the ultimate solution, we must effect another revolutionary stage involving assimilation of the peasantry with the working class, agricultural industrialization and modernization, the placement of cooperative ownership under all-people ownership and a consequent elimination of the differences between urban and rural communities and the working class and peasantry.
The accelerated creation of socialist rural communities to finally solve the rural question marks one step in the historic cause of achieving socialism’s complete victory; this is an important task of the uninterrupted revolution to be implemented during the transition from capitalism to socialism.

After completing the socialist cooperativization of agriculture, our Party advanced the ultimate solution of the rural question as a major strategic task in building socialism and published socialist rural theses and has worked hard to put them into effect.

The *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* are our Party’s programme for building socialist rural communities, which is an embodiment of the Juche idea. The theses provide a scientific elucidation of the direction, basic principles and fundamental methods required to solve the socialist rural question. Our Party’s rural theses represent a correct guideline to the solution of the socialist rural question, as well as the banner to safeguard socialist principles in rural communities and achieve socialism’s complete victory.

The road traversed by our Party and our people under the banner of socialist rural theses for 30 years has involved arduous struggle, leading to glorious victory. Formerly our country was a colonial agricultural land. Consequently, even after agriculture’s cooperativization, the rural communities lagged far behind urban communities in all fields of ideology, technology and culture, and the material and technical foundations of agriculture were very weak. Worse still, we have had to build socialist rural communities and socialism as a whole in a complex and acute situation, where the country is divided into north and south and the imperialists and reactionaries have resorted to ceaseless manoeuvres against socialism and our Republic. All this has created countless difficulties and obstacles to the struggle of our Party and our people to implement rural theses. Under the leadership of our Party, our agricultural workers and all other people have advanced vigorously along the path of building socialist rural communities, as indicated by the rural theses, without making the slightest vacillation despite many difficulties and trials.
Our Party’s correct leadership, powerful urban support for the countryside, and the devoted struggle of the agricultural working people have ensured great success in the implementation of socialist rural theses, and the looks of rural areas have changed beyond recognition.

Owing to vigorous ideological and cultural revolutions in the countryside, the agricultural working people in our country have become reliable masters of socialist rural communities, who have attained a high level of ideological consciousness and creative ability.

All our agricultural working people, like the working class, lead a very valuable socio-political life, and a radical change has taken place in their ideological and mental qualities.

Firmly equipped with the Juche idea, the revolutionary idea of our Party, and united solidly behind the Party, our agricultural working people loyally support the Party’s leadership and display a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm and creativity in the struggle to build socialist rural areas as elucidated by the rural theses. Thanks to our Party’s tireless ideological education and their practical efforts under socialism, they have rid themselves of the small-holder mentality of their former days, have learned a collectivist spirit and nurtured it systematically. Collectivism has now become the predominant feature of their ideology and manner of life. The agricultural working people now display the fine communist trait of helping and leading each other forward, devoting themselves for the good of their society and collective on the principle of one for all and all for one. They work, live and fight on collectivist principles, are united single-heartedly behind the Party and the leader and hold high the socialist banner of Juche. These are precisely the ideological and mental characteristics of our agricultural working people. This high ideological level, attained by our agricultural working people, proves the brilliant victory of our Party’s policy on the ideological revolution; it is an epoch-making success in the transformation of the peasants’ ideology.

The technical and cultural levels of our agricultural working people have risen considerably. The conditions for the cultural life of rural
inhabitants have greatly improved. The new generation, which has received 11-year compulsory education, constitutes the main force in our rural communities, as in the urban communities. The general knowledge of all the agricultural working people has reached that of senior middle school leavers or a higher level. They have acquired new technology; they do all kinds of farm work scientifically and technically via modern technical means, in accordance with the Juche farming method. A great army of rural technicians and specialists has been created in accordance with our Party’s correct policy on the training of our own cadres. They manage and run the socialist rural economy excellently. Large numbers of modern houses and cultural and welfare facilities have been built in rural communities. Running water, bus and television services have been introduced and, clinics have been developed into hospitals in rural areas. Consequently, the difference in conditions for cultural life between urban and rural communities has been reduced significantly. Outmoded and backward notions and conventions have been cast aside by our farmers. They enjoy sound and optimistic emotional lives and a socialist life style is being established.

Man plays the decisive role in the transformation of nature and society. The agricultural working people are responsible for the construction of the socialist countryside. The transformation of our agricultural working people into socialist working people with a high standard of political and ideological awareness as well as a high level of technical and cultural development is the most important guarantor of complete solution of the rural question.

Thanks to the effective support of the Juche industry, a brilliant victory has been attained in the rural technical revolution.

Agriculture was irrigated and electrified in our country a long time ago. In recent years, great projects for harnessing nature, including the construction of the West Sea Barrage, and the laying of 800 kilometres of canals in the western region, which are aimed at perfecting agricultural irrigation on a higher level, have been carried out successfully. Consequently, our country can be proud of the powerful
irrigation system in the eyes of the world.

Machinery and chemicals in agriculture have also been introduced. A large number of tractors, lorries and various other kinds of modern farm machinery have been produced for the rural areas, with the result that the comprehensive mechanization of agriculture has reached a level, where all major farm operations, ranging from ploughing to threshing, can be done with the help of machines. The amount of chemical fertilizers used has greatly increased, the quality of their properties has improved, and a scientific manure system has been established. Highly effective insecticides, disinfectants and herbicides have been produced and supplied in large quantities to protect farm crops better from insect pests and kill weeds by chemical means. The independent and modern tractor and lorry production centres, farm machinery production works, fertilizer factories and other chemical industry bases established in our country provide a sure guarantee for the completion of the mechanization of agriculture and sufficient use of chemicals for farming.

With the realization of irrigation, electrification and mechanization of agriculture, and extensive chemical applications in farming, the historic task of the rural technical revolution set forth in the socialist rural theses has on the whole been carried out. We have laid solid material and technical foundations to free farmers from difficult and exhausting work and increase agricultural production to a great extent by industrializing and modernizing agriculture through our own efforts and techniques.

Owing to the rural technical revolution and full implementation of the Juche farming method, all branches of agriculture, including grain production, have developed rapidly. Last year we reaped an unusually rich harvest, despite the unfavourable weather conditions.

Under our people-centred socialist system, the material and cultural standards of the farmers have radically improved, thanks to the implementation of the rural theses. Our cooperative farmers live in cosy modern houses built at state expense, free of worries about food and clothing, in the modern socialist countryside, which has been built
up splendidly. The farmers’ standard of living is improving with the passage of time like that of workers and office employees. In our country cooperative farmers also enjoy all the state benefits such as free compulsory education, free medical care and advanced social security. Our farmers were oppressed, maltreated and poverty-stricken for centuries. Now they enjoy, along with the working class, a secure and happy life free from all worries, as the fully-fledged masters of the state and society. In addition to the changes in the social and economic position of the farmers, the conditions needed for their material and cultural life have changed completely, and the former looks of the backward old country areas disappeared long ago.

Owing to the energetic promotion of the ideological, technological and cultural revolutions in the rural communities and thanks to effective guidance and assistance provided by the Party and state to the countryside, our socialist agricultural system has been further consolidated.

A Juche-oriented system of agricultural guidance, a major component of which is the county cooperative farm management committee, has been enforced. Its function and role has been enhanced and the level of the management of cooperative farms has been brought closer to the advanced level of industrial management. The state’s effective material and technical assistance to the agricultural cooperative economy has strengthened productive ties between industry and agriculture, organically linked public ownership and cooperative ownership and enabled the material and technical means of public ownership to account for an overwhelming share of agricultural production. This reveals that our agricultural cooperative economy has been consolidated and developed still more and that the conditions required to gradually turn the cooperative farms into all-people ownership farms are maturing.

Socialism now has deep roots in our countryside and has become inseparable from the destiny of our agricultural working people, who hold the socialist agricultural system as dear as their own lives. Our agricultural system is a Juche-oriented socialist agricultural system,
which develops on collectivist principles, whereby the agricultural workers are the masters of production and management, public ownership and cooperative ownership are closely combined, and the state takes responsible care of the production and management activities of the cooperative farms and the lives of cooperative farmers. Our socialist agricultural system is the most advanced; it provides an independent and creative life for the farming population and also facilitates the assimilation of the farmers with the working class, the development of agriculture into an industrial process and a gradual and smooth conversion of cooperative ownership to all-people ownership. Under the banner of socialist rural theses, our socialist agricultural system clearly reveals its superiority and unbreakable vitality, and opens up a bright future for socialist rural construction and an avenue for the ultimate solution of the rural question.

Through their own experience in the struggle and life, our cooperative farmers and all the other agricultural working people are firmly convinced that the road indicated by socialist rural theses, the road to socialism alone, is the road to genuine life and happiness, victory and glory. They are working hard to defend the gains of socialism they have already won and develop them still further.

The road of capitalism leads the rural workers to degradation and the country areas to backwardness. In capitalist society, owing to its inherent law, the rural workers cannot prevent their differentiation, and the overwhelming majority cannot free themselves from rightlessness and poverty. The historical lesson of building socialism clearly reveals that in country areas, too, defence of socialism implies victory, while its abandonment means death.

We have won a decisive victory in our efforts to implement socialist rural theses. The construction of socialist countryside in our country is entering a new stage of its development. The main task in resolving the socialist rural question is to eliminate the ideological, technical and cultural backwardness of the rural communities, compared to towns. We have solved the basic problem in building socialist countryside by pressing ahead with ideological, technological
and cultural revolutions in the countryside and achieving remarkable successes in these fields; we have reached a high point which affords the prospect of ultimate solution of the rural question. If we consolidate the positions we have already taken and launch a new battle by making more strenuous efforts, we will win a historic victory in the solution of the rural question, the most difficult in the construction of socialism.

We are now faced with the honourable task of finally solving the rural question by following up the success we have achieved in our efforts to implement socialist rural theses.

Our ultimate resolution of the rural question under socialism concerns the future of socialism. Only when we ultimately solve the rural question by accelerating the construction of a socialist countryside can we achieve the complete victory of socialism, display its superiority and indestructibility and increase its attraction. It is a solemn duty we have assumed to the present times and history to solve the rural question successfully in our country which, under the socialist banner of Juche, is defending and developing the socialism of our own style.

Today our Party and people struggle to build socialism in the most complex internal and external situation, and in a sharp confrontation with our enemies. We have to implement the task of a high stage of socialist rural construction in a grave situation and push our way along an untrodden path by overcoming all the difficulties and trials we will encounter to solve the rural question.

As long as we are led by the great Party and followed by our heroic people who are solidly united behind the Party in mind and purpose and possess a people-centred socialist system of our own style and powerful independent national economy with Juche industry as the mainstay, we will unfailingly carry out this difficult and yet honourable task with credit. Upholding the banner of socialist rural theses, all the agricultural officials and farming population must energetically promote the building of a socialist countryside in full confidence. Our working class and all other working people
throughout the country must support the sacred cause of solving the rural question ultimately by carrying out rural theses.

We must develop further the ideological and cultural revolutions to meet the requirements of the new, advanced stage of socialist rural construction.

It is our Party’s consistent line in building socialism to give precedence to the work of capturing the ideological fortress and at the same time provide a strong boost to the struggle to take both the ideological and material fortresses. Only when we prepare our farming population more firmly in terms of their ideological and mental qualities, technical and cultural standards as required by socialism, can we find an ultimate solution to the rural question. We aim to develop the ideological and cultural revolutions in greater depth in the rural communities and definitely raise the ideological, technical and cultural levels of the farmers to those of the working class and completely eliminate the ideological and cultural backwardness of the countryside.

It is difficult to transform the ideology of the farmers and revolutionize them and assimilate them with the working class. The selfishness lingering in the minds of the farmers is very conservative and obstinate. It cannot be eliminated easily in a short span of time. Moreover, in view of the imperialists’ ceaseless attempts to blow the wind of liberalization into our ranks, we must not slacken our ideological work even for a moment. Experience reveals that if the ideological revolution is neglected in socialist society, it will prove impossible to consolidate and develop the socialist system and also defend the gains of the revolution, which have already been attained, as outmoded ideas will be revived and the ideology of the working people will be paralysed. When the new generation, which has not experienced the trials of the revolution, has emerged as the master of socialist construction and people enjoy a carefree life, and especially when the imperialists resort to intensive manoeuvres to undermine socialism ideologically and culturally, we must further the ideological revolution and conduct ideological work among the working people in depth and substantially. This is the most important and essential
requirement in the struggle to defend and accomplish the socialist cause.

By adhering to the Party’s policy of ideological revolution and pressing ahead with ideological work among the agricultural working people, we must train them as revolutionaries, assimilate them with the working class and model them on socialism and the Juche idea.

The essential aim in the ideological revolution is to equip all the agricultural population fully with the Juche idea, the revolutionary idea of our Party. The Juche idea provides a revolutionary and scientific world outlook for the people who strive to safeguard independence and realize it. Education in the Juche idea should be conducted with the main emphasis on education in the principles of the Juche idea in breadth and depth, in close combination with a variety of forms of ideological education including education in Party policy, revolutionary traditions and socialist patriotism.

We must step up education in the Juche idea among the agricultural working people, to ensure that they acquire a firm Juche-oriented revolutionary outlook on the world and are unfailingly loyal to the Party and revolution. We must ensure that they all strive through thick and thin to defend and carry out the Party’s lines and policies, by upholding the leadership of our Party, and fight for the victory of socialism, full of confidence and optimism. We must encourage the agricultural working people to perform their responsibilities and fulfil their role as masters of the revolution and construction with a high degree of consciousness of being masters of the state, society and the socialist countryside. We must also prevent bourgeois ideology and all other reactionary and counterrevolutionary ideas, alien to the Juche idea, from making inroads in our ranks.

In ideological work, great efforts should be channelled into education in class consciousness and collectivism.

Class education is an important requirement for training farmers into revolutionaries and assimilating them with the working class. We must equip the agricultural workers fully with the consciousness and revolutionary spirit of the working class, so that they always adhere to
the revolutionary principle and fight uncompromisingly against imperialism and class enemies of all shades. In particular, we must pay close attention to intensifying education in class consciousness among the new generation in the countryside to enhance their class consciousness.

Socialism is the lifeblood of our people including agricultural workers, and collectivism is the basis of the socialist society. Our agricultural workers, the masters of the socialist countryside, must rid themselves of outdated ideological remnants of individualism and equip themselves solidly with the spirit of collectivism. Education in collectivism must be intensified in the countryside to provide them with a clear understanding that their individual interests are derived from those of the society and the collective, and that the value of their lives and happiness consist in the development of their socialist motherland and the prosperity of the socialist countryside, to ensure that they give full play to their patriotic enthusiasm and devotion in developing socialist rural communities. Our agricultural working people must live up to collectivism in and out of work and thereby make it a rule and their habit to take part in communal labour voluntarily and honestly, treasure communal property and take care of it with an attitude befitting masters, and manage all farm work and activities of the collective economy assiduously and methodically.

The ideological transformation of the people must be pushed forward persistently with a correct methodology.

Influencing the people by popularizing positive examples is the most powerful method of mass education suited to the intrinsic nature of the socialist society. We must provide wide publicity to the good conducts displayed among the working people, so that a noble communist morality comes into full bloom in all families in the countryside, as well as in all sub-workteams, workteams and farms.

We must continue developing the Three-Revolution Red Flag Movement and other mass movements in the countryside to ensure that ideological transformation becomes the concern of the agricultural working people themselves and that the mass movements have a
greater effect on socialist rural construction.

We should intensify their lives in the Party and working people’s organizations to provide them with ceaseless revolutionary education, train them ideologically and heighten their sense of organization and discipline, through their life in organizations.

The first and foremost task of the rural cultural revolution at present is to improve the technical and cultural standards of the agricultural working people to meet the requirements to intellectualize the whole of society.

The intellectualization of the whole of society is a strategic target of our Party’s cultural revolution policy and a lawful requirement to build socialism and communism. We must develop the cultural revolution in depth in the rural communities and improve the technical and cultural qualifications of the agricultural working people. In this way we will carry out the new tasks in the socialist rural construction with success.

To enhance the technical and cultural levels of agricultural workers, we must develop our most advantageous socialist educational system to suit the rural situation. We must modernize the rural schools and further enhance their quality of education. We must strengthen the regular higher education system and set up a large number of study-while-you-work institutions such as farm colleges and agricultural colleges to build up the ranks of agricultural technicians and agronomists systematically and push ahead with the work to make all agricultural workers intellectuals on a long-term basis.

Farms must equip their halls to propagate agricultural science and technology properly, run them on a regular basis, and step up the technical study and imparting of technical skills among farmers, so that they can acquire the latest achievements of agricultural science and technology, operate modern technical means efficiently and master our Party’s Juche farming method.

An important task of the cultural revolution in the rural areas is to establish a cultural and hygienic practice in and out of work in the countryside and eliminate the difference between urban and rural communities in the cultural conditions for the working people.
To raise the standard of clean and hygienic practice in production in the rural communities is very important in increasing agricultural production and establishing the habit of taking good care of communal property. All the farms must treasure the land, the main means of agricultural production, and cultivate it neatly, take good care of the tractors and various other farming equipment and materials and build production facilities neatly and manage them with care.

A cultural and hygienic way of life must be established throughout the modern socialist countryside in keeping with its new features. Community centres at every ri and farm village must be laid out neatly, roads managed carefully, dwelling houses and villages kept clean and neat, and a cultural and hygienic way of life developed. Mass culture and art must be developed and physical culture and sports promoted en masse. All sorts of outmoded habits of life and non-socialist expressions will be opposed, and a socialist way and tone of life must be established in rural areas.

We must build a larger number of modern houses, cultural and welfare facilities in rural areas. To eliminate difference between urban and rural communities in living conditions, we must introduce electrification, running water and bus services, central-heating and gas systems in rural areas. We must follow up our success in electrification, water supply and bus services, complete them at a higher level in rural areas, and introduce central-heating and gas systems in rural villages–these five major tasks must be carried out within the next few years to eliminate the difference between urban and rural communities in their living conditions.

We must step up health and hygienic services in rural areas and improve the medical care of the agricultural population. We must equip rural hospitals better and develop the district medical care system to raise the level of medical service.

We must consolidate and develop successes achieved in the rural technical revolution.

The four major tasks of the rural technical revolution set by socialist rural theses–irrigation, electrification, mechanization and an
extensive use of chemical means—are of paramount importance in eliminating the backwardness of the countryside in the area of technology and placing agriculture on an industrial and modern basis. Irrigation, electrification, mechanization and application of chemical means constitute the material and technical basis for modernized agriculture. Without them it would be impossible to effect the industrialization and modernization of agriculture. We have by and large fulfilled the four major tasks of the rural technical revolution and thereby achieved remarkable progress in the struggle to place agriculture on an industrial and modern basis and laid solid foundations for modern agriculture. Our task at present is to expand and develop our success in the rural technical revolution and raise the industrialization and modernization of agriculture to a higher level.

We must first of all consolidate the success achieved in irrigation, electrification, mechanization and chemical application, to ensure that their effectiveness is exploited to the full. Thanks to the rural technical revolution, our countryside has been equipped with an enormous amount of material and technical means, which serve agricultural production needs. Good care of them and effective use constitutes the first and foremost task in promoting the industrialization and modernization of agriculture. In the field of irrigation, we need to maintain in a good state of repair and consolidate irrigation facilities, water conservation structures, reservoirs, canals and all other means of irrigation on a planned basis and conserve water scientifically and technically, to ensure that damages from drought and flood can be prevented and that the water problem can be solved completely in farming. We must regularly repair and maintain tractors and other modern farm machines, use them effectively and improve the system of electricity supply to rural areas. We must supply a good range of chemical fertilizers, chemicals and herbicides to meet demand and set up a scientific fertilizing system to improve the efficiency of fertilizers. We must ensure that all valuable successes achieved in the rural technical revolution by the joint effort and wisdom of our working class, cooperative farmers and all other people and on the strength of
self-reliance and fortitude under the leadership of the Party, prove very effective and bear fruit in the development of our socialist rural economy.

We must steadily enhance the level of industrialization and modernization of agriculture by further expanding and developing the successes registered in the technical revolution in rural areas.

As irrigation and electrification have been completed at a high level, we must concentrate our efforts on expanding and developing successes in mechanization and chemical application. We can only carry out successfully the political and economic tasks of the rural technical revolution, aimed at freeing the agricultural workers from backbreaking labour and augmenting agricultural production when we have raised the comprehensive mechanization of agriculture and application of chemical means to the rural economy onto a higher level. Only when we develop mechanical techniques in the countryside and supply larger numbers of various machines to rural areas can we consolidate successes achieved in irrigation, perfect the irrigation system and follow up the successes in electrification. We must mechanize all farm work, ranging from major operations to auxiliary jobs in crop-raising; we must also work hard to mechanize fruit-growing and other branches of the rural economy. Chemicals should be used to kill weeds in all paddy and non-paddy fields, prevent damage by all insect pests and raise per-hectare crop yields. Based on our developing Juche-based industry, we must invent and manufacture larger numbers of tractors and lorries, and other kinds of effective, modern farm machines suited to our countryside, supply them to rural areas, and develop new varieties of effective chemical fertilizers, chemicals and produce them for the countryside.

Rural technical revolution successes should be consolidated on by completing the realignment of land and solving the problem of fuel needed to mechanize the rural economy. Land realignment is a gigantic project which will transform the land surface, expand the area of farm land and raise the level of mechanization of the rural economy. People in the rural economy must work out annual plans for land realignment
and concentrate machines and other technical means and manpower on large-scale land realignment, to change small plots of paddy fields and slopping fields in a short period into large standardized fields for mechanized farming. We must set up solid production bases of such fuel substitutes as methane or subbituminous coal in county towns and ri of the countryside, produce large quantities of fuel substitutes and use them extensively for tractors, lorries and various other farm machines.

We must develop agricultural science, adopt its successes extensively and implement the Juche farming method of our Party to make agricultural production more scientific and intensive.

We must establish solid agricultural research institutes, intensify agricultural research and step up the green revolution. In particular, we must draw on successes in cell engineering, genetic engineering and other spheres of modern biology to obtain good, high-yielding seeds and develop the techniques of crop raising and livestock breeding.

The Juche farming method created by our Party is a scientific and technical method of farming suited to the climatic and soil conditions of our country and the biological characteristics of crops; this method is used to grow farm crops in a highly intensive way using modern science and technology. Drawing on successes in agricultural science and technology, we must develop and enrich the Juche farming method and do all farm work in a scientific and technical manner.

We must put agriculture on an industrial, modern basis and develop farming methods and the system of crop growing in order to gradually eliminate the distinctions between industrial and agricultural labour and enhance the efficiency of agricultural labour. In future, we must ensure that a farmer manages at least ten hectares of paddy and non-paddy fields.

We must draw on rural technical revolution successes and the development of agricultural science and technology, to increase agricultural production.

Grain production is the basic farming element. Our Party has already set a target of 15 million tons of grain. We must soon increase
the per-hectare yield of rice and maize to at least eight tons each in all areas and on all farms, and then to ten tons or more. In addition, we must reclaim tideland energetically, protect farm land and obtain new land, in order to expand the area under cultivation. In this way we will fulfil and even exceed the grain production target set by the Party in the near future.

We must develop all branches of agriculture including stock-breeding, fruit-growing and silkworm-raising, as well as grain production, to find a better solution to the problem of food for the people and supply an adequate amount of agricultural raw materials to meet the demands of industry.

Assistance to rural areas must be stepped up, in keeping with the development of socialist rural construction.

Working-class guidance to the peasantry, industry’s assistance to agriculture and urban support given to the countryside: these are the intrinsic requirements of the socialist society and a fundamental principle of solving the socialist rural question put forward in the rural theses. Under socialism assistance to rural areas should constantly be strengthened, until the countryside reaches urban levels in all aspects. We must intensify assistance to rural areas in political, economic, cultural and other fields, in accordance with the present requirement of socialist rural construction.

It is the historical mission of the working class to free the farmers from exploitation and oppression by leading them along the road of socialism and eliminate distinctions between the working class and peasantry and build a classless society by training them as revolutionaries and assimilating them with the working class. We must ensure that the working class improve their revolutionary character, sense of organization and cultural refinement to set an excellent example in transforming the peasantry along revolutionary and working-class lines and enhance their leading role in socialist rural construction.

What is important in socialist rural construction at present is to intensify industry’s material and technical assistance to agriculture. In
socialist society, agricultural productive forces develop in the wake of industrial productive forces, and industry's material and technical assistance is a prerequisite for putting agriculture on an industrial and modern footing. We must increase the capabilities of the Juche-oriented industry and further develop industrial branches, directly serving agriculture, particularly those which produce tractors, lorries and other modern farm machines and chemical fertilizers, so that our industry vigorously promotes the industrialization and modernization of agriculture. All industrial sectors must provide active material and technical assistance to agriculture, as required by the agriculture-first policy of our Party and produce on a preferential basis the fuel, power, equipment and materials needed for agricultural production and rural construction.

Commodity supplies to rural communities should be improved. Only when an adequate amount of industrial goods is turned out and supplied to the countryside, can the economic ties between towns and countryside be fully guaranteed, farmers' living standards systematically improved, their zeal for production heightened through the correct implementation of the socialist principle of distribution in the countryside. We must step up the revolution in light industry, produce a wide variety and larger quantities of industrial goods for the countryside to fill rural shops with high-quality household utensils and articles for cultural use, as well as daily necessaries, so that the rural population can buy at any time whatever goods they need.

In addition, it is important to fix the prices of industrial products supplied to the countryside and the purchasing prices of agricultural products reasonably. In our country the state uniformly fixes the prices of industrial products and the purchasing prices of agricultural products. These prices serve as an important economic lever, which guarantees production and commercial ties between towns and countryside in a planned way and urban support for the countryside. We must properly fix and apply the prices of industrial products and the purchasing prices of agricultural products on the principle of...
strengthening industry’s assistance to agriculture and urban support for the countryside, to ensure a balanced development of industry and agriculture and an equitable improvement of the living standards of workers and farmers.

We must firmly adhere to the principle of aid to the countryside, always pay close attention to the development of agriculture and the lives of agricultural workers, accelerate agricultural industrialization and modernization on the basis of industrial development and take positive state and social measures to provide the farmers as well as the workers with better working and living conditions.

To eliminate distinctions between towns and countryside and finally solve the rural question, we must draw on our success in the ideological, technological and cultural revolutions to eliminate the distinctions in the standard of economic management between industry and agriculture, and gradually transform cooperative property in the countryside into all-people property.

The basic method of eliminating the distinctions in the standard of economic management between industry and agriculture is to bring the management method of the agricultural cooperative economy close to the advanced enterprise management method of industry indicated by the rural theses.

After the cooperativization of agriculture in the countryside, our Party established the Juche-oriented system of agricultural guidance centring on the county cooperative farm management committee. Ever since then it has steadily improved its guidance and management of the socialist rural economy. The reality of our rural communities clearly reveals that the system of agricultural guidance established by our Party constitutes the most effective way of giving industrial guidance and the state’s material and technical assistance to the cooperative rural economy.

We must build up the county cooperative farm management committee and other agricultural guidance organs, in keeping with the requirements of the developing situation and enhance their functions and role to improve the guidance and management of the rural economy.
Now that the material and technical foundations of the rural economy have been incomparably consolidated and the level of agricultural industrialization and modernization is rising every day, we must decisively improve technical guidance to agricultural production. Technical guidance of agricultural production is the main task of the county cooperative farm management committee, which provides direct guidance to the production and management activities of cooperative farms in the field. The management committee must establish a well-organized system of technical guidance, provide scientific and technical guidance to all agricultural production processes, as required by the Juche farming method and ensure that the cooperative farms make effective use of modern farming machines and farming materials. The management committee must also build up the state enterprises, which serve the rural cooperative economy and manage them skilfully, so that they play a greater role in the agricultural production of cooperative farms and effectively realize the state’s material and technical assistance.

To guide and manage the rural economy, the level of planning and economic effectiveness of production must be raised. The state planning institutions and the agricultural guidance organs must draw up a dynamic and feasible agricultural production plan and assess its implementation substantially, so that agricultural workers display a high sense of responsibility and great enthusiasm for the plan. They must work out an accurate, well-coordinated plan of material supply and technical assistance for the rural economy, and supply all farming equipment and materials punctually as planned. The agricultural sector must make strenuous efforts to economize manpower to the maximum, make rational use of the farming equipment and materials and increase the economic effectiveness of production.

The management of cooperative farms must be improved. The cooperative farms must organize farm work rationally to suit natural and geographical conditions and their specific farm situation and correctly coordinate farming processes, the organization of labour and the utilization of equipment and materials in a comprehensive manner,
so that all farming operations are carried out qualitatively in the right season. Cooperative farms must manage manpower, equipment, materials and funds efficiently and observe the principle of democracy in their management.

Cooperative farms must organize workteams and sub-workteams in a rational way and run them efficiently; they should also apply the workteam premium system and sub-workteam management system properly. A sub-workteam is a cell of communal labour and collective life. The sub-workteam management system is an excellent mode of production organization and management method which ensures that farmers take a sincere part in production and management as masters, bearing affection for the communal economy. The superiority of the system should be given full rein to steadily improve the cooperative farms’ production and management and cultivate the sense of collectivism among farmers.

Cooperative ownership should be switched to all-people ownership by consolidating and developing the agricultural cooperative economy.

The switchover is a historic event of completely transforming the farmers’ socio-economic relationships. This is a great social change; nevertheless, unlike the transition of private ownership to socialist ownership, this represents a development from the lower stage of cooperative ownership to a higher stage of all-people ownership, as part of the same socialist ownership; this work must, to all intents and purposes, be carried out gradually in keeping with the maturity of all conditions and possibilities.

The fundamental prerequisite for the transition is to raise the level of ideological consciousness of the cooperative farmers and consolidate the material and technical foundations of the cooperative economy. A vigorous drive should be launched in socialist rural construction to capture the ideological and material fortresses and thereby train cooperative farmers as revolutionaries, assimilate them with the working class and put the rural economy on a high industrial and modern footing. Only on this basis can cooperative ownership be transformed into all-people ownership. If cooperative property is made
the property of the entire people too hastily without sufficient ideological, material and technical preparations, it will spawn an unhealthy tendency to eat the bread of idleness in the countryside, decrease agricultural production and cause a great hindrance to the overall construction of socialism. We have been creating favourable conditions for the transition of cooperative ownership to all-people ownership in the future by carrying out ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside, while closely combining the two forms of ownership and steadily improving the leading role of all-people ownership, in conformity with the basic principles of solving the socialist rural question and the principles elucidated in the rural theses. We must consolidate and develop the success which has already been achieved in socialist rural construction and efficiently perform the task of switching cooperative ownership over to all-people ownership without any deviations.

Cooperative farms should be converted into all-people property with the county as a unit. In our country the county is the base for linking the towns with the countryside in all spheres of politics, the economy and culture and serves as the basic unit for the direct guidance and management of the rural economy. In a county there are farm machine stations, farm implement factories, irrigation administration offices and other state enterprises, which serve the rural economy. Equipment and farming materials are supplied to cooperative farms with the county as a unit. Therefore, cooperative ownership must be transformed into all-people ownership with the county as a unit. Even after the conversion of cooperative farms into state farms of all-people ownership, the rural economy must be developed on a county basis.

The forms and methods of converting cooperative property into all-people property, must also accord with the socialist rural economic system of our country and the specific situation in our rural communities.

As a well-organized agricultural guidance and management system has been established with the county as a unit in our country, the most
reasonable form and method is to convert cooperative farms in the county into state farms under all-people ownership and let the county undertake their unified guidance and management. This will make it possible to manage satisfactorily the farms, which have come under all-people ownership, using and consolidating the comprehensive guidance and management system of the rural economy existing in counties and the material and technical means, which serve agriculture. In this case, the county cooperative farm management committee may be changed into a state farm management committee, an agricultural guidance body, or into an agricultural complex. If the management committee is transformed into an agricultural complex rather than an agricultural guidance body, this will enhance its sense of responsibility and role in agricultural production and improve its industrial direction of farms.

When the county cooperative farm management committee is transformed into an agricultural complex, the state enterprises serving agriculture and state farms will come under its jurisdiction. Both the complex and the enterprises and farms under its management must operate on a self-balancing system and they all will become involved in the dual self-balancing system. We have introduced the self-balancing system with the county as a unit in Sukchon County to act as an example, in anticipation of the transformation of cooperative property into all-people property.

When we convert cooperative farms into state farms under all-people ownership, we should somewhat expand the size of farms by their reasonable merger and adjustment, to make effective use of land, irrigation facilities, tractors and other production means.

In a county of moderate size, where the level of management of the county cooperative farm management committee and cooperative farms is high, all the cooperative farms and the state enterprises that serve agriculture in that county may be merged into a state farm. The former cooperative farms will become its branch farms and the former enterprises its workshops. If this is done, the cooperative farms and agricultural enterprises in the county will come under an integrated
The integrated farms, organized as model units in Sonbong and some other counties through the merger of agriculture and also local industry, goods distribution, education, culture, health care and all other local administrative and economic functions, must continue to operate, further improving their management. With the development of the farms of all-people ownership and the accumulation of experience in the operation of different kinds of state farms, the number of such integrated farms may increase.

Even after cooperative ownership is converted into all-people ownership, all state farms should be managed under the self-balancing system and the socialist principle of distribution should be thoroughly implemented. This is an important requirement for rationally managing the state farms of all-people ownership and stimulating the farmers’ productive enthusiasm to give full play to the advantages of state farms.

We must define the correct forms and methods of transforming cooperative ownership into all-people ownership, by drawing on the advantages of the socialist agricultural system of our style and on our success in building a socialist countryside, preserving the existing guidance and management system of agriculture without changing it too much, and taking each local situation into careful consideration. The conversion of cooperative ownership into all-people ownership should be carried out on a trial basis in some counties, where all conditions including the ideological level of farmers and the material and technical foundations of the rural economy have fully matured. It should then be extended to other counties gradually, as we accumulate experience. This will enable us to avoid possible deviations and losses during the transformation of cooperative ownership into all-people ownership, carry out this task smoothly and further develop the rural economy without any turns and twists.

As cooperative farms will be switched over to state farms of all-people property on a county basis, the county will continue playing
an important role as the base which links town and countryside and as an all-embracing unit of guidance and management to the rural economy. Therefore, we must build up the county, further develop local industry, and improve education, culture, health care and public welfare. The county must expand and strengthen the enterprises and the production establishments serving the rural economy in order to speed up agricultural development. All the counties must make it their goal to develop agricultural production and improve the living standards of the rural population and must promote the construction of socialist countryside.

The complete conversion of cooperative property into all-people property will establish an undivided sway of all-people property in our country. We must fulfil the historic tasks of eliminating the distinctions between urban and rural communities, the working class and the peasantry, solving the rural question ultimately and realizing a classless society, by advancing along the road indicated by the socialist rural theses, along the road of our socialism.

To solve the rural question successfully, the Party must strengthen its guidance of socialist rural construction.

Party leadership is the lifeline of socialist rural construction and the building of socialism as a whole. Without Party leadership, it would be impossible to successfully solve the difficult and complex problems of socialist rural construction.

The Party organizations in the agricultural sector must strengthen organizational and political work and ensure that all officials and working people of the rural economy accelerate socialist rural construction under the leadership of the Party. Party organizations and Party officials must pay deep attention to the rural question, mobilize the Party’s efforts to give a strong boost to rural work and encourage the masses to give active assistance to the countryside.

It is important to enhance the role of the county Party committee in improving Party guidance to the rural economy.

The county Party committee is the lowest leadership unit of our Party. It must work mainly among the rural communities. Our Party
policy is amplified by the county Party committee to suit the specific local situation and implemented under its guidance. Enhancing the role of the county Party committee is an important factor for success in the construction of the socialist countryside.

The county Party committee must exert great efforts to implement the Party’s rural policy. It must hold fast to the Party’s rural policy and define the direction and methods of its implementation correctly, intensify political work among the masses as required by the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method, and vigorously mobilize them in the implementation of Party policy. It must encourage the officials of the county cooperative farm management committee and other administrative and economic bodies to do all the work of socialist rural construction in a responsible manner, by displaying a high revolutionary spirit, Party spirit, working-class spirit and the spirit of service to the people, true to the Party’s rural policy.

It is now an important task of the county Party committee to strengthen the rural bulwark of socialism politically, ideologically and in class terms. The county Party committee must intensify Party work, work among the people, in the countryside and rally the broad masses more closely behind the Party, by thoroughly implementing the mass line of the Party, so that they share life and death and destiny with the Party and support the Party leadership loyally. The county Party committee must strengthen the Party committees and rural Party cells and help and lead all rural Party organizations to perform their functions and role properly.

The struggle of our Party and people to build the socialist countryside is a glorious and fruitful struggle. We must continue innovations and advance to speed up the development of the socialist countryside and hasten the complete victory of socialism.

I believe that all those present at the national agricultural conference and all the agricultural working people throughout the country will effect a new revolutionary change in socialist rural construction by working hard, holding aloft the banner of socialist rural theses.
FIVE MAJOR TASKS OF PARTY CELLS

A Letter of Congratulations to the Delegates to the National
Conference of Party Cell Secretaries
March 31, 1994

It is of great significance to hold a national conference of Party cell secretaries today when our Party has risen to a new high under the banner of modelling the whole Party on the Juche idea, and when the entire Party and all the people are on a great vigorous march of the 1990s in single-hearted unity. This conference, the first of its kind in the history of the Party, marks an important milestone in strengthening and developing our Party and making it invincible, as well as fortifying the bulwark of socialism in our country by enhancing the function and role of Party cells.

I extend my warm congratulations to the conference delegates and all our Party cell secretaries, who, loyal to the Party leadership, are devotedly struggling to strengthen the Party and advance the socialist cause.

Our Party is a glorious party with deep historical roots. It is the revolutionary party of Juche which, guided by the Juche idea, struggles for the cause of the independence of the masses of the people.

The foundation of our Party and its development are inconceivable without the development of cells, the basic Party organizations. In view of the cell’s very important place and role in Party building and Party activities, we have consistently paid close attention to strengthening Party cells and other grassroots organizations ever since
the days when its foundation was prepared.

In accordance with the policy adopted at the historic Kalun Meeting in 1930, we conducted the work of founding the Party by forming the basic organizations first and then increasing and strengthening them. Since its foundation, the Party has been expanding its ranks by recruiting advanced elements from among workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people, and organizing its cells in factories, enterprises, farm villages and in all other places where there are Party members and the masses, as well as strengthening the militant function of its cells to meet the actual requirements at each stage of the revolution. By strengthening the cells and enhancing their function and role, our Party became invincible, having achieved unity and cohesion in its ranks on the basis of the Juche idea and become a harmonious whole with the masses.

In the period when the historic task of modelling the whole society on the Juche idea came to the fore, our Party put great effort into the work of cementing its cells to meet the requirements of a new, higher stage of the revolution. After the training course held at the proposal of the Central Committee of the Party for the Party cell secretaries from all parts of the country in 1991, a vigorous movement was launched to create loyal Party cells throughout the whole Party under the slogan, “Let us make all the Party cells loyal cells!” and their militant function and role have been enhanced as never before.

Today, Party cells are admirably performing their duties and noble mission in further developing the Party into the revolutionary party of Juche and continuing to promote the Juche revolutionary cause.

The brilliant successes in building the Party and in the development of our revolution are associated with the silent efforts and exploits of the Party cell secretaries. With a high sense of pride and revolutionary awareness that they are the junior political workers of the glorious Workers’ Party of Korea, the cell secretaries have devoted their all to the struggle for the Party and the revolution, wishing for neither honour nor reward. With revolutionary conviction and intense loyalty, they wholeheartedly support the Party, concern themselves with the
political life of their fellow members and working people, and resolutely organize and rouse Party members and other working people to creative efforts and exploits by standing in the forefront of the struggle to build socialism.

In speaking highly of the great contribution made by the Party cell secretaries to strengthening the Party and realizing its leadership in the revolution and construction, I express my heartfelt gratitude to the delegates to the conference and all our Party cell secretaries.

The most important revolutionary task now facing our Party and our people is to safeguard and defend our own style of people-centred socialism against the provocations of the imperialists and reactionaries and develop it further.

The socialism established in our country by implementing the Juche idea under our Party’s leadership is a genuine kind of socialism which accords with the people’s aspirations to independence. Whether or not we defeat the enemy’s manoeuvres, and defend the socialist cause of Juche, depends much on how we strengthen the Party, the General Staff of the revolution, and how we enhance its leadership role.

Party cells are not only the cornerstones of our Party, but the revolutionary posts guarding Korean socialism as well. They are the base for training Party members into revolutionaries and assimilating them into the working class, the base for linking Party members with the Party Central Committee and establishing unbreakable ties between the Party and the masses, and the base for mobilizing its membership and other working people for the implementation of the Party’s lines and policies. Only when all our Party cells are strong can the Party be indestructible and can the driving force of our revolution become unconquerable. Only when all the Party cells perform their function and role satisfactorily can the advantages and vitality of our socialism be displayed at their best. Strengthening Party cells is an important guarantee for consolidating our Party and increasing the motive force of our revolution and firmly defending and developing socialism in our country.

Our Party has entrusted this important revolutionary post to the
Party cell secretaries. Our Party trusts them deeply and expects a great deal from them. Their duty before the Party and revolution is extremely profound.

All the Party cell secretaries must, with a high sense of responsibility and honour, train their cells to be unfailingly loyal to the Party and to be militant cells which powerfully organize the masses in the struggle to defend and develop the cause of socialism.

Party cells must, above all else, loyally support the unified leadership of the Party Central Committee.

Ensuring the unity of leadership in the Party is the fundamental principle of Party activity. Loyal support for the undivided leadership of the Party Central Committee is the lifeblood of the Party cells. It is only when all the Party cells are unfailingly loyal to the leadership of the Party Central Committee that the whole Party can be an invincible force acting with a unity of mind and purpose.

Today the cause of our Party, the Juche revolutionary cause, is being honourably furthered by the leadership of Comrade Kim Jong Il who possesses an excellent personality and qualities as the people’s leader. Our Party has successfully solved the question of ensuring the continuity of leadership to meet the requirements of revolutionary development and the desire of the masses. This is the success in which our Party can take the greatest pride in its development; it firmly guarantees a bright future and a brilliant victory for our Party and revolution.

All the Party cells must maintain efforts to establish the monolithic system of Party leadership. Party cells must accept the Party’s lines and policies, its decisions and instructions unconditionally and carry them out; they must educate and lead the Party members and other working people to be unfailingly loyal to the Party leadership. Party cells must staunchly defend the Party Central Committee and strongly combat all manifestations which impede the Party’s unified leadership.

Party cells must be efficient in organizing and guiding the Party life of their members.

Party life is an excellent school for training Party members to be
revolutionaries loyal to the Party and the revolution. The basic duty of Party cell is to properly organize and guide the Party life of its members.

Party cells must intensify the organizational and ideological life of Party members in order to train them to become staunch revolutionaries who are unfailingly loyal to the Party and revolution and capable of unyieldingly fighting for the victory of the socialist cause in the face of any adversity. Party cells must encourage Party members to improve their appreciation of the Party organization and establish the tone of leading Party life on their own accord and in a revolutionary way so that they all take part in Party life with the sort of sincerity required by the regulations for Party life. Party cells must organize and conduct Party organizational and ideological life such as the review of Party life and Party study sessions on a regular basis; they must conduct Party meetings at a high political and ideological level, give Party assignments to their members which suit their level of preparedness and assist their implementation in every way. Party cells must properly organize and guide the Party life of their members by closely combining it with the fulfilment of their revolutionary tasks and thus ensure that the Party members always play a leading and exemplary role in implementing their revolutionary tasks.

Party cells must improve work among the masses and unite broad sections of the latter firmly behind the Party.

Work among the masses is an undertaking to transform the people’s ideology and arouse it to activity; it is an important task for consolidating the mass foundation of the Party and strengthening the driving force of the revolution. Party cells must efficiently work among the masses to provide revolutionary education and to rally them closely behind the Party Central Committee and make an active contribution to strengthening the single-hearted unity of all Korean society.

In working among the masses we must direct our primary efforts to the work with the basic section of the masses in order to consolidate the class basis of the Party and strengthen the core of the revolution
still further so as to ensure that they never forget their class position and continue to resolutely fight for the Party and the revolution. Party cells must work more energetically with people from all walks of life who have different social and political backgrounds to unite still more people around the Party and ensure that all the people have absolute trust in the Party and unhesitatingly share their destiny with the Party in any trials.

Party cells must give effective assistance to the League of Socialist Working Youth and other working people’s organizations and animate them to work among the masses to suit their characteristics.

Party cells must push ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions to stimulate constant innovation and growth in socialist construction.

The Party members’ and working people’s loyalty to the Party and revolution must find expression in the practical struggle for the revolution and construction. Workers and farmers who make innovations in production and construction, intellectuals who render a valuable scientific and technological contribution to socialist construction, and soldiers of the People’s Army who defend the country by unquestioningly dedicating their youth and life—precisely these people are loyal to the Party and the revolution.

Regarding the ideological revolution as their first and foremost revolutionary task, Party cells must intensify education in the Juche idea among Party members and working people. We must ensure that all Party members and working people digest the Juche idea as their unshakable faith, think and act as required by that idea at any time and any place, and prevent any heterogeneous idea or any unsound way of living from infiltrating our ranks. They should be taught to cherish unfailing loyalty to the Party, staunch revolutionary spirit, unshakable faith in socialism, ardent patriotism and noble moral traits, and bring into fuller bloom in our society the beautiful communist morality of helping and leading each other forward and sharing weal and woe on the principle of one for all and all for one.

Party cells must make a great effort to carry out the cultural
revolution so that all Party members and working people study hard and strive tirelessly to improve their cultural and technical standards as well as enjoying to their heart’s content the socialist cultural life, with its rich emotions and high cultural attainments.

Party cells must strengthen organizational and political work to make sure that the Party members and working people accelerate the technical revolution and make innovations in building the socialist economy. Party cells in the industrial sector must encourage the working class, which is responsible for the leading branch of the national economy, to carry out the national economic plan on a daily, monthly and quarterly basis without fail by displaying a high revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude and increase the might of Juche industry. Party cells in the agricultural sector must lead our agricultural working people to farm in a scientific and technological way using the Juche farming method, with an awareness of being responsible for the country’s food production and fulfil the high target of agricultural production set by the Party. For the present Party cells in all sectors of the national economy must initiate a fresh, revolutionary advance in building the socialist economy by organizing Party members and working people effectively for implementation of the Party’s revolutionary economic strategy.

Party cells in the fields of science, education, arts and literature, public health, and the press must work among intellectuals efficiently so that the latter, with the honour and pride of being intellectuals of Juche Korea, devote all their creative wisdom and talents to the development of socialist culture.

Party cells must always pay deep attention to national defence.

We are striving to build socialism in conditions of sharp confrontation with the enemy. The imperialists and their lackeys are now daily intensifying their military threats and provocations against our Republic, the bulwark of socialism.

Party cells must see to it that Party members and working people sharpen their revolutionary vigilance against the enemy’s aggressive and provocative manoeuvres, study military affairs in real earnest, and
make full preparations for reliably defending the security of the country and its socialist gains. Party cells must encourage Party members and working people to display fully the traditional traits of unity between the army and the people and ensure that the army and the people, as one, firmly defend the socialist motherland.

First, to support the unified leadership of the Party Central Committee with loyalty, second, to organize and guide Party life effectively to transform each Party member into a revolutionary of the Juche type, third, to efficiently work with the masses in order to strengthen the blood-sealed ties between the Party and the masses, fourth, to expedite the three revolutions in ideology, technology and culture to promote socialist construction, and fifth, to defend the security of the country and its socialist gains reliably—these are the five major tasks Party cells must tackle at present.

All Party cell secretaries must adhere to these five tasks and carry them out to the letter.

Whether a Party cell fully plays its function and role or not depends on the preparedness and role of its secretary. It is only when a Party cell secretary is unfailingly loyal to the Party that his cell becomes a loyal cell, and it is only when he organizes his work proficiently and executes it forcefully that his cell becomes a militant one.

The Party cell secretaries must be truly loyal men and women totally devoted to the Party.

They must be loyal to the Party as a result of their own conviction and build this loyalty into their own psychological make-up. They must fully assimilate the greatness of our Party and the validity of its cause, firmly resolve to cast their lot with the Party forever, and dedicate their lives to fighting constantly and with devotion for the Party and the victory of its cause without the slightest vacillation. They must support and safeguard the Party politically and ideologically at the risk of their own lives, with an unshakable conviction that life or death for the sake of their loyal devotion to our Party is a matter of honour.

The Party cell secretaries must become the standard-bearers of
revolution and of struggle who staunchly champion the Party’s lines and policies and lead the masses to implementing them.

They must, with a strong revolutionary spirit and unwavering Party and class principles, do all work in the interests of the Party and the revolution and organize the masses forcefully in the struggle to implement the Party’s policies. They must stand in the forefront of the struggle anywhere anytime, weather all difficulties and obstacles, achieve a breakthrough, set an example for the people and lead them forward. They must uncompromisingly combat all practices which are contrary to the Party’s lines and policies and infringe upon the interests of the Party and the revolution.

The Party cell secretaries must be truly faithful servants of the people.

They must have a correct outlook on the masses that the masses are the masters of our society, revolution and construction, sincerely love and respect the people and devote themselves, soul and body, to the struggle for their interests and happiness. They must always listen to the people, share the good times and bad with them, help them solve their difficult problems, and meet their demands promptly. They must not throw their weight about, and must refrain from expecting privileges and special benefits and indulging their greed for material wealth; they must always be frugal, sound and upright in their lives.

The Party cell secretaries must make unremitting efforts to improve their political and practical qualifications.

Unless they steadily raise the level of their qualifications to meet the requirements of the developing reality, they cannot organize and guide the Party life of its members properly nor can they efficiently mobilize Party members and the masses for the implementation of Party policy. They must equip themselves fully with the revolutionary idea of our Party, the Juche idea, be well versed in its lines and policies and master its method of work. They must study hard and make tireless efforts, so as to thoroughly prepare themselves to be competent workers possessing high political and theoretical qualifications and practical ability.
The Party organizations at all levels must build up the ranks of their cell secretaries, help them well, and lead them forward properly so that they can all play their role satisfactorily.

I firmly believe that the delegates to the national conference of Party cell secretaries and all our Party cell secretaries will perform their duty with credit, in support of the Party leadership, and prove themselves worthy of the Party’s great trust and expectations.
Thank you for your congratulations on my birthday. Welcome to my country.

I wish you further success in your just work of news service. I am ready to answer your questions.

**Question:** The United States and south Korean authorities have recently begun to aggravate the situation, alleging that the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea possesses nuclear facilities which can manufacture nuclear weapons.

What is your country’s view?

**Answer:** We have built nuclear facilities through our own efforts, and through our own nuclear technology, in order to strengthen the country’s power industry base; our nuclear programme is, to all intents and purposes, a peaceful one. We have repeatedly clarified that we have no intention or capability to develop nuclear weapons. We feel no need for such weapons. Even if we were to manufacture one or two, they would be of no use to us, as the Government of our Republic is consistently striving to denuclearize the Korean peninsula.

The nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula was raised owing to the
introduction by the United States of nuclear weapons into south Korea. The United States has shipped many nuclear weapons into south Korea, in order to prolong their occupation of south Korea, a strategic point, oppose our Republic and execute her aggressive Asia-Pacific strategy.

The termination of the cold war in international relations over recent years and the adoption of a nonaggression agreement and a joint declaration on the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula between north and south Korea have deprived the United States of any justification for the presence of nuclear weapons and aggressive troops in south Korea. Therefore, the United States has conjured up fictitious “nuclear suspicion” about us and is intentionally stirring up tension on the Korean peninsula to a critical point, in order to trump up an excuse for continued occupation of south Korea and stifle our Republic. South Korean authorities, in line with the nuclear din of the United States, are also bent on igniting a new war.

As the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula has emanated from the United States’ hostile policy towards the DPRK, it must be resolved through dialogue between our country and the United States. The United States also admitted the need for this move and negotiated with the DPRK last year. The joint statement agreed upon at the talks and published by both sides points out explicitly that the United States shall refrain from any nuclear threat against us, respect the other’s sovereignty, desist from interference in its affairs and shall support the peaceful reunification of Korea. However, the United States continues its manoeuvres against the DPRK, even after the publication of the DPRK-US joint statement. The United States has breached the agreements signed with us and has engendered a break in the DPRK-US talks, driving the situation in our country to extremes and setting international organizations in motion to pressurize us.

Pressure never solves a problem. It is a miscalculation to think that the United States can bring our people to their knees through pressure and force, a people who regard independence as their lifeblood. If the United States continues to clamour for sanctions against our Republic,
we will be compelled to take due self-defence measures to safeguard the dignity of our nation and sovereignty of our country.

We have consistently advocated resolution of the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula through dialogue. If the United States sincerely wants to see a solution of the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula, it must desist from international pressure against our Republic and adhere seriously to the DPRK-US talks. The peaceful resolution of the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula is entirely dependent on the attitude of the United States. International organizations must not comply with the unjust demands of a big country; they should abide by the principles of justice and fairness in their contribution to the resolution of the nuclear problem on the Korean peninsula.

**Question:** What is the basis of the foreign policy of the DPRK? How are you promoting relations with China and other neighbouring countries?

**Answer:** The Government of our Republic bases foreign policy on the ideals of independence, peace and friendship. These ideals are equitable as they reflect the common aspirations and desires of our people and progressive people throughout the world to oppose all manner of domination and subjugation and build a new world of independence, peace and friendship. On the basis of these ideals, our Government strives to develop friendly, cooperative relations with socialist and non-aligned countries; we have also established friendly relations with capitalist states, which respect the sovereignty of our country, and are promoting economic and cultural exchange with them.

The Government of our Republic pays particular attention to expanding good relations with our neighbouring countries.

Relations between countries cannot be developed favourably through the efforts of one side alone. Some of our neighbours are on friendly relations with us, while others are not.

Relations between our country and China are amicable. The two countries are neighbours with a river as a border. Their peoples are
close comrades-in-arms and brothers fighting for a common cause; they fought against imperialism in firm unity, shedding their blood, and have supported and cooperated with each other in the struggle for socialism. Traditional friendship between Korea and China continues to develop in the political, economic and cultural spheres, thanks to the joint efforts of the Parties, Governments and peoples of the two countries.

Japan is also our neighbour. However, normal relations have not been established between the DPRK and Japan. Successive Japanese governments have pursued a hostile policy towards our country; in recent years Japan has obstructed any solution to the nuclear problem on the Korean peninsula with ulterior intent in the political and military spheres, exploiting the anti-DPRK racket, raised by the United States. If the situation on the Korean peninsula worsens and a contingency arises, Japan will also suffer. The Japanese government should face reality squarely and act with prudence.

**Question:** How does the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, as a socialist country, react to foreign investment in its territory?

**Answer:** Our Government has consistently sought to expand and develop economic and technical exchange and cooperation with different countries, by building an independent national economy.

As our socialist independent economy, based on modern technique, develops further, our economic relations with foreign countries expand and develop in trade and in various ways, such as joint ventures and collaboration. This helps build up our economy and also conforms with the trend of international economic cooperation.

We encourage investments by foreigners in our Republic based on principles of full equality and mutual benefit, and have enacted and promulgated the Law on Foreign Investment and other relevant laws, in a bid to protect foreign investments and guarantee investors’ legal rights and interests. It is widely known that we have declared the Rajin-Sonbong area a free economic trade zone. We provide more
favourable circumstances and foreign investment terms. The Rajin-Sonbong free economic trade zone, situated on the borders of Korea, China and Russia, has attracted considerable interest from foreign investors, owing to its enormous economic potential and favourable natural and geographical conditions. Many countries have expressed the hopes of investing here. If foreigners invest in this zone, they will contribute greatly to the expansion and promotion of regional economic cooperation, as well as economic and technical exchange among various world countries.

The Government of our Republic is open to foreign investors.

**Question:** What do you feel about the prospects for Korea’s reunification?

**Answer:** The division of our nation by foreign forces has continued for nearly half a century. It is our people’s supreme task to end the tragedy of national division and to reunify the country; this task must not be delayed.

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

We sincerely hoped that the south Korean authorities would embark on the path of reconciliation and cooperation in response to our 10-point programme. However, ignoring the aspiration of the entire nation for reunification, they follow the road of dependence on foreign forces and north-south confrontation. The present “regime” of south Korea is a flunkeyist, traitorous regime kowtowing to foreign forces.

Grave difficulties and obstacles impede our people’s reunification, owing to the machinations of the south Korean authorities to oppose
reunification and unleash a new war. However, we are optimistic about the prospects for national reunification.

Our nation is homogeneous boasting a 5,000-year-long history. No force can keep our nation eternally divided. The reunification of the country constitutes the unanimous desire and vital demand of the whole nation. Only a handful of traitorous forces, subservient to great powers, oppose such a step. It is inevitable for the nation, which has been artificially divided by foreign forces, to be reunified. The reunification forces will prevail unfailingly over the divisive forces.

We have already advanced the most reasonable proposal for national reunification. Our proposal to reunify the country as a federation based on one nation, one state, two systems and two governments, is just and realistic in view of the different ideas and systems existing in the north and south of Korea, as it makes it possible to achieve independent, peaceful reunification at the earliest possible date, on a fair basis where neither side will subjugate the other or be subjugated. This proposal envisages that our country will, after its reunification, become a neutral state, which is neither the satellite of another country or a member state of any political and military alliance or bloc. Consequently, it also accords with the wishes of neighbouring countries and the peace-loving people of the world.

The whole nation unanimously desires its reunification. As we offer the most reasonable, realistic way, the historic cause of national reunification will inevitably be achieved.

I would like to take advantage of this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to the Party, Government and people of the Republic of Cuba for their continued strong support and encouragement in our people’s cause of national reunification.

**Question:** How do you evaluate current relations between your country and Cuba, and what are your recollections of meeting Chairman Fidel Castro Ruz?

**Answer:** Although oceans and continents separate Korea and Cuba,
the peoples of our two countries are united by bonds of friendship, as if we were neighbours. The friendship between our two peoples is a militant friendship of class brothers, who are fighting against imperialism and for victory in the socialist cause; it is a true and durable friendship founded on revolutionary principles and comradeship.

The friendly, cooperative relations between our two countries have evolved on a new scale, since my meeting with Comrade Fidel Castro. I still recall my meeting with Comrade Fidel Castro in Pyongyang in 1986 with profound emotion. This is when our long-aspired first historic meeting took place. We had a number of talks and conversations in a comradely atmosphere. We, the leaders of our two countries, discussed a number of matters of common concern, including the further extension and development of friendly and cooperative relations between Korea and Cuba, and reached agreement on all debated issues, consolidating our friendly relations. Comrade Fidel Castro’s visit left an indelible impression on our people.

After his visit to our country, unexpected and complicated events occurred in the international arena. However, the friendly and cooperative relations between our two countries have continued to develop in the spirit of agreements between the two leaders at their meeting, without wavering in the vortex of the historical whirlpool, which affected the destiny of socialism.

The Cuban people are a heroic nation; they have confidently defended socialism in the Western Hemisphere despite the difficulties caused by persistent imperialist manoeuvres to isolate and stifle them. Our people have a high regard for the fraternal Cuban people’s successful implementation of strategic tasks to cope with the “special period of peaceful times”, solidly united behind the Communist Party of Cuba, headed by Comrade Fidel Castro, that outstanding leader of the Cuban revolution, and express their wholehearted support and staunch solidarity with them.

The common desire of our peoples advocates further promotion of friendly and cooperative relations between Korea and Cuba. By flying
the banner of socialism, held high in our two countries, we will contribute greatly to the defence of the cause of socialism and to the attainment of mankind’s cause of independence. The Korean people will also in future exert every effort to further develop relations of friendship and cooperation with the fraternal Cuban people.

I extend friendly greetings to the fraternal Cuban people and wish them from the bottom of my heart, ever greater success in their struggle to safeguard their national sovereignty and independence, and the construction of socialism.
I warmly welcome you, members of the Pyongyang-visiting group of former heads of state and government and other politicians of different countries. It is very kind of you to visit our country on the occasion of my birthday, coming all this way despite a complicated situation.

I believe that your current visit to Pyongyang will make a great contribution to the reunification of our country and world peace.

Some of you are already acquainted with me and some others I am meeting for the first time; strangers will become familiar to me and friendship with old acquaintances can be deepened by this opportunity.

I thank you, the Executive Director of the Summit Council for World Peace, for kindly introducing to me members of the Pyongyang-visiting group. I am glad to make acquaintance with many people this time. People become friendly being able to meet each other.

I received a letter from you, in which you asked to visit Pyongyang by passing through Panmunjom; I welcomed your suggestion, considering it wonderful. But, owing to the rejection of the south Korean authorities, you could not come by way of Panmunjom.

If you had come via Panmunjom, it would have been beneficial to you in many respects. A nice motorway has been built between
Pyongyang and Kaesong, so it does not take long to come to Pyongyang from Panmunjom. If you had passed through Panmunjom, you could have known better about the agony our people are suffering from the national division.

Our nation has suffered from territorial division for about half a century. Since the division into the north and the south in the 1940s, our country has not yet been reunified. The UN flag which was put up in Panmunjom over 40 years ago still remains there. If you had passed through Panmunjom, you could have seen it.

I happened to meet an American on his visit to our country; he said that when he returned home, he would go to south Korea by way of Panmunjom. So I replied: I agree with you; if you go to south Korea by way of Panmunjom, you will be the first American to have passed through since the armistice; passing through Panmunjom would be a good experience for you, in that it would help you, an American, understand the agony the Korean people are suffering from territorial division.

Because you failed to pass Panmunjom when coming to Pyongyang, it would be advisable for you to visit it during your stay in our country.

Some of you are visiting our country for the first time; you can frequently visit it. Our country has never closed the door. We have no secret that we cannot open to you. If we have any, it is a military secret; it is a way of life that different countries do not open their military secrets to the public. We keep military affairs secret, but we make no secret of other things. You can take pictures of anything in our country, looking around as you want.

At present, some people make up false propaganda about our country, but in our country there are no unemployment, no beggars and no homeless people. Apparently there is no country in the world but our country where there are no unemployed people and no beggars. I have never been to the United States, but in this developed country, too, there are many unemployed or homeless people and beggars, I was told. When American evangelist Billy Graham was on a visit to our
country, I asked him if there are the unemployed or people who sleep outside in the United States. He replied that there are. I might visit the United States in the future. You said that if I went to New York and attended the UN General Assembly session, it would be a great historical event; I thank you for your compliment, but I have no intention to do so. If I visit the United States, it will be for the friendship between the peoples of Korea and the United States. Instead of attending the UN session, I will go angling or hunting before coming back.

The reality of our country is as you saw. We do not want to cover up the fact. We cannot say that our people’s life is affluent, but they live equally without worry; nobody is particularly well off or badly off. Tax has been long abolished in our country. Recently, our country set forth the agriculture-first, light industry-first and foreign trade-first policy; if this policy is put into effect in several years, our people will become better-off.

In our country, if one picks up money or articles by chance, he finds out the owner and returns it, instead of making it his own. Sometime previously, a woman merchant came to our country from Hong Kong and stayed in a hotel; for her carelessness she lost her purse in which there were tens of thousands of dollars. She thought that she would never get the money back. But, a chambermaid found the purse and returned it to her. The merchant was deeply moved and said that such a laudable deed could be found only in the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea.

Our country was liberated in 1945 from Japanese colonial rule. When we started building a new society after returning home in triumph, one of the knotty problems was the shortage of intellectuals who possessed technological knowledge. Before liberation there was no university in north Korea, so there were few university graduates. Those who took part in the anti-Japanese armed struggle were crack-shots, but they were not technically able to draw up a plan or run a factory. We asked around the country for intellectuals, with the result that some medicine or law graduates were available, but there were
only 12 engineering graduates. In other words, only one in 700,000 people was a technologist or engineer.

I thought that if we were to build a new society, a primary concern was to train intellectuals and to this end, a university had to be set up. At that time, some people asked how could one establish a university when teachers were not available. They argued that founding a university was impossible. However, I decided to set up a university whatever might happen and found intellectuals who had been scattered here and there, and even called for intellectuals from Seoul. I established Kim Il Sung University first and, afterwards, set up many universities and colleges. While training intellectuals in our institutes of higher learning, we sent young people abroad for study, thereby solving the intellectual problem successfully. Today, we have 1.7 million university graduates which means one graduate among 11 people. Compared to the army, it means one university graduate in a squad. We have now plenty of graduates.

The emblem of our Party has a brush symbolic of intellectuals, together with a hammer and a sickle which symbolize workers and peasants. Only our Party described a brush in its emblem. The parties of the former Soviet Union and other countries had not included a brush in their emblems. When we were founding the Workers’ Party of Korea by strengthening and developing the Communist Party into a mass party, we added a brush to a hammer and a sickle in the Party emblem. Since we strengthened and developed on time our Party into a mass party which included intellectuals as well as workers and peasants and set forth a correct policy on intellectuals, we could gain a brilliant success in building a new society after liberation.

The Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries which had been building socialism all collapsed, but our country is steadily following the socialist road instead of falling down; this is because our Party has carried out the Juche-oriented line and policy. It sets forth all lines and policies to suit our people’s demand for independence and the specific reality of our country and implements them thoroughly. This is immediately Juche and our own style. Our Party has not approached
Marxism-Leninism mechanically, but developed and applied it creatively and carried out the revolution and construction in our own way based on the Juche idea. Nowadays, some people say that Korea will fall down because the Soviet Union and the Eastern European socialist countries all collapsed, but our country is unshakable. Our Party is the party of a new type, the revolutionary party of Juche, unprecedented in the world and socialism of our country is a socialism of Juche. To bring about friendship with us, you need to have a correct understanding of socialism of our style.

The former Costa Rican President, the head of the Pyongyang-visiting group, said that he was deeply impressed by the fact that not even a single inch of land is left idle in Korea. Our country has many mountains and a small area of arable land. At present, the arable land in our country is only 1.3 million hectares; of these, 0.6 million hectares are paddy fields and 0.7 million hectares are non-paddy fields. Last year the crops suffered some damage from cold weather in the east coast area, but it does not cause a problem in supplying food to the people. We can have a bumper harvest this year.

This year marks the 30th anniversary of the publication of my *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. Last February we celebrated the 30th anniversary of the publication of the theses. During 30 years since the publication of the theses, a great change has been brought about in the countryside of our country.

Living on rice and meat soup in tile-roofed houses, wearing silk clothes is the centuries-old desire of our people. Our Party is working to realize this desire of the people.

What is most important in realizing this desire is to ensure that people live on rice. In our country, rice has been called royal rice or Ri’s rice because only royal families ate rice under the Ri dynasty. At present, we are working hard in order to supply enough rice to all the people. If the need for food is to be satisfied in our country, we must produce more than 10 million tons of grain.

What is important in increasing agricultural production is to complete irrigation, electrification, mechanization of the rural
economy and to make proper use of chemicals. Irrigation is particularly important in this regard.

The Yonbaek Plain and the Jaeryong Plain of South Hwanghae Province are the largest ones in our country. Rice produced in the Jaeryong Plain is so good that royal families of the Ri dynasty ate this rice. These plains are fertile and have a warm climate. However, the water could not be supplied there for farming in the past because a big river was not available around there. Without water, a good harvest would be inconceivable, no matter how large and fertile the land is. After building the West Sea Barrage a gigantic irrigation project was carried out to draw the water from the Taedong River to South Hwanghae Province. As a result, the Yonbaek Plain and the Jaeryong Plain are now provided with enough water.

We have directed particularly great efforts towards irrigation since immediately after liberation, building reservoirs in many places and launching projects to supply water to paddy and non-paddy fields. On the Taedong River alone, many barrages including the West Sea Barrage were built creating a water capacity of billions of tons. The irrigation of the rural economy has been already completed in our country. Electrification of the rural economy and farming using chemicals have also been put into effect.

Farm mechanization, too, has been realized in the main. For the mechanization of the rural economy, all the fields should be realigned nicely so that machines can work there. But, the realignment of fields must be done in the period following autumn harvesting to the sowing period next year, so it is not an easy job. Machines used in the mechanization of the rural economy are the indigenous production of our country. Now that the mechanization of farms has been realized mostly in plain areas, it can be completed in mountainous areas, too, in the near future.

You said that looking around Pyongyang and many local areas, you recognized that many news reports of Western countries about our country were false. It is very important for mass media to ensure fairness in their activities. At present, newspapers, news services and
the broadcasts of Western countries say in public that they maintain objectivity in press activities, but, in fact, they work at the manipulation of the authorities. That is why they give out many false reports, deceiving and ridiculing people.

Recently, the mass media of Western countries are continuously making false reports of our country, keeping pace with the imperialists who are instigating the International Atomic Energy Agency to put unreasonable pressure on us to receive nuclear inspections. The imperialists ask us to show nuclear weapons, alleging that we produced them, but we have no nuclear weapons. We need not produce them. We cannot produce them to use against fellow countrymen, nor do we have any means for their delivery even if we want to use them against other countries. Because our country has a small territory, we have not even a place to conduct a nuclear test. However, the IAEA demands nuclear inspections alleging that we have nuclear weapons. We stated more than once that we have no intention or ability to produce nuclear weapons. The newspapers, news services and broadcasts of Western countries are clamouring against our country, continuously giving out false reports about the fictitious “nuclear problem”, but we do not read or listen to them.

At present the mass media of Western countries are making a fuss calling us “war maniacs”, quoting what our representative said against the south Korean representative blaming us, at the working-level contact for the exchange of the special envoys for the north-south summit. If we turn Seoul into a “lake of fire”, our fellow countrymen would die. We do not like doing it. We have built a lot up to date and are now making efforts to build more three- or four-room flats and provide people with better living conditions. We do not want what we have built being destroyed by war. Bellicose people are insane.

I was told that CNN International and a Japanese television service broadcast the April 15 holiday celebration held last evening. We are grateful to them. I hope that you will visit our country frequently and widely introduce the reality of our country and our stand.

There is no nuclear weapon in our country and there will be no
nuclear weapons, in the future, too. We do not want to be a military power. After reunification our country will not become a satellite of any other nation. Our country neighbours such big countries as Russia, China and Japan, but she will be an independent, sovereign and neutral state which is not a satellite of any other nation. When the former chancellor of Austria paid a visit to our country, I told him: After the reunification of the country, we will make her a neutral country as Austria; she will not be a pawn of any big countries nor shall she be controlled by them. She will become an independent, sovereign and non-aligned state.

You asked me how I can lead a long life in good health. Living optimistically is the key to my good health. And I am healthy because Comrade Kim Jong Il takes good care of me. He made sure that documents are recorded on tape before being sent to me, for fear that my eyesight might fall if I read too many papers. So I listen to the recorded documents, staying in the room, taking a walk, riding in the car or angling. Listening while fishing does not cause any trouble. If I miss a passage while catching a fish, I review the tape and listen again. Because I listen to the recorded documents, I know inside out not only the internal situation but also the world situation, while protecting my eyesight.

If there is any sign that an influenza prevails, Comrade Kim Jong Il advises me to go to a safe place, for fear that I catch cold. If I do not leave immediately, he urges the officials concerned to do so. Indeed, I have a good son. Thanks to his careful concern, I enjoy good health even at the age of 82. I enjoy walking and take exercises of different kinds. I might work ten years more. My hand is not yet tremulous when writing. When a Chinese doctor visited our country sometime previously, he asked me to sign my name. He had gotten my autograph in the past, but I granted his request, though I had some doubts why he was asking for my signature again. He went to the Chinese Embassy in our country and told the ambassador that people over 80 years often have shaky handwriting, but President Kim Il Sung is not tremulous.

Nowadays, too, I give personal guidance to factories and rural
communities. To lead all affairs of the country, I must go out among the people from all strata of society including workers, peasants and youth and students and talk much with them. Only then, can I avoid committing errors in my work. If one decides matters only after reading documents in the office, he will lapse into subjectivity and exercise bureaucracy. We can find a correct solution to any problem when we go among the people and take their opinions into consideration, instead of dealing with it only by resorting to papers.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European socialist countries resulted from the fact that bureaucracy was rampant and worship of powers prevailed. The parties and governments of these countries paid no attention to the people’s opinion and exercised bureaucracy, thereby breaking away from the masses of the people. As a result, they lost the support of the people and at last perished. The leader of a country must accept the people’s opinion and their demands and work relying on them. Some of you were presidents, governors-general and prime ministers in the past, so you know this truth well. The Eastern European socialist countries had a strong sense of worship towards the Soviet Union. These countries followed the Soviet Union blindly. Even a saying went about that when it was raining in Moscow, East German people took umbrellas, though it was not raining in Berlin. The Eastern European socialist countries had imitated the Soviet Union blindly like this, so they collapsed when the latter perished.

Though I say it myself, I do not behave bureaucratically or work out of any subjective desire. Comrade Kim Jong Il, too, follows my example, never being ridden by bureaucracy or subjectivism. He always goes among the people and listens to them to solve every problem fairly. His successful leadership over the revolution and construction is related to his extraordinary leadership ability and noble personality. Comrade Kim Jong Il is the excellent people’s leader who has both literary and military knowledge combined with a loyal and filial mind. So I wrote a poem of eulogy to him on the occasion of his 50th birthday.

You asked me if we have any intention to open doors as other
countries do. We have already opened doors. It is not that only the declaration of an open-door policy means opening the country. In the economic field, we encourage joint ventures and collaboration with other countries, allow foreign investment and create free economic and trade zones. Opening doors is not any special measure. If foreigners can enter our country freely for economic activities, it means opening doors.

I consider our open-door policy as the best policy. We open doors in our own way. I hate imitating other countries. I would persuade our officials that if there is something to learn from other countries, they could learn, but they should not swallow it whole, that they should chew it first and if it suits their taste, they can swallow it, but if not, they should spit it out and that if they swallow what does not suit their taste, they may suffer indigestion.

In order to gain a success in the revolution and construction, one must use one’s brain to solve all problems in keeping with the interests of one’s country and people. If one follows this principle, there will be nothing impossible.

This morning I received the questionnaire from the journalist delegations of CNN International and NHK. I will answer their questions by letter.
ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED 
BY A JOURNALIST DELEGATION 
FROM THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER, 
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

April 16, 1994

Welcome to our country.
Thank you for your congratulations on my birthday. I shall answer your questions.

Question: When we met two years ago there was much hope throughout the world that the situation on the Korean peninsula would be peacefully resolved and that some sort of peaceful reunification could take place in the near future. Yet since that time the situation has worsened until now and all sides speak openly about the possibility of war. Who is responsible for this?

Answer: As you rightly pointed out, the situation in our country is far worse than it was two years ago. By making unilateral demands in direct violation of its agreements with us, the United States is threatening us with military forces, which have been reinforced in south Korea and around the Korean peninsula. It is stepping up the pressure by manipulating even international organizations. The south Korean authorities, in tune with the United States’ nuclear clamour, have engineered a rupture in contacts between working-level delegates for the exchange of special envoys between north and south, and are fanning north-south confrontation and war hysteria. These have
rapidly aggravated the situation on the Korean peninsula, and created the threat that war may break out any minute. It is intolerable on any account to continue threatening others with force, now that the cold war between East and West has come to an end. The world’s attention is now focused on Korea, and the situation on the Korean peninsula causes great apprehension to peace-loving people throughout the world.

**Question:** Like south Korea, your nation experienced the ravages of war less than half a century ago. Yet one of your officials recently said that the DPRK is “ready for dialogue or ready for war.” Why would war even be an option when the Korean people on both sides have already lost so much to war and have had to painfully rebuild from the bottom? How could there be any “winners” under such a scenario?

**Answer:** Our people love peace and treasure what they have built through their devoted efforts. War will benefit neither north nor south. If a war breaks out in our country, our nation will suffer greatly. The Government of our Republic consistently hopes to find a peaceful solution to the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula through dialogues with the United States and has been making every effort to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country.

We set great store by peace and do not want war. However, if anybody breaches our sovereignty and attempts to conquer us by force of arms, we will be obliged to exercise our right to self-defence and counter him with armed force. No attempt should be made to bring us to our knees or stifle us by pressure and threats. This path leads to war. The Government of our Republic and our people regard their sovereignty as their lifeblood and are firmly determined and prepared to defend the freedom and independence of their country from any encroachment.

**Question:** Would not a violent end to negotiations on reunification and nuclear issues inevitably mean that Korea would enter the new century
devastated militarily and economically leaving Japan and China to dominate the strategic and economic future of Asia? Isn’t it the most urgent priority that the two Koreas come together and successfully plan a joint future?

**Answer:** To shape the future of Korea successfully, north and south must reject dependence on foreign forces and exert joint efforts. Korea belongs to the Korean people, which is capable of shaping the country’s future. No one else can bring the Korean nation reunification and prosperity. Dependence on foreign forces is the path to national ruin; national self-reliance alone is the road to independence and prosperity. This is the truth we gained in the long revolutionary struggle, as well as a lesson of history.

Our struggle to reunify the country, which was divided into north and south by foreign forces, is also aimed at attaining the prosperity of the country and nation through the united efforts of the people. When our country is reunified and the effort and wisdom of the whole people are pooled together, our country will become more prosperous and more civilized, and make a better contribution to the common cause of the peoples of Asia and the rest of the world for peace and prosperity.

**Question:** The statement by one of your negotiators recently that the DPRK would consider turning Seoul into a “lake of fire” has led many in the United States to believe that you may initiate war with the south. Is this a wrong reading of this statement?

**Answer:** This remark was made by an individual official to calm down war maniacs. I think there is no need to be nervous about it.

**Question:** What would it take, from your perspective, to get relations between the DPRK and the United States back on track, moving toward a peaceful resolution of all issues?

**Answer:** The joint statement agreed upon and published by the DPRK and the United States clarifies the principles of refraining from
the threat and use of force, including nuclear weapons, respecting each other’s sovereignty, refraining from interfering in each other’s affairs and supporting the peaceful reunification of Korea. Both the DPRK and the United States must adhere to these principles and carry them out in good faith. Then, all the problems arising between the DPRK and the United States could be resolved satisfactorily.

**Question:** A Pyongyang radio broadcast last month warned that your nation may have to “reconsider its official denuclearization policy”, because “Japan is promoting nuclear armament policies.” Are you reconsidering your policy?

**Answer:** Japan’s moves to arm itself with nuclear weapons are entering a dangerous phase, presenting a great threat to peace and security in the Asian region including the Korean peninsula. If Japan pushes its nuclear armament policy in full swing, our efforts to denuclearize the Korean peninsula will come to nothing.

We are all very apprehensive about this potential development.

**Question:** One US policy expert recently pointed out that the DPRK had been ignored for nearly half a century by the United States but this changed with the nuclear issue. Have you found that your nuclear programme is an important element in getting the attention of the United States and in being taken seriously by them?

**Answer:** It is well known that the United States has ignored our Republic for half a century and pursued a policy against socialism and the DPRK. It is good that, after the termination of the cold war, some far-sighted figures in the United States insist on establishing peaceful relations between the DPRK and the United States.

We are not using, as some people claim, the “nuclear issue” as a means to improve our relations with the United States. The relations between countries only improve, when they understand each other and reach agreement; they are never improved by the use of artifice by either side.
**Question:** What lies behind your nation’s seeming “on-again-off-again” approach to international inspections to which you agreed voluntarily in 1992?

**Answer:** Since the very first day, when the United States brought nuclear weapons to south Korea, we have striven to denuclearize the Korean peninsula. We acceded to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), to make the United States withdraw nuclear weapons from south Korea and effect the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. Nevertheless, our sincere efforts were disregarded. Instead, attempts were made to violate our sovereignty through inspections, contrary to the principles stipulated in the NPT; therefore, we were compelled to declare our withdrawal from the NPT as a measure of self-defence. Subsequently, however, as a show of our goodwill, to prove the innocence of our nuclear programme, we permitted the requisite inspections from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Certainly, some problems appear to have cropped up during the inspections, but these problems have been raised in the special circumstances, where we have suspended temporarily the effectuation of our withdrawal from the NPT. In essence, these are transitional circumstances and will be resolved of their own accord, when negotiations over the nuclear issue proceed satisfactorily in the future.

**Question:** Last month your Foreign Ministry announced that your nation may withdraw completely from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), because IAEA inspections are “unfair.” What will it take to resolve the nuclear issue from the DPRK’s perspective?

**Answer:** The satisfactory resolution of the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula depends entirely on the attitudes of the parties concerned. If one side attempts to exploit the nuclear issue for its selfish goals, or if the international agency, governed by the principle of fairness, adheres to someone’s unreasonable demands, the nuclear
issue will never be resolved. As mutual understanding between both sides is a precondition for negotiations, it is intolerable that one side makes its demands absolute.

The first and foremost principle for settling the nuclear issue is fairness. If fairness is ensured and there is mutual understanding, the nuclear issue will be resolved without difficulty. We have consistently stated that the issue must be resolved through dialogue and negotiations.

If the United States adopts a sincere attitude to resolving the issue, it will not be as complicated as has been made out today, and can be resolved more easily than we think.

**Question:** In addition to the NPT, your nation signed an agreement with south Korea in 1991 barring the production, testing, and deployment of nuclear weapons and the reprocessing of fuel. Your critics contend that with the reprocessing facility at Nyongbyon you are openly violating this agreement. What is your response?

**Answer:** The adoption of the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula between the north and the south of Korea is an epoch-making development, which will prevent a nuclear holocaust in Korea and ensure genuine peace and security. This is the result of our long, persistent efforts to denuclearize the Korean peninsula. We will make every effort to implement the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

Our radiochemical laboratory, described by some people as a “reprocessing facility”, is in fact an indispensable element for the development of our peaceful nuclear power industry and has nothing to do with the “development of nuclear weapons”. If the proposal for a package deal of the nuclear problem becomes a reality through the DPRK-US talks and the light-water reactor is delivered, nobody will suspect the peaceful character of our nuclear activity.

**Question:** American intelligence officials have given your nation high
marks for weapons technology and have stated that they now believe that the DPRK has developed at least one or two crude nuclear weapons. Has your nation successfully developed a nuclear weapon?

**Answer:** We have already declared on numerous occasions that we do not need to make nuclear weapons and lack the will and ability to do so. However, US intelligence agencies have invented intelligence materials devoid of any authenticity and are clamouring that we are involved in “nuclear development” or have made one or two nuclear weapons. This cannot be considered anything other than pursuit of an ulterior, political purpose.

**Question:** Before I left to come to the DPRK, the big news in the United States was that satellite intelligence has convinced the United States that the DPRK is doubling its reprocessing capability. Are these reports accurate?

**Answer:** The West has been speculating and making exaggerated reports about our “nuclear problem”.

Western countries unreasonably connect our peaceful nuclear activity with “nuclear weapons development”, which is fictitious, and fuss as if something grave had happened. This is aimed at increasing “nuclear suspicion” about us.

**Question:** No doubt you have deeply analyzed US intentions as regards the DPRK. What is your assessment of the US position towards your nation? What outcome is the US seeking?

**Answer:** Apparently there are still many people in the United States, who have failed to get rid of the concept of confrontation dating back to the cold war and are not willing to shake off the war psychology of the ’50s. They emphasize the “alliance” with south Korea, avoid talks with us and increase the military threat and pressure upon us. I believe that all this is due to such old conceptions.

Such sections are resorting to attempts to isolate and stifle our
Republic. Such a policy which runs counter to the times, is bound to fail.

**Question:** The United States has announced its intention to deploy *Patriot* missiles in south Korea. Top defense officials have told me that they are confident that your military has accurately assessed that these are for defensive, not offensive, purposes only. What is your assessment of this planned deployment?

**Answer:** The United States is now bringing *Patriot* missiles to south Korea and advertising them as defensive, rather than offensive, weapons. To all intents and purposes, *Patriot* missiles are war weapons, regardless of their use. Shipping them to south Korea will increase the tension in the Korean peninsula. Therefore, the south Korean people also oppose their shipment to south Korea. Nothing can justify the shipment of *Patriot* missiles to south Korea.

**Question:** Your nation has declared that the imposition of possible economic sanctions by the United Nations against north Korea would be considered “an act of war.” What would the DPRK’s response be to such sanctions? How damaging would sanctions be to your economy?

**Answer:** If the United States forces unwarranted pressure like “economic sanctions” upon our Republic through the UN Security Council, we will consider this to be a grave challenge.

We will never permit all manner of hostile acts, encroaching upon the sovereignty of our country. No military provocations or economic sanctions will bring us to submit or stifle us.

**Question:** The big question among experts in Washington is what does President Kim Il Sung ultimately want from the United States? In the area of diplomatic relations? Economic relations? Do you have a timetable for advancing such relations?

**Answer:** An improvement in relations between countries does not
mean that one side is charitable.

We do not want to improve our relations with the United States because we seek some kind of benefit from this country. We want the peoples of Korea and the United States to abandon hostile relations and establish normal relations and thereby live in peace with each other and make a contribution to peace in Asia and the rest of the world. I think it is high time that the United States discarded its hostile policy towards us and established a policy of goodwill towards Korea.

We consider it desirable to normalize relations between Korea and the United States as soon as possible.

**Question:** You have served as leader of your country through the terms of every American President since President Truman. But this is perhaps the most significant period involving relations with the United States since the Korean War. What is your impression of President Clinton and his policy towards the DPRK?

**Answer:** I think it is significant that talks have begun between the DPRK and the United States and that agreement has been reached on important principles during the Clinton Administration. It is most important that we continue consistent and sincere efforts to bear good fruit.

**Question:** The US State Department still classifies the DPRK as a “terrorist state.” What do you say to this accusation?

**Answer:** This is part of the policy against the DPRK. The Government of our Republic not only rejects all sorts of terrorism, but also opposes any encouragement and support for terrorists.

**Question:** The DPRK leadership succession plan has been under way for several years and Chairman Kim Jong Il has assumed his role step-by-step. Can you reveal your retirement plans? When will Chairman Kim Jong Il assume full leadership of the Party and state?
**Answer:** Comrade Kim Jong Il has long been leading the work of the Party, the state and the army as a whole in our country. All his thinking and activities are consistently devoted to fully realizing my ideas and intentions. His ideas and leadership reflect precisely my ideas and leadership.

Our people have been holding Comrade Kim Jong Il in high respect and absolute trust since long ago, calling him “dear leader”.

Because Comrade Kim Jong Il, who is endowed with all the qualities and qualifications for the people’s leader, has taken over our ideas and leadership creditably, all work is going well in our country and will continue to go smoothly in the future, as well.

Serving the country and people faithfully to the end is the noble duty of revolutionaries. Although I am advanced in age, I am still healthy and continue to work. I will work with all my strength to help Comrade Kim Jong Il in his work.

**Question:** As you know, relations between China and the United States have recently been dominated by human rights issues. China has argued that the United States cannot impose its standards on their country. If the US and the DPRK develop open relations, no doubt the human rights issue will loom large. What is your position on this?

**Answer:** By human rights we mean the people’s rights to independence as social beings, while a civilized society fully ensures the people their rights to independence.

Our country is socialist, based on the masses of the people. In our country the people’s individuality and their rights to independence are respected and protected substantially. The Government of our Republic provides all members of society equally and fully with all their rights as social beings, including the rights to work, rest, education and medical care, as well as political freedom and rights. From their own life experience our people are convinced that our socialist system is truly popular, as it guarantees all the people a worthwhile and dignified life. The standard of human rights which is
approved by the people is just.

The concept of human rights, based on the American view of values, cannot be applied to our country. It cannot be regarded as suitable, if it is used for political purposes or put forward as a prerequisite to the development of relations between countries.

**Question:** What is your current thinking on expanding economic ties with the world and opening free economic zones like China? Do you still plan to open a free economic zone at the port of Rajin in the next few months?

**Answer:** We are building and developing an independent national economy, but this does not mean that we rule out economic cooperation with other countries.

The promotion of economic and technical exchanges and cooperation with other countries on the principle of complete equality and mutual benefit is an invariable policy of the Government of our Republic. As our economy develops, our external economic relations will be expanded and developed even further.

To meet the demands of economic development in our country and the international trend towards economic cooperation, we are developing foreign trade and expanding economic relations with other countries in various forms and methods, such as joint ventures and collaboration.

We are now building the Rajin-Sonbong area as a free economic trade zone and are providing in this area more favourable circumstances and conditions for foreign investment. We promulgated relevant laws already in 1992, to enable foreign investors to invest money, set up and manage foreign enterprises in the Rajin-Sonbong free economic trade zone. At the recent Seventh Session of the Ninth Supreme People’s Assembly, we decided to make unremitting efforts to build the zone and provide foreign investors with satisfactory investment terms.

Many foreign investors are interested in our Rajin-Sonbong free economic trade zone and are expressing plans to invest. If they do
invest in this zone, they will contribute to the expansion and development of their economic ties with our country and also their economic and technical exchange and cooperation with different countries the world over, including China and Russia.

**Question:** What is the status of reunification talks with the south? Is the DPRK’s timetable for reunification still 1995, just one year away?

**Answer:** It is our consistent aim to reunify the country peacefully through dialogue and negotiation.

The north and south have, via dialogue, agreed on the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity, the fundamental principles for reunification, and adopted the Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, Cooperation and Exchange between them and the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. On the basis of these results, in May last year we made a constructive proposal for exchanging special envoys of the highest authorities of both sides in order to solve the nuclear problem of the Korean peninsula and find a way for reunification.

We have worked to engage in dialogue at official and public level, in order to create an atmosphere of harmony and unity of the whole nation. But the south Korean authorities have, by bringing the “nuclear problem” to the fore, blocked dialogue on a public level, and even between the authorities.

Consequently a joint meeting of the DPRK Government, political parties and public organizations recently made a new proposal for holding in Pyongyang or Seoul on August 15 this year a national conference of the authorities and representatives of political parties and organizations and individuals from north and south and representatives of overseas compatriots. This demonstrates once again our sincerity and desire to hold a broad dialogue of the whole nation, including the authorities.

We will continue to make sincere efforts to solve peacefully
through dialogue and negotiations pending problems arising between north and south and the reunification issue.

As is widely known to the public, 1995 is the timetable for reunification, set by our 70 million fellow countrymen. Our compatriots in the north, south and abroad have every confidence in reunification and have worked hard to achieve it.

It is only one year until 1995, which our people fixed as the year for achieving reunification, but we are not disheartened. The question depends on how all our compatriots in the north, south and abroad unite and work. The Koreans, whether they live in north or south or abroad, are members of a homogeneous nation, which has descended from Tangun, so they are bound to achieve unity transcending everything. We have set out 10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for the Reunification of the Country, in order to achieve national unity and the historic cause of reunification. I believe that, if all the people are united closely under the banner of great national unity and struggle, we will be able to achieve national reunification, overcoming any difficulties and obstacles.

**Question:** As you look back on your long life in politics, do you feel you have fulfilled all of your dreams? Or is there still an unfulfilled dream?

**Answer:** I have devoted myself to achieving the sovereignty of our nation and the independence of our people. We have, through long and arduous struggle, achieved national independence and established the most excellent, people-centred socialism of our own on this land. By implementing our Party’s Juche idea, the socialist system, a genuine society for the people, has been established. Our people have been freed from exploitation and oppression and have become the masters of their own destiny. Consequently their centuries-old desire has been fulfilled and they have come to exalt the dignity and honour of an independent people.

A revolution, aimed at achieving the independence of the people, is not accomplished in the lifetime of one generation; it is a long
undertaking, carried on for many generations until its completion. We have done a great deal of work, but we still have a great deal to do. We must achieve the cause of socialism in the northern half of Korea and reunify the divided country. It is the desire of our nation and myself to end the division of the nation, which was caused by foreign forces and reunify our country. We will reunify our country independently and peacefully, by uniting the efforts of the whole nation and will accomplish through generations the revolutionary cause of Juche, which we started.

**Question:** This is an opportunity for you to tell the world clearly what you want to say. What is your message? In specific, what is your message to the leadership of the United States?

**Answer:** Ours is an age of independence. Many countries aspire to independence and fight every manner of domination and enslavement. People’s desire for independence and many countries’ advance along the road of independence are the main trend of our times, which no force can ever check. All nations round the world must respect, cooperate with one another and make joint efforts to achieve the common prosperity of mankind, on the principles of international justice and equality, in accordance with the trend of our times towards independence.

We hope that the United States will also abandon its outmoded cold war conceptions and keep pace with the age of independence. Then the US will make a notable contribution to world peace and progress.
Question: President, how do you view the “crisis” and alleged “development of nuclear weapons” in the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea? How do you think that this situation can be resolved?

Answer: The “development of nuclear weapons”, alleged by the United States is a lie invented in the pursuit of its political aim to impair the image of our version of socialism and stifle our Republic. The United States’ nuclear clamour against our Republic is utterly unfounded and can in no way be justified.

To resolve the present crisis on the Korean peninsula, the DPRK and the United States must settle the nuclear issue peacefully through talks and negotiations. Pressure or force will not resolve the problem.

If the US desists from its clamorous pressure against our Republic and takes a sincere attitude in dialogue with us, it will be possible to ease the tension on the Korean peninsula and settle the nuclear issue satisfactorily.

Question: The United States and south Korea have officially announced that there are no nuclear weapons in south Korea.

Do you believe this? If not, we would like you to tell us why.
**Answer:** The whole world knows that the US has brought more than 1,000 nuclear weapons into south Korea.

Official figures of the US have declared that nuclear weapons have been withdrawn from south Korea, but there is no way of knowing whether these weapons still exist in south Korea or not, as no inspection has been conducted to verify and confirm the existence of American nuclear weapons deployed in south Korea. The “statement on the non-existence of nuclear weapons”, by a man who was formerly an authority in south Korea was made by an individual, who had neither jurisdiction over American nuclear weapons, deployed in south Korea nor any voice in this matter.

Trying to excuse itself for the nuclear weapons, it has actually shipped into south Korea, by merely stating that it has “withdrawn” them, the United States unreasonably finds fault with us and now brings clamorous pressure on us, who have had no nuclear weapons and, moreover, have received inspections of an international agency. This is an expression of the power politics frequently applied by the United States to other countries, and it is preposterous.

The rulers of the United States still do not seem able to admit that such power politics and pressure can never have any effect on us.

**Question:** Is there any hope that the North-South Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula will be realized?

**Answer:** The publication of the “Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula”, agreed upon between north and south, was an event, which opened up the good prospects of eliminating the danger of a nuclear war and ensuring peace on the Korean peninsula and realizing Korea’s peaceful reunification.

However, the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula is not being put into effect. The south Korean authorities engineered a rupture in the north-south dialogue for implementing the joint declaration and are increasing the threat of a nuclear war by conducting nuclear war exercises in league with foreign
forces. The joint declaration on denuclearization is incompatible with nuclear war exercises.

The implementation of the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula is entirely dependent on the position and attitude of the south Korean authorities. If they truly want peace and the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, the south Korean authorities must abandon dependence on foreign forces and refrain from creating threats of a nuclear war.

The Government of our Republic will make strenuous efforts to implement the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula to meet the unanimous expectations and desires of the whole nation and expedite peace and peaceful reunification of our country.

**Question:** Your country’s Government says that the nuclear issue can only be settled through direct DPRK-US talks. What do you, President, want the United States to do specifically? What are you ready to offer to the United States in return?

**Answer:** The United States has brought nuclear weapons into south Korea and is threatening us with these weapons. The United States raised the fictitious “suspicion of the north’s nuclear development”. Therefore, the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula can only be resolved through direct talks between the DPRK and the United States.

If both the DPRK and the United States abide by the principles clarified in the DPRK-US joint statement and implement them, the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula will be smoothly settled. We only demand that the United States should together with us observe and implement these principles in good faith. Here we are not seeking to extract some benefit from the United States or ask for payment; both sides should implement the agreement on the principle of equality and impartiality.

**Question:** How do you consider security prospects in Northeast Asia? What role should the United States play in ensuring security in Northeast Asia?
**Answer:** Northeast Asia is one of the tensest regions in the world. Many foreign nuclear and other military bases are concentrated in this region. Apparently the cold war is over internationally. However, I can see that the cold-war structure remains, in effect, unchanged in this region.

Nevertheless, we are not pessimistic about security prospects in Northeast Asia. The masters of Asia are the Asian people. If they fight in unity under the banner of independence and peace, they will be able to ensure peace and security in this area.

We can guarantee peace and security in Northeast Asia by making this region a nuclear-free, peace zone. Nuclear powers must offer guarantees that they will not make nuclear threats against non-nuclear countries, and the latter must not develop, produce and ship over nuclear weapons.

Today when ensuring peace and security in Northeast Asia, it is highly important to stop Japan’s nuclear armament. The Asian people, including the Japanese people, must increase their vigilance against Japan’s scheme for nuclear armament and strive to frustrate it.

Today when the cold war has ended, there is no reason why the United States should keep its nuclear and other military bases in Northeast Asia. The United States must pull out its armed forces and nuclear weapons from Northeast Asia, abrogate aggressive military treaties concluded with countries in this region and stop military exercises, which cause tension in this part of the world. The United States should develop, on the principles of international justice and equality, relations with Asian countries and thereby contribute to peace and security in this region.

**Question:** How do you view the prospects for Korea-Japan relations? What do you think should be done to normalize relations between Korea and Japan?

**Answer:** The development of Korea-Japan relations is entirely dependent on the attitude of the Japanese Government. Although the
tripartite joint statement on the normalization of their relations has been published by the Workers’ Party of Korea, Japan Liberal-Democratic Party and Japan Socialist Party, and negotiations have been held at governmental level on several occasions for normal diplomatic relations between Korea and Japan, no progress has been made in their relations, because the Japanese Government refuses to abandon its unfriendly attitude towards our country.

To normalize Korea-Japan relations, Japan must above all repent sincerely of its past act of imposing countless miseries and sufferings on the Korean people. This step will facilitate the improvement of relations between the two countries and also benefit Japan and peace in Asia and the rest of the world and meet the requirements of the times. However, the Japanese Government neither repents sincerely of its past crimes nor displays any honest attitude to redress its past wrongs. Negotiations on the normalization of Korea-Japan relations, which had been held through great efforts, have been aborted, because Japan brought up preposterous issues irrelevant to the basic matter. Recently Japan has stepped up its hostile policy towards our Republic, exploiting the United States’ nuclear clamour against our Republic.

If relations between the two countries are to improve and be normalized, the Japanese Government must discard its hostile and unfriendly attitude towards us and desist from pursuing any ulterior political purpose in normalizing relations between Korea and Japan. I believe that the prospects of an improvement in Korea-Japan relations can only be realized when the Japanese Government actually changes its policies towards Korea.
Welcome to our country.
I wish you success in your work. I shall briefly answer your questions.

**Question:** There is growing nervousness around the world about the mounting tension on the Korean peninsula, fueled by US claims that the DPRK is developing nuclear weapons while refusing to allow full international inspection of its nuclear sites. Does the DPRK possess, or does it wish to possess, a nuclear weapon?

**Answer:** The United States is now clamouring about a “nuclear issue”, and putting pressure on us, but their clamour is totally unfounded. As everybody knows, our Republic is a non-nuclear, peace-loving country. We have no nuclear weapons, and do not have any desire or ability to make them. We have no nuclear weapons now and will not have any in future, either. Denuclearizing the Korean peninsula is a consistent policy of the Government of our Republic. We will continue making unremitting efforts to denuclearize the Korean peninsula.

**Question:** The IAEA has given its views on the problems which arose during the most recent inspection of DPRK nuclear sites. What is your explanation for the dispute that broke out over that inspection, and under what
circumstances would the DPRK allow full IAEA inspection of its nuclear facilities?

**Answer:** Even after declaring our withdrawal from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, we continually accepted the necessary inspections of the IAEA as a goodwill measure to prove the innocence of our nuclear programme. Some problems appear to have cropped up during the inspections, but I think these problems were raised in the special circumstances, where we suspended temporarily the effectuation of our withdrawal from the NPT. In essence, these are transitional circumstances.

The satisfactory resolution of the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula depends on the attitudes and efforts of the parties concerned. If the international agency, governed by the principle of fairness, adheres to someone’s unreasonable demands, the nuclear issue will never be resolved.

**Question:** Will the DPRK remain a member of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty?

**Answer:** In March last year, we declared our withdrawal from the NPT, as a self-defence measure to protect our national dignity and sovereignty from the unfair dealings and pressure by the United States and the IAEA. Subsequently the DPRK and the United States have had talks, adopted a joint statement and reached an agreement to continue talks to find a radical solution to the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula. Consequently we suspended temporarily the effectuation of our withdrawal from the NPT. Therefore, our future presence as a member state of the NPT depends on the United States’ fulfilment of its agreement with us.

We have already made a reasonable proposal to the United States to resolve the nuclear issue by a package deal. We hope that the DPRK-US talks will proceed on a fair and equal basis and settle the nuclear issue satisfactorily.
**Question:** If the UN imposes sanctions on the DPRK, how would you respond?

**Answer:** If the United States imposes “sanctions” against our Republic through the UN Security Council, this will be treated as an act of hostility directly encroaching upon our sovereignty. Our people will never tolerate any encroachment on their national sovereignty and will be compelled to take fitting countermeasures.

**Question:** In this tense situation, what, in your view, would be the outlines of a solution to the current crisis?

**Answer:** Today the situation in our country is extremely tense owing to the nuclear problem. The best way to solve the present crisis on the Korean peninsula is for the DPRK and the US to resolve the nuclear problem peacefully through dialogue and negotiations. Pressure or threat can never be a means to resolve the problem; it will only precipitate the situation into a catastrophe. Talks between the DPRK and the US alone will be able to settle the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula.

It is our invariable stand to find a solution to the nuclear problem and ease the tension on the Korean peninsula through dialogue and negotiations. If the United States really desires peace on the Korean peninsula and the peaceful reunification of Korea, it must desist from its clamorous pressure against our Republic and adopt a sincere attitude towards the dialogue with us.

**Question:** Do you believe that the relations between the DPRK and the US will be improved in the future? Do you have any personal message to President Clinton in this regard?

**Answer:** It is a common desire of the peoples of the DPRK and the US and the requirement of the present times to end long-standing undesirable relations between the two countries and establish normal
relations. I think the present trend of international relations towards reconciliation, friendship and cooperation since the end of the cold war, must also be reflected in DPRK-US relations.

The Government of our Republic, whose basic ideal of foreign policy is independence, peace and friendship, has established good-neighbourly relations and is developing exchange and cooperation with those countries, which respect the sovereignty of our country and are friendly towards us, regardless of their social system.

We believe that the DPRK and the US can become friends, if the US abandons its concept of confrontation with us and is ready to normalize the relations with our country by respecting the freedom of choice. The matter depends on whether or not the United States has such a political will.

We believe that if he is ready to resolve the international problems in conformity with the trend of the times, President Clinton can make a significant contribution to eliminating the vestige of the cold war from the Korean peninsula and improving the DPRK-US relations.

**Question:** Around the world, long-standing enemies, from Israel and the PLO to Mandela and DeKlerk in South Africa, are moving from confrontation to negotiation and peace. Do you see any possibility for a similar breakthrough in Korea, for example by inviting a high-level US delegation to Pyongyang or at a later date holding a summit meeting with President Clinton or Kim Young Sam?

**Answer:** I think it is a good thing that the countries and forces, which were antagonistic in the past, are moving towards negotiations and peace, in conformity with the trends of today, when the cold war has ended.

Before a summit meeting between the DPRK and the US is held to promote a breakthrough in the solution of the Korean issue, the requisite conditions and atmosphere must be created. Unless the terms for negotiations are mature, the summit cannot be held or bear fruit, even if it is held. I think we may have talks with President Clinton, if
the United States takes a sincere attitude, desiring to solve the Korean question in a peaceful way.

As for talks with the south Korean authorities, we proposed long ago the north-south summit talks to eliminate north-south confrontation and discuss a way of reunifying the country. The man now in power in south Korea said in the early days of his term of office that he would meet us. In fact, however, he is continuing with his clamour for confrontation, toeing the line of foreign forces. Recently he engineered the rupture in talks for exchanging the special envoys of the highest authorities between the north and south. If the south Korean authorities sincerely wish to hold talks with us, they must take the dagger out of their bosom and follow the road of reconciliation and reunification on the stand of national independence.

**Question:** Although you are the embodiment of this nation and its people, many people around the world would be very interested in learning more about you as a person. What sort of books do you read? What are your hobbies and interests? What have been the most important influences that have shaped your personality and your policies?

**Answer:** Many people around the world seem to be greatly interested in me, because I am one of the senior politicians. I am an ordinary man as other people are. I have no hobbies worthy of special mention in my life. If I have to answer your question, I can say that I enjoy reading books and mixing with the people to share life with them and talk with them.

I enjoy reading books on various subjects to acquire knowledge, which is helpful to the prosperity of the country and the people’s well-being. Books are my intimate friends. Books are silent teachers; the people are the most resourceful and best-informed teachers for me. They embody a mix of philosophy, economics and literature. Consequently I always mix with them and learn from them.

During the struggle for the independence and prosperity of the country, I learned the truth that if you believe in the people and rely on
them you will always emerge victorious and that if you are forsaken by
them, you will always fail. I have made this truth my maxim in leading
the revolution and construction. Belief in the masses of the people as
masters of the revolution and construction and reliance on their
strength have constituted my political philosophy. I think this factor
has enabled me to devote all my life to the people.

**Question:** For some time, the Dear Leader, Kim Jong Il, has taken on
greater and greater responsibilities. What can you tell us about his current and
future role in the DPRK?

**Answer:** Comrade Kim Jong Il has long been leading all the efforts
of the State and the army as well as the Party. Under his leadership
great successes have been achieved in all fields of socialist
construction in our country.

Comrade Kim Jong Il is unfailingly loyal to the country and his
fellow people and is endowed with the excellent qualities and
qualifications for the role of people’s leader. He has developed and
enriched the Juche idea, the guiding idea of our Party, strengthened the
single-hearted unity of our society and achieved worthy developments
in political, economic, cultural, military and all other fields, by
providing efficient leadership to the revolution and construction. Our
people are leading a secure life and advancing vigorously along the
road of socialism with a high sense of pride, self-respect, confidence
and optimism, even in today’s complex situation. This would be
unthinkable without the seasoned leadership of Comrade Kim Jong Il.

Our people highly respect him and follow him, because he is
boundlessly loyal to the country and the people and has achieved
brilliant successes. The leader trusts and loves the people and the
people trust and support the leader. These are the fundamental
characteristics of our society, which is solidly united in mind and
purpose, as well as the source of its unconquerable might.

As Comrade Kim Jong Il, who possesses the excellent qualities of
people’s leader and enjoys their unqualified support and respect, has
creditably inherited our ideology and leadership, everything in our country will be successful in the future as it is now, and our revolution will thrive without vacillation whatever the adversity.

**Question:** Do you believe that Korea will be reunited in your lifetime, and if so, under whose leadership?

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

However, we are optimistic about national reunification prospects. The country’s reunification is the supreme task and burning aspiration of all our nation. All the Korean people in the north, south and overseas eagerly desire national reunification, and the trend towards reunification is mounting higher with every passing day. No force can ever check the unanimous aspiration and all-out struggle of a homogeneous nation, with a 5,000-year-long history, to reunify their country, which was artificially divided by foreign forces.

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

Ours is a truly beautiful country in which it is good to live. No country in the world would have such beautiful scenery and healthy climate as ours.

I am very pleased that your health has improved as you are spending your days happily, receiving Koryo medical treatment.

In preserving and promoting man’s health, Koryo medicine, the traditional medicine of our country, is better than the Western medicine. The latter is preferable for surgical operations, but it is not better than the former in preventing diseases and preserving health. At one point the former Chancellor of Austria contracted an illness and could not walk. He invited several doctors famous in Western medicine, from various countries to attend him but they failed to cure his illness; our doctors applied Koryo medicine to him and cured his illness completely.

You and your wife wished me a long life and good health; I am grateful for it.

You said that when you were leaving for the motherland, Luise Rinser asked you to convey to me her congratulations on my 82nd
birthday and her deep affection and respect for me. On your return, please give my best regards to her.

You expressed your ambition to do a good thing for the reunification of the motherland; it is very laudable indeed. I am very grateful that you, as a patriotic-minded intellectual, would devote yourself to the cause of national reunification for the benefit of the nation.

National reunification is the earnest desire of the whole nation, and devoting oneself to national reunification is an expression of the noble spirit of love of the country and nation. Today there is no patriotism more genuine than to devote oneself to the reunification of the country. A Korean, wherever he or she lives and whatever he or she does, must live a worthwhile life for national reunification. Even if he or she falls down on this road, he or she would have nothing to regret as the struggle is honourable for the country and nation.

If you are going to devote yourself to this cause, you have to have a correct understanding of the present man in power in south Korea.

As he said in the inauguration ceremony of his “civilian government” soon after coming into power that any ally cannot be better than the nation, expressing his hope to meet me either in Mt. Paektu or in Mt. Halla, we estimated him as a man of national conscience and pinned a certain degree of expectation on him.

In consideration of his acceptable stand, I drew up the 10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for the Reunification of the Country to reunify the country by the efforts of our nation and made it public at the Fifth Session of the Ninth Supreme People’s Assembly. The 10-point programme is a programme of a national united front and national reunification developed to meet the present requirements from the Ten-Point Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland that I had formulated and made public during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.

From the first days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle I channelled great efforts into realizing the anti-Japanese national united front. At the age of 20 in April 1932 I organized the Anti-Japanese People’s Guerrilla Army and soon afterwards went to southern
Manchuria to realize a united front with the Independence Army unit. Ryang Se Bong was its commander. I met Ryang and explained to him the importance of a united front. I asked him to join hands to fight the Japanese imperialists for the restoration of the country. But he played into the hands of the staff officer of his unit, a spy of Japanese imperialism, and did not respond to our proposal. I later thought that in order to liberate the country through the united efforts of the whole nation, a national united front organization should be set up to rally all the anti-Japanese patriotic forces irrespective of communists and nationalists and made preparations one after another. At long last in May 1936 the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland, the first anti-Japanese national united front body in our country, was formed and the ten-point programme of the association which I drew up was made public. When I suggested at that time naming the organization ARF, some people objected, claiming that the name reeked of nationalism. I told them: You are right that it reeks of nationalism; I propose naming it ARF to make it smell a little nationalistic; communists and nationalists do not differ in their aspirations for the liberation of the country. All those present there supported my suggestion unanimously. The founding of the ARF and the announcement of its ten-point programme called forth a big response from the people from various social strata. To say nothing about the Independence Army soldiers, even religious believers including Chondoists rose up for the anti-Japanese struggle in support of the Ten-Point Programme of the ARF.

We formulated and made public the 10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation last year in order to rally under the banner of national reunification the patriotic forces of all social strata in the north, south and abroad by drawing on the experience we gained in the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle through announcing the Ten-Point Programme of the ARF and achieving the great national unity.

We sent the 10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation to various political parties, public organizations and individual
figures. We sent it to the man in power in south Korea through Garry Ackermann, an American, who was going to south Korea after his visit to our country.

Later we watched what moves he would take. He did not utter a word about the programme; then to the tune of the US imperialists he picked a quarrel with us over our “nuclear issue”.

Frankly speaking, our “nuclear issue” is a fabrication the United States concocted in order to justify the US presence in south Korea after the adoption of the north-south agreement on nonaggression. At the north-south high-level talks our side said to the south side: You insist on US troops being stationed in south Korea on the plea of the “threat of southward invasion”, but we have no intention to fight with you; we are not going to invade the south or “communize” it; therefore, you should not think about invading the north; the north and the south should adopt a declaration promising nonaggression. I also mentioned this issue to the south Korean “Prime Minister” when he came to Pyongyang. Nevertheless, the south side insisted that they could never accept our proposal. We patiently persuaded them and they agreed to include the issue of nonaggression in the north-south agreement.

As this agreement was adopted, it was the US that was most embarrassed. The US has insisted until now that it was stationing its troops in south Korea to check the “southward invasion”. As the north and the south promised not to invade each other, it could no longer justify the stationing of its troops in south Korea. With the adoption of the agreement the patriotic young people and students of south Korea staged demonstrations shouting slogans that US troops should get out of south Korea at once. Frightened at these developments, the US imperialists tried to find an excuse so as not to pull out of south Korea and picked a quarrel with us over the fictitious “nuclear issue”.

We neither have nuclear weapons nor produce them. It is a widely-known fact that the radiochemical laboratory in the Nyongbyon area is for the construction of an atomic power plant and it has nothing to do with the development of nuclear weapons. In the past we sent our people to the joint nuclear research institute in Dubna in the former
Soviet Union so that they could learn nuclear physics. These people laid out a laboratory in the Nyongbyon area and are conducting research related with the construction of an atomic power plant. When the US insisted on inspecting the area, claiming that we were developing atomic bombs there, we allowed the inspection mission from the International Atomic Energy Agency to inspect the area. However, they could not find out any evidence of the development of nuclear weapons. This being the case, the IAEA, instigated by the US imperialists, insisted that two military sites that have nothing to do with nuclear development be inspected. As allowing foreigners into our military sites is tantamount to yielding meekly, we replied that we could not comply with such inspections. The US imperialists are now bringing pressure to bear upon us, claiming that we must allow the “special inspection”. If we allow the “special inspection” of two military sites as demanded by the US imperialists, then they will pick a quarrel with us over the “human rights” issue and bring other pressures to bear upon us. They might provoke us to a quarrel over various issues if they are set to find fault with us.

The US imperialists are now persisting in unreasonable things, even though they know full well that we have no nuclear weapons, in order to continue keeping a foothold in south Korea on any account and to contain China and Japan. They are not afraid of the fictitious “nuclear weapons” of ours; they are watchful of the nuclearization of China and Japan, countries that are emerging as their potential rivals in Asia. China has already manufactured nuclear weapons and Japan can make them any time if it is determined to do so. In order to contain China and Japan, they are trying everything so as not to pull out of south Korea. Nevertheless, the man in power in south Korea is dancing to the tune of the US racket on the nuclear issue, playing the role of a puppet. This shows that he is a cat’s paw of the US lacking independence and his own principle.

Some days ago former heads of state and government and politicians from several countries in the world have been to our country. Originally the former heads of state and government and
politicians from several countries in the world who were participating in the Second World Peace Conference held in Seoul, south Korea, all said that they would come to the north via Panmunjom. Owing to the opposition from the south Korean authorities, only some of them came to Pyongyang via a third country. Accompanying them were journalists from CNN International and The Washington Times and Japan’s NHK. I talked with the former heads of state and government and politicians from several countries. I also met the journalists and answered the questions they raised. I told them: We do not intend to develop atomic bombs to attack the US and the south Korean people, our compatriots; we have no atomic bombs and we will never possess them; I promise you. They all clapped their hands. When telecasting their coverage of our country over the world through their satellites, CNN International and Japan’s NHK broadcast my speech live. The south Korean authorities lodged a protest with the US and Japan that their TV reporters were giving publicity to the north, I was told.

When we proposed exchanging special envoys for north-south summit talks, the man in power in south Korea replied that he cannot shake hands with a party who has nuclear weapons. The south Korean people rose up, saying that, when the US and north Korea were now holding talks, the south was shoved aside and was not doing its bit. Thence, the man in power in south Korea sent the south Korean “Foreign Minister” to the US to implore the US to set the issue of north-south working-level talks for exchanging special envoys as a prerequisite for DPRK-US talks.

If the man in power in south Korea intends to take an independent road, not following the US meekly, then I am ready to join hands with him even now. But if he, instead of taking this road, continues to kowtow to the Americans and do as they dictate, there is no need to discuss with him the issue of national reunification. I think he cannot hold talks with us independently unless he is allowed by the Americans to do so.

On the demise of the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan in January this year, we sent a message of condolence to the bereaved. We tried to dispatch a
mission of condolence, but owing to the refusal by the “Agency of National Security Planning” of south Korea, we failed. Recently the south Korean organizations for democratic movement invited our people to the memorial services to mark the 100th day of his death. The south Korean rulers would not allow our people into the south. It is clear, the south Korean rulers do not know elementary manners.

We have so far made every effort possible for the country’s reunification, but the successive south Korean rulers have only done things detrimental to it. They made public with us the July 4 North-South Joint Statement, clarifying the three principles for national reunification, but they have not implemented it. It is also none other than the south Korean authorities who built along the Military Demarcation Line a concrete wall, the wall of division.

The former heads of state and government and politicians from several countries around the world, who have been to our country recently, saw the concrete wall built along the south side of the MDL. According to them they thought that a wall only existed in Berlin but when they came to know that a wall exists in Korea, they took photographs. The south Korean authorities claim that the concrete wall is an anti-tank barrier but no one believes that.

Since it is a unanimous aspiration of our nation, the country’s reunification will surely be realized.

In order to reunify the country, the north and the south must not bicker with each other; they must make a joint effort to find the way for reunification. This is why I maintain consistently that the different political parties and groupings in the north and south should get together and discuss the issue of national reunification. If they exchange opinions open-heartedly then they will be able to find a way to national reunification acceptable to the nation.

The most reasonable way is to achieve federacy. By reunifying the country through federation, a joint committee or a federal standing committee can be formed as a supreme body of the reunified state and its chairmanship held by the north and the south in rotation for about a year.
The south Korean authorities would strain their nerves over who would hold the command of the military when federation is realized. There is no need to do so. It would be advisable for the reunified federal state to allow the north and south to maintain their existing systems of defence and diplomacy for a certain period and, with the realization of reconciliation between both sides, to gradually reduce their military strength to 100,000 men each. An army with a strength capable of only defending the country from foreign invasion should be maintained. Along with this, the United States must also pull its troops out of Korea gradually and to the last man. I tell this to the Americans whenever I meet them. Nevertheless, the south Korean authorities are not willing to accept our reasonable proposal for national reunification.

After the country is reunified through federation, we will not care whether the other half of Korea will enforce capitalism or any other thing. The south Korean rulers claim that south Korea would be “communized” when the country is reunified. This claim does not stand to reason. At the moment capital has flown into the south from many countries, including the US, Japan, Germany and France. If we “communize” south Korea in these circumstances, we would become estranged from those countries that have invested capital in it. There is no need for us to do so. Even after reunification we are going to leave the foreign capital invested in the south as it is. The south Korean capitalists must also be left to their own devices if they serve the country and nation. After reunification south Korea should develop its economy and lay a foundation for living independently free from foreign economic subjugation.

South Korea, too, should not care about our socialist system after reunification. Under this system our people have stable jobs and live happily free from the worries about food, clothing and housing. Tax has long been abolished and every one is enjoying the benefits of free education and free medical care. Our people have wished from ancient times to live on rice and meat soup in silk clothes in tile-roofed houses, and this centuries-old wish is being realized under our socialist system.

We insist on founding a federal state in this way without changing
the different social systems existing in both parts of Korea. The federal state must as a matter of course be an independent, neutral state.

Our compatriots living in the north, south and abroad are all one homogeneous nation of one and the same blood. Our nation has one language, spoken and written, and a time-honoured history and laudable customs.

I had our scholars carry out research of Tangun and unearth the Tomb of Tangun. Last year our archaeologists unearthed the tomb in Kangdong County, Pyongyang. They exhumed the remains of Tangun and his wife. According to measurements performed with modern dating apparatus, it was confirmed that the remains are 5,011 years old. As the unearthing of the remains of Tangun and his wife and the measuring of the age is of great significance in confirming the time-honoured character of our history, I had the news carried in the newspapers. That they established a state more than 5,000 years ago shows that our nation is a well-developed one.

I was told that even south Korean people are happy with the unearthing of Tangun’s Tomb. The leader of the Taejong religion worshipping Tangun in south Korea met our officials in Beijing, China, this March and said he was grateful that it was confirmed that Tangun actually existed and he lived more than 5,000 years ago, thanks to our unearthing of his tomb. He expressed his intention to visit the mausoleum when we reconstructed it. He asked our officials to convey to me the portrait of Tangun which is said to have been drawn by Solgo in ancient times.

Koguryo, successor to Tangun’s Korea, has no shorter history than the Qin dynasty. Frankly speaking, Koguryo, existing nearly 1,000 years in the East, was a powerful state. Our nation, which has created a 5,000-year history on one territory inheriting one and the same blood, cannot, and must not, live divided into two.

I hope that you will carry out a lot of excellent deeds for the reunification of the country, the cherished desire of the nation.
EVERY MEMBER OF THE KOREAN NATION MUST SUBORDINATE EVERYTHING TO THE REUNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY

Talk with a Korean Woman Journalist
Resident in the United States
April 21, 1994

I am very glad to see you again. I read the note you wrote back in the United States after meeting me on your visit to the motherland on my 80th birthday. I am very grateful that you wrote the note so truthfully.

You said that I look as I was a few years ago; I must look old as time has passed. But I am quite healthy. So I am attending to my work in a normal way. A man must not stay at leisure just because he is old. Some degree of work is helpful to his health. Many countries broadcast on TV my meeting with the journalists of CNN International and Japan’s NHK who came to our country on my 82nd birthday and many of our friends in the world were happy to see me healthy.

As you know, unfavourable relations have existed between our country and the US for a long time. We think that the unhappy relations should be remedied and normal relations established. This is the common aspiration of the peoples of the DPRK and the US and it conforms with the trend of present times. If the US is willing to abandon the approach of confrontation with us and normalize its relations with us on the principle of respecting the freedom of choice, DPRK-US relations will surely be settled without a hitch.
In January this year the Rev. Billy Graham of the US visited our country. He brought with him a verbal message from the US President that the US wants to establish good relations with us. I told him that we also want to see relations improved and I could meet the US President at the proper time to exchange opinions on improving relations between the two countries. Billy Graham conveyed my words to the US President on his return.

To be candid, the US has no reason to act unfavourably to us. If it tries to have a contest of strength with us, it cannot solve the problem. If it fails, it will only lose face, gaining nothing. Improving its relations with us will also be good for its image in Asia.

We are now going to hold third-stage talks with the US and, if DPRK-US relations are improved through the talks, we will be able to achieve the cause of national reunification earlier.

The issue of Korea’s reunification largely depends on the Americans. South Korea is a complete colony of the US and the man in power in south Korea is no more than a puppet with its wires pulled by the Americans. While the Japanese imperialists enforced a savage sabre-like rule in Korea through their government-general, the US is now enforcing neo-colonial rule through its puppet, appeasing and threatening him. Therefore, we cannot settle the issue of national reunification if we talk only with the south Korean authorities, who have no independence and real power. For the solution of this question, we have to talk with the Americans, the real master who controls the south Korean authorities, and improve DPRK-US relations. If the relations are improved and the two countries maintain amicable relations, all problems arising in Korea’s reunification will be solved smoothly.

The United States is not willing to withdraw from south Korea. It tries everything to continue remaining in south Korea partly to contain us but more importantly to contain China, Japan and Russia by using south Korea as its military base. Americans view Germany and France as their contenders in Europe and China, Japan and Russia as their dangerous rivals in Asia. As China, Japan and Russia are adjacent to
the Korean peninsula, they attach great importance to south Korea. As a matter of course, they aim to see economic profit to some extent by entrenching themselves in south Korea, but they attach greater importance to using it as their military base to contain China, Japan and Russia. They regard south Korea as a juicy morsel and will not let it go.

In order to improve relations between the DPRK and the US, it is first of all important that the Americans have a correct understanding of us.

Because of their poor knowledge of us, the Americans now misunderstand us in various ways. We do not do things harmful to others under any circumstances and we neither copy others nor do as others dictate. In the course of fighting wars against Japanese imperialism and US imperialism, and conducting an arduous struggle to build a new society, our people have come to realize through their own experiences that solving all problems arising in the revolution and construction by their own efforts and in accordance with their own conviction is best, so they do not follow others meekly. The Americans must realize that our country is a fully-fledged independent and sovereign state that does not trail behind the foreign forces. Though separated, the entire people in the north are united single-hearted around the Party and the leader and solve every problem by their own efforts; so no one dares dictate to us.

There are few countries in this world that follow the road of independence and democracy like ours. If the Americans sincerely wish independence and democracy, they have no reason not to make friends with us.

When the north and south are reunified in the future, our country will not become a satellite state subordinate to any of the big powers; it will be an independent, non-aligned and neutral state. As big countries are now covetous for our country, a reunified Korea should be a neutral state like Austria and Switzerland. If Korea, when reunified, becomes an independent, non-aligned, neutral state, it will raise no problem.

I think the Americans should also have a correct understanding of
our policy on national reunification.

Some people slander us now, saying that we are trying to “reunify the country through communization”; we never intend to “communize” south Korea. We try to reunify the country through federation, leaving the ideologies and systems existing in the north and south as they are; we do not intend to turn south Korea socialist. In order to apply socialism to south Korea, the people there must accept it as their ideal and support it; forcing it upon them will bring us nowhere. Even after the reunification of the country through federation, we will not care whether south Korea follows capitalism or anti-capitalism. We are not opposed to all capitalists in south Korea without discretion. When the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan came to Pyongyang, I explained to him the proposal of federation for national reunification. Expressing his support for it, he asked me what we are going to do with the capitalists in south Korea when federation is realized. So I told him: We are not opposed to the capitalists in south Korea in general, but the evil ones who sell the interests of the country and nation and harass the people; the south Korean young people and students are fighting, shouting the slogan, “Down with evil capitalists”; this is laudable; we are opposed only to evil capitalists and we do not reject native capitalists who sincerely aspire after the development of the country and nation; this is a stand we have maintained consistently from the days immediately after liberation. Then I related to him the gist of the speech I had made on my triumphal return to Pyongyang after liberation.

On October 14, 1945, I went to the Pyongyang Public Playground to make a speech on my triumphal return and found many people there. The number of people who came to hear my speech was so great that not only the playground but Moran Hill were white with people. I took the platform and delivered a speech without a note, appealing to the whole nation to unite and contribute positively to the work of building a new country; those with strength giving strength, those with knowledge giving knowledge and those with money giving money. I told the Rev. Mun that our people had engraved this part of my speech
on a large piece of granite and erected it near the Arch of Triumph and that we would maintain this stand in the future, too. He said that he had been nervous about the issue of capitalists in south Korea and now everything was as clear as daylight.

If we force socialism upon south Korea, the foreigners who have invested there would not be well-disposed towards us. Many countries including the United States, Japan, France, Germany and Canada have invested a considerable amount of capital in south Korea. In these circumstances, if we force socialism upon south Korea after the realization of federation, these countries would become our enemy.

As a matter of course, south Korea’s economy must develop to be an independent national economy. Since it is dependent on foreign capital now, it lacks independence and is unstable. If in future south Korea fully pays its debts to the creditor countries and develops its economy by relying on its native capital, foreign countries will withdraw their capital. But it will take some time to realize this, so we are going to leave the foreign capital in south Korea untouched even when federation is implemented. Since the south Korean people are also members of the Korean nation, our stand is that they and we should live together forever in a reunified country in disregard of whether they follow capitalism or anti-capitalism.

Our contention of national reunification through federation does not aim at driving out the US troops to the last man from south Korea right now. As an agreement of reconciliation and nonaggression has been adopted between the north and south and as we have clarified that we do not intend to “communize” south Korea, it is true that the US troops’ stationing in south Korea cannot be justified. The US is unwilling to pull out of south Korea as they are trying to contain China, Japan and Russia. We insist on the phased withdrawal of the US troops if they cannot withdraw right now. If the north and south become reconciled with each other and reduce their armed forces, the US troops in south Korea must withdraw by stages accordingly. Since the north and south have agreed on the issue of nonaggression and promised not to fight each other, they need not keep large armed
forces. As I frequently say, they should reduce their armed forces gradually and keep 100,000 men. By then the US troops must withdraw from south Korea completely. Nevertheless, the successive rulers of south Korea have not heeded this proposal of ours; they have increased armaments and solicited for the stationing of US troops in south Korea.

If the relations between the US and us are improved and the north and south become reconciled with each other, both parts of Korea will no longer need their respective allies. Thenceforth, we will have to rescind our alliance with China and Russia, and south Korea with the US.

In the past we have done everything within our reach for the reunification of the country. After the appearance of the “civilian government” in south Korea, we have specially paid deep attention to what attitude and stand the south Korean authorities will take. In his inauguration speech the man in power in south Korea at present said that he would meet me either on Mt. Paektu or on Mt. Halla, stressing that no ally could be better than his nation. When in his speech he mentioned the primacy of nation over allies, I thought that I could join hands with him and formulated the 10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for the Reunification of the Country, making it public at a session of the Supreme People’s Assembly. As a reunification programme of the whole nation, it is a development of the Ten-Point Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland.

From the first days of the anti-Japanese revolution we strived to realize unity of all anti-Japanese patriotic forces. I organized the Anti-Japanese People’s Guerrilla Army on April 25, 1932. On May Day of that year we held a parade in the county town of Antu and then went on an expedition to southern Manchuria in order to realize a united front with the Independence Army unit led by Ryang Se Bong in Tonghua. At that time Liu Ben-cao, who was fighting under Commander Yu after quitting the post of teacher at Yuwen Middle School in Jilin, went with us to Tonghua in order to realize
collaboration with the Self-Defence Army led by Tang Ju-wu. I met Ryang and said that the AJPGA and the Independence Army should join efforts to fight Japanese imperialism. But a united front with his unit was not realized owing to the obstructive schemes of a spy of the Japanese imperialists. We subsequently channelled great efforts into realizing a united front with the units of the Independence Army but did not score any greater success until 1936. So I concluded that a programme for the great unity of the nation should be formulated, and in 1936 formed the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland, an anti-Japanese national united front body, and made public its ten-point programme. It was a programme for the greater unity of the nation that rendered it possible to rally firmly all the anti-Japanese patriotic forces including not only workers and peasants but also native capitalists of conscience and religious believers under the banner of national liberation. On the basis of the programme we united with the Independence Army units, the membership of different nationalist organizations and religious believers including Chondoists, and won victory in the fight against Japanese imperialism.

I ensured that the text of the speech that the Prime Minister of the Administration Council delivered at a session of the Supreme People’s Assembly, during which the 10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for the Reunification of the Country was made public, contained a part of the speech of the man now in power in south Korea that no ally could be better than the nation itself. Later I saw to it that the 10-point programme was mailed to figures from all walks of life in south Korea and the exchange of special envoys for the north-south summit talks was proposed to the south. But taking sides with the Americans, the man in power in south Korea said that he could not shake hands with a man who has nuclear weapons and rejected the proposal.

As long as the issue of nuclear weapons is mentioned, I will stress once more: We neither have the intention nor the capability to manufacture nuclear weapons nor feel the need to do so. Since the United States has tens of thousands of nuclear weapons, what could we
do with a few nuclear weapons if we manufacture them? While the US has planes, ships, intercontinental ballistic missiles and other carriers of nuclear weapons, we have none of them. Furthermore, we have no intention to slaughter our fellow countrymen by means of nuclear weapons. Nevertheless, the man in power in south Korea rejected our proposal to exchange special envoys for north-south summit talks, saying that he could not shake hands with a man who has nuclear weapons; this shows in the long run that he would not want or be able to reunify the country.

The man in power in south Korea now claims to stand for “civilian government”, but like the former military dictators, he solicits the permanent stationing of US troops in south Korea by providing even their upkeep. From this we can see that he lacks an elementary national conscience and sense of independence.

You asked me whether we would pardon those who betrayed the nation in the past if they repent of their crimes. We are fully ready to do so. In the 10-Point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation I clarified that if a man who betrayed the nation in the past repents of his past life and takes the road of patriotism, he should be pardoned.

The supreme task facing our nation now is to reunify the country. Every member of the Korean nation must subordinate everything to this cause. No one must pursue his own interests, neglecting the cause. The man in power in south Korea now, too, should not engross himself in retaining the “presidency”; he should have a broad mind and a broad approach to the reunification of the country. At one point someone asked me how would it be if I became president of the reunified country. I replied that at this stage national reunification is more important, not who takes which post.

Ours is an audacious, sagacious and homogeneous nation who has created a time-honoured history and a brilliant culture while living harmoniously on one territory from ancient times. They cannot live divided; they must live in the reunified country as one nation.

In recent years I have been paying much attention to getting our historians to give a correct explanation of the history of our country.
When I was stressing the importance of making a study of Tangun in front of our historians and officials in the relevant sectors, I instructed them to unearth Tangun’s Tomb. Last year our archaeologists unearthed the tomb in Kangdong County, Pyongyang, and found the remains of Tangun and his wife there. Thanks to the measurements conducted by specialists, the remains were confirmed as 5,011 years old. The confirmation is scientific since it was conducted by up-to-date measuring devices and methods that are recognized across the world.

The unearthing of Tangun’s Tomb and the scientific measuring of the date of his remains is of great significance in the research of the history of our country. As Tangun, who has been regarded down the ages as a mythical man, was confirmed as actually existing, we have become able to tell the whole world with pride that ours is a homogeneous nation with Tangun as its founding father and a sagacious nation with a 5,000-year history.

Though it is a hard historical fact that Tangun established ancient Korea over 5,000 years ago, details of the founder and founding date of Ancient Korea have been distorted up to now entirely because of the Japanese imperialists’ policy of obliterating the Korean nation and the deference to great powers paid by historians of feudal times. In order to prove that the founding date of our country was later than the date of Japan’s birth, the Japanese imperialists, occupying Korea, claimed that “Korea and Japan are of the same descent” and obliterated the history of Tangun. However, thanks to the recent unearthing of Tangun’s Tomb and the scientific measuring of the date of his remains, no one can dare pick a quarrel with us over the fact that ours is a sagacious nation that founded a state before any nation in the East.

I also had the history of Koguryo studied correctly. Covering a wide territory, Koguryo was a powerful state that existed for nearly 1,000 years in the East. But our historians had an incorrect understanding of its history. Some years ago when reconstructing the Mausoleum of King Tongmyong, I met a historian and talked with him on the history of Koguryo. His knowledge of the history was also not correct. So I
instructed him to study it again. Subsequently, our historians proved the history of Koguryo in a correct way.

In the past the history of three kingdoms had it that the three kingdoms had been unified by Silla. Comrade Kim Jong Il in his days in Kim Il Sung University disproved the theory and corrected it. Park Chung Hee when in power in south Korea clamoured about “unification in the style of Silla”; this revealed the wicked mind of the traitors to the nation who attempted to swallow the north with the help of great powers.

According to the historical records, the fossil of archaeopteryx was discovered in Germany. The fossil of this primitive bird has also been discovered in our country, and it was proved that the fossil dates back 150 million years. I was so delighted at the report of discovering the fossil I named it “Archaeopteryx of Korea”. Our country can be said to be a cradle of humanity as well as a cradle of birds.

Our nation with Tangun as its founding father manufactured types of metal and iron-clad warships and built an observatory in its early years. When the north and south are reunified, our country will become a powerful, dignified sovereign country that no one would dare provoke and the 70 million compatriots, the descendants of Tangun, will live happily down through the generations.

Recently the Koreans living in Yanbian, China, wrote a book about me. It was written well. The book contains a story of the victorious battle in Luozigou I organized at the age of 22. The story must have been written according to the reminiscences of the old people who live there.

You said that you had read with deep emotion Volume 4 of my memoirs, and I am thankful for it. Volume 5 is in press now and I am writing Volume 6. I am describing the Pochonbo Battle in Volume 6. I am going to finish writing it by May Day.

I am hard pressed for time these days as I write my memoirs and meet many foreigners. So doctors advise me not to overtax myself.

You have so far done a lot for the reunification of the country and I wish you to continue to conduct journalistic activities actively.
To meet you, Hu Zhen-yi, Chai Shi-rong’s wife, and your sons today, I am as delighted as if I was meeting Chai Shi-rong himself.

A long time has passed since we parted. We are meeting each other after five decades of separation. As far as I remember, you were around 25 when we took leave of each other. Now that you are 75, you are old. Had Chai Shi-rong been alive, he would be about 100 years old now. I am very glad to see you looking so healthy. You must have undergone many hardships in complicated circumstances over the past years. Though old, you still retain the look of your young days. When my officials reported to me that you wanted to visit our country, I could not remember your name at first, but your photo helped me to identify you.

You said that my good health is happiness for the Korean people and a supreme happiness for the veterans, the comrades-in-arms, who conducted the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle shoulder to shoulder. I am grateful for those good wishes.

I originally planned to meet you after you have had a good rest for a few days. But something happened requiring my attention, so I have to go on a trip on some business this afternoon or tomorrow. If I failed to meet you today, I would have had to meet you later. So I managed to find time. If you have not anything to attend to urgently, please do not go back. I would like you to take a rest in Pyongyang until I return. It
will be alright with you, Mrs. Hu, as you have retired. I am not sure if it might not impede your sons’ work as they have their own jobs. If you stay one month more, I can meet you again on my return. After ten days from now I have to meet many guests. For all that, I will see you once more. Please stay as long as you can in our country, having a rest and visiting many places. We have met each other again after a long separation and I will feel easy only when you rest to the full here. We are meeting after 50 years and, assuming that we talk for one day the events that happened during one year, it will take 50 days to look back the bygone 50 years. You said that you feel embarrassed as I treat you not as a foreigner, but as an intimate comrade-in-arms and give you a warm reception. You need not think so. You are my long-time comrade-in-arms and comrade. I am giving you a warm welcome not as head of state but as a long-time comrade-in-arms who waged revolutionary struggle shoulder to shoulder with you in the past. It is quite natural that I treat you as my long-time comrade-in-arms. So please do not think it is too much that I have granted you an audience. You should feel at home here.

You say that you went to the headquarters of your unit in Mudanjiang after you had taken leave of us. I remember Du Yu-feng, commander of your unit at that time. And you say you were also in Harbin: you must have many of your acquaintances there. Chen Lei, his wife, Li Min, and Wang Ming-gui were also in Harbin. I paid a visit to Harbin in 1964 without making it public, and as far as I remember Wang Ming-gui was vice-commander of the military district there. You say Wang Xiao-ming died three years ago and Feng Zhong-yun many years ago; the latter was vice-minister of Water Resources and Electric Power of the State Council of China in the 1960s, as far as I remember. Wang Yi-zhi, Zhou Bao-zhong’s wife, also died. I met her on one of my visits to China. She attended the banquet our delegation arranged and also the banquet the Chinese side arranged. Both Zhou Bao-zhong and Wang Yi-zhi visited Korea. They had one daughter. I have many friends in China and they still visit me, resting one or two months before returning.
In the autumn of 1982 I visited China. When I went to Sichuan Province on that occasion, I thought of visiting Chongqing where you are living, but for some reason, I failed. Had I been to Chongqing, I would have met you. Chongqing was a base of Jiang Jie-shi in the past, so a considerable number of relics related to him would still remain there. I left Sichuan Province and proceeded to Xian. There I looked round the museum displaying terracotta horses and armoured warriors excavated near the tomb of Qin Shi Huang and Huaqing Hot Spring at which Jiang Jie-shi was detained during the Xian incident and then went to Beijing.

You said that you are grateful to me as I paid high tribute to Chai Shi-rong in my memoirs. Your husband fought bravely against the Japanese imperialists. My unit fought many battles in alliance with his unit. Among these battles are those at the Dongning county town and Luozigou. The Koreans living in Yanbian, China, have recently published a book titled *The Azaleas of Wangqing*. The book described in detail the battle at Luozigou.

In his unit there was a Korean named Ri Chong Chon as its adviser. Ri had been in the Independence Army of Koreans. Unhappy with Chai’s unit trying to fight against the Japanese imperialists in alliance with our unit, he attempted to disrupt the alliance by instigating Chai. I met Chai and advised him to dismiss Ri. Later Ri was expelled from Chai’s unit and went to the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai via northern Manchuria. After liberation he went to south Korea. The evil people attempted to prevent Chai from joining hands with us, but he fought well during the battle at the Dongning county town in alliance with my unit.

I still remember those days when I fought in alliance with the National Salvation Army. This happened when Wang De-lin was thinking about going to China proper, discontinuing the anti-Japanese struggle. The Anti-Japanese Soldiers’ Committee asked me to persuade Wang to continue the anti-Japanese struggle in Northeast China. So I went with my men to him and tried to persuade him, but he did not heed my words. He went to China proper via the Soviet Union.
Nevertheless, Wu Yi-cheng and Chai Shi-rong did not go to China proper. They returned to Ningan and continued the anti-Japanese struggle. Chai fought well in Ningan.

After the battle at the Dongning county town, the Anti-Japanese Allied Army was organized. Zhou Bao-zhong fought there and Chai, too, went from the National Salvation Army to the Anti-Japanese Allied Army, fighting many years under Zhou. This is why Zhou was most grieved when Chai was killed. Those who came over from the National Salvation Army to the Anti-Japanese Allied Army and fought well to the end without surrendering are Chai Shi-rong, Li Yan-lu and Liu Han-xing. You would not know who Li Yan-lu and Liu Han-xing were. Liu was the chief of staff of Li Yan-lu’s unit. As he fought well in the Anti-Japanese Allied Army, Chai was admitted to the Communist Party of China. I was told that Chinese newspaper Renmin Rihao, carrying an article about Chai, highly estimated him as a national hero. Chai deserves such estimation. You remember distinctly that I frequently visited your house after Chai left home and said encouraging words and helped your livelihood. You have a good memory. Most of those who fought in the Anti-Japanese Allied Army might have died of old age by now. Some of them seem to be living in Heilongjiang Province, China.

There are not many veterans of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle who are still alive in our country. The veterans are merited people who devoted themselves to the struggle for the liberation of the country and for the freedom and happiness of the people. They are regarded as precious as gold and the Party and state take good care of them.

Comrade Kim Jong Il respects the veterans and shows deep concern for their work and lives. Always concerned about their health, he ensures that they take a rest at rest homes every year. Last year the veterans went to Mt. Myohyang for holidays thanks to his care. In the past I took them with me to rest homes to take a rest with them, and now Comrade Kim Jong Il himself organizes their rest at rest homes.

We also take good care of the sons and daughters of the martyrs of
the anti-Japanese revolution. During the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle many of my comrades were killed in action. Breathing their last, they asked me to take good care of their children when the country was liberated. These children experienced hard lives not only before liberation but also immediately after liberation, selling cigarettes or waiting on others in their houses. I never forgot their parents’ request. After liberation I ensured that Mangyongdae Revolutionary School was established with the funds raised by our peasants who donated rice out of patriotism. They had harvested it from the land that had been distributed to them thanks to the agrarian reform. I then dispatched Comrade Rim Chun Chu and other veterans of the anti-Japanese revolution and several officials to the northeastern region of China and various parts of Korea to fetch the bereaved children and have them educated at the revolutionary school. During the Fatherland Liberation War I organized a Bodyguard Company involving them and took them with me, taking care of them. On the eve of the end of the war I sent them to the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries so that they could study there. The school is still now educating bereaved children of revolutionaries. I ensured that Kim Il Sung University was also built after liberation with the rice the peasants donated. The high-rise building over there is a building of that university. Since its founding, the university has brought up a great number of native cadres. Comrade Kim Jong Il is also a graduate of that university. He lived a frugal life when studying at the university. The graduates of Kim Il Sung University and Mangyongdae Revolutionary School are now working at important posts of the Party, the state and the armed forces. The Premier and the chairmen of some provincial Party committees are graduates of Mangyongdae Revolutionary School. The deputy head of the Party History Institute present here is also a daughter of the martyrs of the anti-Japanese revolution. Her father and mother died in the struggle against the Japanese imperialists. Her mother, Ri Kye Sun, fought well without yielding her faith right up to the last moments of her life. Having arrested her, the Japanese imperialists cajoled her, saying that they would spare her life if she
surrendered and spoke in front of the masses that she would abandon the anti-Japanese struggle. Pretending that she was heeding their words, she made them gather people. In front of the people she appealed to them to rise up and defeat Japanese imperialism shoulder to shoulder with the Korean People’s Revolutionary Army, before dying a heroic death. As I have brought up all the sons and daughters of the revolutionary martyrs, they call me “father” or “grandfather”. We have brought up from the days immediately after liberation the people who would carry on the revolution, so the succession of our revolution is fully guaranteed today. Since Comrade Kim Jong Il is leading it, our revolution will continue to advance unswervingly.

You, Chai Guo-zhang, second son of Chai Shi-rong, are the perfect image of your father. To see you, I feel as though I am meeting your father. When I first met him, he was not well-informed about socialist ideology. Keeping contact with me, he learned the ideology and became an excellent socialist. You, Chai Guo-zhang, must uphold the Communist Party of China and remain faithful to the Chinese revolution as your father did. As the title of a Chinese song No Communist Party, No New China shows, there must be the Communist Party for the Chinese revolution; since the veteran revolutionaries of China are all old, young people must succeed them, carrying on the revolution and defending socialism. Then Chinese people will be well off. With the Soviet Union and the Eastern European socialist countries going to ruin, only the DPRK, China, Vietnam, Laos and Cuba are practising socialism. There were 18 million members of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, but they failed to prevent socialism from being disrupted. Last year I met Ryashenko, a Hero of the Soviet Union. He had been in our country after liberation as commander of a mechanized infantry division and when returning in 1948, handed all the tanks of his division over to our country. In those days we had had no system of conferring orders. I had given a gold pocket watch to him as a present. Last year he brought with him the watch, a photograph he had posed for with me and a photograph Comrade Kim Jong Suk had posed for with his wife. Talking with him
after a long separation I asked him whether I should call him from now on comrade or Your Excellency. He requested that I call him comrade, adding that he still had his membership card of the Communist Party. I asked him how come the Soviet Union had collapsed when it had had 18 million members of the Communist Party. He answered it was because the Communist Party had not conducted ideological education efficiently and Gorbachev had betrayed the cause. I arranged a luncheon party for him. He is about 84 years old this year, but he has a vivid memory of past events. I was told he visits our embassy in Russia on every commemorative day. He will visit our country next year, too.

We will defend socialism to the end, come what may. As one of our songs says, defending socialism means victory and forsaking it means death. I hope that you, Chai Guo-zhang, will succeed to your father, an excellent socialist, and actively contribute to defending socialism in China. And please attend on your mother well.

As you, Chai Shi-rong’s adopted son, are Korean, you must make an active effort for the reunification of your motherland. You are, I’m sure, fully determined to dedicate your life to the reunification of the country any time that Comrade Kim Jong Il, the Supreme Commander of the Korean People’s Army, calls on you. It is laudable.

Our country is not only beautiful but also situated in a place of military and strategic importance. This is why the United States occupied the southern half of our country and has still not pulled out her troops even now after about half a century has passed. The south Korean authorities, instigated by the US, built a concrete wall in the southern part of the Military Demarcation Line in order to perpetuate the national division. You must have seen the wall. In the past the US occupied south Korea to oppose our country and contain the Soviet Union, but today when the Soviet Union has collapsed, it is trying to continue its grip on south Korea in order to oppose our country and China and contain Japan. The US has until now stationed its troops in south Korea under the alleged pretext of our threat of “southward invasion”. Nevertheless, they have become unable to justify the continuous presence of its troops there with the adoption of the
Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, Cooperation and Exchange between the North and the South. To cope with these developments, it has kicked up a racket of a “nuclear issue” and is bringing pressure to bear upon us. The US is demanding that we surrender atomic bombs that we do not have when it has more than 10,000 nuclear weapons. This is quite an unreasonable act, holding our country in contempt.

For our country to be reunified, the US troops must be driven out of south Korea. The day when they will have been driven out is not far off.

The US is now going downhill. It has fallen into a bottomless pit not only politically but economically. It owes a heavy debt to other countries. Reagan, when he was the President of the US, acted rashly with an ambition to dominate the world, but he failed. Clinton under a heavy debt will not be able to do so, either. Nevertheless, the US will not abandon the ambition of world domination. It is preventing other countries from possessing atomic bombs while it has a large number of them. This is aimed at resorting to hegemonism. It is in the habit of threatening other countries by means of something like economic sanctions, and the more it pursues hegemonism, the greater difficulty it will face.

At the moment the south Korean people’s anti-US struggle is mounting as the days go by. Yesterday 50,000 students and young people in Kwangju staged demonstrations for the withdrawal of the US troops. By nature the people of Kwangju have an excellent tradition of Fighting against foreign aggressors. Before the country’s liberation the students and young people there fought bravely against the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. And in May 1980 the students, young people and other citizens of Kwangju rose up in a popular uprising against the military fascist rule. They seized the city for ten days and fought undauntedly, fighting street battles. In the last days of the feudal rule of Ri dynasty the Tonghak Party led the fight against foreign aggressors and feudal rulers in Kwangju and other areas of Jolla Province under the slogans of “driving out Westerners and the
Japanese” and “defending the country and providing welfare for the people.” The Guangzhou Revolt is well-known in China; but it was quelled in three days. In China the struggle of the peasants in the Shandong area was also well-known in the past. Ours is a sagacious and brave nation with a laudable tradition of struggle against foreign invaders. The US feels its mouth watering for want of our country and is trying to swallow it, but it can never achieve that. If it tries to swallow us, our country will stick to its throat. It is a pipe-dream for it to attempt to bring our nation to its knees, the nation that has a long tradition of struggle. The flame of the anti-US struggle will flare up more violently in south Korea. Our people, through a united effort of the whole nation, will surely drive the US imperialists out of south Korea and reunify the country.

You are right when you said that in Korea everything is geared to the promotion of people’s well-being. In our country everything in society serves the people and we are executing politics centred on the people. We named establishments and buildings after the word “people”, like the people’s hospital, the Grand People’s Study House and the People’s Palace of Culture. A woman lawyer of Cuba, who has been to our country last year, is visiting our country again now. After looking round our country, she said everything serves the people in Korea and wrote good articles about our country.

You said that you were deeply impressed with your visit to the West Sea Barrage. This is understandable. The barrage is a grand edifice the soldiers of the People’s Army and our people built through a heroic struggle under the leadership of our Party. The barrage built is of significance in various aspects. It is playing an important role in preventing floods in the basin of the Taedong River. In 1967 floods swept our country, causing serious damage in Pyongyang. The water stayed in the city for several days and I guided the work of overcoming the damage while going to and fro in an amphibious tank. Later I proposed building the West Sea Barrage on the estuary of the Taedong in order to prevent flood. Construction of the barrage started in 1981 and finished in June 1986. We enjoyed the benefit of the barrage soon
after its construction. More rain fell in the summer of the year of its construction than in 1967. But Pyongyang was not flooded. At that time I was guiding a province on the spot. On receiving the report about much rainfall in the Pyongyang area, I phoned Comrade Kim Jong Il and asked him about the situation in Pyongyang. He answered the Taedong River did not overflow, not even over the promenade. But for the barrage, frankly speaking, Pyongyang would have suffered flood damage again. In the final analysis, we have more than recovered the whole cost of the construction of the barrage that year. With the construction of the barrage, Pyongyang has become free from the threat of any unprecedented deluge. The barrage is also contributing greatly to increasing grain production by supplying enough water to the western region of the country needed for farming. South Hwanghae and South Phyongan Provinces, situated in the west, are the granaries of our country. Before the construction of the barrage, we failed to supply an adequate amount of water to this region. This being the condition, some areas were provided with water at the time of transplanting rice seedlings but not adequately after that; they produced four to five tons of rice per hectare. Soon after the construction of the barrage, we built 800-km-long canals. From last year we are supplying enough irrigation water to the western region. We gathered a fairly good crop last year, especially in the western region, the granary of our country, where one area is producing nine to ten tons per hectare. The barrage has also resolved the problem of industrial water for factories in Pyongyang and its neighbouring areas. Before its construction, these factories experienced difficulties due to a shortage of water, but now they are well endowed with water.

You said that on seeing the sights in Mt. Kumgang this time you found it to be beautiful. The mountain is indeed beautiful. If we lay out Mt. Kumgang and other scenic spots as tourist resorts after reunification of the country and open them to foreign tourists, we will be able to earn much foreign currency. Many foreigners wish to tour our country.

You said that you had seen me recently on TV receiving foreigners.
I frequently meet foreigners. This April alone I met former heads of state and government and politicians from several countries, journalists from CNN International and Japan’s NHK and many other foreigners. CNN International requested that we permit its journalists headed by its senior vice-president to enter our country as it had some questions to ask me on the issue of DPRK-US relations. We granted permission to them. Reporting their coverage of various places in our country, they introduced me as the longest-serving revolutionary who has led the revolution for nearly 50 years. They apparently thought that I had led the Korean revolution since 1945. CNN International broadcast my meeting with many foreigners on that occasion to many countries of the world through satellites. I was told that CNN International is the fastest in the world in news service and many countries receive its transmissions.

You asked me to drop in at Sichuan Province on my future visit to China. I am going to visit foreign countries in the future, too. Many heads of state have paid visits to me so far and I am going to pay return visits to them. Recently my American friends asked me to visit their country. The Americans who visited our country this April asked to that effect and I answered that I can possibly go there when DPRK-US relations are improved. They wanted to know what I would do on a visit to the US. I told them I would make friends with Americans and go angling and hunting. At my words one American said that one day he would take his son to our country so that he could learn angling from me. The US is apparently moving these days to improve its relations with our country.

You wish that I take care of my health; though old, I am still healthy. As I have an excellent son, I do not grow older. Comrade Kim Jong Il is concerned with various aspects of my health and spares no effort. Lest my eyesight might be strained if I read too many documents, he tapes documents and sends the recordings to me. So, listening to the recordings while taking a stroll, I can become acquainted with the contents of the documents. Specialists read some documents for me sitting beside me. For this reason, everything,
including my eyesight, is normal and I am very fit. I enjoy my meals and do exercise like swimming. As I am healthy, I will live for a long time. Comrade Kim Jong Il is the loyal man of most loyal men, devoting his all for the sake of the country and fellow people, and the most filial man of filial men, fully discharging his duty to his father. Celebrating his 50th birthday on February 16, 1992, I composed a poem to the effect that he is admired by all for his power of pen and sword combined with his loyal and filial mind. I feel a great pride in having Comrade Kim Jong Il as my successor.

Please come to our country frequently, Mrs. Hu. When we meet often, we will further cement our friendship. As you have come to our country this year, you will be able to visit it frequently in the future. You are advanced in age, so after a year or so you will find it difficult to travel. Please come to our country again next year. It will be convenient as the passport you procured on this occasion is valid for five years. Next year our country is celebrating the 50th anniversary of its liberation and of the founding of the Workers’ Party of Korea. I hope you will come on these occasions.

You said that you would come on ordinary days as I might be busy on festival days. You will be welcome either on festival days or on ordinary days. As I have been on a business trip during your current visit, I failed to meet you often. When you come next year, I will meet you several times. Now that young people are attending to the affairs of vital importance to the country, older people may look back upon the days when they were active and give young people opinions as to how to work. So I can find time.

Meeting the people related to the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle is for me a most happy and pleasant occasion. I consider meeting these people like you to be a pleasant part of life.

You said that you came to our country by train; making a long journey by train is safe. When I go on a long journey I use the train. Each time I visited China, I travelled by train and when visiting the erstwhile Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries in 1984, I again went there by train.
When you are coming next year, you should bring with you all your sons and grandsons. It will be good if you go sightseeing and swimming in the sea with them before returning.

The weather is fine these days. The transplanting of rice seedlings in our country is about to be finished now. It has been said in our country that when rice-seedling transplanting is finished, paddy farming is finished. As the weather is fine and the transplanting of rice seedlings is nearly finished, a good crop will come about this year, too. I hope you will be able to visit our country in the balmy season.
I am very glad to see you, Ryang Kwidongnyo, today. As I took leave of you in 1936 at the secret camp in Qinggouzi, we are meeting after 58 years of separation.

I have not forgotten you, but I could not find you as I did not know your whereabouts because of no news from you and because I have always been busy with work. If you had written me after the liberation of the country we would have met sooner. It is a pity that I am meeting you too late. You say that it is your fault that we have not met so far, but my officials are also greatly to blame for not finding you in time. The anti-Party factionalists who once found their road into our Party hindered people who are related to me from meeting me. Although the Party History Institute had long been organized, it started to discover the materials related to the revolutionary history in full swing only after the 15th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party. This is why the people related to me were not found in time.

This meeting with you reminds me of your father, Ryang Song Ryong. He was my comrade-in-arms in the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. I formed the Down-with-Imperialism Union, the first revolutionary organization, in Huadian in 1926 and made preparations full steam for the anti-Japanese armed struggle with the members of the union as the hard core. Many of the DIU members
fought heroically in the vanguard of the struggle, before being killed. None of them is still alive. I convened a meeting of Party and communist youth league cadres in Mingyuegou, Yanji County, in December 1931 and set out a policy of waging an anti-Japanese armed struggle in the form of guerrilla warfare. Present at the meeting were Ryang Song Ryong, Kim Jung Gwon and many others. The meeting was historic in that it decided to organize the anti-Japanese people’s guerrilla army by obtaining arms by ourselves to wage an anti-Japanese armed struggle. Giving guidance to the overall work of organizing guerrilla units after the meeting, I organized myself a guerrilla unit in Antu and declared to the world the birth of the Anti-Japanese People’s Guerrilla Army (AJPGA) on April 25, 1932. Following this, guerrilla units were formed in succession in Yanji, Wangqing, Hunchun, Helong and other areas of eastern Manchuria. In Wangqing Ryang Song Ryong headed the forming of a guerrilla unit and in Helong Kim Il Hwan did it. Ri Kwang, Kim Jung Gwon and Choe Chun Guk also played a key role in organizing the Wangqing guerrilla unit. Kim Jung Gwon was killed in action in 1934. He had a son at that time, who works now at an important post of the Korean People’s Army.

After organizing the AJPGA, I moved from Antu to Wangqing in the spring of 1933 to change the theatre of struggle. Arriving in Wangqing I found that Ryang Song Ryong had formed a guerrilla unit of 70-80 men. Ryang was an able guerrilla commander. He died a heroic death in a battle in Wangqing County in 1935.

During the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle I lost many of my precious comrades. You say that you saw your father’s bust in the Revolutionary Martyrs Cemetery. Our Party built the cemetery on Mt. Taesong in order never to forget the anti-Japanese revolutionary martyrs. We wanted to entomb the remains of all the anti-Japanese revolutionary martyrs there, but we could not. So we buried the remains of only hardcore commanders and erected their busts there.

During the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle many of my comrades asked me, breathing their last, to take care of their families
after the liberation of the country. Mindful of their wish, I sent Rim Chun Chu and other veterans of the anti-Japanese revolution and officials to various parts of Korea and China after liberation to find and fetch all the bereaved children of revolutionaries. As the Soviet Union was a socialist country at that time, we did not fetch the bereaved children from there in the belief that the country would take good care of them. The situation prevailing in our country immediately after liberation was very difficult, but I ensured that Mangyongdae Revolutionary School was built and we brought the children from various parts to study there. During the Fatherland Liberation War, I organized a bodyguard company involving these children and looked after them, always taking them with me. On the eve of the end of the war I sent them to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to educate them. Under the care of the Party, many bereaved children grew to be hardcore cadres of the Party, state and army; among them are the Premier and vice-premiers of the Administration Council and chief secretaries of provincial Party committees at the moment. The deputy head of the Party History Institute present here is also one of them. Her father is Kim Il Hwan, an organizer of the Helong guerrilla unit. Her mother, Ri Kye Sun, also took part in the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and fought well before being killed by the enemy. Having arrested her, the Japanese imperialists told her that they would spare her life if she declared in front of the people that she would never fight against Japan again. Pretending that she was taken in by their appeasement, she asked them to gather people; then she spoke to them that General Kim Il Sung was safe and the Korean People’s Revolutionary Army led by him would soon defeat the Japanese imperialists and liberate the country. She then died a heroic death.

The bereaved children whom we brought up with care are all in their fifties, sixties and seventies and their children are succeeding to the revolution. This is why our revolution is secure in its inheritance. No country in the world is building socialism succeeding its revolution reliably through generations as our country does. Many revolutionary parties and progressive people across the world lavish praise on our
people for their safeguarding of socialism from one generation to another. After the collapse of socialism in the former Soviet Union several parties aspiring to communism have been organized again; they are unanimous in their appraisal of the correctness of our Party’s lines and policies and they send enthusiastic support and encouragement to our revolutionary cause.

For unavoidable reasons we had to send you to the Soviet Union during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. On my advance to the Mt. Paektu area after the Nanhutou meeting in February 1936 I dropped in at the secret camp in Qinggouzi, Emu County. Wounded guerrillas and orphans were waiting for me there. You were one of these people. Although I wanted to take them all to the area around Mt. Paektu, circumstances prevailing at that time did not permit it. So I decided to evacuate them to the Soviet Union. I still remember how I took leave of you. We set off for the Mt. Paektu area, leaving you behind in the secret camp although you insisted on going with me. I still feel anguish in recalling what happened at that time. According to what you say, it seems you had a lot of trouble on your way to the Soviet Union.

At the secret camp in Qinggouzi I assigned to the units in northern Manchuria Choe Chun Guk’s unit and other units from eastern Manchuria which accompanied me on the expedition to northern Manchuria; then taking less than 20 bodyguards, I went to the Mt. Paektu area. In the Fusong area, I found that circumstances there were beyond description. There were about 100 suspected members of “Minsaengdan” there, experiencing many difficulties as they were poorly fed and clothed. The Children’s Corps members in Maanshan were also suffering from disease, hunger and cold. I could not allay my anguish at their plight.

Trusting the “Minsaengdan” suspects daringly, I made up my mind to organize a new unit involving them. So I had them all gathered and burned away the bundles of “Minsaengdan” documents in their presence. Setting fire to documents, I told them; “‘Minsaengdan’ was organized by the Japanese imperialists. From now on there is no ‘Minsaengdan’ member here. If you joined the pro-Japanese
organization, why have you followed us suffering hardships in the mountains instead of surrendering to the Japanese? I declare you are not ‘Minsaengdan’ members from this moment.” So grateful for the trust I placed in them, they hugged one another and burst into tears. I organized a new unit with these people.

I also ensured that clothes were made for the members of the Children’s Corps in Maanshan. At that time I was carrying 20 yuan about me which my mother had given me. I sent a man to the town of Fusong to buy cloth with the money. But the cloth worth 20 yuan was not enough to make clothes for all the CC members. So I sent the man to Zhang Wei-hua in Fusong. Receiving my letter, Zhang bought a large amount of cloth and sent it to us. With the cloth, we provided not only the CC members but the “Minsaengdan” suspects each with a new uniform.

Zhang Wei-hua was my revolutionary Chinese comrade, who helped us in our struggle at the cost of his life. His father was a wealthy man well-known in Fusong. When Zhang expressed his will to join the guerrillas, I dissuaded him and advised him to do underground work in Fusong taking advantage of his father’s status. He conducted revolutionary work, running Xiongdi Photo Studio in Fusong. I met him in 1932 when I was on the expedition to southern Manchuria after founding the AJPGA and in 1936 in Miaoling, Fusong County, and again in the hot spring village of Daying.

After meeting me in Daying, Zhang was arrested unexpectedly by the military police in the fall of that year. The police had been informed by Jong Hak Hae, who was my classmate in primary school and once worked as head of the Fusong county branch organization of the Paeksan Youth League. In his early days, he adhered to the revolutionary spirit, and then became a turncoat when he was arrested by the Japanese imperialists and worked as their cat’s paw in the “submission work corps”. One day Jong called on Zhang and asked, “I am going to see Kim Il Sung. Do you know where he is?” As Jong had taken part in the youth movement under my guidance, Zhang never suspected him. He told Jong that he had met me. Soon
afterwards he was arrested by the police.

The enemy tortured him cruelly in order to learn the whereabouts of our Headquarters and all the underground organizations in the Fusong area. But he kept silence. Afraid of revealing my whereabouts and the network of the underground organizations against his will when he became unconscious under torture, he resolved to kill himself. He requested that his father help him receive parole for at least a few days. His father bribed the police with money and gifts and won his son’s sick bail. At home Zhang Wei-hua wrote to me: “The enemy sent out spies to discover the Headquarters of the Korean People’s Revolutionary Army. Please move your Headquarters as quickly as possible.” He subsequently committed suicide by swallowing corrosive sublimate used in film development. He killed himself for the sake of my safety.

I had not heard from his bereaved family after liberation until I met them in 1985. After receiving a letter which Zhang Jin-quan had written to me, I asked the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on his visit to our country to send him to us so that I could meet him. Thus Zhang Jin-quan visited our country. He is very clever. Zhang Wei-hua’s bereaved family made several visits to our country. I failed to meet his wife because she died. In recent years his family often visits our country. His grandson and granddaughter are studying at the University of International Affairs in Pyongyang.

You said that you got acquainted with Jon Mun Jin on your journey to the Soviet Union. Comrade Kim Jong Il arranged parties for her 70th and 80th birthdays. In Wangqing she made me a military uniform. When I went to Wangqing in command of my unit after organizing the AJPGA, the women guerrillas from the sewing unit there, saying that they should make me, a young general, a fine uniform, made it with all sincerity. Jon Mun Jin was best at needlework. She was fragile when young, and it is good that she does not fall ill now that she has put on weight.

With three sons, three daughters and eleven grandchildren, you have many descendants. Although they live in a foreign land, your sons
and daughters must not forget their motherland; they must become revolutionaries as stout as their mother’s father. And they should take good care of their parents.

You should receive medical treatment during your stay in the motherland. First you had better have false teeth put in. This will take about a month. After examining you, our doctors say that you have become weak from lack of nourishment and you would soon recover if you take nourishing foods and take care of your health.

I was told that your husband is suffering from a cataract. We must cure him of the disease as quickly as possible. Unless treated in good time, cataract affects one’s eyesight and leads to its loss. It is advisable for him to have a cataract operation and have an artificial crystalline lens set in. Our country makes the lens. If one has the lens put in after the cataract operation, he will never suffer. Recently our doctors performed an operation on the eyes of a 100-year-old man and put a lens in them. According to a report, he thereupon recovered his eyesight and feels very satisfied. We would bring your husband to the motherland to treat him. He may have his eye treated in Kazakhstan where he lives now. But as the hospitals run by the state have been privatized there owing to the collapse of socialism, it would be difficult for him to receive such expensive medical treatment. You could go back after recovering your health to bring your husband to the motherland, but it will take much time and travelling expenses. I think it would be good to give the officials in our embassy in Kazakhstan the task of bringing him to the motherland as soon as possible. We will report this to the Party and take measures. Since he is said to be suffering from no other diseases, he will live in good health for 10 or 20 years more if he has his eyes treated. Now that we have found you, we can make you and your husband happy if we also cure your husband of the disease. I will ensure that you and your husband receive excellent medical treatment before going back and looking like a “newly-wed” couple. You say that you are grateful for the care lavished on your family; a man can enjoy happiness only under the care of his motherland, leader and Party.
You should receive medical treatment without anxiety and then visit several places of the motherland. I could possibly meet you again after your husband has his eyes treated here.

During your stay you should see and learn much from the realities of the country, accompanying the deputy head of the Party History Institute. If you have something you want to ask, you can say it to her. Then I will be informed.

Now that you have become acquainted with your motherland, you should come every year. Then you will grow more familiar with it and feel more attached to it. Many Koreans living in Russia visit their motherland these days. Jong Il Sim, a Korean in Russia, visits the motherland every year. This year, too, she came to the motherland with her children and returned some days ago after having a rest. An Tong Su is her husband. If you come to the motherland, you will find difficulties with travelling expenses. We will defray the expenses. You should bring your sons, daughters and grandchildren to the motherland every year and have a rest. There are many hot springs in this country, so you can cure yourself of diseases by taking a hot bath. There are many countries in the world, but few of them is as good as ours to live in. Ours is socialism centred on the masses—the masses are the master of everything and everything serves them. No one in our country has to worry about food, clothing and housing; the state provides everything needed in life. All people enjoy the benefit of the system of free and compulsory education and free medical care. There would be no country in the world other than ours that provides free education and free medical care. If the country was not divided and directly confronted with the US imperialists, our people would be better off than now. However, as the United States is occupying south Korea we must strenuously live and fight, surmounting various difficulties till the day of national reunification.

Now that I have found you, I will take care of your health and life as your father would do. When necessary, you can send telegrams to the motherland at our embassy in the capital of Kazakhstan. Please regard me as your father.
I welcome your visit to our country.
I am thankful that you think it the greatest honour to have another meeting with us this time.

How are Comrade Fidel Castro and Comrade Raul Castro? I am pleased to hear that they are in good health and doing a lot of work. A man needs to be busy. Doing a lot of work is the duty of a revolutionary. A revolutionary must look out for something to do, instead of waiting for it. We are always on the lookout for work to do. So we have a mountain of work on hand all the time. One will have nothing to do in one’s life unless he or she seeks something to do. They say a Cuban proverb goes that one should die with his boots on. It is a good saying in that it means man works to the grave.

You must have had trouble travelling such a long distance. On your way here, you are said to have rested for several days in our Russian embassy. Well, did you have any inconvenience there? You have said that you enjoyed hospitality in our embassy and also met your old acquaintance there. Your friend is a daughter of our first ambassador to Cuba. Her father, while fighting against the Japanese, was arrested and put behind bars; he was released from prison only after we defeated the Japanese imperialists and liberated the country. As she speaks Russian, Spanish, English and French, I used to take her along for my work with foreigners. On my trip to attend the funeral of the late President Tito, I also took her, a polyglot, along with me.
You have said that you regard all of the 160 Korean pupils studying at Youth Islet in Cuba as your grandchildren. Then, it means you have 160 grandchildren, doesn’t it? That is a good thing. I feel at ease to hear that our pupils are well-disciplined, good at school, cheerful in their life and are also doing many a good thing. I thank you for conveying to me the wishes of the principal of the Cuba-DPRK Friendship School and of our pupils there for my long life in good health. Our pupils there have also written a letter of greetings to me. The families of our pupils in Youth Islet are all well. On your return home, please give my regards to the principal and our pupils of the Cuba-DPRK Friendship School.

You have expressed your thanks for our boundless hospitality to you; good treatment between friends is not hospitality but due service. “Hospitality” is the term to be used in diplomatic activities with guests, not between comrades-in-arms.

I have many visitors now. Yesterday, too, I met a woman named Ryang Kwidongnyo from whom I had parted during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. Her father had waged the revolutionary struggle along with me from 1931 before falling at Xiaowangqing in 1935. The rest of her family had also been killed in the “punitive” operation by the Japanese. Unable to bring her up in the secret camp on the mountain, while fighting the Japs, I had this little girl sent to the Soviet Union, the base of revolution in those days. As she was unwilling to part from me, it had been an effort for me to persuade her into going to the Soviet Union together with several other children. Then after 58 years, we met again. Dying to see her, I had her brought from the Soviet Union. I am told that she has six children; her husband has bad eyesight. She has lived a hard life. She was having a hard time for want of food, when she was brought here. She is said to weigh no more than 35 kg. I intend to have her cured of her illness, and also have her husband brought here for treatment of his eye disease. When I met her yesterday, I told her that she was at liberty to decide whether or not she would live here. I found her so pitiful that I could hardly sleep a wink yesterday night.
Today’s newspapers have carried the news of my meeting with her.

You have said that while reading my reminiscences With the Century, you have come to know well how much I take loving care of my comrades, and that you love to read it; my reminiscences have already been published in as many as five volumes, and the sixth volume will soon come to be released. As for their translated version, four volumes have been published so far and the fifth one is in the process of translation.

My reminiscences are being published in China, Japan and other countries, as well as in south Korea. The south Korean puppets are anxious to know who have published my reminiscences in south Korea, saying; ‘They are not published in north Korea or Japan or Russia. Obviously they are published in south Korea, and then, by whom?’ I have been told that many of the young south Koreans are reading my reminiscences. That is why they have published them in secret, I think. Those published in Japan sometimes find their way into south Korea. The Russians are publishing my reminiscences in a great number of copies, saying they find in them the cause of the ruin of the Soviet Union.

I have read your book about your visit to our country last year, which gives a good and vivid account of the facts. It is an excellent book which does credit to the writer as a person of literature or law. I welcome your idea to write about Comrade Kim Jong Il and about Korea.

As it was winter when you came here last year, you might have failed to visit many of our local areas. On this occasion, you had better look round every place you have not yet visited, resting at your ease. It is too early to climb Mt. Paektu this time. The mountain is still covered with much snow and it is cold there. June 4 is the day when we fought a battle in Pochonbo; the tree leaves come out around June there. The period from the end of July to early August is the best time for climbing Mt. Paektu. It is still good even at this time of the year to look around Mt. Kumgang. There are many pictures about the scenic beauty of Mt. Kumgang in all seasons–spring, summer, autumn and winter. It
will take you about five days to look round the whole of Mt. Kumgang. You might have been to Mt. Myohyang last year; I wonder whether summer is better than winter for climbing Mt. Myohyang. I think it will be good for you to come to our country in summer for a rest and stay in Cuba for a rest during winter every year. The Cubans will find it difficult to endure the cold, for they are accustomed to hot places. You have also written in your book that you could hardly stand the cold. You have written that you are not afraid of imperialism, only the cold; I also dislike winter because I suffered too much from the cold during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. The anti-Japanese guerrillas experienced a lot of trouble in winter because of frostbite on their feet. I first taught the recruits of the anti-Japanese guerrilla army how to put on shoes.

We intend to build up Mt. Kuwol as a resort and open it to the public. The soldiers of the People’s Army are now building it, but I do not think they will be able to finish the project this year. From ancient times, Mt. Kuwol has been known as one of the five famous mountains in our country. Once upon a time there was a monk called Abbot Sosan in our country. He said that Korea had five famous mountains: firstly, Mt. Paektu; secondly, Mt. Kumgang; thirdly, Mt. Myohyang; fourthly, Mt. Kuwol; and fifthly, Mt. Jiri. Mt. Jiri is in south Korea, while the other four famous mountains are in the north. Mt. Kuwol is situated not far from Pyongyang; it is not so high above sea level with restful cool air in summer.

You have said that you would visit the Kiyang second-stage pumping station again on this occasion; you had better look round it as well as the South Phyongan irrigation network. The Kiyang second-stage pumping station is the symbol of self-reliance, I can say. It is infused with the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance on the part of our Party and of our people. Self-reliance means standing on one’s feet and living by relying on one’s own efforts.

The history of the irrigation in Kiyang records many interesting points. When I went to the Onchon area, South Phyongan Province, during the Fatherland Liberation War, the inhabitants told me that they
had been eating only boiled millet, but not rice. The Koreans have always liked boiled white rice. In our country rice began to be cultivated from several thousand years ago. In ancient times, boiled white rice was called royal rice for it had been eaten only by the royal family. Later, during the 500-year rule of the Ri dynasty, it was called Ri’s rice for it was eaten only by the royal family of Ri dynasty. Living on boiled white rice and meat soup, wearing silk and living in tile-roofed houses was the centuries-old desire of our people. To put this desire into reality is a major objective we must attain in socialist construction.

After liberating the country, I resolved to undertake many irrigation projects so as to make it possible for the people to live on white rice. To enable the inhabitants of the Onchon area to eat white rice, there had to be a supply of water for them to do rice-farming, but no river was available for the purpose. Consulting the map, therefore, I studied how one could supply water to this area. No matter how deeply I thought about it, there was no alternative but to draw water from the Taedong River up to here. Then I made up my mind to do so, even if the water had to be drawn up over several mountains. Once drawn, the water was enough to provide the inhabitants of Onchon, Jungsan, Taedong, Ryonggang and several other adjacent counties, with white rice. It was not easy, however, to draw the water of the Taedong as far as Onchon. So I took Rim Kun Sang, an exemplary peasant during the war, and other officials of the area to the field and discussed how we would do it. When I suggested that we build a dam to make a reservoir and pump up the water of the Taedong into it before letting the water flow down to Onchon, they said it was a good idea. They told me that the peasants would build the embankment, while the soldiers of the People’s Army stationed in the area would construct waterways. The point in question, however, was how to obtain a large water pump.

Following the war we imported from the Soviet Union a large water pump, the cost of which burdened us a lot and the delivery took a long time. So I thought that we should make the large water pump ourselves and assigned the task to the workers of the Ragwon Machine Factory. I
told them: “It will be good if you can make the water pump as large as that bought from the Soviet Union. But that is a big job for you. If impossible, what about making a smaller one for small-scale irrigation?” Then, they replied: “During the war, we fought by making grenades from nothing. Why can’t we make what the Soviet people have made? We will make the large water pump by our own efforts.” I encouraged them, saying: “I have no intention to break your will. All of the revolutionaries must be bold. When we were waging the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, we struck the Japs by making the Yanji bomb by our own efforts.” If you go to the Korean Revolution Museum, you will find the display of the Yanji bomb. Later, with much fortitude they manufactured the large water pump on their own, thus making it possible to complete the Kiyang irrigation project that would supply life-giving water to tens of thousand hectares of paddy fields.

The working class of the Ragwon Machine Factory had a high sense of self-reliance and unfailing loyalty to the Party. During the Fatherland Liberation War, I went one day to that factory and attended a meeting of the Party cell made up of ten members in the casting workshop. That afternoon, the enemy made an indiscriminate air raid on Sinuiju; after the raid, I went out to Ragwon to acquaint myself with the state of the inhabitants. When I went there, the ten Party members were at the meeting of their cell at the propagation hall of their workshop. With my aide standing outside, I entered the hall by stealth. They were discussing the tasks of Party members to ensure wartime production; they were too preoccupied with their discussion of the topic to know of my presence in the hall. Only when I interrupted them in the middle of their debate, by proposing to say something, did they recognize me and held me in their arms, all cheering. I told them: “After winning the war against the US imperialists, we must push ahead with the project for rehabilitation. Then we will have a mountain of work to do, and I wonder if we could manage the rehabilitation work quickly.” After listening to me, a woman Party member rose and said: “Premier, don’t worry. Once we win, rehabilitation will not be a problem. We managed to restore within a few years from the wreckage
all what the Japs had destroyed, and lived well, didn’t we? When the war is over, we can reconstruct everything and make a good living once again, so don’t worry too much, please.” Her remark gave me great confidence. The water pump set up in the Kiyang second-stage pumping station is exactly what the ten Party members of Ragwon manufactured. What a good thing it is that they made the large water pump on their own so that the people could eat white rice! That is why I think highly of the ten Party members of Ragwon as excellent members of the Party. In that period of time the Chollima movement was launched dynamically under the slogan of self-reliance.

The people decide everything. Without their strength, nothing can be done. Their strength can override heaven for sure. “The people are my God”–this is the motto I have followed since the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. Socialism and communism are constructed by the strength of the people.

Almost all our people are eating white rice now. If we make more effort, all of them can live on white rice and meat soup.

According to those who have been to Russia, robbery is rampant in that country. Ryang Kwidongnyo, who is living in Kazakhstan, came to our country via Russia on this occasion. When I gave her a gold watch as my gift, she said she could wear it in Korea, but not in Moscow. She continued to say that if she wore it in Moscow, she could even have her wrist cut off. The collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union has given rise to such a situation.

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

Khrushchev had insisted on our joining the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. However, we committed ourselves to self-reliance, refusing to join the CMEA. Khrushchev had advised us to make use of electricity generated by the Bratsk hydroelectric power station near Lake Baikal, but we declined it, for the distance was too far for us to install transmission lines from Bratsk to our country and the switch was in their hands. Suppose we installed electricity from the Soviet Union and they switched it off, we would be left at their mercy. So we decided then to solve the problem of electricity by our own efforts and constructed the March 17 Hydroelectric Power Complex. Thinking of it now, it was right for us to work out our way by our own efforts, without joining the CMEA.

Some time ago Honecker died in Chile. I sent a message of condolence to his wife; she might come to our country. When he was staying in Moscow, Honecker had once sent me a letter in which he expressed his desire to spend the rest of his life in our country; I granted him permission. Our airplane had flown to Moscow and stayed there for a long time to take him away, but the Russians and Germans did not allow him to come to our country. Gorbachev had sold Honecker over to the imperialists.

How pleasant it is to have a meeting between comrades-in-arms! I have this lunch arranged in your honour, and I want you to help yourself to as many dishes as you like. I propose a toast to the friendship between comrades-in-arms, to the final victory of revolution, to your health, and to the health of Comrade Fidel Castro.

Our cooks who took part in the world cuisine contest held in Brussels took third place in the general result and the first in soup. I think the Korean cuisine and Koryo medicine are not inferior to Western ones. I had Han Tok Su, the Chairman of the Central Standing Committee of the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (Chongryon) brought to the country for his treatment, for the Japanese had said they were unable to cure his illness. Chairman Han Tok Su was said to have gone outdoors in a wheel chair and have been
scoop-fed because his hands were too shaky for him to eat by himself. When I called on him to inquire after his health after his arrival in the homeland, he was ill, bedridden. I advised him to get treatment from Koryo medicine, rather than pinning his hopes only on Western medicine. When he became unable to walk, Kreisky, the former Chancellor of Austria, had invited doctors from various countries such as the United States, Britain and France to treat him for several years, but with little effect. So he invited our doctors to provide treatment for his disease; he recovered completely from his illness and became able to walk again. The Japanese were said to have stated that Chairman Han Tok Su would not be cured even in Korea. Since his arrival in the homeland, he has been treated with cupping, acupuncture and other kinds of Koryo medicine; he is now walking and eating with his own hands. He says that upon his return to Japan after his full recovery from his illness, he would say big things about it.

You have expressed once again your heartfelt gratitude for special treatment awarded to you; please make yourself at home and spend a nice time here, relaxing and sight-seeing. If you experience any inconvenience, you had better bring it up with the Chairman or vice-chairman of the Korean Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. They will then report it to me.
MEMBERS OF THE CHILDREN’S UNION OF KOREA, BE LOYAL AND DUTIFUL SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF OUR PARTY

A Letter of Congratulations to the Fifth Congress of the Children’s Union of Korea

June 6, 1994

Dear members of the Children’s Union,

I am very pleased to greet you at the grand opening of the Fifth Congress of the Children’s Union of Korea enjoying the generous attention and blessing of our Party and our people, and extend warm congratulations to those who are attending the congress and to all the other members of the Children’s Union throughout the country.

The Fifth Congress of the Children’s Union of Korea will be a proud congress of great significance in extensively manifesting the reliable features of our schoolchildren growing up happily and staunchly in the care of our Party and in firmly preparing the Children’s Union members as successors to the revolution.

The Children’s Union of Korea, which has inherited the shining traditions of the Anti-Japanese Children’s Corps, has traversed a glorious path of struggle. It has always been loyal to the Party and the leader, and its members have done a great deal of splendid work for the country and the people. They have exalted the honour of the resourceful, courageous Korean children by their participation in the building of a new country, in the war to defend the country and in building socialism.
Today our Children’s Union members are acquiring an excellent education and are growing up as dependable reserves for the revolution under the care of the Party. With great ambition and hope, they study industriously, lead a sound life and are well-disciplined and cheerful. Our Party and our people take great pride and immeasurable pleasure in this.

I feel immense satisfaction that all our Children’s Union members are growing up as a trustworthy new generation who will shoulder the future of their motherland following our Party.

Children’s Union members,

The Children’s Union members are successors to our revolution and masters of the future. They are entrusted with the honourable task of taking over and continuing the revolution under the revolutionary banner and of accomplishing the revolutionary cause of Juche.

In order to succeed to the revolution, they must become fully proficient as young guards who are unfailingly loyal to our Party.

Our Party regards children as the most precious treasures of the country and spares nothing for them. The members of our Children’s Union are happy children who were born in the era of the glorious Workers’ Party, who study to their heart’s content, and are growing up as happily as anyone can be in this world.

They should always trust and follow only our Party, taking an immense pride in the fact that it is the best party and that its care is the best that there is, and they should study and live as the Party teaches them.

They must inherit the revolutionary spirit of Paektu by studying revolutionary traditions in good faith, and follow the examples of loyalty of the young revolutionaries who fought so self-sacrificingly for the country and the revolution.

They must become young patriots who love their country and their people, who hate imperialism and their class enemies; they must devote their all to defending and bringing honour to our socialist country.

They must become fully skilled builders of socialism—knowledgeable, morally impeccable and physically strong.

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Study is the first and foremost revolutionary task of the members of the Children’s Union. They should study industriously with the ambition and ideal to become capable workers who will shoulder the future of the country. Under the motto “Let us study for Korea!”, they must study hard at school, read many good books, imbibe a useful, working knowledge and give full play to their talents.

The Children’s Union members must endeavour to build up their characters to be lofty morally. They must love their comrades, help them, lead each other forward and devote themselves to the organization and the collective. They must acquire fine manners of speech, behave properly, respect their teachers and elders and be models in observing social order and public morality.

They must steel themselves physically. Only when they are physically strong, will they be able to study well and contribute to socialist construction and national defence. They must take an active part in various sports activities regularly to harden their bodies and cultivate a strong fighting spirit, courage and boldness.

They must participate extensively in socio-political activities and in the good-conduct movement.

They must conduct various socio-political activities energetically such as schoolchildren’s art and information squad activities to animate streets, villages and work places with the vigorous and cheerful spirit of the schoolchildren of a new generation and bring joy and encouragement to the people. They must conduct the “Our school-our post” movement widely with love for the People’s Army soldiers to give the brothers and sisters of the People’s Army strength and courage, firmly determined to become honourable soldiers of national defence, following in their footsteps.

The Children’s Union members must foster the trait for loving labour, help their fathers and mothers in their work, keep their schools, home towns, streets and villages clean and do many good things that will be of benefit to the country.

The Children’s Union members must participate faithfully in the life of their organization.
The Children’s Union organization is an excellent school in training its members to be true sons and daughters of the Party. Children begin their political life through that of the Children’s Union. Only when they are faithful in their political life in the Children’s Union can they be faithful in their political life in the League of Socialist Working Youth and, further, in the Party in the future.

The Children’s Union members should value and love the Children’s Union organization, and carry out the assignments given them by their organization promptly and unfailingly. They must develop a spirit of organization and discipline through their organizational life and live up to the oath they have taken before the banner of the Children’s Union.

Dear Children’s Union members,

You are the future and hope of our country. Only when you grow up healthy and strong can our country be prosperous and the future of the revolution be bright.

I firmly believe that all the Children’s Union members will grow up into sons and daughters boundlessly loyal to our Party and as successors to our revolution will fulfil their duties with credit.
ON PROMOTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RAJIN-SONBONG FREE ECONOMIC AND TRADE ZONE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF HYDROELECTRIC POWER STATIONS

Speech at a Consultative Meeting of the Officials Concerned with the Development of the Rajin-Sonbong Free Economic and Trade Zone and the Construction of Power Stations

June 14, 1994

This consultative meeting will discuss the matter of developing the Rajin-Sonbong free economic and trade zone and constructing hydroelectric power stations.

Developing the Rajin-Sonbong free economic and trade zone is of great importance in promoting the development of the national economy and improving people’s living standards.

The Rajin-Sonbong area, if developed, can earn a lot of money, because it has favourable conditions for its development into a free economic and trade zone. This area is not only adjacent to China and Russia but also equipped with well-developed ports in Rajin and Sonbong. Whereas the ports in Nakhodka and Vladivostok cannot be used for several months in winter because of the ice, those in Rajin-Sonbong area can be used all the year round as the sea there does not freeze in winter. The Korean East Sea has the characteristic of not freezing in winter.

If developed as a free economic and trade zone, this area can become an entrepot carrying cargoes from China, Russia and
Mongolia to south Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and other Southeast Asian countries. Northeast China, the Far Eastern region of Russia and Mongolia have large quantities of goods to be carried through our country. Jilin, Heilongjiang and Liaoning Provinces in China expect to carry a large amount of their grain products which total as much as tens of million tons annually, through our country across Hoeryong to the Chongjin Port. From there they will transport them by sea; Russia, too, intends to transport great quantities of her steel, fertilizers and the like through our ports. Mongolia also plans to carry many million tons of cargoes annually through our ports. Given this situation, if we develop the Rajin-Sonbong area into a free economic and trade zone and run the Rajin, Sonbong and Chongjin Ports efficiently, transiting cargoes from China, Russia and Mongolia, we can earn a lot of money. Probably the charges for the carriage of their goods within the bounds of our country and for the manpower employed to load and unload them at ports, will be great. This zone, if developed, can also rake in a lot of money through service work, including the management of hotels. Then our people will be well off from the earnings of this zone. Singapore is earning a lot of money, for it deals with the management of hotels and entrepot trade on a large scale. If we develop the Rajin-Sonbong area into an excellent free economic and trade zone, we can earn much more than Singapore. In this respect, developing the Rajin-Sonbong area into a productive free economic and trade zone is of great significance to the economic development of our country, so to speak.

Even foreigners foster a great interest in this project. The Japanese and others from various countries, as well as the south Korean entrepreneurs are said to have expressed their intention of pouring investment into the project.

This zone, if developed well, will earn a lot of money making us better off, but our officials are passive on this project, instead of pushing it ahead aggressively. For some years they have paid only lip-service to the development of this zone, dragging it on and having done nothing particular in the meantime. They do not know how to
take the delicious rice-cake they have before them.

As we, the masters, are not active in this undertaking, foreigners, too, show reluctance in their attitude to the work.

Sluggish progress in this undertaking is related to the fact that the Administration Council is not working on this project with an attitude befitting masters. The Administration Council is paying only lip-service to the development of this zone, without organizing work to the last detail for its undertaking. In this undertaking, we must on all accounts take the lead. Only when we take an active lead in pushing ahead with this undertaking, can foreigners also make an investment in it. From now on, we must give strong impetus to this project as the masters.

What is mostly important in this undertaking is to develop the zone so that the management of hotels, transport and entrepot trade can be done efficiently.

Entrepot trade means transiting cargoes from one country to the other and from the latter to the former. Entrepot trade is also a form of resale activity. Now our officials are not well-skilled in entrepot trade and in trading with money. Trading with money means borrowing money from someone else and using it to make more money.

You must quickly set up facilities for the management of hotels, transport, and entrepot trade as well as for resale trade in this area.

Above all else, you must build hotels well.

Hotels need to be both large and small in size to suit the topography and varying demands. It is better, however, to build the small ones first and quickly. The large ones cost a lot and take long time to construct, and therefore would not necessarily be rewarding. The locations of hotels need to be accurately calculated by the officials concerned before being finalised.

You must also build indoor amusement and sports facilities for the foreigners to enjoy them on rainy or snowy days. If indoor amusement and sports facilities are not available, foreigners might have nothing to do but stay in their rooms playing cards; this should not be the case.

Bowling alleys, tennis courts, volleyball and basketball grounds as
well as swimming pools need to be set up indoors. As the Rajin-Sonbong area is a cold place, indoor swimming pools equipped with sauna should be set up.

Amusement and sports facilities must be built near hotels. If they are placed far away from hotels, the residents of hotels might not want to use them frequently. It is best to have indoor amusement and sports facilities set up in three or four places in the vicinity of the Rajin, Sonbong and Tumangang Railway Stations.

You must also construct many dwellings. The Rajin-Sonbong area has many vacant spaces and low hills suitable for the building of dwellings. Just level the ground on low hills, and you can surely build houses or apartments. If various types of dwellings are built along the coast between Rajin and Sonbong Ports to meet the topographical conditions, they would look appealing.

The hotels, dwellings and other buildings to be constructed in this area must be heated well to keep their occupants warm in winter. Singapore might be free from heating problems, for it is situated near the equator, whereas the Rajin-Sonbong area would be unsuitable for habitation without heating facilities because it is cold and quite windy there during winter. The buildings must be designed well so that they can be used all the year round.

You must develop a green belt in this area wherever possible, including the area between the Rajin and Sonbong Ports.

You must lay a motorway, too. If impossible to do it right now, you must first make use of the available road by widening and cementing it, then when you earn money you can construct the motorway.

It is important to construct an airport soon in this area. Only then, can many foreigners come to this place by air. As it is important for them to save time, the capitalists and other foreign traders would prefer planes to low-speed trains to travel long distances. I am told that some foreign capitalists would refuse to come to the Rajin-Sonbong area, because there is no airport there as yet.

The airport needs to be constructed in Pupho-ri. Although Pupho-ri is said to have occasional fog, it is still suitable if planes are allowed to
take off and land when the place is cleared of fog.

You must also step up the construction of ports.

Ports need to be constructed on a large scale for the loading and unloading of great quantities of cargoes. You must envisage the construction of large ports; first however, you must build small ones for temporary use before enlarging them gradually.

Developing up the Rajin Port among others in the Rajin-Sonbong area is the most desirable approach. The Rajin Port alone, if developed well, can move great quantities of goods. You must plan to develop this port into a larger one capable of loading and unloading more goods.

It seems to me your idea of building a tourist resort on the beach in Sonbong is not appropriate. The place is so cold that it is unsuited for sea-bathing, I think. If sea-bathing is possible there during the hot season in summer, you had better develop it into a recreation centre.

It will be pleasant for foreigners coming to the Rajin-Sonbong area to get a chance to take a hot spring bath in Onpho and go to Mt. Kumgang for sight-seeing. Airplanes should be available, ready to take them to Mt. Kumgang. Air travel from the Rajin-Sonbong area to Mt. Kumgang will take little time. The foreigners can also go to Mt. Kumgang by sea. However, only those who want to try the sea travel would choose ship, while others might dislike it. Some people do not like to travel by sea because of seasickness. Our compatriots in Japan usually come to the homeland on board Mangyongbong-92; some get troubled by seasickness.

You must work out another well-calculated plan for developing the Rajin-Sonbong free economic and trade zone.

You have planned to develop this zone with a population of no more than 150,000; you need not feel too constrained in planning this project. You must develop the zone on a large scale with a population of at least one million. The designers must map out a far-reaching plan with an ambitious idea so that the zone is developed on a grand scale. In keeping with the new development of this zone, you will have to construct the city in an appealing way.
It is advisable to send the officials in charge of the design for the development of this zone to other countries on a study tour. Designers are said to have already visited other countries; a few of them have done so but not all from every branch, I think. In order to develop this zone in a splendid way, you must select designers from every branch for a tour to other countries so that they can look around and see what is necessary for the design work of their branch firsthand.

While stepping up the design work for the development of the Rajin-Sonbong free economic and trade zone, you must give a strong impetus to the construction work. To this end, you must send an official capable of taking a firm grasp and pushing ahead with this undertaking.

This project needs investment. You must boldly earmark a large sum of money without stinting yourself too much.

At the same time you must actively involve foreigners in the project. Many of them are now showing a keen interest in the development of this zone. You must accept as many people as possible wanting to come to this area. As the Rajin-Sonbong area is to be developed into a free economic and trade zone, you can allow the capitalists to develop whatever industry they want.

You must develop effective publicity about this zone. While pushing ahead with the work of developing the zone, you must conduct wide-scale external publicity and prepare promotional material aimed at drawing many foreigners into this work.

Next, I will talk about the construction of hydroelectric power stations.

You must step up the construction of hydroelectric power stations and finish them soon.

Only when you have completed the on-going construction of the hydroelectric power stations, will it be possible to ease the strain on the use of electricity. There are several thermal power stations available in our country, but they are not proving their worth because of an insufficient supply of coal. Atomic power stations, if constructed, may become a solution to the problem of electricity supplies, but their
construction takes a long time. Given this situation, if we are to ease the strain on electricity, we must step up the construction of power stations now under way so as to finish them soon. If you merely sit idly by without thinking of overcoming the difficulties, you will never be able to solve the problem of electricity supply.

Contrary to some people’s opinion that it would be impossible in our country to increase the generating capacity of hydroelectric-power stations for lack of water resources, we can surely increase it through the rational use of water. Rational use of water alone, by replenishing the existing power stations through complementary design work, can ensure the production of more electricity than at present. We can produce more electricity either by channelling the flow of the small rivers and streams into reservoirs before constructing power stations, or by constructing medium- and small-size hydroelectric power stations throughout the country. Then, we will be able to increase the generating capacity of hydroelectric power stations by as much as about 1.5 or 2 million kilowatts more than the present figure.

You must step up the construction of the Kumgangsan Power Station as soon as possible.

The Kumgangsan Power Station is the largest project among the hydroelectric power stations now under construction. This station, if constructed, can generate hundreds of thousand kilowatts of electricity. It will be run on a regular basis because it is located in the rainy region of Kangwon Province.

A great number of soldiers of the People’s Army have been mobilized for this project, but they are said to have failed to step up the construction because of an insufficient supply of equipment and materials; early completion of its construction is impossible unless sufficient equipment and materials are provided.

In order to ensure early completion, you must provide a timely supply of big trucks, excavators, fuel, cement and other equipment and materials. You must even import big trucks and fuel for their supply. It is good that the Administration Council have decided to supply the construction site with big trucks, bulldozers and excavators, and lay a
long-distance conveyer belt there. You must supply the structural steel and cement necessary for the project with no conditions attached. If you find the production of cement in a poor state because of the strain on electricity, you will have to go to the length of taking measures for the exclusive supply of electricity for the purpose, so as to produce cement necessary for construction. If it is difficult to produce enough cement you must even import the necessary amount for early completion of the construction.

You must also construct the Ryesonggang Power Station quickly. This station, if constructed, can produce about 90,000 kilowatts of electricity. You must make a strong push for its early completion, instead of complaining about lack of electricity. Its early construction is also possible when you supply it with trucks, fuel, cement, structural steel and other equipment and materials. You need to discuss this supply work and take the necessary measures.

The Kumyagang Power Station must also be constructed soon. Once constructed, it will be capable of generating about 100,000 kilowatts of electricity.

The Administration Council must acquaint itself with the construction of the Kumgangsan, Ryesonggang and Kumyagang Power Stations and then with concentrated efforts adopt measures for their completion one by one.

You must also take measures for the construction of a number of medium- and small-size hydroelectric power stations. Present efforts are lackadaisical; you should study the situation of every province, city and county and ensure that medium- and small-size hydroelectric power stations are built in every possible place.

The construction of hydroelectric power stations must be pushed ahead under the direct charge of the Premier and vice-premiers.
I am very pleased you are making another visit to our country, Comrade Chairman, and bid you warm welcome. Your current fourth visit is a testimony to the fact that our two parties are working in close unity and cooperation with each other. I also welcome all of you who have come to our country to make an introductory film about Korea.

As you have already had a talk with our officials, I have no intention to touch upon the situation of our country at length.

The Americans are trying to squeeze us to death. The enemy are attempting to destroy us advancing along the road of socialism, through economic blockades and alienation, but to no avail. Due to their manoeuvres, we are going through some difficulties; however, the socialist construction in our country is going on smoothly. Many of our friends throughout the world are rendering active support to us. We are very grateful to your party and many of our other friends for their support and encouragement.

I express my thanks to you for the brisk activities you have been conducting in support of us and your intention of making even a film with which to give wide publicity to the state of our Party building and socialist construction among the European and developing countries, at the time when our Party is in the throes of overcoming difficulties. I set great store by your decision to produce an introductory film about us.
Now not just a few people dare to criticize the Americans whom they find playing the role of “the international gendarme”. Those of a certain country are tolerating Americans looking down upon them, and, afraid of them, are failing to launch a daring struggle against imperialism and for socialism.

Each time I meet foreigners, I tell them: “In the world, there are countries, big and small, developed and developing, but there cannot be senior or junior, dominator or the dominated.” In the world there may be big and small countries but no senior and junior ones; there may be developed and developing countries but no dominator and dominated ones. The Americans are looking down upon our country as a small country; our country is small but never junior to them. Ours is a developing country, but we never tolerate other’s domination.

We are making every endeavour to consummate the revolutionary cause of Juche, holding fast to the principles of Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-reliance in defence. These are what our Party adheres to as its basic line. As we have held fast to this line in our struggle, we, though a small country, are not subjugated by others. In the future, too, we will firmly adhere to the line of independence; we will never live on in subordination to others.

Thank you for your high appreciation of our success in socialist construction and struggle for national reunification, and for your words that we are making a great contribution to strengthening and developing the international communist movement. Both of us are parties in small countries, but we are maintaining independence. The smaller the countries are, the more solidly they must unite with one another, so as not to tolerate big countries resorting to great-power chauvinism or acting in a haughty and insolent manner.

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

It was from the time of Khrushchev that the Soviet Union began tottering. When Stalin was alive, he led the party well. In his days, the struggle against cosmopolitism was also waged aggressively. Cosmopolitism is a theory of world society. At the time of Stalin the Soviet people were asked to present to the state what they had received as gifts from those in capitalist countries—even if it might be just a fountain pen. But for Stalin the Soviet Union would not have been able to defeat the German fascists. I still keep at home a copy of the Soviet film about the battle in defence of Moscow, often watching it. Stalin held a parade in celebration of the victorious October Socialist Revolution in Moscow, with the enemy less than 40 km away. While evacuating the Politbureau members and other people to local areas, he remained in the Kremlin, commanding the battle continually. As he fought in such a brave manner, Stalin enjoyed respect from among his people. During the war, the soldiers of the Soviet Army fought under the slogan “For Stalin”, “For the party” and “For the motherland”, and won out in the war. Following Stalin’s demise, however, Khrushchev spoke ill of Stalin and denied his achievements, on the excuse of opposing a “personality cult”. Later, Gorbachev sold the Soviet Union to the imperialists. I entertain an idea that the former Soviet people will certainly restore their Soviet motherland.

I think highly of you for the book you have written about Stalin. I thank you for your kindness in giving me a copy of the book. I want to read it.
To highly appreciate the achievements made by Lenin and Stalin and to fight for the victory of the socialist and communist cause is an important duty devolving upon the communists. I want both of us to continue fighting devotedly, hand in hand, for the victory of communism throughout the world.

As in the past, so also in the future, our Party will adhere to two principles in the struggle to construct socialism and communism. In other words, we will continue our struggle to occupy both the ideological and material fortresses of socialism and communism on the one hand, and, to this end, maintain the line of three revolutions—ideological, technological and cultural. Unless the ideological, technological and cultural revolutions are carried out, it is impossible to build socialism and communism in a country, still less all over the world. We are now winning victory in the struggle against the enemy and firmly defending socialism because our Party is pushing ahead with the ideological, technological and cultural revolutions on a constant basis without pursuing a revisionist policy. Our experience shows that only the struggle to occupy both the ideological and material fortresses can ensure the complete victory of socialism and success in the building of communism.

The Soviet Union collapsed because she failed to carry out the ideological revolution. It is because we have given an effective education to the entire people, regarding the masses of the people as the masters of revolution and construction, and putting the main emphasis on the ideological revolution that we are still advancing in a straightforward way. Vigorous undertaking of the ideological revolution renders the technological revolution better. In view of our Party’s experience, I think it is important for the communists to hold aloft the banner of ideological, technological and cultural revolutions, to successfully build socialism and communism. You have said that a new storm of revolution will come up across the world; I think you are right.

You have said that on your visit to the Mangyongdae Schoolchildren’s Palace you found the children good at singing and
dancing; our pupils go to the schoolchildren’s palaces after school to cultivate a variety of talents according to their aptitude and taste. We have constructed buildings where young pupils can enjoy their extracurricular activities to their heart’s content and have named them “students and children’s palaces”. In our country the children are the “kings”. Beside the Mangyongdae Schoolchildren’s Palace, Pyongyang has another students and children’s palace we built after the war. All the children like to go to these palaces. Their parents, too, like to see their sons and daughters go there after school. The parents do not have enough time to spare for taking care of their children, for they all have their jobs. When there was no such palace, they had difficulties in educating their children, because the young pupils used to create mischief or fight among themselves occasionally after school. However, now that the pupils can engage themselves after school in extracurricular activities at the schoolchildren’s palaces, each belonging to a variety of circles, the parents have nothing to worry about. The pupils learning at the schoolchildren’s palaces in Pyongyang number several thousand every day; when those studying at the local palaces are all added up, the number will reach tens of thousands. In our country many students and children’s palaces are available in local areas, too. The running of the schoolchildren’s palaces proves its worth quite a lot in the education of young pupils. At the palaces the pupils can learn whatever they wish; those interested in embroidery, learn embroidery, those with the hope of learning how to play the accordion, play the accordion, and those willing to possess the technique of physical training, try it. They are learning whatever they want, to their heart’s content.

In our country we do not receive even a penny from the pupils to make up for the cost of operating the schoolchildren’s palaces. At the palaces, our children are learning to their heart’s content without any payment, enjoying excellent treatment. In other countries, too, they also have such facilities as children’s palace; however, many are said to charge the children for the cost of operating them.

You have expressed the deep impression you received from the
joyous look of the Korean children; had it not been for the socialist system, it would have been impossible to guarantee all the children education and bring their talents into fullest play. In our country when talented children are discovered, the Party fosters the development of their talents by putting them under the exclusive guidance of individual tutors. In our country are found a great number of children with remarkable talent for painting, calligraphy, singing, dancing, embroidery and so on.

You have inquired about the prospect of DPRK-US talks and of north-south summit talks; the United States has now entered into the resumption of talks with us. Up to now the DPRK-US talks have proceeded to their second stage; this time the third-stage talks open. Originally the Americans said they would impose so-called sanctions upon us, even circulating documents at the UN. Recently, however, Carter came to our country and promised me that he would persuade his government into: firstly, giving up sanctions against us; secondly, entering into the third-stage talks with us; and thirdly, rendering assistance to us in replacing our graphite-moderate reactor with a light-water reactor. And he suggested to me that I should permit the two inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency to remain in our country. I accepted the offer of the Americans, allowing the two inspectors to stay on. At that time the inspectors of the IAEA had been staying in our country with a mission to monitor the fuel rods drawn out for the replacement of fuel in the reactor; originally the IAEA inspectors were supposed to have been expelled. When we proposed a package plan for improving DPRK-US relations, the Americans accepted it. The package plan contains the normalization of DPRK-US relations, the nuclear issue and all other problems to be settled by both our country and the United States. As the United States often said that we were manufacturing nuclear weapons, I said during my talks with the Americans: “We have no need nor capacity to produce nuclear weapons. What should we manufacture them for? While the United States is in possession of more than 10,000 nuclear weapons, what’s the point of holding us up to world ridicule by
producing just one or two nuclear weapons? Do we have to manufacture nuclear weapons just for fratricide among the Koreans? We will not do so. We have already adopted a joint declaration of denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, together with south Korea.” After my talks with Carter, the United States expressed her willingness to do all we had proposed. Thus, the third-stage DPRK-US talks are scheduled to open in Geneva from July 8. The members of our delegation to the talks have already been appointed and in the United States, too. Galucci has been singled out to lead her delegation.

The north-south summit talks are expected to open in Pyongyang from July 25. I think these talks, too, will proceed smoothly. In his inaugural address, the south Korean “president” mentioned two problems that claimed attention: firstly, no allied nation could be better than his nation; secondly, if President Kim Il Sung asked him to come to Mt. Paektu for talks, he would go to Mt. Paektu and if to Mt. Halla, he would go there and wherever we asked him. After delivering such an inaugural address, he followed in the wake of the Americans. When the Americans insisted that we should bring out our alleged nuclear weapons, he said that he would not shake hands with us unless the north presented them. On his visit to our country Carter told me that Kim Young Sam wanted to see me, and asked for my opinion. I said to Carter: “I cannot understand him talking of such a thing, while insisting on seeing me. He has made such absurd remarks that he would not shake hands with us unless we revealed our nuclear weapons. But we will forgive him for everything. So tell him to call on us.” The day before yesterday, the chairman of the reunification policy committee of the Supreme People’s Assembly on our side and a “vice-premier” on the south side met in Panmunjom and agreed with each other to hold the north-south summit talks in Pyongyang from July 25. The talks will discuss nothing special, other than the measures to translate into reality what has already been agreed upon and adopted by both north and south—the agreement on reconciliation and nonaggression between the north and south, and the joint declaration on the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. At the talks we expect
to settle all problems positively. If things come off well, there is a possibility of our country being reunified sooner or later. When reunified, our country will achieve even more rapid economic development and become rich within a few years.

We will not adopt an integration such as that of Germany in which the west absorbed the east. We want the reunification through federacy. The federacy we want requires the two existing systems and governments in both north and south to remain intact, that is, allowing for the sustained existence of our socialist system in the north and of the capitalist system in the south. If the capitalist system in the south is transformed into a socialist one without letting it remain as it is, it will create complications. The capitalists from the United States, Britain, France, Japan, Germany and various other countries have made an investment in south Korea. Consequently, if south Korea is made socialist and the money of foreign capitalists is confiscated, complications will crop up.

The reunified federal state should not become a satellite of any country but an independent, neutral and non-aligned country. Since our neighbours are all big countries, the reunified federal state must be neutral. If the reunified Korea is neutralized, her neighbouring countries will have no need to interfere with her. Reunification will bring no harm to our nation in becoming a good country. For both north and south to achieve reunification through reconciliation and mutual assistance, leaving the socialist system in the north and the society in the south intact, will give rise to no problem.

Long ago I put up a slogan in which I called upon those with strength to contribute their strength, those with knowledge to devote their knowledge, and those with money to devote their money, for the building of a democratic, independent state. We can surely develop our nation into a rich, independent and reunified country. Even the south Korean capitalists are calling on me one after another to discuss with me how north and south can achieve economic collaboration. A few days ago I met a south Korean businessman called Son Myong Won; and some time before I also met Kim Woo Jung. North-south
collaboration, if achieved, will make a great profit. For instance, if we lay down another railway between Sinuiju and Kaesong, so making a double track, and carry Chinese commodities bound for south Korea, we can earn more than 400 million dollars for the service a year. At a rough estimate, if we take over the export goods of either Russia or Heilongjiang Province, China, at the Tumangang Station and carry them by the railway along the east coast, we can earn over one billion dollars for the service a year. It means, after all, we can earn about 1.5 billion dollars a year, merely sitting still. We have only one track in that region at present; we intend to make a double track by laying down another railways in the future. East Germany has come to ruin through its absorption and integration by West Germany; our country will not follow suit.

You said that before coming to our country you had been misinformed by the Western mass media; the Westerners’ current view of our country is coloured by the incessant misleading propaganda made by the mass media on the payroll of the Americans. On the occasion of my 82nd birthday this year the one-time heads of state and government of various countries the world over visited our country, in company with the journalists in the service of CNN International, the American newspaper *The Washington Times*, and the Japanese NHK. Then, the journalists interviewed me, covered my talks with the ex-heads of state and government from various countries of the world, and took free pictures of our country wherever they happened to go. On their return home, they put them on the air, evoking great repercussions throughout the world. The peoples of many countries across the world said that although they had had a poor knowledge of our country in the past, they were now quite surprised to see through CNN International the reality in which Pyongyang and the DPRK look very beautiful and the Korean people are living in comfort.

On Carter’s recent visit to our country, too, the cameramen from CNN International accompanied him. They also took many pictures on that occasion of my first meeting and talk with Carter and of my second meeting and talk with him aboard a sightseeing ship. Let me
tell you a funny thing about the events that took place at that time. Carter, in company with the journalist delegation from CNN International, came to our country via Seoul, south Korea. In Seoul, the CNN International journalist delegation took many pictures of various things. In their pictures there were scenes of south Koreans in the exercise of taking shelter and preparing for war on the presumption that we would attack them. The journalist team televised what they had pictured in both Seoul and our country in turn. Among their pictures of our country were scenes they had screened while in company of Carter and I going to the West Sea Barrage aboard the ship, the scenes of our people boating, angling on boats and swimming in the river. On seeing them, the peoples of many countries in the world came to know that the situation of Pyongyang and of Seoul was quite different. The CNN International team televised all they had screened in our country, not what they had chosen as the best. However, their impact was very positive. Many people the world over said that all the propaganda to which they had so far been exposed was distorted. Some people, however, made preposterous remarks that we had bribed the journalists or producers of CNN International into filming only good aspects of our country and only bad ones in south Korea. Actually we were unfamiliar with the CNN staff and unconcerned about their activities. Let me tell you another story. Carter told me that several men in his entourage had said it was quite strange to find all the south Koreans backbiting their fellow people in the north about this or that, while no north Korean spoke ill of either south Koreans or Americans.

Here is a Korean woman compatriot living in Belgium as an adopted daughter of a Belgian, and she has also come to make a film about our country; I am very pleased to meet you, a Korean woman. I once visited Algeria during the term of Boumediene’s presidency, where I also found a Korean orphan who had been sold by south Korea. At the time a French woman working at a general motor works in Algeria had a south Korean orphan as her adopted daughter. Informed of my visit to Algeria, her adopted daughter entreated her to allow her to meet me, saying in tears the President had come, and asked why she,
a Korean, should not see him. So her adopted mother took her to our embassy. You have expressed your regret at your total ignorance of the Korean language, for you went to Belgium at the age of two; you can learn it in the future. Thank you for your expression that during your visit to our country you have been greatly impressed beyond words, particularly at the joyous life of the Korean children.

I want you all who have come to make a film about Korea to frequently visit our country in the future. This is our first acquaintance; on our second meeting we will have already become old friends. You had better make frequent visits to our country just to make yourselves our old acquaintance. Next time you come, I will make myself available for an interview with you. Thank you for your wishes for my long life in good health.
ON EFFECTING A NEW REVOLUTIONARY TURN IN SOCIALIST ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

Concluding Speech at a Consultative Meeting of the Senior Officials in the Economic Sector

July 6, 1994

The 21st Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Party Central Committee held last year advanced a new revolutionary economic strategy whereby we would set the next three years as a period of adjustment and, during the period, carry out the agriculture-first policy, light industry-first policy, and foreign trade-first policy to the letter, and give top priority to the coal industry, electric power industry and railway transport, the pilot branches of the national economy, while developing the metal industry on a continual basis, so as to meet the prevailing situation and the requirement of the developing reality. The revolutionary economic strategy of the Party is the most reasonable policy on economic construction aimed at building up the foundations of the independent national economy, bringing about a marked improvement in people’s living standards, and attaining higher goals of socialism. This will frustrate the imperialists’ and reactionaries’ anti-DPRK moves and their attempts to suffocate and impose sanctions against our country, brightening our style of people-centred socialism all the more. We must continue to advance under the uplifted banner of socialism, and implement the Party’s revolutionary economic strategy to the letter, so bringing about a new upsurge in socialist economic
construction. We are faced with quite a few problems we need to solve in economic work to this end; however, I would like to refer today to only a few in need of immediate solutions.

Before anything else, we must find a quick solution to the problem of electricity.

Electricity, along with railway transport constitutes the pilot of the national economy. Only a sufficient supply of electricity with priority given to its production can ensure steady production in all branches of the national economy. Electricity alone, if abundant, enables all the heavy-industry factories, to say nothing of the light-industry ones, to run at full capacity. Once we find a solution to this problem, we can be well off even with the existing economic foundations.

Due to the present insufficient production of electricity, however, the factories and enterprises are not running on a steady basis. Its shortage is a hindrance to the production of an adequate amount of fertilizer and cement. Consequently, the supply of electricity is a problem to be solved on a priority basis in the economic work of the nation.

For a quick solution to the problem of electricity, we must construct heavy oil power stations.

In view of the present economic situation, it is difficult to find a quick solution to the problem of power through the construction of atomic power stations or hydroelectric power stations. Constructing atomic power stations will take a long time from now, while the construction of more hydroelectric power stations will add a burden to us. Even the construction of hydroelectric power stations now under way is still unfinished for lack of materials. Even hydroelectric power stations, when constructed, have their limitations because they can hardly work as they should unless it rains. It is also unreasonable for us to build more coal-burning thermal power stations, for coal production falls short of expectations. Given the situation, the only way for a quick solution to the problem of electricity supply is the construction of heavy oil power stations. Such stations are easy to construct and run. The point in question is the possibility of supplying enough oil for
running them; you must take measures to ensure an oil supply by all means, either importing it or in other ways. Importing oil for heavy oil power stations does not cost much money.

You must construct the heavy oil power stations with a capacity of 200,000 kilowatts, each in Hamhung, Haeju, and Sariwon.

The 200,000 kw-capacity heavy oil power station in the Hamhung area, if constructed, will enable the February 8 Vinalon Complex, Hungnam Fertilizer Complex, and other factories and enterprises in this region to run at their full capacity. As it is not expected to construct any more new factories and enterprises in this region, this station, once constructed, will render a solution to the problem of electricity in the area.

As South Hwanghae Province consumes a great amount of electricity for farm work, and the factories and enterprises in Haeju and Ongjin Peninsula and the fruit-processing factory in Kwail County as well as a variety of processing factories to be constructed in the future must get a supply of electricity, you must erect such a power station with the same capacity in Haeju.

Such a power station must also be constructed in Sariwon to provide electricity in North Hwanghae Province where the Hwanghae Iron and Steel Complex and many other large factories and enterprises are available.

You must construct a heavy oil power station capable of generating 300,000 to 500,000 kilowatts in North Hamgyong Province in the future. As we are building the Rajin-Sonbong area into a free economic and trade zone, it is advisable to construct a heavy oil power station there.

You must construct the heavy oil power stations of 200,000-kilowatt capacity, each in Hamhung, Haeju and Sariwon; but first in Hamhung.

You must manufacture the generating equipment for such stations by yourselves.

In order to help the Taean Heavy Machine Complex to manufacture the generating equipment for heavy oil power stations with confidence,
I saw to it that its chief engineer and other technicians went to the June 16 Thermal Power Station to look round it. As it once manufactured thermal-power generating equipment of 50,000-kilowatt capacity, the complex can probably make the generating equipment for heavy oil-fuelled stations. The construction of heavy oil power stations requires this complex to manufacture the necessary generating equipment with a capacity of 50,000 kilowatts, four generating sets every year.

Of all the materials required for manufacturing equipment for heavy oil power stations, you must produce what you can yourselves, and import what is beyond your ability. You must make heavy oil-fuelled generating equipment, expending as little foreign currency as possible.

You need to soon test the generator No. 1 installed at the December Thermal Power Station so that you can get details of the advantages and disadvantages of newly-manufactured generating equipment to make immaculate heavy oil-fuelled generating equipment. You must provide a prompt supply of necessary materials to the December Thermal Power Station so as to test the generator within this August. The Taean Heavy Machine Complex must render active assistance for a quick operation of the December Thermal Power Station.

To find a solution to the problem of electricity, you must adopt measures for running the existing thermal power stations at full capacity. The Chongchongang Thermal Power Station, the June 16 Thermal Power Plant, and the Chongjin Thermal Power Station have considerable generating capacities; however, their electrical production is very limited due to an insufficient supply of coal and heavy oil. The Chongchongang Thermal Power Station is now burning the poorly-concentrated brown coal supplied by the Anju Area Coal Complex, and even this supply is not enough for the plant to run all of its generators. While aware of this situation, the officials should have supplied coal even if they had to import it; however, they are not doing so. If we operate just a few of the existing thermal power stations properly, we can produce several hundred thousand more kilowatts of
electricity. If we produce at least this amount more of electricity, the strain on electricity supplies would not be as heavy as they are now. The Administration Council must, through effective discussion, find a solution to the problem of operating the Chongchongang, the June 16, and the Chongjin Thermal Power Stations at full capacity. You must import some quality coal of high heating capability for the Chongchongang Thermal Power Station, enabling it to run its generators at full capacity. It is advisable to get this plant to burn well-concentrated domestic coal and imported high-heat coal on a 50:50 basis. You must also import crude oil to enable the June 16 Thermal Power Station and Chongjin Thermal Power Station to run at full capacity.

You must soon finish the on-going construction of hydroelectric power stations such as the Kumgangsan, Kumyagang, Thaechon, and Nyongwon Power Stations.

Next, you must channel efforts into the chemical industry for the production of chemical fertilizers and vinalon on a steady basis. It is only when a sufficient amount of chemical fertilizers is produced and supplied to the countryside that a solution can be found to the problem of food supply, consistent with the full implementation of the Party’s agriculture-first policy.

Fertilizers are now in short supply, causing a considerable hindrance to farming. From last autumn I have emphasized the production on our own of chemical fertilizers for this year’s farming on the one hand and their importation on the other; what I have said, however, is not being implemented properly. Obviously, therefore, farming cannot be done well. On my recent tour of inspection round local areas, I found the yield of this year’s farming less high than that of last year. I have been told that the crop yield of the Yonbaek Plain is good. In order to raise grain production of South Hwanghae Province, I dispatched the officials concerned to Yonan, Paechon, and Chongdan Counties to guide farming in the field, and supplied these counties with tractors, fertilizers and other farm machines and materials so that they could do farming on their own; the present farming situation in those
areas is reported to be good. In contrast, the situation in other counties is not so good. I have been told that quite a few cooperative farms cannot administer fertilizers when rice and maize are forming ears, for lack of chemical fertilizers; unless fed by fertilizers at the time of ripening crops cannot produce perfect ears nor ripen well. If chemical fertilizers are not available, even night soil should be spread at the time of ripening. We must on all accounts do good farming so as to find a solution to the problem of food for the people, and to this end, we should produce a large quantity of chemical fertilizers.

In order to augment the production of chemical fertilizers, you must ensure effective maintenance and repair of the equipment in the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex and the Namhung Youth Chemical Complex so that they can run at full capacity.

These two complexes are having to halt operation of their equipment for a long time every year for maintenance and repair; given this situation, it is impossible to increase fertilizer production. The vice-premier in charge of the chemical industry was entrusted on several occasions in the past with the task to deal on his own responsibility with the maintenance and repair of the equipment in fertilizer factories. He did not fulfil his task as he should; I hope he will carry it out with credit this time.

The Hungnam Fertilizer Complex must complete the maintenance and repair of its equipment within the second half of this year and produce 850,000 tons of fertilizer annually, with no conditions attached, from next year onward. Fertilizer factories must use stainless steel for repairing all of their equipment so that they can run the equipment for about ten years without any further repair work. The Hungnam Fertilizer Complex is having to undertake maintenance and repair every year because it has been using ordinary iron pipes in place of stainless steel pipes; iron pipe soon thins away into worthless scrap after a year’s use. You must produce and supply on your own as much stainless steel as you can for the maintenance and repair of the equipment in fertilizer factories, at the same time importing as much of it as you need, even at the expense of using foreign currency. As for the
stainless steel to be used for the maintenance and repair of the equipment in the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex, the metal-industry sector must produce stainless steel by importing the necessary alloys, and as for the foreign currency required for this purpose, it must earn it for itself.

You must soon put the production of vinalon on a steady basis.

The steady production of vinalon is a key to the implementation of the Party’s light industry-first policy. The light industry-first policy is the decision of the Party, an inviolable duty devolving on everybody and requiring unconditional fulfilment.

The production of vinalon is not smooth now, giving rise to insufficient production of cloth and other light-industry goods. I thought that the shortage of cloth resulted this year in clothing only the children who entered school last year. The light-industry sector, however, is said to have clothed all kindergarten children and pupils across the country till the end of this June; that is quite a good job done.

You must soon run the vinalon factories at full capacity so as to produce large quantities of vinalon. The February 8 Vinalon Complex in particular must operate its equipment at full capacity. You must supply this complex unconditionally with the electricity required. As for the maintenance and repair of the equipment in this complex, the officials in the relevant sector must discuss it and adopt appropriate measures. You must also take effective measures to keep the production of the Sunchon Vinalon Complex at a steady level.

Next, you must put cement production on a regular footing.

The steady production of large quantities of cement can earn foreign currency and ensure a dynamic push for construction.

The present capacity of our country for producing cement is very considerable. When cement factories put their production on a regular footing and so produce cement to their capacity, the amount is more than enough for domestic consumption, and about 6 million tons of it can be exported annually. Many countries want to import cement. If we export 6 million tons of cement, we can earn foreign currency to the tune of 180 million dollars, at an estimate of 30 dollars per ton. Cement
which has a compressive strength of over 300 is priced at 50 dollars per ton. Therefore, if we improve the quality of our cement and sell 6 million tons, we will be able to earn 300 million dollars.

The Administration Council proposed that it would launch a campaign during the period of adjustment to improve the quality of cement to the extent of its earning 50 dollars per ton; I approve of its proposal. It is reported that improving the quality of cement needs the use of high-heating quality coal; you had better improve the quality of cement even if it means importing the high-quality coal.

Even if we produce cement to capacity, we may find it difficult to export 6 million tons right now. Cement is in demand for many projects, including the construction of hydroelectric power stations. You cannot export the products of the Sangwon Cement Complex because you have to use them for the construction of major projects. The quality of cement produced at cement factories at the disposal of each province is poor, falling short of export standards, and therefore, it needs to be used for local construction. If you find it difficult to export 6 million tons of cement annually, you may sell only about 5 million tons. When you produce cement with compressive strength over 300, you can earn about 250 million dollars of foreign currency, assuming that you sell 5 million tons every year. The Ministry of Building-Materials Industry must on all accounts ensure the production and export of cement, so earning 250 million dollars annually in foreign currency.

This morning I rang up the chief secretary of the Jagang provincial Party committee to ask about the running of the August 2 Cement Factory; he replied that the factory had been running well in May and was still doing so now. So I told him to make use of its product for constructing both a hydroelectric power station on the Jangja River and dwellings. When you put cement production on a regular footing, you must deal first with the construction of hydroelectric power stations now under way.

We must keep about 1 million tons of cement in annual reserve. Only then can we supply cement in time to meet the needs of any
special capital construction project that crop up.

The Administration Council must take realistic measures to maximize the production of cement factories to their full capacity as from next year. As cement production needs only an adequate supply of electricity, limestone and coal, no big problem will arise. If electricity is produced in greater amount in the future, then cement factories should be supplied with enough electricity. In order to supply limestone to cement factories, there should be enough lorries and fuel. The lack of lorries and fuel is now hampering the timely transportation of limestone already dug out. The *Jaju 64* lorry is suitable for carrying limestone. The Sungni General Motor Works must manufacture them for this purpose.

Furthermore, we must increase the production of structured steel through the development of the metal industry.

If not, we cannot advance the national economy even one step forward. Structured steel is in use in all branches of the national economy.

The solution to the problem of railway transport depends on an adequate supply of steel. Only when they have enough steel can the production of rail tracks, locomotive engines and freight waggons be ensured. The June 4 General Rolling-stock Works has the capacity to produce as many as 5,000 freight waggons. Five thousand freight waggons, produced annually, can become a solution to the problem of railway transport and earn a lot of foreign currency.

If we increase the production of steel, we can erect many types of construction. Owing to the shortage of steel, the construction projects now under way still remain unfinished. As construction projects are expected to multiply in number in the future, the demand for steel will grow. There are many people now who intend to invest in the construction of various projects in the Rajin-Sonbong free economic and trade zone. Given this, if we produce large quantities of steel for them to buy, we can earn a sizable sum of money.

Steel is needed for building and repairing ships through the development of the shipbuilding industry and for the development of
the extractive industry. The present fall in the production of coal is also
due to an insufficient supply of steel to coal mines.

If you are to increase the production of steel, you must set the
running of the existing metal factories at capacity. When the Kim
Chaek Iron and Steel Complex, the Songjin Steel Complex, the
Chollima Steel Complex and the Hwanghae Iron and Steel Complex
produce steel to their maximum capacity, the amount of steel will be
more than enough to supply various branches of the national economy;
you can sell the rest. This year the metal-industry sector must direct its
efforts into putting the production of the existing metal factories on a
steady basis through its efficient running of them, without setting out
on other construction.

The efficient running of metal factories requires a solution to the
problem of coking coal. You must import coking coal from various
countries, not from a particular country. You can buy the coking coal
necessary for the production of steel from either Russia or Australia.
As for the foreign currency necessary for buying coking coal, the
metal-industry sector can earn it by producing and selling the steel.
With the money earned in this way, this sector must buy coking coal
for running the metal factories. I think it advisable to calculate more
exactly the amount of steel to be produced and exported by this sector.

If you want to replace the open-hearth furnaces in the Hwanghae
Iron and Steel Complex with oxygen ones, you may do it.

The construction of the October 9 Iron Works is lethargic; its
construction is a must. We must construct it so that we can find a
solution to the problem of steel necessary for the production of steel
plates required in building ships and large-size boilers.

I think it best not to replace this year the open-hearth furnaces with
oxygen ones in the Hwanghae Iron and Steel Complex, nor should we
go ahead with the construction of the October 9 Iron Works. As we
should channel efforts into putting the production of the existing metal
factories on a steady basis this year, we need to undertake the
construction of new projects only so far as circumstances permit us.

Next, we must build many large cargo ships through the
development of the shipbuilding industry.

Our country is surrounded by the sea on three sides. Therefore, only when we have many large cargo ships can we develop trade with foreign countries, particularly with the Southeast Asian countries and other Asian countries. In Southeast Asia and the surrounding area are situated more than ten countries with which we can trade—Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Singapore, Myanmar, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Now that the socialist market has disappeared, we must trade with them in earnest. We must produce large quantities of light-industry goods for export to Southeast Asian and various other countries and import from them raw and other materials needed in our country. We must ensure that our ships carry our export goods and the raw and other materials we import from Southeast Asian and neighbouring countries. Transportation charges are so exorbitant that if we charter a foreign ship for the transportation of our goods we may earn any little money or even become indebted. If we have many large cargo ships at our disposal, we can earn money through carrying the goods of other countries.

If we build many large cargo ships, we can also sell them for foreign currency. Some of our officials are entertaining the idea of earning foreign currency through the export of our labour force; that is not a good idea. The export of labour is a phenomenon common to backward countries. Since ours is a socialist industrial country, you must think of producing a large quantity and variety of industrial goods and selling them, rather than conceiving an idea of exporting labour.

The shipbuilding-industry sector can not only earn foreign currency but also further the development of the shipbuilding industry, if it builds and sells many cargo ships. Even the economically developed countries first earned money by manufacturing and selling small goods before buying raw and other materials for increased production and gradually developing advanced means of production. These countries developed their economies through effective trade, so to speak. Our officials, however, are not efficient in trade. They are ill-informed of world transactions, for they make few trips to other countries on trade
business. It is necessary to send trade officials to foreign countries so that they can expand their horizon of knowledge and get to know more about trade. When the shipbuilding sector makes cargo ships for export, it can buy engines and fittings necessary for building more ships and earn a lot of foreign currency.

The Ministry of Shipbuilding is not working as it should. The ministry came into being long ago, but it has achieved little development in the shipbuilding industry of the country since. Several years have gone by since I entrusted this ministry with a task of building 100 large cargo ships, but it has failed to fulfil the task as yet. Its officials lack enthusiasm to build ships by applying self-reliance. They are only expecting the help of others in building ships, without thinking of utilizing their own strength, technology and latent resources for the purpose, thus failing to push ahead with the work energetically. The shipbuilding-industry sector must launch an aggressive campaign to build as many as 100 large cargo ships in all within a few years.

Our country is now capable of building as many large cargo ships as she wants. She has many shipbuilding bases such as the Nampho Shipbuilding Complex, Wonsan Shipyard, Hambuk Shipbuilding Complex and Kim Chaek Shipyard.

The engine is an essential component in the building of any large ship. This matter must be solved through collaboration with foreign companies. I think you will find no big problem in the acquisition of fittings for large ships. You need to make an exact calculation of how much foreign currency you would need to buy the fittings for building a large cargo ship, other than those we can produce on our own in our country. The Administration Council must map out a concrete plan for solution to the problems arising in the building of large cargo ships.

I intend in the future to encourage economic collaboration of our country with any foreign country. Of course we can certainly live on even without economic collaboration with other countries; however, for us to engage in economic collaboration will bring us no harm.

Several days ago when Carter came to our country I told him: “The
United States is planning to bring the ‘nuclear issue’ of our country to
the United Nations in an attempt to impose sanctions upon us; we are
not afraid of sanctions. Up to now we have always been under
sanctions. The United States, Japan and other countries have taken
sanctions against us. However, we have lived on without much trouble
up to now. Do you think we cannot manage to exist if we are put under
further sanctions now?” Then he said he would persuade the United
States to cancel her measures for sanctions against north Korea. So I
said to him that he was at liberty to help either to cancel them or not.
That night he seemed to have made a phone call to his country. Next
morning when he met me, he informed me that the United States had
decided to withdraw her planned sanctions against us. I thanked him
for the matter and continued by saying: “We do not care whether the
United States cancels or sticks to her planned measures for sanctions
against us. It is only you Americans who provoke our hostility. As you
distrust us, so have we no confidence in you. You have been harassing
our country; in spite of your pressure on us and harassment of us, we
can certainly manage to exist.”

On his recent visit Carter promised that he would persuade the
United States into giving up sanctions against us, supplying us with
light-water reactors, and starting the third-stage DPRK-US talks. It
means in the long run that the United States has accepted all that I
proposed. How she will act up to her promise remains to be seen; the
third-stage DPRK-US talks begin anyhow. Our delegation, headed by
the first vice-foreign minister, has gone to Geneva for the talks.

Kim Young Sam is coming to Pyongyang on the 25th of this month
to meet me. In his “inaugural speech” after assuming the “presidency”,
he said that he would meet me wherever I wanted him to come, either
Mt. Halla or Mt. Paektu. Later, when the United States stepped up her
pressure on us, finding a fault with our “nuclear issue”, he acted to the
contrary, saying he could not shake hands with a counterpart who has
nuclear weapons. On meeting me this time, however, Carter said to me
Kim Young Sam had expressed his desire to meet me, and asked me
what I would do. So I told him: “I have never said I would not meet
Kim Young Sam. As he said he would not meet me unless we agreed to the ‘special inspection’, I was unwilling to see him. What is the use of meeting someone who says he would not shake hands with us if we did not bring out nuclear weapons? However, if he recants his speech before coming, then I will meet him.” As a result, an agreement has been reached to hold the north-south summit talks in Pyongyang. South Korea is said to be seething now with comments and hullabaloo about Kim Young Sam’s visit to Pyongyang, being as good as hanging out the white flag, saying that if he goes to Pyongyang, he would be overwhelmed by President Kim Il Sung. It is reported that on his visit to Pyongyang Kim Young Sam would take a company of 180 people, of whom 80 would be journalists. Our officials reported to me that during their discussion with the officials of the south side on the practical matters relevant to the north-south summit talks, the south side had proposed that they take 80 journalists along. So I phoned the official concerned to tell him that even if they brought 800 journalists, not just 80, it would be all right, and that they should be allowed to come to Pyongyang and look around it at their will. A great number of the south Koreans request a visit just to see Pyongyang. Even though a multitude of them come to look around, they would hardly find fault with anything in Pyongyang. To allow the south Koreans to look around Pyongyang is more than acceptable in every respect. All the foreigners who have been to Pyongyang say that it is better than Seoul. Carter also said that Pyongyang is far better than Seoul, adding no city is as clean and beautiful as Pyongyang.

In order to effect a turn in socialist economic construction, officials must enhance their sense of responsibility and role.

If economic officials make persistent efforts to the best of their wisdom and energy, putting their shoulder to the wheel in finding a solution to knotty problems in economic work, and are deeply conscious of their duty, they will find nothing impossible to deal with. Success in economic work hinges entirely on how officials work.

Officials must not just pay lip service to loyalty to the Party and the leader, but fulfil their duty in a responsible way and take the lead in
making breakthroughs and solving knotty problems, in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude.

Some of the economic officials are working now without any deep study of their job and creative initiative. As they do not rack their brains nor learn from among the people, the senior officials in the agricultural sector are ignorant of the existing effective irrigation method; they are willing to introduce unrealistic balloon-like irrigation methods. Some time before the caretaker officials of the Kumsusan Assembly Hall told me of the possibility of irrigation through Y-shape irrigation without the use of balloon; so I went out to see the operation of the Y-shape irrigation method, which I found quite easy and simple. Crotch-style irrigation is the method of irrigation involving the setting up of crotches here and there in the field and putting vinyl pipes over them, for watering the plants, etc. This is an easy method of irrigation that can be employed by making use of wood and polyvinyl pipes available everywhere in our country. The senior officials in the agricultural sector, however, unaware of this method, have forced the cooperative farms to introduce a balloon-like irrigation method, considering it the best. The balloon-like irrigation entails a lot of materials and effort, for it requires the production of balloons and hydrogen generators. It is not easy for cooperative farms to make hydrogen generators to operate balloon-like irrigation. The Y-shape irrigation, however, can be easily generalized because it is simple and easy to install.

Only after I went out to see the operation of Y-shape irrigation, did the senior officials in the agricultural sector organize the demonstration lecture about it at the Jangchon Cooperative Farm, Sadong District. Had they gone among the cooperative farmers to listen to their opinions and made concrete calculation of the possibility, they would not have forced the adoption of the difficult method of balloon-like irrigation.

As I have always said, officials must regard the masses of the people as their teacher and learn from them. Nothing is more powerful and inspirational in the world than the masses. If you learn from them
and lead them onto the right track, you can break through any
difficulty. To believe in people and rely on them always leads to
victory; to distrust the people and incur their displeasure leads to defeat
all the time—this is an essential lesson for revolutionaries.

Officials must not only believe in the masses and rely on their talent
and strength but serve them with devotion. To devote their whole for
the masses is the most honourable and worthwhile duty and the
greatest joy and glory to the revolutionaries.

Up to now, I have believed in the people, struggled for them, and
lived among them. My whole life is a life devoted to the country and
the nation, a life committed to the struggle with the people. In the
future, too, I will always live with my people.

To go among the people and serve them—this is precisely the
requirement of the Juche idea. Embodying the Juche idea means going
among the people; going among the people precisely means
embodying the Juche idea. You officials must go deep among the
people, sharing life and death, the sweetness and bitterness in life with
them, and make an active struggle to defend and materialize their
interests.

We must achieve a complete victory of socialism and national
reunification and consummate the revolutionary cause of Juche
without fail, under the unfurled banner of the Juche idea. The Juche
idea is the guiding ideology to which our people must hold fast from
generation to generation in the revolution and construction.

I wish the officials in the economic field to effect a new turn in
socialist economic construction by breaking the bottlenecks in
economic work through detailed organizational work in the direction I
have set today.