

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

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NEW YEAR ADDRESS

January 1, 1991

Dear comrades,

My fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters,

Ring in the hopeful New Year, 1991, I extend warm congratulations and fervent greetings to all the people in the northern half of Korea, to the brothers in the south and to the Koreans in Japan and all other overseas compatriots.

My New Year greetings also go to the peoples of socialist countries and non-aligned nations and all other progressive people and our friends around the world.

The year 1990 was a proud and triumphant year in which our people advanced vigorously under the unfurled banner of socialism in the vortex of history.

Last year, because of the anti-socialist manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries, complex events that caused people's apprehension took place in succession on the international scene. This laid new obstacles and difficulties in the way of our people who were building socialism in the difficult situation in which the country is divided. Without the slightest vacillation, however, our Party firmly maintained the revolutionary line of Juche, met the counterrevolutionary offensive by means of revolutionary offensive and, believing in the strength of the masses of the people, roused strongly all the working people to a grand new advance. Under the leadership of the Party, our people, with an unshakable conviction of

the justice of their socialist cause and its victory, made more strenuous efforts and performed brilliant exploits in socialist construction by bravely overcoming all the obstacles and challenges.

Last year, by their creative and devoted struggle our working class and the soldiers of the People's Army constructed power stations and reconstructed and expanded factories and other enterprises with success and pressed ahead with the construction of the Sariwon Potassic Fertilizer Complex and other major projects, in order to increase the might of our socialist independent national economy. The constructors of the capital city who were struggling with loyalty to implement the Party's plan of finding a complete solution to the question of housing for the people in the next few years, accelerated the construction of Thongil Street forcefully and newly erected modern apartment blocks of 30,000 flats during the past one year. This is a success we can be proud of.

Our agricultural working people, the soldiers of the People's Army and other supporters undertook the great project for the transformation of nature to irrigate farmland, cut 800 km of new irrigation canals in a short period and thus linked the Taedong and Ryesong Rivers, and the Amnok and Taeryong Rivers into a great irrigation network capable of supplying sufficient water to all the paddy and non-paddy fields in the western area of granary. This is, indeed, a great transformation of the country. As a result of the construction of the 800 km irrigation canals, our country has become a land of developed irrigation of which we can be proud before the world. This means a great victory of the theses on the socialist rural question published by our Party.

Our intellectuals who are loyal to the Party and the revolution made a positive contribution to the development of science, education, art and literature, public health and all other fields of socialist culture as well as economic construction by working devotedly, with a high sense of pride and responsibility as masters in the building of socialism.

The brilliant successes which our Party and our people, in unbreakable unity, achieved in the construction of socialism by smoothing over manifold difficulties in today's trying situation gave a

heavy blow to the imperialists and reactionaries and powerful inspiration to the progressive people and our friends around the world. The fact that, when the imperialists were making vociferous propaganda about the “crisis of socialism”, socialism in our country which is in direct confrontation with the US imperialists continues to advance stoutly and victoriously is winning admiration from the people throughout the world. Many people have expressed their deep interest in the secret of the triumphant advance.

The secret of the unconquerability and victory of socialism in our country lies, in short, in the firm establishment of Juche in the building of socialism.

Today, our Party and the masses of the people have been welded into a socio-political organism by casting in their lot with each other so as to form a powerful driving force of the revolution; their unity and cohesion is a mighty force that pushes forward the building of socialism. Our Party which has inherited and is developing brilliantly the glorious traditions of the anti-Japanese revolution for the freedom and liberation of the people has been devoting everything to the struggle for the interests and happiness of the masses of the people under the slogan “We serve the people!” Our people, bearing in mind the motto “When the Party is determined, we can do anything!” as their faith, follow the Party’s leadership with loyalty. The socialism of our own style which has been built by our people by their own efforts under the Party’s leadership is a society truly of the people, a society in which everything serves the people; it is the most virile society which is steadily developing on the strong basis of independence, self-sufficiency and self-reliant defence. The great Party which has struck root deep among the masses of the people, the great people who follow the Party’s leadership with loyalty, and the man-centred socialism which is the embodiment of the Juche idea—these are precisely the basis of the durability of socialism in our country as well as the source of great strength capable of withstanding whatever storm and trial.

Allow me to offer warm thanks to our heroic working class,

farmers, working intellectuals, the soldiers of the People's Army and all other people who, in loyal support of the Party's leadership, followed the Party steadfastly along the road of revolution last year and emerged victorious from the struggle in the first year of the 1990s.

This year, we are faced with a heavy task of displaying higher the advantages of socialism in our country by forcefully accelerating socialist construction to meet the requirements of the present situation and our developing revolution.

At present, our people are entrusted by the times and history with an honourable task of building socialism with great efficiency. When the cheers of victory in socialist construction continue to echo loudly, the imperialists' hullabaloo against our Republic and socialism will fizzle out, the Juche idea will acquire stronger magnetism, and the day of the complete victory of socialism and national reunification will come sooner.

This year, we must press on with the three revolutions, ideological, technical and cultural, under the banner of the Juche idea and continue to make an upsurge in all sectors of socialist construction.

Our major tasks in the construction of the socialist economy this year are to attain a high and steady rate of production by keeping those economic sectors which must lead the other sectors going well ahead of the latter and by making effective use of the economic foundations that have already been laid, and to raise further the people's material and cultural standards to meet the requirements of socialism.

Ensuring the rapid development of the leading economic sectors is a major requirement for increasing the might of the independent national economy as well as the major link in the whole chain of the efforts to attain a high and steady rate of production at the moment. This year, we must give definite priority to the mining and power industries and rail transport, put great efforts into the development of the metal industry so that fresh innovations will take place in these sectors.

This year, we must carry out the Party's policy on intensive construction so as to give strong impetus to the construction of the

Sariwon Potassic Fertilizer Complex, the October 9 General Steel Works, power stations and other projects which are of vital importance in strengthening the Juche character of the national economy and in securing the major objectives of the Third Seven-Year Plan. The constructors and the soldiers of the People's Army who have undertaken the major projects must unfailingly attain the construction targets they have resolved to achieve before the Party by displaying patriotic devotion and mass heroism and thus live up to the high expectations of the Party and the people.

Raising the standard of the people's living continuously is the highest principle of our Party's activities. Our building of socialism is aimed at providing the people with rich and happy lives. We must continue to direct great efforts to raising the standard of the people's living and improve their material standard to make it commensurate with their today's priceless, worthwhile political life and sound and rich cultural life.

The most important matter in raising the standard of the people's living is to develop agriculture and light industry quickly. In the agricultural sector this year, the soil fertility of the cultivated land must be radically improved and farm crops raised on a scientific and technological basis, as required by the Juche farming method, so as to attain the grain production target without fail, and agriculture must be developed in a many-sided way to suit the natural and geographical conditions. We must sharply increase the production of cloth and various other consumer goods for the people by thoroughly implementing the Party's policy on effecting a revolution in light industry. The chemical industry must operate the chemical works at full capacity and produce fertilizers and chemicals needed for agricultural production by the appointed time and supply the light-industry factories with sufficient chemical fibre and various kinds of raw materials.

This year, we must build more modern houses in urban and rural communities and continue to press ahead with the construction of Thongil Street in Pyongyang in particular.

This year will mark the 30th anniversary of our Party's creation of the Taean work system and its opening of a new epoch in the management of the socialist economy.

The Taean work system is the best system of economic management that enables the producer masses to fulfil their responsibility and role as masters and manage the economy in a scientific and rational manner by implementing the mass line in economic management, and by combining Party leadership organically with administrative, economic and technical guidance. The key to displaying to the full the superiority and potentials of the socialist economy which is based on collective ownership lies in implementing the Taean work system thoroughly. We must implement the Taean work system thoroughly and thus bring about a turn in the guidance and management of the socialist economy.

The fundamental factor in the Taean work system is to realize the collective leadership of Party committees properly. All sectors and all units of the national economy must, by strengthening the collective leadership of Party committees, ensure close cooperation between Party officials and administrative, economic officials and between technicians and producers, and encourage them to enhance their sense of responsibility and creativity and carry out their economic tasks satisfactorily. Particularly, the administrative, economic officials must, by enhancing their role in economic management, establish a strict system and order, tighten up planning discipline, labour administration discipline and production discipline, give priority to technological progress, increase economic return and improve the quality of products. On these principles they must plan and organize economic work.

Our tasks this year are enormous, but they can be carried out successfully if all the people work hard, united closely behind the Party.

We have shaped the victorious path by overcoming difficulties and trials on the strength of single-hearted unity. This is the tradition of which we are proud. We must establish more firmly the ideological system of Juche among the Party members and other working people,

strengthen rock-solid the political and ideological unity of the whole society centring on the Party, and ensure that the whole society is imbued with the spirit of comradely unity with which to help and lead one another forward in the struggle on the principle of “One for all and all for one!”

The officials who are in the leadership of the revolution must organize and develop work in a revolutionary manner by displaying a high degree of loyalty to the revolution, to the Party, to the working class and to the people and lead the masses forward by setting personal examples in the van of the advancing ranks.

Our people are a heroic people who have fought and defeated two imperialist enemies in one generation. They are a revolutionary people who have built socialism splendidly with the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude. All the Party members and other working people must, in hearty response to the Party’s call to live and fight like heroes, bring about a new upsurge in the building of socialism and bring honour to Juche Korea once more.

Last year was an eventful year when the entire nation made a magnificent advance towards the reunification of the country in the 1990s and opened a new chapter in the history of the movement for national reunification through a nationwide struggle.

Last year, the historic August 15 Pan-National Rally was held focusing the high expectations and attention of our compatriots in the north, south and abroad, and meetings, dialogues and reunification festivals were held in Pyongyang, Seoul and abroad by political and social figures, sportsmen, artistes and other fellow countrymen from various sections. These greatly auspicious events gave pleasure to the entire nation and demonstrated our nation’s strong will to reunification to the world. The fervent sentiments of national unity that erupted, melting the icy barrier of division and confrontation, showed that the anti-communist policy of confrontation that had brewed distrust and discord within the nation was going bankrupt and that the noble idea of great national unity was triumphing. Especially, the formation of the Pan-National Alliance for the Country’s Reunification last year was a

valuable success achieved through the arduous struggle of the patriotic reunification forces in the north, south and abroad. It was an event of epoch-making significance in strengthening the internal force of national reunification and in expanding and developing the movement for reunification.

On the occasion of the New Year's Day, the entire Korean nation are firmly resolved to make a greater advance on the road to national unity and the reunification of the country, looking more confidently forward to the day of national reunification.

We must not allow the division of our country to drag on beyond half a century, but accomplish the historic cause of national reunification within the next several years.

A pressing question in hastening national reunification is to ensure peace on the Korean peninsula and create peaceful preconditions for the reunification of the country.

Peace is the most universal ideal of mankind; it is most valuable for our nation. If a war breaks out now in our country over which a constant danger of war is hovering, the very existence of the nation will be endangered not to mention national reunification. Maintaining peace is the most pressing question that must be settled by the north and south for the reunification of the country and the well-being of the nation.

We have always attached prime importance to the question of peace in our country and have been making every sincere effort for its settlement.

From our sincere desire to ensure peace on the Korean peninsula and pave the road to peaceful reunification, we made already in 1988 a comprehensive peace proposal envisaging the adoption of a nonaggression declaration between the north and south, the conclusion of a peace treaty between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States, the drastic reduction of the armed forces of the north and south and a phased withdrawal of the US troops and nuclear weapons from south Korea. Last year, at the north-south high-level talks we put forward important proposals for the settlement of the question of nonaggression and other effective measures for removing

the military confrontation.

However, the United States and the south Korean authorities do not show any positive response to our sincere efforts; they have turned away from the settlement of the question of peace, the question of military affairs. On the contrary, they are increasing armaments on a large scale. As the proceeding of the north-south high-level talks shows, although the south Korean authorities claim about “peace” and the “cessation of a cold war”, they actually refuse to adopt even elementary measures for ensuring peace and only persist in the “priority of exchange”.

We deem it necessary to settle the humanitarian question of visit or exchange, but cannot compromise with the attempt to delay the settlement of the question of peace, the military question, which is more pressing. Home-town visits or economic exchange, to be effective, require before anything else that the daggers hidden in the bosoms should be thrown away and that the fear of invasion from the south or “invasion from the north” should be dispelled. Evading the settlement of the military question and insisting only on exchange in the situation of our country where there is a real danger of war, is in fact tantamount to wishing no peace, no normal visit or no exchange itself. The stand taken by the south Korean authorities at the recent north-south high-level talks in connection with the question of adopting a nonaggression declaration, clearly shows that they have no intention at all to settle the question of peace.

The adoption of the nonaggression declaration is a starting-point in removing distrust and confrontation between the north and south and in opening up a new phase for peace and peaceful reunification.

The nonaggression declaration was proposed by the south Korean authorities themselves a long time ago. So there is no reason and excuse to object it today. We cannot quite understand why the south Korean authorities bring up a new precondition, namely, the “priority of the creation of trust” and stubbornly object the adoption of the nonaggression declaration. The so-called “priority of the creation of trust” claimed by the south Korean authorities is only an excuse to

evade the adoption of the nonaggression declaration. The nonaggression declaration is on no account a question which comes after the creation of trust; it is the very starting-point and the most important guarantee for the creation of trust.

If the south Korean authorities call the nonaggression declaration a sheet of waste paper even before it is adopted and say that they cannot trust us, there will be, in fact, nothing on which they can agree with us, and the holding of a talk itself will be nonsensical. By refusing the adoption of the nonaggression declaration, the south Korean authorities themselves reveal that the nonaggression they have claimed is a lie and that the “threat of invasion from the north” is simply fictitious.

The south Korean authorities must not evade or delay removing military confrontation; they must unhesitatingly respond to adopting the nonaggression declaration and discontinue the “Team Spirit” joint military exercises.

The United States which is directly responsible for the question of peace on the Korean peninsula, should look squarely at our sincere efforts for peace and the unanimous burning desire of the Korean people for national reunification, and abandon its dangerous war policy based on the position of strength, conclude a peace treaty with us as soon as possible and withdraw its troops and nuclear weapons from south Korea.

If the military confrontation between the north and south is removed and if the US troops and nuclear weapons are withdrawn from south Korea, durable peace will be ensured in our country, and a decisively favourable phase will be opened for reunifying the country in a peaceful way.

An important matter in hand in hastening national reunification is to decide how the country should be reunified.

Unless the method of national reunification is confirmed, it will be impossible for the north and south to take, in practice, any concerted step towards a common goal or find any clue to the problem of the talks for reunification, however much they talk about reunification. Since

national reunification is the order of the day, not the matter of a distant future, the north and south should agree on the method of national reunification as soon as possible and strive for its realization, and thus give a hope to all our compatriots who eagerly desire reunification.

In the situation of the country where two different systems exist in the north and south, national reunification should be realized by establishing a federation based on one nation, one state, two systems and two governments, on the principle of neither side conquering the other or being conquered by the other.

This method of reunification means to achieve reunification by establishing one united national state over the different systems and governments in the north and south, leaving them as they are. Our proposal for reunification by means of federation is derived from the possibility for two different systems and governments to coexist in one national state.

Some people now claim that “homogeneity” should be restored in order to reunify the north and south which have become “heterogeneous”. However, the time-honoured commonness of the north and south as one nation has never changed; they are still homogeneous nationally. If there is anything different between the north and south, it is the heterogeneity which has something to do with the two systems which have existed for the past 40 odd years; it can be no big problem when compared to the national homogeneity which has been formed and consolidated for thousands of years. The difference in the two systems can never be the reason for our nation to live separated from one another; it can be no insurmountable obstacle in reunifying the north and south. If reunification is based on the national commonness which has been inherited down through history, the two systems can coexist within the bounds of one nation and one united state. Refusing to see this possibility and asserting the “theory of unifying systems” into one state and one system, saying, under the pretext of restoring “homogeneity”, that the country has no alternative but to remain divided until the systems are unified, is tantamount to an attempt to keep the country divided for ever and, in the final analysis,

to refuse reunification.

We can leave the matter of unifying the different systems in the north and the south to our posterity for its slow but smooth settlement in the future. But we must not delay any longer the matter of establishing a unified state as one nation, transcending the difference in ideas and systems.

When the two different systems and governments exist really in north and south and neither of them wants to concede its own, their unification into a single system is infeasible, and when it will be realized is unpredictable. Worse still, establishing a single system presupposes one side eating away the other, regardless of the methods, so it is unacceptable to any side. If one side tries to force what is unacceptable on the other, it will inevitably aggravate distrust and confrontation and, further, cause conflicts and an irretrievable national disaster.

Recently the south Korean authorities, bewitched by the method of amalgamation through absorption adopted by a foreign country, are dreaming a fantastic dream of applying such a method in our country, too, by relying on foreign forces, through entreaty diplomacy, pursuing what they call the “northern policy”. They are making requests for the interference and intervention of other countries in order to force theirs on the other side, instead of showing sincerity in the talks with the same nation. This is an expression of their sycophant mentality and attitude to keep the country divided for ever as well as the replica of the bankrupt policy of “reunification by prevailing over communism”.

In our country “reunification by prevailing over communism” is a wild fancy which will never come true. It has already been proved by history that our country cannot be reunified by one side eating away the other, either by war or a peaceful means. The south Korean authorities must understand clearly that the independent stand of our Party and the Government of our Republic is unshakable and that socialism we have built by implementing the Juche idea is unconquerable.

Reunification by means of federation on the basis of one nation, one

state, two systems and two governments is the great principle of defining the method of national reunification suited to the present situation in our country. The only and quickest way for the north and south to reunify the country peacefully by ending national division and reconciling and uniting each other as a homogeneous nation is to put this great principle into practice.

We have already put forward the proposal for the establishment of the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo as the method of federal reunification on the basis of one nation, one state, two systems and two governments. This proposal enjoys active support and approval from the broad sections of our fellow countrymen in south Korea and abroad, to say nothing of the people in the northern half of Korea.

We believe that the idea of establishing the DFRK is the fair common ground for national reunification which can serve as the basis of national agreement. However, in an effort to make it easier for the whole nation to reach agreement on this proposal, we are ready to consult the matter of gradually and completely effecting reunification through federation by vesting the regional autonomous governments of the federal republic with more rights on a tentative basis and then increasing the functions of the central government in the future.

As far as the question of UN membership is concerned, we consider it best to enter it under a single state name after reunification through federation. But, if it is on condition that the both sides of our country enter the UN as one member, we shall have no objection to holding UN membership even before reunification.

Reunifying the country by founding the DFRK will make it possible to meet the cherished desire of the nation for reunification, with neither side having its interests infringed upon, and to show the resource and pride of a unified nation to the world.

If they are really interested in national reunification, the south Korean authorities should not dream of “reunification by prevailing over communism” which is impossible, nor should they fool the people with the spectre of “reunification by communization”. On the contrary, they must accept our proposal for reunification by means of federation

which tolerates neither “prevailing over communism” nor “communization”, nor invasion from the south or “from the north”.

With a view to reaching a nationwide agreement on the method of national reunification, we propose to convene a political consultative conference for national reunification as soon as possible in which the authorities, and representatives of political parties and organizations of the north and the south sit together to decide upon the way of national reunification.

In order to quicken national reunification, a great unity of the whole nation must be realized.

National reunification is the independent cause of our nation which nobody can carry out in our stead; it is the cause of the whole nation which cannot be achieved merely by the efforts of the authorities or privileged classes. All political parties, organizations and people from all strata in the north, in the south and abroad who reject “two Koreas” and truly want national reunification must unite their will and efforts and achieve great national unity by placing the pressing demand and interests of the nation above all else.

For the great national unity, they should not discriminate between ruling parties, opposition parties and those out of office, nor deal with the minority differently from the majority, nor take issue with people about the difference in their political views and past faults, refraining from distrust and prejudice against the other party. The political forces of each party and each group and people from all strata who desire national reunification must reconcile their policies and actions with one another’s and support and unite one another on the common front for national reunification and develop a dynamic, nationwide mass movement for peace and reunification.

A matter of special importance today in realizing great national unity is that the statesmen of the north and the south make mutual contacts, have dialogues and deepen their trust. Today when dialogues between authorities are under way and non-governmental people from all strata, too, desire to meet for a dialogue, it is shameful for the statesmen, who assume a heavy responsibility for the destiny of the

nation and the future of the country, to sit with folded arms, keeping a barrier between them. We will meet men of the ruling party as well as men of opposition parties and individuals out of office in south Korea irrespective of the forms of dialogue, whether it is bilateral or multilateral, and keep the door of dialogue for reunification for everyone wide open.

The talks between the authorities of north and south can never be the only channel of the north-south talks. The south Korean authorities must discard such a narrow-minded, self-righteous attitude as preventing even the talks between non-governmental people while neglecting to promote the north-south high-level talks; they must abolish the “laws” hostile to the north, immediately release those who have been arrested and imprisoned on the charge of visiting the north or of meeting us to discuss the matter of reunification abroad and provide all the south Korean people with equal rights to contact and talk with the north freely.

Reunification represents patriotism and division means treachery to the nation. All Koreans in the north, south and abroad, who love the country and the nation, must shatter all the moves to keep the country divided for ever and rise up as one in the sacred struggle for national reunification and must make this year a year of relaxation and peace, a year of reconciliation and unity and a historic year of bringing a new phase to national reunification.

The change in the international situation today proves eloquently the justice of the anti-imperialist, independent foreign policy our Party has consistently maintained.

The imperialists are clamouring about the end of a cold war and the arrival of the time of peace. But the international situation is still tense and complicated and a sharp confrontation and struggle between socialism and imperialism and between progress and reaction are going on. They are trying more openly to realize their wild dream of dominating the whole world. As a result, the people’s cause for independence is meeting with a grave challenge.

The imperialists’ strategy of “peaceful transition” is, in essence,

aimed at bringing the socialist countries into the sphere of their political and economic domination by undermining them from within and swaying them to the path of capitalism. In the name of “aid” and “cooperation” the imperialists are forcing the independent developing countries to reorganize their political and economic systems to facilitate imperialist domination. Taking advantage of the destruction of the balance of forces in the international relations, the imperialists are acting more outrageously, launching piratic armed aggression against the sovereign countries without hesitation and creating the danger of devastating war by paving the road to a new, larger-scale aggression on the plea of opposing aggression.

The reality shows us that the aggressive and predatory nature of imperialism has not changed at all and that it is imperialism and none other that is the ringleader who is menacing peace and creating difficulties and confusion in the people’s struggle for independence, sovereignty and socialism.

The world progressive people must not be deceived by the imperialists’ honeyed words, pin their hopes on their deceptive “aid” but forge ahead under the unfurled banner of independence against imperialism.

The Government of our Republic will continue to adhere firmly to the foreign policy of independence, peace and friendship and make every effort to develop the relations of friendship and cooperation with the peoples of socialist and non-aligned countries and the rest of the people throughout the world.

The Government of the Republic will strive to destroy the old international order of domination and subjugation, establish the new one on the basis of independence and develop South-South cooperation in all fields of politics, the economy and culture on the principle of collective self-reliance.

Today Asia is entering a new stage of development. If they unite and cooperate closely with one another on the principles of independence, equality and mutual benefit, the diligent and talented Asian people can achieve the security and common prosperity of Asia

and contribute to the cause of world peace. The Government of the Republic will actively develop the relations of friendship and cooperation with the peoples of many Asian countries in order to build a new, independent, peaceful and prosperous Asia.

There may be temporary setbacks and tortuous events in the course of the advance of history, but it is an immutable law that humanity advances along the road of independence, the road of socialism. Those who yield to the difficulties in the way of their advance, give up the principle and go astray from the orbit of history will not escape from failure and ruin; the people who hold fast to the truth and principle and follow the trend of history will surely emerge victorious. This is a lesson humanity has learned from the turn to the 21st century, a turn which is taking place in the complex struggle between the new and the old and between progress and reaction and in the confused situation.

Our people who follow the road of socialism with faith and optimism under the correct leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea will be crowned with victory and glory.

Let all of us fight to attain a higher peak of socialism and hasten the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, united firmly behind our Party and the Government of our Republic under the revolutionary banner of the Juche idea.

ON BUILDING METHANOL PRODUCTION BASES AND SPEEDING UP THE CONSTRUCTION OF POWER STATIONS

**Speech at a Consultative Meeting of the Senior
Officials of the Economic Sector**

January 16, 1991

Today's consultative meeting will discuss the tasks of producing methanol by gasifying lignite, and of manufacturing generators and boilers needed for the construction of power stations.

We must first adopt measures to increase methanol production.

Increased methanol production will make it possible to supply methanol to the Namhung Youth Chemical Complex in place of naphtha, and ensure steady production at the chemical works. Because naphtha is not being produced as planned due to the shortage of crude oil, production at the Namhung Youth Chemical Complex is not continuing on a regular basis. The crude oil situation may grow more acute in future. The world is experiencing an oil crisis because of the tension in the Gulf region. In an attempt to monopolize oil in the Middle East, the US imperialists have assembled multi-national armed forces including their own forces in Saudi Arabia and are threatening to attack Iraq. The Iraqi people say that they will fight against the US imperialists. Judging from the present situation, a Gulf War may break out at any minute. In view of the increasing tension in the Gulf area, we must take measures to produce substitutes for the products that require large amounts of oil. If we are to avert a possible problem caused by

the Gulf crisis, we have to use methanol as a substitute for naphtha, and produce petrol from the crude oil that has been used to obtain naphtha. If we use imported crude oil for the production of naphtha, so much less petrol would be produced.

Methanol production should also be increased to ensure regular production at the Sunchon Vinalon Complex and the February 8 Vinalon Complex. If methanol is not supplied, vinalon will not be produced. Increasing methanol production is also necessary to ensure methanol supplies for the production of plastic goods and to use it as a substitute for petrol for motor vehicles. Experiments have shown the possibility of using methanol as substitute fuel for motor vehicles, I was told.

In order to produce large quantities of methanol, we must construct large bases to produce methanol by gasifying lignite. As our country has long been producing methanol by gasifying coal, we know how to produce it. Since our officials who were abroad have acquired a new technique for gasifying coal, they can produce large quantities of methanol, but only if we construct the production bases. Then, we shall be able to ensure steady production at chemical works which feed on crude oil, no matter how strained the oil situation may be. If we mass-produce methanol, we shall be able to convert the chemical industry that feeds on crude oil into one which does not use crude oil.

There is nothing mysterious about gasifying coal dust. You can do it by putting coal dust in a retort and blowing in oxygen. It is said that the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex has economized in the outlay of anthracite by 50 per cent through the introduction of coal dust gasification, but we must not encourage anthracite gasification. I object to that. A large amount of anthracite is needed for iron production, because our metal industry is developing towards iron production using anthracite. This process will dispense with the use of coking coal. Since we have to increase iron production fuelled by anthracite, we must use anthracite economically.

Methanol should be produced by gasifying lignite. If the foreign technique of gasifying lignite reduces the input of lignite by half, as

you say, it is good. Anyhow, we must not gasify anthracite, but lignite which produces 3,000 kilocalories of heat. Some officials refer to anthracite gasification as coal gasification, but by coal gasification I mean lignite gasification. When I talk about coal gasification, I do not have anthracite gasification in mind. From now on we must use the term lignite gasification instead of coal gasification.

I think it advisable to construct methanol production bases with a total annual capacity of one million tons. This amount of methanol will be enough to meet the needs of the Namhung Youth Chemical Complex, the Sunchon Vinalon Complex, the February 8 Vinalon Complex and the plastic industry. If we produce one million tons of methanol by gasifying lignite, it will benefit us in various ways because we do not need to produce naphtha from the corresponding amount of crude oil, and can obtain so much the more petrol and ease the strain on oil.

The methanol production bases that feed on gasified lignite should be constructed separately, one with a 700,000-to 800,000-ton capacity in the west coast area, another with an approximately 200,000-ton capacity in the east coast area.

The one to be constructed in the west coast area should produce methanol by gasifying the lignite from Anju. It is desirable to mine the inexhaustible deposits of lignite in the Anju area and gasify it for methanol production. To gasify the Anju lignite, it is necessary to clean it to increase its heat producing quality to 3,000 kilocalories.

The methanol production base to be constructed in the west coast area can be located near the Namhung Youth Chemical Complex which uses a large amount of methanol, or near the Anju Area Coal Mining Complex. If the methanol production base is constructed near the latter, methanol will have to be carried by hermetic tanker trains or by means of a pipeline. If it is to be located near the former, it may be constructed at the back of the Chongchongang Thermal Power Station. When selecting the site of the Namhung Youth Chemical Complex before, I inspected the area and found that there was a large space suited for industrial construction in the vicinity of

the power station. If the methanol production base is located behind the power station, transport of lignite will pose a problem, but this problem can be resolved if some goods trains are used exclusively for the purpose.

The methanol production base to be located in the east coast area can be achieved by expanding the methanol production process of the July 7 Complex or by building a new plant in the Hamhung area. If it is constructed in the Hamhung area, there will be no need to bring methanol from another province as is the practice at present. However, it seems better to construct it in North Hamgyong Province where lignite is produced in large quantities than in the Hamhung area. In the east coast area the methanol production base should be brought about in the July 7 Complex by expanding the existing methanol production process, and methanol produced there can be carried to the Hamhung area by tanker trains.

The final decision should be made, after a field inspection, as to which is preferable; to construct the west coast methanol production base near the Anju Area Coal Mining Complex or near the Namhung Youth Chemical Complex, and as to whether the one for the east coast area should be located in the July 7 Complex. The sizes of the methanol production bases and other problems relating to technical processes need further discussion in detail.

The equipment for the methanol production bases should be manufactured domestically.

The electric carbide kiln of the Sunchon General Nitrolime Fertilizer Factory should be hermetic so that it can produce carbide by blowing in oxygen. This method will not only economize with electricity, but can also make use of the gas generated in the kiln. I have already given the factory an assignment to experiment to find how much it can reduce the use of electricity by adopting the new method. It must also study how to use the gas. I intend to supply the carbide produced by the fertilizer factory to the Sunchon Vinalon Complex, instead of using it for the production of nitrolime fertilizer. If carbide is produced by both the Sunchon Vinalon Complex and the

Sunchon General Nitrolime Fertilizer Factory, the amount of carbide needed for the production of 100,000 tons of vinalon can be ensured even though no more carbide production capacity is created at the Sunchon Vinalon Complex.

After this consultative meeting, the measures to produce one million tons of methanol by gasifying lignite should be discussed in detail along the directions I have given, and the result should be reported to me. The responsibility for solving the problem of producing one million tons of methanol through the gasification of lignite should be assumed by the Secretary of the Party Central Committee for Science and Education. He should summon all the scientists and technicians who have been abroad to get practice training and discuss the problem.

As I said yesterday at the consultative meeting of the senior officials from the economic sector, there is a strain on the power supply situation. Over recent months factories and other enterprises have not maintained production on a regular basis, not because of the short supply of raw materials and other necessities, but because of a shortage in the power supply.

We must work hard to speed up the construction of power stations and increase our power generation capacity.

To increase hydroelectric power generating capacity we must construct many large, medium and small power stations. Cement needed for the construction of hydroelectric power stations should be produced by the Pusanri Cement Factory and August 2 Cement Factory. The Pusanri Cement Factory must be repaired quickly so as to increase cement production. It has favourable conditions to increase cement production because there are a limestone mine and a coal-mine in its vicinity. A coal-mine should be assigned to the task of supplying the cement factory with the necessary coal for an annual production of 500,000 tons of cement.

The August 2 Cement Factory must also be supplied regularly with coal so that it continues production on a steady basis. Out of its cement output, 50,000 tons should be used in the province, and 250,000 tons

for the construction of hydroelectric power stations.

If 500,000 tons of cement from the Pusanri Cement Factory and 250,000 tons from the August 2 Cement Factory, a total of 750,000 tons, are supplied, hydroelectric power stations can be constructed as planned.

Thermal power generating capacity must also be created under the plan. Construction of hydroelectric power stations alone will be difficult in solving the power problem. That is why we must construct thermal power stations simultaneously.

A thermal power station of 300,000 kw capacity has been planned for construction in Haeju. Its capacity should be increased to 500,000 kw and then to one million kw in the future. Only then will the problem of electric power in South Hwanghae Province be resolved. In that province, climate is mild and farm crops and saltwater crops thrive. The province can produce two million tons of cereals annually or half the amount of food grains supplied in our country. The province is the breadbasket of the nation, so to speak. So we intend to construct a large thermal power station in the province and develop Haeju into an industrial city. At the moment we are unable to construct more factories there because of the shortage of electric power, but when the power station has been constructed we can build a machine-building factory, a daily necessities factory, a food processing factory and various other factories in Haeju.

If we construct nuclear power stations while quickly increasing hydroelectric and thermal power production capacity, our electric power industry can attain the level of those of advanced countries. If you officials work hard, and with determination, you can quickly increase hydroelectric and thermal power production capacity and will be fully able to solve the problem of electric power.

In addition to the construction of hydroelectric and thermal power stations, we must produce generators, boilers and other equipment for power generation and supply them on time. Since their production is very important, I summoned many officials of the machine-building industry to this consultative meeting.

The Tae'an Heavy Machine Complex must mass-produce electric

generators. For this purpose we must introduce the serial production of generators of standard specifications. This is the way to increase their production and improve their qualities. If you make anything without standard specifications you can neither increase production nor improve the quality of products. If you introduce standard specifications in the production of generators, you can also reduce the designing, and benefit in many other ways.

It would be a good idea to adopt a 50,000-kw generator for the large standard type. Until now we have installed 100,000-kw generators or larger ones at high-head power stations, and 50,000-kw generators at lower-head power stations. From now onwards, however, we must use 50,000-kw generators in both cases. High-head power stations can have several 50,000-kw generators. These are best suited to our conditions. The volume of water in our rivers is not very large, so it will be difficult to operate generators larger than 50,000-kw capacity. The Thaechon Power Station No. 2 is equipped with a 125,000-kw generator based on a calculation of the large capacity of the Songwon Reservoir. However, when the water of the reservoir is insufficient, the generator may not work properly. If several 50,000-kw generators were installed there, at least one generator could continue to operate even when the water level is low. It is not good that the Thaechon Power Station No. 2 has been equipped with a 125,000-kw generator. It is unnecessary to produce generators larger than 50,000-kw capacity in future.

A 5,000-kw generator should be set as the standard for the medium size. This size suits our conditions. Several 8,000-kw generators have been installed at the Mirim Barrage Power Station, but they are not working properly because of the shortage of water. So I criticized the officials concerned and have ensured that new barrage power stations are equipped with 5,000-kw generators.

Small and very small generators must also be standardized. Some officials are planning the production of various sizes of these generators. But they should be set to the standards of 50-kw, 100-kw and 500-kw generators.

We must closely examine the best place for the construction of a small generator production base.

The Taean Heavy Machine Complex, which now produces large generators, can be made to produce small hydroelectric generators by extending its workshop. Or else the Yonggwang Electric Appliances Factory in South Hamgyong Province can be given the task of producing them by extending its workshop. There is no need to construct a new factory to produce small generators. We must organize the work of creating the production base of small hydroelectric generators as soon as possible.

Thermal power generators should also be standardized at 50,000 kw. The Pukchang Thermal Power Complex is equipped with 100,000-kw generators, but in future, it is not necessary to install such large generators in thermal power stations. Because the Pukchang Thermal Power Complex is equipped with large generators, the suspension of one generator operation results in the loss of 100,000 kw of electricity, and the suspension of three generators in the loss of 300,000 kw. In a small country like ours these are in no way small losses. If 50,000-kw generators are installed in thermal power stations, it will pose no major problem to suspend the operation of one or two generators for repair and maintenance. Thermal power stations to be constructed in future must be equipped with 50,000-kw generators even though these generators require a little more space. A thermal power station of 200,000-kw capacity can be equipped with four 50,000-kw generators, and a 300,000-kw capacity can be created by installing six 50,000-kw generators.

The Taean Heavy Machine Complex should produce 50,000-kw hydroelectric and thermal power generators. Since this integrated enterprise is experienced in the manufacture of large generators and equipped with modern machinery, it will be able to produce high-quality generators.

Turbines must be manufactured to meet the demands of generator production. If materials are supplied, steam turbines and water turbines can be produced without difficulty.

The most urgent task in creating power generating capacity is to produce boilers fuelled on low-heat coals. Our country has large deposits of low-heat coals. So, if we produce boilers fuelled by low-heat coals, we can build thermal power stations in a big way. These days I am thinking a lot about the possibility of making boilers feeding on 1,000- to 1,500-kilocalorie coals, and am consulting the officials of the machine-building industry about this problem. Now it seems possible to manufacture such boilers. It is reported that the Haeju Paper Complex and the Kilju Pulp Mill have modified their boilers to be fuelled by 1,300- to 1,500-kilocalorie coals. The Taean Heavy Machine Complex must produce many boilers feeding on low-heat coals by drawing on its experience. For the purpose of ensuring the domestic production of low-heat coal boilers, I have sent scientists and technicians abroad to acquire the techniques and I have also taken various other measures. Since they were given the task of making low-heat coal boilers, the scientists and technicians have worked hard and for a long time. They say that they have made boilers with low-temperature-boiling units and all-purpose boilers, but these are not yet credible.

The Taean Heavy Machine Complex must produce 210-ton boilers fuelled by low-heat coals. If we are to create hundreds of thousands of kilowatts of thermal power generating capacity annually, and if we estimate that one 210-ton boiler feeding on low-heat coals can turn one 50,000-kw generator, we shall have to produce many 210-ton boilers that will bum low-heat coals. To ensure the production of these boilers we must adopt measures to produce high-pressure pipes. Since the officials of the Taean Heavy Machine Complex say they will mass-produce these boilers if they are supplied with high-pressure pipes and some other materials, we must ensure the supply of high-pressure pipes by every possible means. The Songjin Steel Complex or some other enterprise must be given the task of producing high-pressure pipes needed for the production of boilers feeding on low-heat coals.

If low-heat coal boilers operate smoothly and if large quantities of coal are produced in the Anju area in the future, I intend to have all the

boilers of the Sunchon Thermal Power Station, the Chongchongang Thermal Power Station and the Pukchang Thermal Power Complex replaced with boilers which burn low-heat coals. The Pukchang Thermal Power Complex is now equipped with 320-ton boilers that use high-heat coals. When 320-ton boilers that feed on low-heat coals are produced, I intend to have them replaced with each other so that they use the low-heat coal produced in the Anju area.

In future thermal power stations that burn anthracite must not be constructed. Anthracite is precious, so it should be used as an industrial raw material, not as fuel.

We must also take steps to ensure the production of transformers needed for power stations to be constructed. In order to construct a large number of small and medium power stations, transformers with a variety of capacities to meet the various purposes are needed. We must ensure the timely production of such transformers to satisfy the demands of the power stations to be built. It would be difficult for the Taean Heavy Machine Complex to manufacture all the transformers with different capacities. It would be desirable, therefore, to build a new factory to produce the transformers for small and medium power stations. The Taean Heavy Machine Complex must concentrate its effort on the production of generators, 210-ton boilers feeding on low-heat coals and other large power-generating equipment.

This year will mark the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the Taean work system. In anticipation of this anniversary the Taean Heavy Machine Complex must arouse all its workers to the struggle to make a great leap forward in the production of power-generating equipment.

The officials of the machine-building industry must calculate in detail the production of 50,000-kw hydroelectric and thermal power generators, 210-ton boilers that feed on low-heat coals, transformers, turbines and other power-generating equipment, and the production of high-pressure pipes, and take necessary measures.

We must sharply increase coal production. Increasing coal production is very urgent for the development of the nation's economy.

Coal is required for methanol production through the gasification of coal, and also for a revolution in power generation.

We must concentrate our efforts on the Anju Area Coal Mining Complex and quickly increase coal production.

As I have said on many occasions, the Anju Area Coal Mining Complex is the lifeline of our national economy. Because this integrated enterprise plays an important role in the development of our national economy, I have paid close attention to it over a long time and provided it with everything needed for coal production. I have also established a modern town in the Chongnam area for the miners of the enterprise so that they increase coal production, free from any worries. The town of Anju should be built up further as a modern coal miners' town according to the town's development plan, and in the future a tram service should be provided between the town and the enterprise for the coal miners to go to and from work. I think you have seen the film, *A Tale of an Architect*, in which the hero plans a town for workers from the standpoint of the working class, in accordance with the Party's intention. The town is Anju.

The Anju Area Coal Mining Complex has to produce coal needed for methanol production and for the creation of hundreds of thousands of kilowatts of thermal power production capacity annually. We must concentrate investment on this enterprise to produce lignite in large quantities. If we keep on mining and using large quantities of anthracite, the source of anthracite will be depleted to the extent that we shall be unable to supply sufficient raw material for the chemical, metal and other industries. The Anju Area Coal Mining Complex must increase coal production systematically to meet the coal demands for the production of 800,000 tons of methanol and for the creation of hundreds of thousands of kilowatts of thermal power generating capacity annually. The coal mining complex will have to increase coal production at least by several million tons annually and one hundred million tons annually on a long-term basis.

We must also exploit meta-anthracite widely. There are thousands of millions of tons of meta-anthracite deposits in our country. If we

exploit them, we shall be able to solve many problems. Every province must adopt measures to mine and use even low-heat coals.

Research for extracting vanadium pentoxide must be completed as soon as possible so as to produce it in large quantities. According to information, one million tons of meta-anthracite can yield 4,600 tons of vanadium pentoxide, which can be exported for nearly 30 million US dollars. Progress in this research work and problems relating to the measures for the production of vanadium pentoxide should be reported to me.

We must also take measures to exploit oil sand, the deposits of which can be found in the Kaechon area. We can obtain oil, like crude oil, by processing oil sand. If the oil is processed again, petroleum and naphtha can be obtained. The deposits of oil sand in the Kaechon area have been prospected for a long time. According to the prospecting data until now, the estimated amount of the deposits is not small, and the vein of oil sand extends as far as the lignite vein now being mined by the Anju Area Coal Mining Complex. Now that the volume of deposits has been determined and the technical problem of processing has been resolved, we must take steps to exploit it as soon as possible. It is said that in order to develop the oil-sand mine the course of the Chongchon River that runs between Oeso-ri and Tohwa-ri in Kaechon has to be changed. That will not be difficult. Last year we changed the course of the Ryesong River. If we boldly undertake the task of changing the course of the river as we did when diverting the flow of the Ryesong, we shall be fully able to do it and mine oil sand.

I once again emphasize that the Administration Council must concentrate investment on the projects for the production of methanol through the gasification of lignite, coal production by the Anju Area Coal Mining Complex, and the production of generators and boilers feeding on low-heat coals. If we do not push ahead with the project for methanol production by lignite gasification, motor vehicles will be unable to run because of the shortage of petrol. If the Anju Area Coal Mining Complex fails to increase coal production and if the Taean Heavy Machine Complex fails to mass-produce generators and boilers

that feed on low-heat coals, it will be impossible to solve the problem of electric power, and this may seriously hamper the development of the national economy.

The Administration Council and State Planning Commission must give priority to investment in methanol production by lignite gasification, in coal production at the Anju Area Coal Mining Complex and in the manufacture of generators and boilers feeding on low-heat coals.

You must adopt detailed measures and carry out the tasks that have been discussed at this consultative meeting.

ON INCREASING THE PRODUCTION OF WORKS OF POPULAR FINE ARTS

Talk to Officials While Inspecting the Mansudae Art Studio

February 11, 1991

I have long wanted to come again to the Mansudae Art Studio but until today I have been unable to take time off. In 1975 I inspected the prototypes of the busts made by sculptors for the Taesongsan Revolutionary Martyrs Cemetery.

Today I look forward to seeing the fine art works produced here since my last visit.

The Outcry at Panmunjom, Part 3 of the Korean painting, *The Grand International Peace March*, which is on exhibition in the studio of the Korean painting creative group, is well painted. This picture vividly portrays the international peace marchers who denounce those at home and abroad who try to obstruct national reunification and keep the country divided for ever. This picture is a lifelike representation of different characters, including student Rim Su Gyong, Father Mun Kyu Hyon and some foreigners. *The Masses' Cry of Cheers in Pyongyang*, Part 2 of *The Grand International Peace March*, is also a good piece. It clearly shows our people's optimistic view of the prospects for national reunification.

Pan-National Rally is a rare Korean painting. It is a very lifelike portrayal of the representative from the Promotion Headquarters in south Korea and a compatriot from the Soviet Union who participated in the Pan-National Rally.

The sculpture, *The Reverend Mun Ik Hwan*, which is said to have been modelled from his photograph, is quite a good representation.

The Korean painting, *Rim Su Gyong's Struggle in the Law Court*, is well painted. It includes her mother, who must have been drawn from a photograph.

The large Korean paintings on show in the studio of the Korean painting creative group are all national treasures. These need to be preserved well, for they are invaluable historical mementoes.

The Korean painting, *Peak Sokka of Mt. Kumgang*, which is on show in the studio of the sculpture creative group, is a delicate expression of natural beauty. It makes me feel I am looking at the real thing on Mt. Kumgang.

The black-and-white ink drawing, *Spring of Reunification*, must have been made for exhibition in south Korea. It is not so attractive as a colour painting. This work is of plum flowers, which are liked by south Koreans. But, we must encourage the drawing of magnolia which is liked by our people. However, we must not reject the drawing of plum flowers, because we must reunify the country.

The Korean painting, *Autumn of Inner-Kumgang*, is excellent, as are *Sword Dance* and *Janggo Dance*.

Korean paintings are the best of all paintings. I have seen all sorts, including oils and many other types, but I find Korean paintings the most attractive.

Abstract art is now encouraged in south Korea and is common in other countries. However, people neither understand it well nor like it. Pictures which are not liked by people cannot be said to be good pictures. Pictures liked by people are true pictures. Our fine arts should be truly popular arts that thoroughly serve the people. Every single picture painted by our artists must appeal to our people's emotions and their aesthetic senses.

Korean painting is unique in its techniques and forms. It is characterized by forcefulness, beauty and nobility. Our people love Korean painting, with its time-honoured national traditions. Korean drawing which has been developed with colouring is even better.

We can be proud of Korean paintings. The world will recognize that Korean paintings are good.

You are right when you say that Korean painting has developed into what it is today thanks to careful guidance given by Comrade Kim Jong Il. He is well versed in the fine arts. The fact that many excellent pieces of Korean painting have been produced attests to the absolute correctness of the policy of developing Korean drawing with colouring, the policy set out by Comrade Kim Jong Il a long time ago. The Mansudae Art Studio must further develop Korean painting by sticking to the Party's policy.

The embroideries are also excellent pieces. The *Kingfisher* in one of them looks as if it were alive. The *Moonlit Night* and *Wild Geese in the Moonlit Night* are also excellent embroideries. The wild geese in the *Moonlit Night* seem like real birds flying. The *Tiger* and *Fairy* are also good. That the embroidery *Tiger* has been awarded a gold medal at a world concourse is, as you say, a good thing.

The embroideries on exhibition here are all good. Those based on pictures drawn by the Korean technique are all the better. They have been embroidered so delicately that they look lifelike. Embroidering in harmonious colouring with thread of different colours is not a simple job. The embroidering artists must have taken great pains to colour their works.

Embroideries produced in our country are better than those made in countries which claim that their art of embroidering is developed. It is said that the south Korean people, too, like our embroideries. I once heard that some of our embroideries which had found their way into south Korea were all sold in an instant because they were so good.

If there are only a few embroidery artists in the Mansudae Art Studio, then you must train many more of them in large numbers.

The jewel pictures, *Pheasant* and *Snow Is Falling Down*, are good pieces. The *Wisteria Flowers and Puppies*, is especially vivid. It is a picture of the puppies I sent to the Pyongyang Circus as presents. The puppies are very lifelike. You say that the artist visited the circus many times to sketch and photograph the puppies in order to make a lifelike

picture of them. Creative workers need such ardour. The jewel picture, *Dove Dance*, is excellent. It portrays a brightly smiling dancer in a white-dove costume. She seems to be flying gracefully through the air. The picture is very beautiful.

The jewel pictures are attractive as they were drawn using the Korean technique. The pictures, which you say were coloured by spraying powdered natural tints, will not fade. It is a very good thing that you have developed the art of jewel painting on the basis of Korean drawing. It is necessary to build up the jewel-picture creative group. The Mansudae Art Studio must train many jewel-painting artists so that jewel paintings are created without interruption when the present generation retires.

The oils, *Mt. Paektu* and *Chrysanthemum*, are painted with clear, simple and delicate strokes. They look similar to Korean paintings, so are in our own style that caters to the taste of our people. These oils are excellent.

The photograph on show in this introductory gallery is of Comrade Jong Kwan Chol, former Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Artists Union. He was younger than I, but died of an incurable disease.

The oil, *Waves*, is also similar to a Korean painting. The artist is said to have drawn my portrait. He is a talented artist who was trained under our care after liberation.

You say that you have designed a group sculpture for the monument to the three revolutions to be erected in the Three-Revolution Exhibition House by placing the bronze statues of me and Comrade Kim Jong Il in front and standing the group sculpture of the three-revolution standard bearers behind. You should not do this. You should place a group sculpture of labour heroes and heroines in front. In our country there are many labour heroes and heroines who have performed distinguished services in building socialism, I think, for example, of Comrade Jin Ung Won of the Chollima Steel Complex, who was the first to raise the torch of the Chollima Movement. The three revolutions, which constitute the general line of building

socialism and communism, are being carried out with success particularly by these labour heroes and heroines. The design of the group sculpture for the monument to the three revolutions, with labour heroes and heroines standing in the centre of the three-revolution standard bearers, is not bad.

The bronze statue of Comrade Kim Jong Il to be erected in the Mansudae Art Studio, and the designs of the Changgwangsan great monument and the Jangjasan monument may be realized after the Party has approved them.

The mosaic, *Eight Fairies on Mt. Kumgang*, on the outer front wall of the Fine Art Gallery, is splendid.

The Fine Art Gallery, which has a variety of works produced by the Mansudae Art Studio, is excellent.

The marble sculpture, *Fairy*, on show in the gallery is a good portrayal. The embroidery, *Kimilsungia*, is said to have been produced using the technique of long-and-short strokes, while the velvet technique was used for *Kimjongilia*. They are very delicate and excellent. The small sculptures that portray folk plays are amusing.

The Koryo celadon porcelains on show in the art gallery are all good. See, for example, *Vase with an Inlaid Pine Tree and Crane Design*, and *Vase with Inlaid Magnolia and Azalea Designs*. The Koryo celadon pieces, *Soup Bowl*, *Rice Bowl*, *Sugar Pot* and *Small Bowl*, are said to be bought in large numbers by Koreans from Japan and other places. That is a good thing. Koryo celadon porcelain has since ancient times been famous for its exceptionally elegant colouring, designs and shapes. They have been regarded as treasures. Our country was the first in the world to produce celadon porcelain. This fact is well established by the site of a Koryo celadon kiln and the many celadon relics that have been recently excavated at Wonsan-ri, Pongchon County in South Hwanghae Province. I believe these new finds have been described by *Rodong Sinmun* and on TV programmes.

The jewel painting based on Rim Su Gyong's photograph is good. She is well known to our people and the world public since her return from the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students at Pyongyang in

the summer of 1989, in which she represented the Jondaehyop (National Council of Student Representatives-Tr.) in south Korea.

The two-sided embroidery, *Carps*, is attractive. The fish are lifelike and look as if they are moving.

Mannyonhwa, *Mt. Paektu, Owl* and *Mt. Kumgang Soaring above Clouds* are excellent.

Hair craftwork, *Puppies*, is especially well made. Visitors to the Mansudae Art Studio will buy many of them.

The large open-worked ceramics, *Vase with a Design of the Birthplace at Mangyongdae* and *Vase with a Design of the Birthplace at the Mt. Paektu Secret Camp* are also good pieces.

When our people's standard of living has improved a bit, their demands for Koryo celadon porcelains, embroideries and other indoor decorations will increase. Although our people are not worried about housing, we cannot say that their housing problem has been resolved satisfactorily. Even in Pyongyang, for instance, there are some families living in single-room flats. Comrade Kim Jong Il has recently proposed another project for modern housing construction for 50,000 families. He is organizing and guiding the work in order to complete it by April 15 next year. When the project is finished, Pyongyang citizens will be living in modern dwellings. Then they will require large amounts of indoor decorations like the ceramics and embroideries on show here. The Mansudae Art Studio must produce more and better indoor decorations, including Koryo celadon porcelains, which accord with the tastes and emotions of the Korean people, and put them on sale.

The Mansudae Art Studio is doing a good job of erecting bronze statues in many African countries. The presidents of these countries are all sending letters of thanks to me. The art studio should continue to erect bronze statues in foreign countries. The studio is now making preparations for erecting bronze statues in another African country. On his visit to our country, the president of that country asked me to have his and his predecessors' bronze statues erected and I agreed to comply with the request.

It would be advisable to keep the Mansudae Art Studio open to

foreign tourists. This will help to show foreigners our people's noble aesthetic outlook and advances in our country's fine art. It was a good thing that more than 100 foreign delegations visited the art studio last year.

The Mansudae Art Studio should arrange art galleries in many parts of the country, in addition to the one that has been prepared in the studio. If you only have an art gallery here, only the people who come to Pyongyang will see it; other people who have no chance to visit the capital city will have no idea of what kinds of art works are produced by the Mansudae Art Studio. I myself have only today got to know that these excellent works of fine arts are being produced by this art studio. In future you must arrange art galleries in Hamhung, Chongjin, Kaesong, Wonsan, Sinuiju, Nampho and other provincial cities and show your noble art products to the people throughout the country. It would be a good idea for the Mansudae Art Studio to hold frequent art travelling exhibitions so as to show provincial people what you have produced at particular times.

We must construct an excellent tile-roofed building in the Korean style on Mt. Myohyang to house a general art gallery. If the general art gallery is established at the gateway to the International Friendship Exhibition or by the Pohyon Temple, all the visitors to the International Friendship Exhibition will be able to see Korean paintings and other good art works produced by the Mansudae Art Studio. When the major construction projects are finished, we must construct the general art gallery on Mt. Myohyang.

Covering over 70,000 square metres, the Mansudae Art Studio is very large. Under the guidance of Comrade Kim Jong Il the Mansudae Art Studio has taken on a splendid appearance as a comprehensive base of fine-art creation; he has made a great contribution to the flowering of Juche fine arts. The Mansudae Art Studio must safeguard and exalt the achievements of the Party's leadership. It must strive to develop Korean painting, jewel painting, embroidery, handicrafts, pottery and various other genres of fine arts. It must recruit talented artists regardless of its authorized number of personnel so as to increase the

production of popular fine-art works for many generations.

I am greatly satisfied with the excellent works I have seen here at the Mansudae Art Studio today. The officials and creative workers of the studio have done a great deal of work in accordance with the Party's intention.

I hope that the officials and creative workers of the Mansudae Art Studio will continue to work well in the future, in loyal support of the Party's leadership.

I would like to take this opportunity to pose for a photograph with the officials and creative workers of the Mansudae Art Studio in memory of this occasion.

REPLIES TO THE MANAGING EDITOR OF *MAINICHI SHIMBUN*

April 19, 1991

I would like to welcome you, the delegation from *Mainichi Shimbun*, to our country.

I will answer your questions in a summary for the sake of convenience.

First, on the matter of normalizing state relations between Korea and Japan.

Korea and Japan are both situated in Asia and they are geographically near neighbours. Since they are neighbours, they should have been close to each other, but they have been near yet distant. This state of affairs is abnormal.

The question of repairing the unfortunate past between Korea and Japan and normalizing the relations between the two should have been settled immediately after the end of the Second World War. To our regret, however, the Japanese ruling authorities have pursued an unfriendly policy towards our Republic, contrary to the will of the Japanese people who wish to repent of their past and take the right path.

Unjust government that goes against the trend of the times towards independence cannot last long; it is inevitable that history makes progress. As the voice of the broad sections of the population in Japan desiring normal Korea-Japan relations grew louder, far-sighted statesmen took determined steps towards the just cause of meeting

their desire, and have opened a new phase in improving the relations between the two countries.

Having noted the positive change in the Japanese policy towards Korea, we have made an active response in order to normalize relations between the two countries.

It is a mistake to relate the matter of normalizing state relations between Korea and Japan to “cross recognition”. The so-called “cross recognition” proposed by the imperialists has emanated from their wrong thinking that ignores the sovereignty of our country and attempts to decide matters affecting the destiny of our nation through a bargain among great powers. It is aimed at the permanent division of Korea by legalizing “two Koreas”. We do not recognize even the words “cross recognition”.

The normalization of state relations between Korea and Japan is an undertaking to create a new history of friendly relations between the two countries on the principles of equality and mutual benefit so as to meet the requirements of the present age.

The joint declaration that was published last year after the negotiations between the Workers’ Party of Korea and the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan and the Japan Social Democratic Party reflects the common desire of the peoples of the two countries to improve Korea-Japan relations as well as the principles for realizing this desire. The prospects of better Korea-Japan relations depend on the attitude the governments of the two countries adopt and on how they work. The two governments must naturally take a firm independent stand and work towards meeting the common aspiration and desire of the two peoples; they must prevent Korea-Japan relations from being swayed by the interference of any foreign forces or under their influence.

Now I will speak about the building of socialism in our country.

In building socialism we have consistently adhered to the correct line of building man-centred socialism by implementing the Juche idea, without copying any ready-made formulas.

The Juche idea is a scientific doctrine of socialism which indicates

the way to realize the complete independence of the masses of the people through the transformation of nature, society and man himself to meet their desires by relying on the inexhaustible creativity of the masses, the makers of history. Building man-centred socialism by implementing the Juche idea means constructing a genuine society for the people in which the masses enjoy an independent and creative life in all spheres as masters of the state and society.

Success in socialist construction depends on how the masses are prepared as the driving force of the revolution and how they play their role as such. Therefore, in the whole course of building socialism we have concentrated our main efforts on strengthening the driving force and enhancing its role. Above all else, we have attained the politico-ideological unity of the whole society by strengthening the Party, the hard core of the masses of the people, organizationally and ideologically and firmly uniting all the people around the Party.

We have implemented our own line of building socialism by enlisting the inexhaustible creativity of the people and thus built an independent socialist country that is independent in politics, self-sufficient in the economy and self-reliant in national defence.

A self-sufficient national economy is the material basis of independent socialism. By consistently maintaining the line of building an independent national economy in socialist construction, we have built a comprehensive, self-sufficient economy which, on the basis of powerful heavy industry, develops light industry, agriculture and all other sectors equally.

The independent national economy which our people have built in the spirit of self-reliance and fortitude guarantees an independent material and cultural life for the masses of the people. Today our people have no worries about food, clothing and housing and are leading an equitable and stable life. There is no unemployment in our country and everyone has a steady job and leads a creative working life in conformity with their aptitudes and abilities. Thanks to the system of free and compulsory education and free medical care, all our people have a full opportunity to learn and enjoy good health and a long life.

We can say that our people, though not rich, lead a happy and worthwhile socialist life in its material and cultural aspects.

Our people take great pride and self-confidence in having built, by their own efforts, socialism which meets their desires; they have an intense attachment to our socialism. The Party and the masses of the people have been welded strongly into a socio-political organism, into a powerful driving force, and all the people have an unshakable faith in socialism. This is the basic guarantee for the constant victory of our socialism, whatever the storm.

We will steadily raise the ideological and cultural levels of the people and strengthen the material and technical foundations of socialism by stepping up the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions under the banner of the Juche idea, and thus carry the cause of socialism to completion.

Next, on the question of our country's reunification.

Korean reunification is an internal affair of our nation, yet at the same time it is closely connected with international relations. An analysis of the events that led to the division of our country and the reason why our country has not yet been reunified shows that foreign forces are mainly responsible for this state of affairs. If Japan had not occupied Korea and had not brought it under her colonial rule, the question of division or reunification would not have arisen. If the world powers had not dealt with the Korean question on the basis of the conflict between East and West after the end of the Second World War, our country would not have been divided. Our country has not been reunified for the nearly half a century that has passed since its division primarily because the United States has continued its occupation of south Korea and obstructed reunification.

Settling the question of Korean reunification is a vital demand of our people for realizing their national desire; it is also a matter of great importance in ensuring peace and security in Asia.

Our consistent policy on settling the question of national reunification is to reunify the country by forming a federacy based on one nation, one state, two systems and two governments and on the

three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity. In view of the different ideas and systems actually existing in the north and the south of our country, we consider that the only way to reunify the country peacefully without one conquering the other or one being conquered by the other is to adopt the federal form. Reunification under a federal system envisages our country developing into a neutral and non-aligned nation, instead of becoming a satellite of any other country. Therefore, the reunification of our country will not harm the interests of any other country, nor will it threaten anyone else.

In order to reunify our country we will continue to develop dialogue between north and south and make patient efforts to remove any obstacles to reunification.

The United States and other countries which are responsible for the situation in Korea must cooperate actively to realize her reunification as soon as possible.

The current situation shows more clearly that the US policy towards Korea is not only anachronistic but even runs counter to the interests of its own people. The United States must free itself from its outdated conception of blind hostility towards our Republic, give up its anachronistic policy towards Korea and fulfil its responsibilities in the matter of Korean reunification. This will open up a bright future for improving the relations between Korea and the United States.

We expect that the United Nations, whose mission it is to safeguard peace and justice in the international arena, will pay close attention to the matter of Korea's reunification and render a due contribution to its settlement. As for the matter of Korea's entry into the United Nations, our principled stand is to enter it under a single nomenclature after reunification is realized through a federacy and, if Korea is to enter the UN before her reunification, the north and the south should enter it with a single seat. To enter the UN separately before the reunification of the country would be, in the long run, to oppose her reunification and to attempt to finalize the division of the country. If either side enters the UN separately, it will bear historical responsibility for the continued division.

In conclusion, on the question of peace and security in Asia.

Asia, which was invaded and plundered by imperialists in the past, has now entered a new stage of development.

Asia must naturally become the Asia of the Asian people and the people of Asia must fulfil their responsibility and play their role as masters in building a new Asia. The Asian people must no longer tolerate the arbitrariness and interference of the imperialists in the settlement of Asian affairs and maintain a firm independent stand. In order to build an independent and prosperous new Asia, the Asian people must cooperate closely in spite of differences in ideology, system and religious belief.

In order to guarantee peace and security in Asia, it is imperative to abolish military bases of aggression in the Asian region, get foreign troops out of this area and fight against aggression and war. At present the United States is keeping in south Korea not only its troops but also a great number of nuclear weapons. This is a grave threat to peace and security on the Korean peninsula and in the rest of Asia. It is unreasonable for the United States to create a fuss about the nuclear inspection of somebody else while the Americans themselves have made south Korea such a dangerous nuclear base and are threatening us.

The Government of our Republic will, as in the past, so in the future, work hard to make the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free, peace zone and safeguard peace and security on the Korean peninsula and in the rest of Asia.

I hope that *Mainichi Shimbun* will play a positive role in the development of relations between the DPRK and Japan, and I wish you success in your work.

FOR A FREE AND PEACEFUL NEW WORLD

Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the 85th Inter-Parliamentary Conference

April 29, 1991

Esteemed Mr. President of the Council of the Inter-Parliamentary Union,

Honourable delegates,

The opening today of the 85th Inter-Parliamentary Conference in Pyongyang, the capital of our country, gives the Korean people great pleasure.

Allow me to bid a hearty welcome to the parliamentary delegates from many countries, to the delegates from international organizations and to all the other guests from foreign countries.

This conference is an important opportunity to deepen mutual understanding among the national assemblies of various countries, develop cooperation among them and strengthen friendship and solidarity between the Korean people and other peoples throughout the world.

I hope that, through your sincere efforts, the 85th Inter-Parliamentary Conference will hold successful discussions on the items on the agenda and achieve excellent results.

Honourable delegates,

The national assembly of each country, as its highest legislative body, has a mission and responsibility to realize democratic government. Democracy must be not only the basic ideal of state

administration for championing people's right to independence, but also a common ideal of world politics for ensuring equality and cooperation among countries. The foreign policy of a state is the extension of its domestic policy. Therefore, making individual countries democratic is closely connected with the undertaking to make the international community democratic. The members of national assemblies who are working with devotion for the development of democratic government in their own countries should also contribute actively to making world politics democratic, and thus fulfil their responsibilities and role as statesmen of the present age.

The Inter-Parliamentary Union, which was founded more than a century ago in order to realize the noble ideal of peace and cooperation, has contributed to safeguarding world peace and to developing friendship and cooperation among countries and peoples. With the development of the times and historical progress, the Inter-Parliamentary Union has assumed a heavier mission and greater responsibility in the international political arena.

Today, humanity finds itself at a turning-point in historical progress. The old age of domination and subjugation that lasted for thousands of years has come to an end, and a new age is being ushered in, the new age when all countries and all nations shape their destiny independently. Mankind is now faced with the common task of strengthening the historical current and building a free and peaceful new world.

In order to build the new world aspired to by mankind, it is necessary to abolish the unequal old international order in all fields of politics, the economy and culture and establish an equitable new international order. There are large and small countries in the world, but there cannot be major and minor countries; there are developed nations and less developed nations, but there cannot be nations destined to dominate other nations or those destined to be dominated. All countries and nations are equal members of the international community and as such have the right to independence and equality. No privilege and no arbitrariness should be tolerated in international

relations; friendship and cooperation among countries must be fully developed on the principles of mutual respect, non-interference in the affairs of other countries, equality and mutual benefit.

Peace is the common aspiration of humanity, and only when peace is ensured can the people create an independent new life. The wrong idea and policy of trampling upon the independence of other countries and other nations and of dominating others are the cause of the current threat to peace. In order to safeguard peace, all countries and nations must maintain independence, oppose power politics, and develop a powerful joint international struggle to prevent aggression and war.

Disarmament and the abolition of nuclear weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction is the most pressing task in ensuring peace. The large stockpile of nuclear weapons now on earth is a menace to the survival of mankind itself. It is intolerable that the valuable results of science and technology created by mankind and social wealth be used for the production of the means of aggression and war that threaten man's survival, and not for the well-being and development of humanity. The testing and production of nuclear weapons must be banned, the number of existing nuclear weapons must be reduced and, then, nuclear weapons must be completely abolished.

The Korean people, who are constantly under the threat of nuclear weapons, have proposed the abolition of nuclear weapons as a vital matter relating to the destiny of the nation. We strongly assert that the Korean peninsula should be made a nuclear-free, peace zone. We strongly support the peace movement of the peoples of many countries for disarmament and for the creation of nuclear-free, peace zones.

Building a free and peaceful new world is the mature requirement of our times. Today, domination and subjugation, aggression and war can benefit nobody; for the peoples of all countries to develop independently and live peacefully together is the correct way for humanity to take. Historical progress may suffer setbacks, but the forces of independence and peace will grow in strength as the days go by, and the just cause of creating a new world will triumph without fail.

The unity of the people throughout the world and cooperation among them are the guarantee for the victory of their common cause of creating a new world. The Inter-Parliamentary Union, the centre of international deliberation by independent national assemblies, must concern itself with making the international community democratic on the basis of independence and safeguarding world peace and security, and must contribute to promoting unity and cooperation among peoples. The ideas of independence, peace and friendship which our Republic consistently maintains in its international relations accord with the ideas advocated by the Inter-Parliamentary Union. In future our Republic will further strengthen its ties and cooperation with the Inter-Parliamentary Union and be faithful to mankind's common cause of creating a free and peaceful new world.

Delegates,

Today our people are working hard to build a genuine society for the people in which man's complete independence will be realized, and to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of their country.

The political philosophy of our state is the Juche idea which requires that all consideration should be centred on man and that everything should be made to serve him. By fighting in single-hearted unity under the banner of the Juche idea our people have been able to build, even under the most difficult conditions and circumstances, man-centred socialism in which the people are the genuine masters of the society and everything in society serves them. The democratic character of our society finds clear expression in the fact that all the people, as the masters of the state, equally enjoy a sound and stable life in its material and cultural aspects, exercising completely equal political rights and that, on the basis of comradely love and obligation, they work together for a common goal and develop together, helping one another and leading one another forward.

Our people take great pride and self-confidence in their just cause; they will work to the end to build an ideal society for mankind in accordance with their own belief and by their own efforts.

Reunifying Korea is the vital requirement of our nation; it is an

important question in international politics.

The Korean people are a homogeneous nation that has lived on the same territory generation after generation, a nation celebrated for its long history and fine cultural traditions. There is no internal cause for our nation to live divided. Ours was not a defeated country in the Second World War; our people contributed to destroying fascism through their long-drawn-out national-liberation struggle. In spite of this, after the war our country was divided into north and south, contrary to the will of the Korean nation, and the nation is still divided. This is not only a source of untold misfortune and suffering for our nation but also a cause of the unstable and dangerous situation in the Asian region. Both from the point of view of national independence and of the cause of peace in Asia and the rest of the world, the question of Korea's reunification requires an immediate settlement.

To this end we consistently maintain the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity which the north and the south agreed upon and jointly declared; we hold that on these principles the country should be reunified by founding a federacy based on one nation, one state, two systems and two governments. We consider that this conforms with the desire of the Korean nation to develop independently as one reunified nation and meets the requirement of the present era of independence and peace. We recognize that it is also the most feasible way of reunifying the country peacefully when different ideas and systems actually exist in the north and the south.

The desire of our nation for reunification has already become fused to surmount the barrier of division, and their belief that Korea is one has become unshakable. We will actively develop the dialogue between the north and the south in conformity with the mounting trend throughout the nation towards reunification, and will make every possible effort to remove all obstacles to reunification.

The statesmen of today who treasure justice and democracy in international politics cannot be indifferent to the misfortune and suffering of the peoples of other countries; they must cooperate to

ensure the just settlement of international questions which affect the destiny of nations. We expect that the parliaments and statesmen of all countries, not to mention the countries responsible for the Korean issue, will pay close attention to the matter of the reunification of our country and cooperate actively for the just settlement of this question.

You delegates are the distinguished guests of our people. Everywhere you go our people will receive you warmly and bid you a hearty welcome.

I hope that your stay in our country will be pleasant and useful and I wish you success in your honourable work.

Thank you.

TALK TO A DELEGATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT PARTY OF ECUADOR

May 3, 1991

I warmly welcome to my country, the delegation of the Democratic Left Party of Ecuador headed by your Comrade General Secretary. Although I meet you for the first time today, I have many friends in Ecuador. Now I am very glad to meet you and become acquainted with you.

I have not yet met the President of your country, the leader of your party, but I'd like to take this opportunity to send my greetings to him.

Thank you for wishing me long life and good health. I am working now in good health.

Your visit to our country will be a great contribution to promoting the relations between our two parties and strengthening the friendship between our two peoples.

General Secretary, you have paid warm compliments to me, our Party and people, and spoken highly of our people's successes in the revolution and construction. I am thankful for this. All the successes we have achieved in our country are, in fact, the product of the great strength of our people.

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

By believing in and drawing on the strength of the masses of the people, we defeated both the Japanese imperialists and the US imperialists and built socialism on the debris after the war. You asked

me which war was more difficult for us. Although both wars were difficult, I would say that the anti-Japanese war was the more arduous.

During their occupation of Korea, the Japanese imperialists did many evil things against our people, pursuing a policy of national obliteration, and resorting to political oppression and economic plunder. They forbade our people the use of our own spoken and written language and forced them to learn theirs. They even compelled the Korean people to change their names into Japanese ones and call their names in Japanese. But our people did not yield. My uncle in Mangyongdae never changed his name to the end. His name was Kim Hyong Rok. Whenever Japanese policemen asked his name, he always answered “Kim Hyong Rok”. Each time they slapped him across the face. Although he was beaten for no reason, he insisted that he had no Japanese name. As my uncle did not change his name, the Japanese imperialists gave his children no chance of education. In cities they didn’t supply even food rations to Koreans who refused to change their names into Japanese ones.

I fought against the vicious Japanese imperialists for a long time. I waged the underground struggle for 5 years and the armed struggle for 15 years. We mostly fought regular warfare with the US imperialists, but against the Japanese imperialists we waged guerrilla warfare under very difficult conditions without the state rear. The anti-Japanese armed struggle was unprecedentedly arduous. We fought with the conviction of sure victory in the Korean revolution, but did not know when the revolution would win.

If the anti-Japanese guerrillas had not been firmly united with comradely love and trust under such circumstances, it would have been impossible to defeat the Japanese imperialists. But it was not easy for them to unite in a comradely way. Anyone who changed his mind could easily go over to the enemy. Worse still, the Japanese imperialists continued to scheme to destroy us from within. They scattered lots of leaflets in the area where the anti-Japanese guerrillas were active; on one leaflet was written: “Kim Il Sung only has several thousand soldiers. How can he fight against the Great Empire of Japan

with such a small number of soldiers? The anti-Japanese guerrilla unit is like a drop in the ocean compared with the Great Japanese Empire.” Struggle was very hard and the placating and deceptive tricks of the Japanese imperialists continued, but the anti-Japanese guerrillas were unhesitatingly loyal to me to the end. With the conviction that they should put their trust in me, the guerrillas relied entirely on me and fought the Japanese imperialists.

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

Our People’s Army and the people relied on me and fought heroically with devotion for our Party and motherland in the years of the Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialists.

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

Before the war Pyongyang had a population of 370,000 and during the war the US imperialists dropped more than 400,000 500-kg and one-ton bombs on Pyongyang. It means that they dropped more than one bomb for every citizen. Just after the war not a single house remained intact in Pyongyang. Only three concrete buildings were left, albeit half destroyed. They were the town hall, the bank and Hwasin Department Store. During the war not only Pyongyang but also all the other cities and villages in our country were reduced to ashes. When the war was over, the US imperialists, who had so severely devastated

our country, said that our country would never rise again even in a hundred years.

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

You say that Pyongyang is well planned. We are going to construct many more modern residential units in Pyongyang. Under the slogan of building 50,000 flats in Pyongyang before my 80th birthday, our working people and young people are pushing ahead with construction. If we do construct them, we shall be able to provide all Pyongyang citizens with modern housing and change the capital beyond recognition.

I take pride in the fact that despite all the construction Pyongyang is a very clean city. You say that you feel refreshed when you woke up in the morning here. In fact, many foreigners wonder that Pyongyang is so free from pollution. Pyongyang not only has many trees, but is also alive with birds, including pheasants. We even have roe deer here. The rivers in the city teem with fish, shellfish and crabs.

In Germany there is a writer called Luise Rinser. She was once a member of the German Green Party. The basic aim of the party is to conserve the natural environment. During her visit to our country, I had a talk with her while cruising the Taedong River. My men dived into the river and caught lots of shellfish as large as the palm of your hand. Shellfish cannot live in even slightly polluted water. After tasting the shellfish, Luise Rinser said she was certain the city had absolutely no pollution.

You asked me when we will finish the motorway project between

Pyongyang and Kaesong. I think it will soon be finished. We have laid the roadbed, but not started the pavement yet. We will wait for the roadbed to settle down completely and then pave it.

You said that you watched the video on the construction of the West Sea Barrage during your visit there. The site was selected by me. Our officials originally chose a site on the lower reaches of the Taedong River. A barrage on that site would be easier to construct, but Nampho would eventually find itself in danger of flooding because silt would gradually build up. We therefore constructed the barrage on the present site, even though it was several times more difficult to build than it would have been on the lower reaches of the Taedong River. Our heroic soldiers constructed the world famous barrage in only five years, breaking through all the bottlenecks and difficulties on their own. Though the West Sea Barrage was built, silt has not accumulated on the lower reaches of the Taedong River.

We are justifiably proud and self-confident that we have achieved many successes in the revolution and construction, relying on the strength of our people.

The collapse of socialism in the East European countries was due to the fact that the leaders of those countries did not believe in their people's strength and failed to lead them correctly.

The former leaders of the East European countries were flagrantly bureaucratic. In capitalist societies the rulers behave bureaucratically with impunity because, regardless of their bureaucratic style of work, money-making people continue to make money and the capitalists exploit the working masses, so every one has his or her own way of life. Capitalist society is an unequal society in which a tiny handful of exploiters live in plenty while the majority of the working people go hungry, out of employment. Unlike capitalist society, socialist society is a people's society, so in this society the abuse of bureaucracy cannot be tolerated. In the East European countries bureaucratic abuses stifled socialism.

In former times those in authority in the socialist countries of East Europe believed in the Soviet Union more than in their own people.

Few of these countries fought and defeated imperialism on their own. Most of them were liberated by the Soviet army during the Second World War. Therefore, the people of these countries adopted Soviet-style socialism and relied on the Soviet Union. They repeated “A” when the Soviet people said “A” and echoed “B” when the latter said “B”. In a certain country the people were so infected with flunkeyism towards the Soviet Union that it was said they walked under cover of umbrellas even on a fine day if it was raining in Moscow. The East European countries were virtually republics of the Soviet Union. The Soviet people organized CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) and affiliated the East European countries with this organization. They then held the economies of these countries under their control and imposed their economic plans on them. The industry and agriculture of the East European countries were therefore tied to the Soviet Union. As a result, they collapsed as soon as the Soviet Union ceased to exist.

In 1956, Khrushchev told me to join CMEA, but we refused. You will know of him well. At that time the Soviet people were building the Bratsk Hydroelectric Power Station near Lake Baikal, which was a big one with several million kw of generating capacity. He told me to join CMEA and receive electricity from the power station. But I said, “no”, because the Soviets held the switch; if they turned it off, the power situation in our country would be very difficult. So I didn’t accept his proposal, and we have built many power stations on our own.

It is good to do everything in one’s own way and by one’s own efforts. We always do everything in our own way and maintain our independence. Even when it rains in Moscow, the sky may be clear in our country. Why, then, should we hold an umbrella over our heads reading other people’s faces? There is no need to do so.

Both when we were fighting the Japanese imperialists and the US imperialists and when we were building socialism, we received little help from others. Of course, we received some aid from the socialist countries in the Fatherland Liberation War and during postwar reconstruction, but, we still relied mainly on ourselves rather than on

foreign aid. Foreign aid was of secondary importance.

When we adopted foreign experiences, we also held fast to an independent stand. However good it might be, foreign experience or technology may not suit the actual conditions of our country. So I often tell our officials that even when we consider following a foreign example we should first chew it over and then decide whether to swallow it. If it does not agree with us, we should spit it out.

The socialism which we have built by self-reliance is strong. Though all the European socialist countries have collapsed, our socialism is winning victory after victory. This does not mean that our socialist construction never meets with difficulty.

We are now building socialism in a very complicated situation. The United States has raised the “nuclear problem”, which does not exist and is increasing tension in our country. The Americans clamour that we should be inspected by the International Atomic Energy Agency, saying that we are producing nuclear weapons. We have no capability to make nuclear weapons nor do we intend to make them. The Americans have deployed more than a thousand nuclear weapons in south Korea, but they keep silent about them. So we said that we would accept inspections on condition that the US nuclear bases in south Korea are also subject to inspections. We hold that the International Atomic Energy Agency should conduct nuclear inspections of the north and south of Korea simultaneously on the principle of fair play.

Since the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and East European countries, we have had some economic difficulties. Trade with these countries is virtually suspended now and the various long-term contracts with them broken off. But nothing serious will happen to our country. We have food, clothing and housing. As in the past, we are fully capable of living on our own resources.

The people’s strength is inexhaustible. When relying on it we can overcome any difficulties. I am now more firmly convinced of the validity of the Juche idea than ever before. The Juche idea is the idea that the master of one’s destiny is oneself and that one has the strength to shape one’s own destiny. When we implement the Juche idea,

nothing is impossible for us. Our people are a great people. They are now united solidly behind the Party and the leader with one mind and purpose. They boundlessly respect their Party and their leader and expedite the building of socialism under the slogan “When the Party is determined, we can do anything!” Nothing is impossible for our country where the leader, the Party and the masses are in such single-hearted unity.

We will reunify the country by the united effort of all the Korean people, and by maintaining independence.

Our people do not want their country to remain divided. They want the country to be reunified as soon as possible, but it has not yet been reunified. Our struggle to reunify the country is very arduous. The south Korean authorities have built a 240-kilometre concrete wall between the north and the south in order to keep the country divided for ever. You are right when you say that the concrete wall, which divides our nation, must be pulled down.

The United States’ President shouted for joy when the wall between East and West Germany was pulled down, but keeps silent about the concrete wall between the north and south of Korea. By the efforts of our own people we will surely destroy that wall and reunify the country without fail. If the south Korean people tear it down themselves, then all the better.

Recently, students and other people in south Korea have been holding demonstrations against the present regime almost every day. The south Korean puppet policemen harshly suppress the demonstrators with tear gas and clubs. Their suppression went so far as murdering a student demonstrator. This event caused the demonstrations to spread. A few days ago, tens of thousands of students and other people marched in a street demonstration. No matter what the south Korean authorities do, they cannot check the righteous cause of the demonstrators.

The United States is the main force interfering with our country’s reunification. The Americans, lording it over south Korea, obstruct Korea’s reunification in every way. The problem is how to get the

Americans out of south Korea. If the United States withdraw their army and nuclear weapons from south Korea, the north and south will find it easy to talk together.

North-south high-level talks have so far been held three times. From the first session of the talks we have proposed adopting the nonaggression declaration between north and south, but the south side did not accept our proposal because of American pressure. Though north-south high-level talks were held on several occasions, all were broken off without success. The failure was due to none other than the pressure of the United States aimed at preventing the south side from agreeing to adopt the nonaggression declaration between north and south. If the declaration were to be adopted, there would be no pretext for the United States army to remain in south Korea.

Up to now the Americans have said that, in compliance with the request of south Koreans, they have stationed their army in south Korea in order to prevent the communization of south Korea and protect it from an “invasion” from the north. This is only an excuse. On several occasions we clarified that we have no intention of invading south Korea. The United States obstructs the adoption of the nonaggression declaration between north and south in order to have an excuse for keeping their army in south Korea.

It is our consistent attitude to solve through talks the problems arising in reunifying our country. Though the high-level talks between north and south were broken off, our officials concerned met the representatives from the south who had participated in the recent 85th Inter-Parliamentary Conference held in Pyongyang.

Yesterday I had talks with delegations from several countries. Members of one delegation told me that they would mediate between the north and south of Korea on reopening the talks. I told them it was not necessary to do so. I said, “Since you say your country is in alliance with the United States, you had better advise the Americans to withdraw their army from south Korea.”

We need neither mediation nor interpreters in our talks with south Koreans. Our nation does not consist of several tribes as African

countries do; it is a homogeneous nation. North and south Koreans use one and the same written and spoken language. Koreans can therefore understand each other in their talks without interpretation.

Whether the north-south high-level talks are reopened or not depends on the south side's attitude. If the south Korean authorities want to adopt the nonaggression declaration between north and south, the high-level talks will be reopened, and if not, there is no need to meet and talk.

When our country is reunified, our nation will become very strong. Recently, a joint table-tennis team of north and south Korea was organized for the first time and participated in the 41st World Table Tennis Championships. In the women's team competition our players won the championship over the world-famous Chinese team. The men also played well, though they were defeated by the Swedish team, which is known to be one of the strongest in the world. The joint table-tennis team demonstrated now the might of our nation to the whole world. Preparations are being made to form a north-south joint youth football team to participate in the 6th World Youth Football Championship in Portugal.

As our officials have already explained the situation in our country to you, I will not touch on it today.

You spoke highly of our sending to Cuba the equipment needed for the Pan-American Athletic Games. We are now constructing the "Havana-Pyongyang Friendship Fountain" in Cuba, as well as a power station and a pump factory.

It is very important to safeguard the Cuban revolution in Latin America. The people of Cuba victoriously carried out the revolution by their own efforts, as we did ours. The United States has done everything to stifle Cuba since the victory of her revolution. However, she has defended socialism for over 30 years in spite of encirclement and blockade by the United States. In the past, Cuba imported machinery and spare parts from the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. Since their collapse, she has been undergoing some economic difficulties. She needs selfless assistance.

Who but we will help Cuba? We will continue to help her as much as we can.

I hope that the relations between our two parties will develop positively and that on this basis diplomatic relations between our two states will be established. Your people will not object to this. The United States may interfere with it, but if our two parties unite to crush its obstructive manoeuvres, we can enter into diplomatic relations.

In answer to your invitation, I will send our Party delegation to your country. Thank you for your readiness to accord warm welcome to our visiting delegation. Exchanging party delegations and meeting each other frequently will promote our friendly relations. Please come often to our country as our friends. If we meet each other frequently to exchange experiences, talk about party policies and wage a unified struggle, the solidarity of our two parties will be further strengthened in this process.

I am very pleased that your visit to our country has inspired you with optimism for building socialism suited to the situation in Ecuador. I wish your party all success in the future, and hope you have a pleasant journey home.

**ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED
BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE *KYODO*
NEWS SERVICE OF JAPAN**

June 1, 1991

I would like to bid a warm welcome to you, Mr. President of the *Kyodo* News Service of Japan, and your delegation to our country.

I am pleased to make your acquaintance. It is a good thing for our friends from Japan to pay frequent visits to our country. Frequent visits by friends from the two countries will contribute to improving Korea-Japan relations and to promoting friendship between the two peoples.

I am grateful to Mr. Kanemaru Shin for his warm greetings. I am delighted to hear that he is in good health. During his visit to our country last year, I met him and discussed with him the matter of improving Korea-Japan relations, and parted with him on good term. It still gives me pleasure to remember my meeting with him. I hope that on your return home you will convey my cordial greetings to him.

Now, I shall answer your questions.

Question: Would you please tell us about the tasks facing your country in the political and economic fields and the prospects in these fields?

Answer: The Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of our Republic have been consistently maintaining the principles of political independence and economic self-sufficiency.

Independence is the lifeblood both of social man and of a country and nation. The fundamental aim of our country's socialist government is to ensure that internally the masses of the people occupy the position of masters of the state and society and perform their role as such and that externally our country and nation exercises full sovereignty. Therefore, our political efforts are directed to implementing socialist democracy thoroughly so that all the people participate in the administration of the state and society as masters and that everyone equally enjoys all the wealth of society and all the results of their creative labour. Also, we are opposed to imperialism and dominationism, safeguard the sovereignty of the country, and are developing friendly and cooperative relations with many countries in accordance with the ideals of independence, peace and friendship.

Our government is government by the masses of the people themselves, and it is based on the Juche idea, an anthropocentric political philosophy. All the lines and policies of our Party and our state are the application of the Juche idea, and the masses of the people who are equipped with the Juche idea have accepted them as their vital requirements and are implementing them by displaying creative enthusiasm and devotion.

Independent government requires the material guarantees provided by an independent economy. By implementing the principle of self-sufficiency in economic construction we have built an economy that is capable of standing on its own feet, and that is not subordinate to or dependent on others, a socialist independent national economy that serves our people. The independent national economy which our people have built in particularly difficult conditions and circumstances in the spirit of self-reliance and fortitude constitutes a strong foundation for the independent development of our motherland and for our people to lead a happy socialist life. When the current Third Seven-Year Plan is carried out, our independent national economy will become more powerful, the material and cultural standards of our people will rise to a higher level, and our country will rank among the developed countries.

We will, in the future, too, develop socialist democracy to the full and strengthen the might of our independent national economy, on the principles of independence in politics and self-sufficiency in the economy. Our people are firmly convinced of the justice and victory of their cause, are advancing along the path indicated by the Juche idea, united solidly behind the Party and the Government, and will accomplish the cause of socialism.

You say that, on this, your first visit for 18 years, you have noticed a great change in the appearance of Pyongyang. I think you are right. There is a Korean saying that rivers and mountains change in ten years. I think it natural that many changes have taken place in an 18-year period in our country where large-scale construction is being undertaken.

Our people are now on a grand construction march. Pyongyang is bursting with enthusiasm for the construction of 50,000 flats. Now there is no one in Pyongyang who has no house of his own, but when the project for the 50,000 flats has been carried out, the people in the city will live happily in flats with more modern amenities. We have set the target of providing housing for 1,200,000 to 1,500,000 more families under the Third Seven-Year Plan. In order to fulfil this task, we must build houses for approximately 200,000 families every year. Housing and industrial construction is being undertaken on a large scale across the country.

Today, under the slogan, “When the Party is determined, we can do anything!” our people are working in single-hearted unity and in support of the Party’s leadership. I think this is a very good thing.

Question: Please tell us about the problems that must be solved for an improvement in the relations between Japan and Korea.

Answer: The matter of improving the relations between Korea and Japan boils down to the redressing of the wrongs done in their relations in the past, and to the development of new neighbourly relations between them to meet the interests of the two peoples and

the requirements of the times.

In order to redress the past wrongs, it is particularly important to repent fully of the past. Japan was guilty of aggression against our country in the past, and our country suffered because of Japan's aggression. Japan's sincere repentance of her past wrongdoing is necessary for the good of herself rather than for that of others. Japan must give deep thought to which is in her interests, to repent of her past and improve her relations with our country or to maintain the abnormal relations that now exist between them. Because they clearly realized that to improve Korea-Japan relations would meet the interests of the Japanese people and the requirements of the times, far-sighted statesmen in Japan worked hard to improve Korea-Japan relations. As a result, the joint declaration of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan and the Social Democratic Party of Japan was published.

The improvement of Korea-Japan relations will not be achieved through foreign interference or misguided political motives. I believe that, if both Korea and Japan discuss the matter sincerely by maintaining a firm independent stand, the normalization of Korea-Japan relations will be achieved in the spirit of the tripartite joint declaration.

The negotiations for normalizing relations between Korea and Japan have not made any marked progress as yet. Of course, there may be points of dispute in negotiations between strangers. But the normalizing of Korea-Japan relations is the common desire of the two peoples and its aim is to place the two countries on good terms. In the negotiations, therefore, it is preferable for both sides to say good things to meet their common desire and aim. Saying things that offend the other party to the negotiations or bringing up questions that have nothing to do with the major point will only result in holding up the negotiations. I believe that, if the two parties to the negotiations become more familiar with each other, they will understand each other and find many good things to say. If they work hard and settle the question of establishing normal state relations at the earliest possible

date, before proceeding to the discussion of other problems in succession, they will settle all the questions.

I am pleased that Mr. Kanemaru Shin and Mr. Tanabe Makoto have been making great efforts to improve Korea-Japan relations. I ask you to convey my cordial greetings to them on your return home.

You have asked me whether I intend to visit Japan when normal Korea-Japan relations have been established. Yes, of course I do. Will it be wrong for me to meet the Japanese people? I was against Japanese imperialism; I have never been against the Japanese people. I have always thought that the Korean and Japanese people should advance hand in hand with each other.

As for the matter of the Japanese women living in Korea visiting their home towns, this will be settled naturally if Korea-Japan relations are normalized.

Question: Please tell us how the north-south talks can be promoted.

Answer: The basic and principled stand of our Party and the Government of the Republic for reunifying the country independently and peacefully is widely known. The aim of the north-south talks is to reunify the country. Therefore, the talks can be successful only when both parties to the talks make combined efforts with a determination to reunify the country. As the world has seen, the south Korean authorities cruelly repress progressive people, young people and students and other broad sections of the south Korean population who are struggling to reunify the country; they are obstructing the north-south talks by aggravating the situation intentionally and threatening us militarily. In such a situation the nation cannot find any justification for the talks, and the talks will fail to produce good results.

In order to promote the north-south talks, we proposed that the south side should, firstly release the people who have been arrested on the charge of having visited the north, secondly discontinue the “Team Spirit” joint military exercises at least during the north-south high-level talks, and thirdly settle, through north-south discussions, the

question of entering the UN with a single seat. However, the south side accepted none of these three proposals. At the north-south high-level talks the south side stubbornly objected to the adoption of a nonaggression declaration by the north and the south, proposing only to adopt a basic agreement on the improvement of north-south relations for reconciliation and cooperation. We accepted their proposal and proposed to incorporate the nonaggression declaration and the basic agreement on the improvement of north-south relations into a single document. However, the south side objected even to that. It would be useless merely to adopt a basic agreement on the improvement of north-south relations for reconciliation and cooperation unless a dagger hidden in one's breast is removed.

We have no intention to end the north-south talks. We hold that the talks should be continued. But this depends on the south side. I think that the north-south talks will proceed at a good pace and be successful if the south Korean authorities desist from obstructing national reunification and come to the talks working in concert with the broad sections of the people struggling for reunification in south Korea.

Question: Please tell us what you think are the common points and differences between Korea's reunification and that of East and West Germany.

Answer: I have not given any deep thought to this matter. We were not against the reunification of East and West Germany.

US President Bush cheered the removal of the Berlin Wall, but he does not even mention the existence of the concrete barrier that divides the north and the south of Korea. The south Korean authorities have camouflaged the concrete barrier and refuse to allow the public to see it. This reveals their intention to keep Korea divided.

However, the existence of the concrete barrier on the southern side of the Military Demarcation Line cannot be concealed. Last year, on the initiative of the International Liaison Committee for the Reunification and Peace of Korea, an international investigation commission to confirm the existence of the concrete wall composed of

prominent figures from many countries came to our country, took photographs of the wall and showed them to the world. However, Japan and many European countries, bending under the pressure of the United States, gave no wide publicity to the barrier. At present many people fear the Americans. I hope that Japan, an Asian country, will act independently. I believe that if Japan does so, she will be able to contribute to Asian prosperity and peace.

Question: Please tell us about Korea's UN membership to be discussed at its General Assembly this autumn.

Answer: We respect the authority of the UN whose mission it is to safeguard peace and justice; we regard it as natural that the DPRK, an independent and sovereign state, should enter the UN. However, our country's UN membership has a direct bearing on our country's reunification, the supreme task of our nation. Therefore, we have given this matter serious consideration and have maintained that Korea's entry into the UN should be achieved in favour of our country's reunification through negotiations between north and south. In spite of our principled stand and just efforts the south Korean authorities have invariably maintained their divisive stand, contrary to our stand. This has made it impossible for the north and the south to enter the UN with a single seat. Under these circumstances, we have made the decision, as a countermeasure, to enter the UN. There will be no change in our principled stand that the north and the south should work jointly in the international arena as one nation and that they should occupy one seat at the UN as one state representing the whole nation.

Question: Please tell us about the prospects for improving the relations between the DPRK and the US at government level, about the concluding of a peace agreement, about the nuclear issue, and about the problem of peace in Asia.

Answer: The abnormal relations between Korea and the United

States are due entirely to the unfair policy towards Korea maintained by the US. In view of the changes taking place in the general situation today, I think it is high time for the United States to re-examine her policy towards Korea. If she genuinely supports the reunification of our country and wants to ensure peace on the Korean peninsula, there is no reason why she should not accept our proposal to replace the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement, nor is there any question to which a solution cannot be found in the improvement of relations between Korea and the United States.

It is unreasonable for the United States to have raised the matter of the nuclear inspection of another country while she herself has deployed a large number of nuclear weapons in south Korea and is frequently conducting nuclear war exercises that threaten our Republic. This shows that the United States has not yet discarded the outdated habit of imposing her will upon others by means of power politics.

Trying today to impose her will upon others by means of power politics is an anachronistic way of thinking. As I said in my speech at the 85th Inter-Parliamentary Conference, there can be no major or minor countries although there are large and small countries; nor can there be nations which are destined to rule or to be ruled, though there are developed and less developed nations.

We do not have nuclear arms, nor do we produce them. So we do not object to nuclear inspection. More than 1,000 nuclear weapons have now been deployed in south Korea. Nuclear inspection, if it is ever to be conducted, must be conducted simultaneously in south Korea where nuclear weapons exist, instead of being conducted only here, where there are no nuclear arms.

The consistent stand of our Party and the Government of our Republic is to make the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free, peace zone. A long time ago we reached agreement with the Social Democratic Party of Japan on making Northeast Asia, including the Korean peninsula, a nuclear-free, peace zone and published a joint declaration on it.

The world's press is making a great fuss about nuclear inspection

here, yet it is silent about the nuclear arms in south Korea. This is unfair. I think it advisable that the press, yourselves included, should work to create a fair public opinion on this matter.

In the United States itself, the voices demanding the withdrawal of nuclear arms from south Korea are growing louder.

Mr. Kanemaru Shin said that he would visit the United States and act as a bridge in improving the relations between the DPRK and the US. This is a very good thing. I think he has conceived this idea out of a sympathetic feeling towards us and from his understanding that the question of Korea-Japan relations can be settled smoothly only when that of the relations between Korea and the United States is settled. He is a fine statesman.

The Asian people have the common task of safeguarding peace and security in Asia. They must struggle in solid unity and close cooperation to get the foreign military bases of aggression and troops of aggression out of this area, to check and foil the imperialists' moves of aggression and war, and thus to safeguard peace and security in Asia.

The Government of our Republic will, in the future, too, work hard to develop friendly and cooperative relations with other Asian countries and make every effort to preserve peace and security in Asia.

I hope that, on this occasion, the *Kyodo* News Service will do a lot of good work helpful to the development of friendship between our two peoples, and I wish you success in your future work.

TALK TO SON WON THAE, A KOREAN RESIDENT IN THE UNITED STATES

May 15, 31, June 2, 1991

Mr. Son Won Thae, you must have taken great trouble to cover such a long distance to come here with your wife.

I am extremely delighted to meet you again like this after an interval of more than 60 years since I left you. Although you are nearly 80 now, I still recognize you, as you have retained your childish looks. I am very pleased to exchange my deeply felt emotions with you.

In the days of Japanese imperialist rule, you had a hard time in an alien land, far away from your native country. The Japanese imperialists were the cruellest throughout the world. They even prohibited Koreans from using the Korean language and forced them to change their names to sound Japanese. In those days Koreans could only earn a living and attend school when they changed their surnames and names to sound Japanese. However, they stubbornly remained faithful to their national principles. It is really admirable that Koreans adhered to their national principles, despite the harsh repression and humiliation inflicted by the Japanese imperialists. I am delighted beyond words to meet someone like you who has kept the spirit of the nation, a worthy son of Rev. Son Jong Do, who devoted his whole life to the Korean independence movement in extremely difficult and complicated circumstances. If you had failed to remain true to national principles, our reunion would not be as pleasant as it is now.

You say that you felt a yearning towards me all the time; I have also

wanted to see you. So I investigated various rumours, but could not find you. Rev. Kim Song Rak, when living in the United States, came here to visit his mother country. I asked him about you and your younger sister Son In Sil.

Rev. Kim Song Rak's father was a leader of the March First Popular Uprising. He attended Pyongyang Sungsil Middle School with my father, so I met him a long time ago. Apparently, prior to liberation he was persecuted on the pretext of opposition to the "visits to a Shinto shrine", imposed by the Japanese imperialists. He subsequently moved to the USA and changed his nationality. Rev. Kim Song Rak visited his native country twice—in 1981 and 1982. At that time, during talks with him, I asked him if you were living in the USA. He said that he was living with American pastors in a district resided by pastors; he added that he was not sure of your whereabouts and said that he would inquire into this later on and notify me. Although Rev. Kim Song Rak did not know about you, he knew about Rev. Son Jong Do. Apparently he could not discover your whereabouts and let me know, as he died soon afterwards.

You say that for a long time you had thought of visiting me and that four years ago you met an official of our embassy in a certain foreign country and gave him a letter addressed to me, adding that you had some relations with me; however, I was not told. The official probably did not report this fact to me, as he did not know well the inside story connecting us. If I had received the letter, you might have been able to come to the motherland a little earlier.

I only came to know about you, when I recently received a report from the authorities concerned. According to their report, the head of the celebratory group of Koreans in the United States, who came to our country in April this year, conveyed your letter to an official of ours who had been acting as his guide, a short time before he left the homeland. These authorities asserted that they informed me of the letter immediately, because it had to do with me, and sent you a letter of invitation. Apparently our officials acted in this way, because they had heard from me a lot about Rev. Son Jong Do and you. When I

heard from the authorities concerned that a letter of invitation had been sent to you, I said that they had done a very good thing. I could not repress my pleasure on hearing that you were coming to your homeland.

Now that I have met you, my longing to see your father Rev. Son Jong Do grows and I recollect with deep emotion various events during my Jilin days. When I was working in Jilin, Rev. Son was exceptionally kind to me and rendered me active aid both materially and morally. Consequently, I often talk about him at every opportunity since liberation right up until now.

Rev. Son was on intimate terms with my father. My father seems to have got to know Rev. Son well since their days at Pyongyang Sungsil Middle School. In those days there were Kwangsong Middle School and a girls' high school facing it in Pyongyang. Kwangsong Middle School was built with red bricks and remained after liberation. There was no university in Pyongyang before liberation.

During the "case of 105 people", my father was arrested by Japanese imperialist policemen in Pyongyang; Rev. Son was also imprisoned at that time. As previous captives had not divulged any secrets, the Japanese imperialist policemen cruelly tortured my father who was the last to be arrested, to make him reveal the secrets. So he was beaten most of all. He fell sick at that time and experienced many hardships.

On his release from prison, he went to Junggang. Junggang was home to many of his friends, including Kang Ki Rak. My father worked there, maintaining contacts with many people, like O Tong Jin and Rev. Son. At that time a man intimate with my father informed him that his name was on the black list of the Japanese imperialist police. Consequently, he crossed the Amnok River to Linjiang, a northeastern area of China. There he set up "Sunchon Surgery" and carried out his revolutionary activity, maintaining contacts with independence fighters. However, the enemy's surveillance was also very strict in Linjiang. Therefore, he had no choice and left Linjiang to go to Badaogou in Changbai County. Badaogou is situated on the opposite

side of Kim Hyong Jik County and many Koreans lived there. There, too, he continued his revolutionary activity working as a doctor. When in Pyongyang prison, he taught himself medical arts and later set up a surgery, using a diploma from the Severance Medical College obtained by his comrades. At that time he treated Koreans free of charge for most medicines, only demanding some money for expensive medicines. Consequently a large number of independence fighters and other Koreans visited him and he engaged in the independence movement by maintaining contacts with them.

I followed him to China at the age of seven and learned Chinese from a Chinese man for about six months, before I entered primary school. I finished my primary school course in Badaogou. When I finished primary school, my father told me to go to the homeland to continue my studies; he said that if I were to achieve the country's independence, I must be well acquainted with the situation in my country. I returned to my homeland at the age of 11, in accordance with his words and studied at Changdok School.

Almost two years after starting to study at this school, my father was again arrested by the Japanese imperialist police. He was arrested in Phophyong, where he had gone to establish contact with independence fighters. He escaped during the escort with the help of his comrades and crossed back into China. During the crossing, he suffered severe frostbite. When he was active in Fusong, he made a tour of south Manchuria in his sickness in 1925 via Huadian, Jilin, Liuhe, Sanyuanpu and Xingjing in order to prevent the break-up of the Korean independence movement and achieve its unity. When he went to Jilin, he met Rev. Son. Owing to an excessive workload, my father's disease was aggravated further. He passed away in 1926.

In the summer of my father's death, I entered Hwasong Uisuk School in Huadian thanks to the good offices of my father's friends such as O Tong Jin, Ryang Se Bong, Jang Chol Ho and Kim Si U. Hwasong Uisuk School was set up to train commanding officers for the Independence Army and Choe Tong O was its headmaster. Hwasong Uisuk School was attended by young people, recommended by the

Independence Army and so were on the whole elderly people. I attended the school, lodging at Kim Si U's. Most independence fighters in Huadian, including Kim Si U and Kang Je Ha, maintained relations with both the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai and *Kukmin-bu*. All of them remained on intimate terms with my father. Kang Je Ha was financial minister of *Jongui-bu*. While at Hwasong Uisuk School, I frequently visited his home. Kang Pyong Son, son of Kang Je Ha, worked as a member of the Down-with-Imperialism Union. Later, he was active in north Manchuria before his death there. Kang Pyong Son's wife sent me a letter and gift on my 79th birthday.

Choe Tok Sin, son of Choe Tong O, who was headmaster of Hwasong Uisuk School, visited his homeland on a number of occasions when he lived in the United States. He once told me that he wanted to live in his motherland and be buried here, saying that now that he was old he would end up buried in an alien land if he died there; he asked me to make him manager of a golf course if he came to his homeland. So I told him: come to your homeland if you want; if you come here, you will always find a job. Later on he came to his motherland and worked devotedly as Vice-Chairman of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of Korea before dying of illness. He had suffered from pancreas cancer. Pancreas cancer is apparently hard to cure. He had contracted the disease during his travels in several countries including Germany. I tried very hard to cure him of his disease, but to no avail. I made sure that he was treated in a foreign country, but they could not cure him there, either.

You say that Mr. Choe Tok Sin's wife asked you to come to her house again, when you pay another visit to your motherland. I find that very gratifying. This year, too, I met Mr. Choe Tok Sin's wife and had dinner with her. She is daughter of Ryu Tong Yol. Ryu Tong Yol was involved in the nationalist movement and was mostly active in Shanghai.

During the several months of studies at Hwasong Uisuk School, I became dissatisfied with the education there. Therefore I left the

school and came back to Fusong to tell my mother before I started for Jilin.

When I reached Jilin, I visited the house of Rev. Son, who was on intimate terms with my father and maintained close contacts with him. Rev. Son's house was in Niumaxiang. He received me with delight. In Jilin, I met Kim Kang, who was teaching English at Yuwen Middle School, via the introduction of some independence fighters, who were my father's friends. On the recommendations of Kim Kang, I entered Yuwen Middle School without taking any examinations, and was admitted into the second year, by passing the first grade.

Although Yuwen Middle School was a private school, run by influential people, it was the best one in the city. The headmaster of the school was a man named Li Guang-han, who was a secondary school fellow of Zhou En-lai and belonged to the Chinese nationalist Left wing. He favoured me among the Korean students. Another good school next to Yuwen Middle School in Jilin was Wenguang Middle School, which was run by believers in Christianity.

Later on Kim Kang taught English at Jilin Middle School No. 5. He was humiliated by the Chinese for being Korean. At that time I could also learn English. However, I did not learn it, as the Chinese looked down upon Koreans. Your elder brother Son Won Il no doubt also knew a lot about Kim Kang. According to Choe Tok Sin, Kim Kang went to south Korea after liberation and worked as an English interpreter in the navy. During my days at Jilin Yuwen Middle School I became acquainted with you and many others.

During those days, I visited Rev. Son's house on many occasions. Each time Rev. Son was kind to me. Your mother also dearly loved me. I still remember how I was once treated to rice cakes, mixed with a herb called *Jjondugi*, which had been prepared by your mother. One day, during a visit to Rev. Son's with Sin Yong Gun, your mother asked us to taste some cakes, adding that she had prepared them from *Jjondugi*, which Son In Sil had picked from Beishan Park. When I said that the cakes were tasty, your mother added that there was a lot of *Jjondugi* herb in Pyongyang. With leaves covered with soft down,

Jjondugi herb has neither scent nor toxin. After liberation I remembered what your mother had said, when she had treated me to rice cakes mixed with *Jjondugi*, and I told some people to try and make this kind of rice cake. However, they did not even know the words *Jjondugi* cakes. More than 60 years have passed since I ate the *Jjondugi* cakes, prepared by your mother; however, I have never had this kind of cake since then. If you ask Son In Sil, when you meet her, how they used to prepare *Jjondugi* cakes, when they were living in Jilin before, she will probably remember. She must know many things, which happened in those days. She was very clever. She visited me frequently to do errands for her father.

Rev. Son raised rabbits inside their house by letting them roam free. At his house, there were rabbits of various colours including white rabbits and black ones. On one occasion when I visited Rev. Son's with Sin Yong Gun, your mother treated us to bean-curd and rabbit-meat stew. This was delicious and was almost as good as chicken. I was treated to this dish a couple of times by your mother.

After liberation I recalled that I had seen Rev. Son raising rabbits in their house; consequently I told some people to try to do the same. They replied that they could not do so, owing to the stale smell. Now I remember seeing Rev. Son raise rabbits in their house, but I do not remember well how they managed to do so.

Once I also ate sand eel at Rev. Son's house. People in Hwanghae Province eat large quantities of sand eel. It was not easy to eat sand eel in northeast China in those days. I had sand eel dishes at Jang Chol Ho's house, too. Aware that I was fond of sand eel, Jang Chol Ho used to treat me to this kind of dish when I visited them.

I frequented the houses of my father's friends such as Jang Chol Ho and O Tong Jin, and they received me wholeheartedly, as they recalled my father.

Jang Chol Ho had two stepdaughters—Yun Son Ho and Yun Yang Ho. Yun Son Ho's real father had moved from Shanghai to Jilin, where he lived until his death from illness. Her mother found it difficult to live alone after her husband's death and so married Jang Chol Ho, who

was then company commander of the Independence Army. Yun Son Ho studied music in Tokyo, Japan. She was pretty and played the piano well. After liberation I met her. She frequently came to my home to have a good time.

You say that I have a good memory. If I recall what happened during my time in Jilin, I can still remember even the names of people. Even now I remember the touching reunion of the woman named Kim Ok Bun with her would-be husband in Jilin. Kim Ok Bun's parents and those of her future spouse had lived in Kimhae, South Kyongsang Province. Their parents had planned to marry them to each other according to *jibok* marriage. *Jibok* marriage is a marriage where the parents of two offspring promise, before their birth, to marry their children to each other. In former days it was customary for close friends in our country to promise, prior to the birth of their offspring, to marry them to each other, anticipating the birth of a male child in one family and that of a female child in the other. If male children or female children were born in both families, they became sworn brothers or sisters. When Kim Ok Bun was eight years old, her parents crossed the Amnok River in search of a good living. However, they were so poor that they sold their daughter to a certain Chinese woman in Dandong. Parting from her daughter, her mother gave her one half of a silk towel and told her that the towel was a sign of her marriage before birth. She told her daughter that her future husband had the other half of the towel and told her to seek him with her own half when she had grown up. Kim Ok Bun had learned *Changxi* from the Chinese woman and gave performances during visits to various areas. *Changxi* consists of the Chinese character *chang* which means calling and the character *xi* which means ridiculing. *Changxi* is also called Peking opera. It became widespread during the Qing dynasty. Chinese were very fond of *Changxi*. Kim Ok Bun was a tall woman and skilled in performing the Peking opera. Consequently during those days, her name was mentioned in the newspapers many times. Kim Ok Bun's future husband was a certain Choe. He had followed his parents to Jilin in his early years and was attending Wenguang Middle School. At that

time the Taifenghe rice mill was located by the Sanfeng Hotel and another rice mill was situated outside the Chaoyang Gate, which had been built by Choe's father. I remember the house he lived in but cannot remember his name well. Kim Ok Bun travelled round many areas including Changchun, giving performances of the Peking opera. During each performance she would visit Koreans and inquire of the whereabouts of her would-be husband. Once she came to Jilin and was performing the Peking opera. I went to see the performance with many students from Yuwen Middle School and Wenguang Middle School. Her performance was excellent. After the performance we dropped in at a restaurant and were eating noodles when the woman entered. Taking her for a Chinese, we said in Korean that her performance was excellent. Thereupon she came up to us and asked if we were Koreans. She immediately recognized us to be Koreans because we spoke Korean, although all of us were wearing *dabushanzi*. When we said that we were Koreans, she mentioned the names of her would-be husband and his father and asked if we knew them. Her would-be husband happened to be in the restaurant and said that those were his name and that of his father. At this Kim Ok Bun suddenly embraced her would-be husband and cried aloud, overwhelmed as she was by extreme joy. They parted at the age of eight and met again when they were 18 years old. So they met again after an interval of 10 years. However, at that moment the Chinese woman who had brought up Kim Ok Bun entered and made a great fuss, asking why we were making her daughter cry. So we came out of the restaurant. Kim Ok Bun subsequently searched for the house of her would-be husband. However, his parents were displeased with her, because she was an actress. Kim Ok Bun said that she had remained chaste, although she had been working as an actress. She went on that if she was to escape from the Chinese woman, money should be paid to her and that she would prepare the money. From then on she did not give the Chinese woman all the money she earned from performances, but secretly hid some of it in a flowerpot. Later on Kim Ok Bun's future husband resolved to live with her; so he visited the Chinese woman, paid her the

money and brought Kim Ok Bun back. He had not been married before that time, and he took a renowned woman as a wife. You probably do not know this romantic story well, as you were in Beijing at that time.

You say that in your youth you were already engaged to your future wife without even knowing her name and age. Your mother had probably chosen a spouse for you. You must be blessed, because you have been married to a woman chosen by your mother. Your wife says that she has been able to see me on her current visit, because she was married to you. I think she is right. One is happy only when one's family is harmonious. Therefore, whenever I have an interview with young people I say to them "kahwamansasong", which means that everything will be all right only when one's family is harmonious.

You say that you remember Ri Tong Son, who was a childhood friend when you lived in Jilin. He is the second son of the family which ran the Sanfeng Hotel. Ri Tong Son is Ri Tong Hwa's younger brother. Ri Kyong Un, Ri Tong Son's elder sister, was married to An Pung. An Pung and Pak Hun were graduates of the Huangpu Military Academy and fought well. At that time Jiang Jie-shi was the commandant of the Huangpu Military Academy and Zhou En-lai was in charge of political affairs there. The academy was attended by many young Koreans. A leading part in the Guangzhou revolt was also played by cadets of the academy. An Pung and Pak Hun took part in the Guangzhou revolt and, on its failure, fled. As there is no news about An Pung afterwards, he was no doubt arrested by the Japanese imperialists and killed. Pak Hun is Pak Song, who is portrayed in the revolutionary film *Star of Korea*. In battle he used to shoot with pistols in both hands. He was noted for his remarkable marksmanship.

You say that during my days at Yuwen Middle School in Jilin I was taller than other students and handsome, so that I quickly attracted the attention of other people. Because of my unusually big build, I found it very difficult to disguise myself, when I engaged in underground revolutionary struggle. To arrest me, the reactionary warlords of China watched out for all tall people.

In Jilin I organized and led the Jilin Association of Korean Children

and the Ryugil Association of Korean Students. However, I actually guided the work of the Young Communist League, secretly putting these organizations in the forefront. I formed an art information troupe with members of these two associations and frequently visited rural communities on the outskirts of Jilin. All this was done to camouflage the work of the Young Communist League. In those days a girl named Kim On Sun was involved in the Jilin Association of Korean Children.

On your current visit you brought a photo taken in the days of the Jilin Association of Korean Children. The photo includes Choe Jin Mu, Sin Yong Gun, An Sin Yong, Son Won Il and Pak Il Pha. An Sin Yong lived in a settlement for Koreans in Jiangdong; he could not speak Japanese. Your elder brother Son Won Il was probably attending Wenguang Middle School, when this photo was taken. After attending Yuwen Middle School in Jilin for some time, he soon moved to Wenguang Middle School. Apparently, when he was attending Yuwen Middle School in Jilin, he stayed at the dormitory for some time. You say that on leaving Wenguang Middle School, your elder brother went to Shanghai and graduated from the navigation department of Zhongyang University. I only heard where he had gone but did not have any detailed information on what he had done there. I subsequently met him once when he came to Jilin. I think that he also read many Marxist-Leninist books, while studying in Jilin. I met Pak Il Pha in Pyongyang in 1947. He graduated from Jilin Law College and worked as a lawyer in Harbin until liberation. His younger sister was married to Ko Jae Rim. Ko Jae Rim studied at a medical college run by the Japanese Manchuria Railway Company. I also met Ko Jae Rim and Ko Jae Bong after liberation. I am not in the photo which you brought. When I was active in Jilin, I refrained from having my photos taken as much as possible, because it would have been undesirable for them to fall into the hands of the enemy. Once when we went to Mt. Longtan in Jiangdong to take part in a mountaineering picnic organized by the Children's Association, I also avoided the place, where my companions were having their photos taken.

You say that you remember me going to your house and taking you

and Son In Sil out to street, and buying *jiangzhi guozi* for you to eat; this is a sentimental story. I recall taking you and Son In Sil across the River Songhua, and amusing ourselves at a game in Jiangnan Park. She may well tell you how she remembers that I brought the members of the Children's Association together and talked about the Korean revolution in Beishan Park. Now the Chinese people respectfully furnish and take care of historical places in Jilin concerned with me, including Beishan Park. I have been told that the Yaowang Shrine, where I used to hold secret meetings with members of the YCLK and the AIYL, was preserved in its original state, and that my statue was erected at Jilin Yuwen Middle School.

Rev. Son provided active support for me in Jilin. As pictured in the revolutionary feature film *Star of Korea*, in the early period of revolutionary activities, the minister supported me, blaming and persuading Hyon Muk Gwan, who was against me from doing anything. The minister did not have a beard, but was pictured with a beard in the film. Maybe our producers did not know him well. In those days, the minister had cropped hair and was handsome. If you have a chance to see the revolutionary multi-part feature film *Star of Korea*, I advise you to see them all.

I have been told that Hyon Muk Gwan died at Changsha. According to Choe Tok Sin, Hyon Muk Gwan did not die in battle, but was assassinated at Changsha. He had a daughter named Suk Ja, but I don't know what had become of her. His wife once moved to the northeastern part of China in her youth to live with him.

While in Jilin, I lived in his house for some time. In those days, he almost stayed in Wangqingmen in south Manchuria, with his wife and daughter in Jilin. In his absence, they found it difficult to make ends meet. His wife went to Fuxingtai Mill to pick bran out of rice and was given some rice as payment. They barely managed to eke out a living. At that time, Hyon Suk Ja did many errands for us and her mother cooked us rice.

When in Jilin, I happened to help the minister, who was put in a difficult situation by the marriage problems of your sister, Son Jin Sil.

As Son Jin Sil was in favour with Yun Chi Chang, younger brother of Yun Chi Ho, their marriage problem was the talk of the independence fighters. The independence fighters unanimously blamed the minister, saying that the minister, who claimed to lead the independence movement, was going to marry his daughter off to the family of a pro-Japanese. Even when Yun Chi Chang came to Jilin to meet the minister, the independence fighters held him as a hostage, and refused to release him until they had extracted military funds from him. As the rumour related to this case was widely disseminated within Jilin and quite a number of people were implicated in this case, the minister was put in an awkward situation. So I called on the independence fighters including Jang Chol Ho, Ko Won Am, Kim Sa Hon and told them to release Yun Chi Chang; I expressed my amazement that they could act against the minister, when friendly terms, that now was the time of free love and that the only thing that mattered was the love of the youngsters for each other. I was amazed that the Independence Army was ordering their marriage. Then the independence fighters realised they were going too far, and liberated Yun Chi Chang. I suppose, they took me at my word, because they received assistance from my father and also knew I exercised my influence among the students. Although a student at that time, I engaged in political activities. Without my support and help, he would probably not have survived. Now Son Jin Sil is 89 years old, and I am glad to know she is still alive.

The detention incident of Yun Chi Chang occurred, when the outdated and progressive forces began to split with each other. The old force had caused the hostage incident. They had been doing nothing of use: simply calling for military funds and running through everybody else's money. People like Kim Sa Hon and Ko Won Am belonged to the progressive force against the old force. Ko Won Am was a conscientious individual, who operated a pharmacy providing Koryo medicine.

I owe my life to Rev. Son.

He took an active part in bailing me out of jail, when I was arrested by the reactionary Chinese warlords in Jilin. I wonder if you remember

the extensive student unrest which happened in the fall of 1929 in Jilin. Owing to the pupil incident, many students of Jilin Middle School No. 5, Jilin Middle School No. 1, Jilin Yuwen Middle School were arrested and jailed in Jilin. Owing to the student unrest, I was arrested by the reactionary Chinese warlords and was locked in prison. On that occasion, most of the students in prison were Chinese, including the most numerous students from the middle school No. 5.

While in Jilin prison, I came to know many Chinese students. One of them I cannot forget to this day: a student named Huang Xiu-dian. He stood at the head of the struggle against the evil behaviour and persecution carried out by the authorities. In Jilin prison, a head warder often misbehaved himself with the prisoners. We decided to let him get over this bad habit, and debated who should assume this task. Unable to discuss this matter in jail, I contacted my close friends; we pretended to go to the toilet, and in fact went out to discuss the matter. When a good jailor was on duty, I could come and go from one ward to another ward, and connect with a different ward via keepers. I told the comrades that if we gave the head warder a good scolding once, he would not do wrong again, as he could not behave worse. Immediately, Huang Xiu-dian, a third-grade student of Jilin Middle School No. 5, volunteered to assume this task. When I asked him how, he said that he had a method. We told him that if he gave the head warder a hard time, he would experience troubles for some five months more, locked in personal confinement, but he was determined to sacrifice himself for the comrades. We entrusted Huang with this task and each of us came back to his cell. Huang Xiu-dian returned to his cell and sharpened the end of bamboo chopsticks. One day he pricked the head warder in the eye, when he tried to look into the ward via the hole of a cell door. Each door of the cells had a small round hole for a watch. He experienced this mishap while looking into the cell. Blood and black water gushed out of the head keeper's eye. From then on, he was blind in one eye. At that time, all the prisoners felt relieved and admired him for his courage. Consequently, Huang Xiu-dian was placed in solitary confinement in a cell, which was not heated even in winter, and

experienced a lot of hardships. We threatened to pierce all the jailors' eyes unless they released Huang Xiu-dian from solitary confinement as soon as possible. The prison authorities, frightened by our spirit of protest, freed him from solitary confinement reluctantly and did just as we said. From then on, we did what we wanted, including cell meetings, and went to different cells at our pleasure. I led the struggle of students in the cells: the warders used to open the door, without challenging my demands.

If you went to Jilin Middle School No. 5, you would have known Mr. Shang Yue. He stood on the platform at the school and was nicknamed Shi Zhang-wu. Mr. Shang Yue had formerly taken part in the communist movement. He was engaged in the communist movement and maintained contacts with the Chinese Communist Party members in Zhejiang Province, but when the oppression of the reactionary Chinese warlords became severe, he fled secretly to Jilin via Xianan and Dalian, and lived with his son-in-law. When the student unrest happened, Mr. Shang Yue was named as one of the leaders. At that time, most students closely associated with Mr. Shang Yue were arrested, and so was I. I came to know Mr. Shang Yue when I started going to Jilin Yuwen Middle School and learnt Chinese writing and literature from him. Although the reactionary Chinese warlords arrested other students and myself, as we were intimately related with Mr. Shang Yue, they did not obtain any evidence that we had led a communist movement. They only had evidence that the student read many left-wing publications, but this was not enough proof that the students conducted a communist movement. In those days, pupils were very influenced by the left-wing force of Kuomintang, because a lot of them lived in Jilin in close association with the communists, insisting on an alliance with the communists. The Jilin Yuwen Middle School and some other schools educated the students even with Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People. A few years ago two daughters of Mr. Shang Yue visited our country.

I managed to leave Jilin prison, thanks to the energetic struggle of revolutionary comrades and the help of Rev. Son and other progressive

personnel. Your father worried too much on how to bail me out when I was in prison. He might have felt that he was obliged to do so on behalf of my father. Rev. Son negotiated on many occasions with Zhang Zuo-xiang, Zhang Xue-liang and other authorities in the Jilin provincial government of China and the Jilin military control station, and gave them a lot of money on my behalf. As the men in real power in northeast China, Zhang Zuo-xiang and Zhang Xue-liang were adopting warlordist rule. They did not follow the Kuomintang. Zhang Zuo-xiang thought very highly of himself. When the Japanese imperialists had complete control of the south Manchuria railway and acted arbitrarily, he said he would not use it and separately laid down a track from Jilin to Fengtian. Zhang Xue-liang was Zhang Zuo-xiang's nephew. He hated the Japanese imperialists, as his father had been killed on the way to northeast area from Beijing when a train was blown up by the Japanese imperialists. If the negotiations with Zhang Zuo-xiang and Zhang Xue-liang succeeded, even a man on the black list of the Kuomintang and the special service agency of Japanese imperialists could be released.

Meanwhile, Rev. Son was in a favourable situation to campaign to bail me out of prison. There would be no major problem to bail me out of prison, if he could prove that I was not a communist, but rather an innocent student. He assured Zhang Zuo-xiang and Zhang Xue-liang that Kim Song Ju was not a communist, and asked them to treat me in a different way, as I was not concerned with accomplices involved in the student unrest. Pak Il Pha's father, Ko Won Am, Kim Sa Hon, O Sang Hon, O In Hwa and other people joined the campaign to get me out of prison and Rev. Son was a leading figure. Choe Tong O, the Choe Tok Sin's father, also joined them. One day when I was called out of the ward and interrogated, I saw someone looking at me from behind a screen set up to one side of the interrogation room. It was Choe Tong O. When our eyes met, he smiled and approached the room of the head gaoler. In a little while, the gaolers stopped torturing me breaking my fingers during the interrogation and brought me lunch. I ate the food they brought, doubting their unexpected

kindness. After I finished my lunch, they sent me back to the ward. In the cell I wondered why the gaolers had ceased the interrogation, what Choe Tong O had told them and at whose request he came to the jail. I subsequently found out through Cha Kwang Su and other comrades that Rev. Son was leading the campaign to get me out of jail. They informed me he was conducting the campaign and that I might be released in a few days.

When I think of it now, Choe Tong O might have come that day to confirm that I was really Kim Song Ju. After seeing me in the prison, he proved to the Jilin military control station and the jail authorities that I was Kim Song Ju, Mr. Kim Hyong Jik's son and that I had studied in Hwasong Uisuk School. I am not certain but he might have come at the request of Rev. Son Jong Do and other independence fighters or of the Jilin military control station. I think that the judicial officials in the Jilin military control station called Choe Tong O, who knew well of me, to make sure that Rev. Son was telling the truth, for he gave the warders a lot and insisted that I was not a communist. Anyhow it remains unclear why Choe Tong O came to jail. After his visit, I was no longer interrogated or tortured.

After liberation, when I met Choe Tong O, who attended the Joint Conference of the Representatives of Political Parties and Social Organizations in North and South Korea, he did not explain why he had come to Jilin prison. As he said nothing, I did not ask him about it. I was going to ask later when I met him again, but unfortunately he died of illness. So nobody knows the truth. Without the active help of Rev. Son, it would have been difficult for me to leave prison. While staying in Wujiazi in the autumn of 1930, I was told that Huang Xiu-dian and all the others involved in the student unrest were released from jail, and that I would have got into trouble if I had not come out of prison and had been there with the accomplices concerned in the May 30 Uprising.

After leaving Jilin prison I made for Dunhua, as it seemed unfavourable for me to stay there. The May 30 Uprising broke out when I was staying in Ko Jae Bong's house in Dunhua to improve my health.

The May 30 Uprising constituted the “Left” adventurous revolt, instigated by the factionalists for purposes of political ambition, who were allegedly advocating the communist movement. The sectarians organized the “general bureau in Manchuria” and other groups to rebuild the party and engaged in factional strife instead of enabling the revolution to rely on the masses of the people. They contended to be respectively admitted to the Chinese Communist Party, as the Comintern put forward the principle of one party for one nation. Li Li-san, who was at the helm of the Chinese Communist Party at the time, ordered that all Korean communists should be admitted to the Chinese Communist Party, in accordance with the principle of one party for one nation and that they should therefore be tested through practical struggle to show that they had distinguished themselves. On receiving the order, the factionalists encouraged Koreans in the east of Manchuria to rise up in revolt, disregarding the prevailing revolutionary situation and the preparedness of the revolutionary forces. Using this pretext, the reactionary Chinese warlords ruthlessly imprisoned the rebels and Korean communists and killed many young Koreans. I had to go underground, owing to the sweeping roundup in east Manchuria. Luckily, I was released before the breakout of the May 30 Uprising. I was told later on that the Japanese imperialists occupied Manchuria and searched for me first in the Jilin prison. On discovering that I was already out of prison, they bewailed their lateness. I would have been handed over to the Japanese imperialists if I had not been released with the help of Rev. Son Jong Do and other independence fighters and had been detained in prison for a few more months. If I had ended up in the hands of the Japanese imperialists, I would have been in prison for about ten years, for being the son of Kim Hyong Jik, although I was not seriously guilty, and I would have missed the chance to launch the anti-Japanese armed struggle. Consequently I consider Rev. Son as the saviour of my life.

On May 7, 1930 I met Rev. Son for the last time. After my release from Jilin prison, I first visited Rev. Son’s house and expressed my gratitude, and having talked for about an hour, I then left. My

underground struggle later made it impossible for me to meet him again. Your father passed away in Jilin in 1931; at the time, he was only 52 years old. He died so young.

You mustn't have seen his last moments, as you were in Beijing from 1930. I suppose Rev. Son would have negotiated with Zhang Zuo-xiang on many occasions, judging by the letter from your father, which you received in Beijing. It mentioned that thanks to his efforts, land was sold to Koreans in northeast China. I only know that Rev. Son negotiated with Zhang Zuo-xiang to bail me out of Jilin prison. At the time Zhang Zuo-xiang was called a warlord in Jilin. It is said that when An Chang Ho came to Jilin to deliver a lecture and was arrested by the reactionary Chinese warlords, Rev. Son dealt with the Jilin military control station to release him. At the time we met Rev. Son to appeal in a campaign to bail An Chang Ho out of prison. Rev. Son agreed and provided positive support. If he had not done so, it would have been difficult to bail An Chang Ho out of prison. O In Hwa, an official in Jilin military control station, played an important role. He might have put on a round cap, as he served in the military control station. People called that cap a crescent-like-calabash.

You told me that your family subsequently left China and moved to Seoul, apparently because Son Jin Sil had been living in Seoul. If Rev. Son had been alive at that time, you would not have gone to Seoul.

Nowadays, many of my friends from my young days call on me. They are a great joy to me. You told me that many of my friends call on me, because I am doing great work, but the great work is in fact carried out by the people. I am doing what I must do, only by relying on the people and having faith in their strength. The strength of the masses is inexhaustible. Once the strength of the masses is motivated, nothing is impossible in the world; we can even conquer the whole universe. The people alone liberated the country and established an advantageous socialist system in our country and the people alone are faithful to the leadership of the Party and have created all our social wealth.

The victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran is another good example, which demonstrates that nothing can destroy the strength of

the masses. In 1979, under the slogan of the Islamic revolution, a popular uprising took place in Iran which overthrew the empire and declared the establishment of an Islamic republic. In those days, in Iran, there were numerous soldiers of the Emperor's army, as well as the US army, which was several thousand strong. But when the masses rose up, the Emperor could do nothing and simply fled to a foreign country. A few days ago I met the Iranian Minister of Post, Telecommunications and Telephone, who was visiting our country. He explained the telecommunications facilities he had brought as a gift for me and said that he had respected President Kim Il Sung while studying the Juche idea since his university days.

Our Juche idea is a man-centred idea, based on the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything. The Juche idea demands that an independent and creative stand be maintained in the revolution and construction.

Since my early days, when I set out on the path of the revolution, I have always found a solution to all the problems arising in the revolution, by maintaining an independent position and relying on the masses.

During the early days of our revolutionary activities, the Comintern and my comrades advised me to go to Moscow to study in a university run by the Comintern, but I refused. In the early 1930s I received a letter from Comrade Pak So Sim, which stated that the organization had decided to send me to the USSR for study and that Comrade Cha Kwang Su, too, had approved the decision and that I had better be prepared to go there. No sooner had I read the letter than I went to the Korean village near Taolaizhao where Comrade Cha Kwang Su was staying. When I reached the village I found myself among my comrades, including Cha Kwang Su and Pak So Sim, who had been waiting for me with a suit, shoes, daily necessities and even school things which they had bought for me. When I asked Comrade Cha Kwang Su what all these things meant, he replied that as they feared they could not persuade me, they themselves had discussed the matter of sending me to the Soviet Union for study before making the

decision. In those days, Korean communists who had been active in Manchuria, China, tended to go to the USSR for study. They regarded it as only natural and honourable to go to the Soviet Union to study, and many of them actually studied in the USSR. Apparently, my comrades had also decided to send me abroad for study, in the hope that if I went to the Soviet Union and acquired good knowledge, I would guide them better, on my return home. They congratulated me from the bottom of their hearts for going abroad to study and said that they had been waiting to bid me farewell before my departure. Then I told them: I fully understand your intention to give me an opportunity to study, but I think there is no great thing to be learned in the Soviet Union; I can learn the theory of socialism and communism by reading the writings of Marx and Lenin without having to go to the Soviet Union; I can only learn in the Soviet Union about its experience in the October Socialist Revolution and socialist construction, which does not accord with the situation in our country; we must learn and know the strategy and tactics of the Korean revolution which I cannot learn in the Soviet Union; the people of the USSR may know a lot about the revolution in their country but not about the Korean revolution; our people know more about the Korean revolution. If we are to find a suitable strategy, tactics and methodology for the Korean revolution, we should go among the people; we should go among the people and find a methodology for carrying out the Korean revolution, while sharing life and death with them; I will not go to the Soviet Union, but will instead learn together with you comrades the theory and methodology of the Korean revolution, by staying among our people. After listening to me, the comrades were delighted. Later on I went among the people together with my comrades and convinced myself the truth of Juche and stayed among the people.

I think now that I was right not to go to the Soviet Union for study. If I had gone to the Soviet Union for study, I might have become a pro-Russian element such as the M-L group and the Irkutsk group. Factionalists such as Kim Chan and Pak Hon Yong all studied in Moscow. The factionalists caused a great damage to our revolution.

After the May 30 Uprising, the situation in east Manchuria was grave. The May 30 Uprising was followed immediately by the August 1 Uprising and the following year by the Wanbaoshan Incident and the September 18 Incident. Wanbaoshan Incident was a plot, which was deliberately hatched by the Japanese imperialists, who urged on their payrollled factionalists in an attempt to cook up an excuse for aggression into northeast China and drive wedges between the Korean and Chinese people. Most of the factionalists who had been arrested by the police of the Japanese consulate after these incidents, were released after writing a note, pledging conversion and worked as spies for the Japanese imperialists. Consequently the Chinese people became more hostile towards the Korean people, saying that the Koreans were all spies of the Japanese imperialists and that the Koreans were ushering the Japs in China.

After the May 30 Uprising, we Korean communists strove to eradicate its aftereffects, build up solid revolutionary ranks and prepare for the armed struggle. With the help of Han Yong Ae, Han Il Gwang and other revolutionary comrades, I obtained a travel fee which I used to go around Harbin and other areas, restoring and reorganizing the destroyed revolutionary organizations and concluding a preparation for armed struggle. At last in 1932 I founded the anti-Japanese guerrilla army in Antu.

We set as an important task in developing the anti-Japanese armed struggle the formation of a joint front with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units and the creation of a united front with the Korean Independence Army units, and made painstaking efforts to achieve these goals. In a bid to form first the united front with the Independence Army unit commanded by Ryang Se Bong, I led the main force unit of the newly-founded anti-Japanese guerrilla army to south Manchuria. Ryang Se Bong had been a close friend of my father. He expressed his sympathy with our line on the united front, but we could not achieve our aim, owing to the obstinate opposition of his staff officer, a Japanese stooge. When our unit returned from south Manchuria I dropped in Xiaoshahe, only to know that my mother had

already passed away during our expedition to south Manchuria. Later we lost many revolutionary comrades, including Cha Kwang Su.

Ryang Se Bong was a good person. However, owing to his inability to distinguish between friend and foe, he was assassinated in a Japanese plot. After liberation I brought his wife and son to the homeland. His son studied at the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School and served in the People's Army as a pilot before he died. Ryang Se Bong's wife passed away in 1988. While alive, she frequented my house.

After Ryang Se Bong's death Kim Hwal Sok became the commander of the Independence Army. He did his best to establish a relation with the Kuomintang of Jiang Jie-shi. On learning of his attempts to contact the Kuomintang, the Japanese disguised their spy as a delegate, dispatched by Jiang Jie-shi and infiltrated him into the unit of the Independence Army. Unaware of such a plot, Kim Hwal Sok followed the Japanese spy to Xingjing. I was told how he came into a house, which he believed to be a hotel sponsored by the Kuomintang and slept there. When he woke up, he found himself in a Japanese police station. The Japanese had plied him with wine mixed with a narcotic drug to make him have a sound sleep and arrested him as soon as he woke up. Choe Yun Gu subsequently became the commander of the Independence Army. He came to me with his unit in spring 1938. Of all those who served in the units of the Independence Army, Kim Myong Jun was alive until recently; he passed away last year. O Tong Jin was arrested by the Japanese when Rev. Son was living in Jilin. He had not accepted Rev. Son's advice and had gone to Changchun to raise funds for the independent movement by bargaining with a gold-mine owner who was staying there. Unfortunately he was arrested.

You said that I experienced immeasurable hardships during the anti-Japanese armed struggle. Indeed I did experience indescribable trials. However, I do not consider them as merely suffering. As many people had lived a hard life, we were able to destroy the Japanese imperialists and liberate the country. I feel proud that I resolutely led the anti-Japanese armed struggle, despite all the difficulties. The

anti-Japanese armed struggle advanced more vigorously, when we put forward the line of an anti-Japanese national united front and the ten-point programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland.

You asked for information on sources of economic aid during the anti-Japanese armed struggle. We were backed greatly by the people. The food and military uniforms were obtained partly with the help of the people or partly in fights with the enemy.

People provided the anti-Japanese guerrilla army with grain from their farms. The peasants living in Changbai County of China and Hyesan, Kapsan and Samsu of our country and on the coast of the Tuman River mainly engaged in potato-farming, and did not have enough food to support their lives. But when the Japanese came to investigate the state of potato-farming for allocating the delivery quota of potato, they deceived them by saying that they had produced only two or three tons of potatoes per hectare, whereas they had actually produced ten tons per hectare. They gathered the potato runners, so that the field looked as if it had already been dug out of its potatoes. Then they asked the anti-Japanese guerrilla army to dig the potatoes. If the anti-Japanese guerrillas could not dig all the potatoes given by the peasants, they were left untouched in the fields until the next spring when they dug up the frozen potatoes for food. No doubt you have never tasted food made from frozen potatoes. Such food has a delicate flavour. Last year a banquet was given to honour the overseas compatriots who attended the August 15 Pan-National Rally, where they were served with noodles made from frozen potatoes. Many of them said that the noodles were very delicious and that it was their first experience of such food.

The situation was not different in terms of maize production. The peasants would inform the Japanese that they had produced only one ton per hectare, whereas they had in actual fact produced five tons, so that the anti-Japanese guerrillas took away the rest of them. Maize could be preserved for a long time without rotting, if it was stocked in the cobs in a granary built in the mountain. The members of the

Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland would pick maize and keep it in the cobs in granaries. They also asked us to let them show us the mountain where the granary was located. The anti-Japanese guerrillas would spend winters with the food supplied by the peasants in this way. In summers we could gather wild vegetables to add to our provisions, so it was not difficult to obtain food.

People loved the anti-Japanese guerrilla army as their blood relatives. Whenever the anti-Japanese guerrillas dropped into villages on their marches, the inhabitants would warmly receive them and approached them very kindly.

When our unit dropped in one village, the host of a house offered us boiled green maize. The boiled green maize naturally reminded me of my native place. In my native place, the inhabitants eat maize together with green pepper dipped in pickled shrimps and it tastes very good. So I told the host that I would enjoy most of all green maize with pickled shrimps. Then the host asked me if I, too, liked pickled shrimps. I replied that I liked them and said that I hailed from Phyongan Province, but that I tasted pickled shrimps long time ago, because I had lived in places, where most inhabitants hailed from Hamgyong Province. Men of Phyongan Province like pickled shrimps very much, but the inhabitants of Hamgyong Province do not like it, saying that it smells nasty. The host said that his daughter-in-law had brought some pickled shrimps from her native place, where she had been to and offered them to me. The pickled shrimps were so delicious that I ate as many as five heads of green maize. The host put some pickled shrimps into a bottle and offered it to me and I enjoyed them for a while as I carried them with me.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, the people of Changsong area, especially the Kang families helped us a lot. They included many believers in Chondoism. The Kang family were ardent patriots. During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we maintained contacts with the followers of Chondoism in the Changsong area and even organized a branch organization of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland.

As you have seen on your visit to the revolutionary battle sites in the area of Mt. Paektu, there are still secret camps or places we lived in and the place where we were billeted on our march. Various historical materials and other relics are available there. There are also many trees, which harbour different kinds of slogans. After setting up our base on Mt. Paektu, we fought centring on the mountain, moving to China when the enemy's "punitive" offensive became violent in Korea and to Korea when their offensive was intensified in China. Needless to say, it was difficult for us to do so.

You said that you had been told in your school days that the anti-Japanese guerrilla army carried out exercises carrying sand bags on their ankles, in order to increase their running speed. In those days many legendary rumours about us were widespread among the people.

The enemy, however, conducted every kind of pernicious propaganda, in an attempt to alienate the anti-Japanese guerrilla army from the people. At first the enemy called our anti-Japanese guerrilla army the Korean People's Revolutionary Army, but later branded it as the Communist army or Communist rebels and went so far as to label it mountain bandits. They spread many false rumours about me as well.

After the Pochonbo battle, the newspapers carried detailed articles about me. The Pochonbo battle was fought to save from the enemy's encirclement Choe Hyon's unit, which had advanced towards Musan area to lure the enemy. After the Pochonbo Battle, the enemy chased us as far as Mt. Kouyushui, where we annihilated them.

After the battle of Mt. Kouyushui, Comrade Choe Hyon called on me. Comrade Choe Hyon, who was leading a regiment, attacked a Japanese lumber station and took two Japanese men hostage. I asked him why he had captured them. He replied that he had taken them hostage to acquire some material for military uniforms from the Japanese. At that time one of the Japanese brought us enough cotton fabric to make military uniforms for 2,000 soldiers. After his release, his article was carried in a newspaper, which read that the real name of Kim Il Sung was Kim Song Ju, who hailed from Phyongan Province and was 25 years old.

Once *Dong-A Ilbo*, too, wrote about me more correctly. It wrote that Kim Il Sung's real name was Kim Song Ju, that he was called so at home and in Jilin where he had studied, but was called Kim Il Sung when he engaged on his revolutionary activity. Actually, my name Kim Il Sung was given by my comrades. In the early days of my revolutionary activities, my comrades called me Hanbyol, using the word "Han" which meant "one" and the word "Byol" which meant "star", in the hope that I would become a lodestar of the Korean revolution, and later they named me Kim Il Sung, using the word "Il", which meant "sun" and the word "Sung" which meant "become" in the hope that I would act like the sun and save the destiny of the nation. All my comrades have called me Kim Il Sung since then and I could not refuse. So Kim Il Sung became my name.

You said that during your stay in Shanghai, you had read an article in the English newspaper *Dagongbao* in 1939, which read that Kim Il Sung, an independence fighter was waging the anti-Japanese armed struggle leading thousands of soldiers. I think the time is correct. Once Zhou En-lai also told me that the news about our struggle was frequently carried in Kuomintang newspapers. Zhou En-lai was well informed about our struggle, because he had worked in the Bureau of the Communist Party of China, when it was situated in Chongqing.

After the liberation of the country, I went to Beijing several times. Before then, I had never been there. During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we maintained close contacts with people in Beijing like Wang De-lin and Li Du. They were staying in Beijing after their return from USSR. Wang De-lin dispatched I Jun San to establish contact with us. He came to us and worked for a long time as a secretary and we called him secretary I. He studied at the Russian Language School in Beijing and went to Japan to study at the Imperial University. Consequently he was good at both Russian and Japanese. We maintained relations with the Chinese people and Beijing through him.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, I had many Chinese comrades who risked life and death with me.

Zhang Wei-hua was one Chinese comrade who helped me in my

revolutionary activities both materially and morally and protected me at the risk of his life. Zhang Wei-hua's father was a rich man, who owned a vast area of land and many private soldiers in Fusong. Although the son of a rich man, Zhang Wei-hua was friendly with me and actively helped me in my revolutionary activities. As you may know, if you see the revolutionary Film *Star of Korea*, I met Zhang Wei-hua in a train on my way to Hailong and managed to escape with his help from Hailong Station, breaking through the strict guard of the enemy. At that time Zhang Wei-hua had dropped into Jilin to meet me on his way to Shenyang for study but had failed to do so. He made for Hailong by train to meet his father who was returning from Yingkou where he had sold *insam*. So he was able to meet me in the train. Later on when I worked in Wujiazi, he called on me, bringing 40 rifles from the private soldiers of his family. The 40 rifles brought by Zhang Wei-hua helped us greatly organize the anti-Japanese guerrilla army. Zhang Wei-hua once taught at Samgwang School in Guyushu.

During the journey to south Manchuria at the head of the main force, after organizing the anti-Japanese guerrilla army, Zhang Wei-hua came to me and asked me what he should do. At that time his wife was pregnant. As he was the son of a well-to-do family, I suggested that he run a photo studio or teach at a middle school and continue helping our work rather than go through hardships in mountains. After the Nanhutou Conference, I happened to call on Maanshan secret camp on my way to Fusong. The outfits of the Children's Corps members there were so shabby. Consequently, I decided to obtain materials for their outfits and sent Kim San Ho to Zhang Wei-hua. He supplied us with fabrics. Kim San Ho once served in a landlord's house as a farmhand. He was unfortunate enough to lose his left thumb on the fodder-cutter, while working for the landlord. So I brought him for medical treatment. He had worked with me before joining the guerrilla army and later became the 8th Regiment commissar. I met Zhang Wei-hua again when I came out to Fusong. It was our last meeting. A few days after meeting Zhang Wei-hua, Jong Hak Hae called on him. Jong Hak Hae had been the head of the Fusong

branch of the Paeksan Youth League, but became a turncoat and stooge of the “surrender hunting team”. Unaware of Jong Hak Hae’s defection, Zhang Wei-hua told him how he could meet me. Jong Hak Hae immediately informed the enemy. Consequently Zhang Wei-hua was arrested by the enemy.

He feared that he might let out secret under torture, and the enemy might know where I was, and so persuaded his father to bribe the gendarmerie with money so that he would be released on sick bail. He was able to stay at home for three days on bail, where he wrote his last wish for his wife and committed suicide by taking developing solution. He had a son Zhang Jin-quan and daughter Zhang Jin-lu, who all visited our country. I met them on a visit to our country and Comrade Kim Jong Il, too, displayed deep concern about them.

After the liberation of the country, I found a solution to all problem in the building of a new society from independence to suit the new situation in our country.

The Communist Party we founded after liberation had about 10,000 members, including the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters, whereas the Democratic Party founded by Jo Man Sik had 460,000 members. In accordance with the situation in our country and the developing revolution, I developed the Communist Party into a Workers’ Party, a mass political party of the working people, by merging the Communist Party with the New Democratic Party, in a bid to expand the ranks of the Party among the workers, peasants and working intellectuals and unite the broad masses behind the Party. We defined working intellectuals as the motive force of our revolution along with workers and peasants and enlisted in our Party communists, as well as excellent, progressive people from the workers, peasants and working intellectuals who supported the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. The emblem of our Party consists of a hammer, sickle and brush, which symbolize its components—workers, peasants and working intellectuals. Foreigners have also said that it is peculiar and correct that we included a brush in our Party’s emblem, together with the hammer and sickle. Only our Party included a brush in the Party

emblem along with a hammer and sickle.

We had many discussions with various people on the inclusion of a brush, together with a hammer and sickle on the Party's emblem. All those involved in the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle with me backed this idea, but the factionalists such as O Ki Sop, Ri Ju Ha and Ju Nyong Ha, who had engaged in factional strife, in the Tuesday group, M-L group and the like refused to do so. So I told them: We can neither make a revolution nor build a country without intellectuals. We need the intelligentsia both in the struggle to destroy the old society and take power and in the struggle to build a new society. All participants in the anti-Japanese armed struggle are good at shooting but lack knowledge. Only when we make common cause with the intellectuals equipped with knowledge and technology can we carry out the revolution and construction.

The trickiest problem in building a new society after the liberation concerned the intelligentsia. Prior to the liberation, there were no universities in our country. There was a branch of the Imperial University of Japan in Seoul. Pyongyang was home to a college of industry and a college of medicine. Consequently there were few university graduates in our country. As far as I know, there were no more than ten university graduates, including Comrades Kang Yong Chang, Kim Tu Sam, Ro Thae Sok and O Tong Uk. There were also some law graduates, but those who had studied Japanese law were useless after the liberation of our country.

Immediately after liberation, to overcome the problem of intellectuals, I saw to it that the intellectuals dispersed everywhere in our country were gathered together to work with us. Comrade Jong Jun Thae was also brought in.

Comrade Jong Jun Thae had refused the advice of his father to study medicine and had instead studied at a college of mining to become a mining engineer. After liberation, some people criticized him saying that he had served the Japanese imperialists, but I sent for him and advised him to work with us without fearing for his past. Comrade Jong Jun Thae worked devotedly for the building of a new

country and carried out with credit his important responsibilities as Chairman of the State Planning Commission. After liberation, we brought in intellectuals from Seoul, with whom we established Kim Il Sung University and began training national cadres. Several professors who came from Seoul at that time still work at Kim Il Sung University. After liberation a number of film actors and actresses, musicians and dancers, too, came from Seoul. The foreigners who visited our country all stated unanimously that our Party's policy on intellectuals was absolutely correct. You said that you brought ballpens as a gift for me, moved by our concern for intellectuals. I am grateful to you.

Our Party now continues to solve all problems in the building and activities of the Party on the basis of the Juche idea, the man-centred idea, and embodies it in the revolution and construction. Consequently, our Party is enjoying absolute support and trust from all the people, and the people share their lot with the Party firmly united behind it. The slogan "When the Party is determined, we can do anything!" is a good slogan, which reflects the true features and invincible might of our country, where the whole Party and all the people are united as one integrated whole. This slogan reflects well the revolutionary desire of our Party and people to carry forward the tradition of single-hearted unity and to bring the revolution to completion, by relying on the power of the single-hearted unity. There is nothing better than this slogan for our Party and people who fight for the complete victory of the revolutionary cause of Juche under the banner of the Juche idea.

At the initiative of Comrade Kim Jong Il, our Party resolved to improve housing conditions of Pyongyang citizens considerably before next April 15 and is launching a struggle to build modern flats catering to 50,000 families. Now the whole Party, country and people have turned out to speed up the construction of dwellings for the 50,000 families. All the citizens of Pyongyang are giving active labour and material assistance to the building of residential premises on Thongil Street. Whoever passes by Thongil Street drops in on the construction sites and tries to dig at least one shovelful of earth before

going on their way. The members of foreign embassies in our country provide labour assistance to the construction of Thongil Street. A few days ago the members of the Embassy of the Republic of Cuba went out to the construction sites of Thongil Street and helped our workers in their work. Now all the construction sites are busy. The high spirits of the building workers convince me that the construction of the dwellings for the 50,000 families will be completed by next April 15. The construction of residential premises for 30,000 families is now near completion; consequently we only have to build dwellings for 20,000 families more. Eleven months are left before next April 15 and this period is enough to complete the dwelling houses for 20,000 families.

Today many people from different countries display sympathy in the Juche idea and learn from it. Of course it is too early to say that the Juche idea has become a worldwide ideological trend. But it is just a matter of time. The attention of the world is now focussed on our country, which maintains socialist cause under the banner of the Juche idea. Many people from different countries visit our country and state their surprise that Korea advances continuously along the road of socialism entrenched in its convictions, while socialism has been frustrated overnight in many east European countries. After witnessing the reality of our country, they say that the socialism of Korea, based on the Juche idea, is a genuine society for people where the Party and masses rally together as a single socio-political organism and everything serves the people and that such a society will never crumble.

On his return from a visit to our country, the leader of a Communist Party in a capitalist country, who had abandoned socialism after witnessing the frustration of socialism in various countries of eastern Europe, said that he would now continue the struggle for socialism. I think the people come to a correct understanding of the validity and vitality of the Juche idea, after comparing the reality of our country, where the Juche idea has been embodied, with that of other countries. After seeing a lower mountain, one can know that another mountain is

higher. The Juche idea demonstrates clearly its validity and vitality, as time passes, as an idea which requires that man should be the centre of all thinking and everything should serve him.

The delegates of various countries, which attended the 85th Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union held in Pyongyang a few days ago, unanimously admired and paid unstinted praise to our socialism. A lot of people from over 80 countries and different international organizations attended the 85th Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union and their impressions of our country were all positive. Many foreign delegates said: We were ignorant of Korea until now. As we had heard only vicious propaganda we thought that Korea was backward and full of beggars and gangs, and that Koreans were dreadful fellows with horns on their heads, but on our current visit we found that such propaganda constituted mere lies. There is not one beggar, or gang to be found in Korea and it is free from pollution and flood damage. It is a really tidy and beautiful country. Koreans are the most gentle nation and have a strong sense of organization and unity.

The President of the Council of the Inter-Parliamentary Union said on his return to his country: I feel as if I have been to another world. The conferences of the Inter-Parliamentary Union have been held several times, but no conference was better than the Pyongyang Conference. This conference was best in its organization and running and everything went smoothly, because the DPRK is a well-organized country, which moves under strict discipline. The attendants of the conference moved in good order. Consequently the conference went as smoothly as it had been planned, without any disorder. He emphasized the strong impression he felt in Pyongyang that Korea did not have to kowtow to big countries and that Koreans do everything themselves, trusting themselves and relying on their own strength. As stated by the attendants of the 85th Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, our country is the most beautiful country in the world and is immune to the worship of big and developed countries.

In some countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, there is still a

tendency to worship big and developed countries. To defend the dignity of the country and the nation and build a new society successfully, one must eliminate worship of big and developed countries. If not, it is impossible to defend the dignity of the country and the nation and, in the long run, it will ruin the country and nation. In the past our country was transformed into a colony of Japanese imperialism, because corrupt, incompetent feudal rulers had not believed in the strength of their people and had merely kowtowed to the big countries. So I said to Julius K. Nyerere during his visit to our country on the occasion of the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students, that if South-South cooperation is to develop, the developing countries must refrain from worshipping big countries. He used to be President of Tanzania and the Chairman of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania and until recently worked as the Chairman of the South Commission. The South Commission is a non-governmental organization which studies and recommends cooperation between developing countries and the development strategy of these countries; South means the developing countries. As the developed countries are mostly situated in the north of the world and the developing countries are in the south, the relations between developing countries and developed countries are called South-North relations and the relations between developing countries called South-South relations. Nyerere visited our country many times, as he is a close friend of mine. When I asked him for his conclusion, after working for several years as Chairman of the South Commission, he replied that he had decided that all the developing countries should maintain the principle of self-reliance and work with each other. I told him: Of course, what you said is important, but it is more important that the leadership of developing countries stop kowtowing to big and developed countries and that otherwise self-reliance or unity is impossible. If the South Commission aims to contribute to development of the economies of developing countries, it should make sincere efforts to eliminate kowtowing to big and developed countries among the leadership. After listening to me, Nyerere said that he agreed with me totally and that he

understood that it was most important to develop South-South cooperation.

It is by no means easy to eliminate kowtowing to big countries and maintain the principle of self-reliance. Those who have not carried out the revolutionary struggle and construction work by relying on the strength of their people without dependence on others do not understand the word self-reliance. The people of the big and developed countries, as well as others steeped in the idea of worshipping big and developed countries do not believe that we are self-reliant.

After we built the West Sea Barrage and publicized its completion, a big capitalist from a developed country visited our country. After looking round the West Sea Barrage, he asked for the name of the barrage designer. When our official told him that we had designed it on our own, he did not believe it, shaking his head and said that it would be difficult for the people of big countries to design such a big barrage. He asked if foreigners designed it. When he realized that we had designed and built the barrage on our own, he asked us how much it cost to build the barrage. Our official said that he must be good at calculating as he was a capitalist and asked him how much he thought it cost. He viewed the barrage again and replied that the barrage would have cost about seven billion dollars. When our official told him that the construction of the dam had cost about four billion dollars, he asked where and how we had got hold of such a colossal amount of money and said he might be able to lend us some money, as we must be indebted to another country. Our official told him that as we had built the barrage with our equipment and manpower, we had not borrowed any money from other country and asked him how much money he would lend us. Then the capitalist said that he could lend about one billion dollars if we asked. So our official told him that one billion dollars was too small an amount and suggested that if he wanted, he should lend us 200 billion dollars. The capitalist became aghast and said that he did not have such money at his disposal. Before returning to his country, he said that Korea had built a splendid barrage on its own.

Our people and the soldiers of the Korean People's Army, who are unfailingly loyal to the leadership of our Party, have really done a great work. Saying that they would erect a monument to the West Sea Barrage, our officials asked me to write something they could inscribe in the monument; so I wrote that the West Sea Barrage is a great creation built by our people and the soldiers of the Korean People's Army, demonstrating to the full the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude.

I work in Pyongyang for about 10 days a month and tour the provinces for 20 days to provide on-the-spot guidance. I frequently go to all the provinces of the country including North and South Hamgyong Provinces, Ryanggang Province, North and South Phyongan Provinces, and North and South Hwanghae Provinces.

In a few days time, I will go to Jagang Province to provide personal guidance. In that province a small area is under cultivation, which is mountainous. So I assigned the province with the task of planting mulberry trees on the sloping fields to produce plenty of cocoons instead of cultivating only maize and the like. If the province produces cocoons to reel silk thread off the cocoons or weave silk cloth and sell them, the people in the province will be well-off. The province cannot obtain enough food grain by cultivating maize on the sloping fields, but can solve the problem easily without investing much labour, if it makes mulberry fields and raises silkworms. The province has approximately 10,000 hectares of such fields. One hectare of mulberry field now produces 300-500 kilogrammes of cocoons; it will manage to produce more cocoons, if the fields are irrigated and applied with an adequate amount of fertilizer in the future. If one hectare of mulberry field produces one ton of cocoons, the province will produce more than 10,000 tons of cocoons, which can be used to buy hundreds of thousands of tons of grain. It is more than the people of the province can actually consume. Consequently I always tell the people of the province that they should plant mulberry trees in a large area to increase the production of cocoons instead of cultivating only maize and that then they can lead an affluent life in tile-roofed houses, eating

rice and meat and wearing silk clothes.

Our immediate and important target in socialist construction is to enable the people to live on rice and meat in tile-roofed houses and wear silk clothes. When this target has been attained, we can claim that we have accomplished our goal of socialist construction.

You said that I am good at economic calculation, even though I am not a graduate of economics; I always learn from our people. I always go among the people, teaching them or learning from them. You said that Korea will achieve splendid success under my leadership and become a model country in the world; I am grateful for your compliment.

While directing the provinces in the field, I frequently meet foreigners visiting our country. A few days ago I met the president of Japan's *Kyodo* News Service and answered the questions he had raised.

Many pressmen, politicians and important social figures in Japan had visited our country before, but their visits to our country were not frequent in recent years, as the Japanese government had imposed "sanctions" against our country. Following Mr. Kanemaru Shin's visit to our country last year, many people from different circles of Japan have come to our country. Mr. Kanemaru Shin was formerly Director General of the Defence Agency and Vice-Premier and is a kingpin in the Liberal Democratic Party.

After conveying the greetings from Kanemaru Shin to me, the president asked me what problems needed to be settled to improve relations between Korea and Japan.

Japan was first to raise the issue of normalizing relations between Korea and Japan. I met delegations from Japan Liberal Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party of Japan during their visits to our country last year. At that time Kanemaru Shin told me that it had been wrong of Japan to occupy Korea and inflict misfortune on the Korean people in the past and he sincerely apologized. He said that Japan should compensate for the damage she had caused to the Korean people for the 36 years of colonial rule and for the damage caused to

the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the 45 years since liberation, and proposed the normalization of the relations between the two countries of Japan and Korea.

As Kanemaru Shin had apologized repeatedly and suggested that we normalize the relations, I did not say anything more about the damages Japan had inflicted on our people in the past, and agreed to his proposal to normalize relations between the two countries. This is how the issue of normalizing the relations between Korea and Japan had been placed on the order of the day.

As I told him how this problem had been raised, I added to the president of the *Kyodo* News Service: A solution can easily be found to normalize relations between Korea and Japan, if the two countries discuss this problem sincerely on a firm independent footing; talks on the normalization of the relations have not made great progress and disputes may arise between strangers who talk face to face; but as normalization of the relations between Korea and Japan is a common desire of the peoples of the two countries and is based on attempts to establish good-neighbourly relations, the two sides should begin the talks, with pleasing remarks suited to this desire and aim; if one side say words, which irritate the other side, or raise such problems as nuclear inspection, which have nothing to do with the main issue, the talks can only be delayed: if the two sides make concerted efforts to settle the problem of normalizing the relations first and then tackle other issues one after the other, they can find solutions to all problems. The president was very thankful for my words.

The president also asked me about communities and differences between the reunification of Korea and the reunification of the East and West Germany. I answered that we did not oppose the reunification of the East and West Germany and pointed out that the US President Bush did not say anything about the concrete wall dividing the north and south of Korea, although he felt pleased when the Berlin Wall had been pulled down. The presence of the concrete wall in the southern part of the Military Demarcation Line has been widely known in the world, as the international commission

investigating the wall, composed of distinguished personages from various countries, photographed and publicized it. The president said that he had also seen the wall. Nevertheless, Japan and several European countries try not to report this fact, for fear of pressure from the United States. So I told the president that Japan should take an independent stance, without fearing the United States. My answers to the questions raised by him will be published soon.

I repeated that Japan should follow an independent road, when the delegation of sympathetic Diet members from the Japan Liberal Democratic Party paid a visit to our country some years ago. During talks with them, I said that Japan was a country, which does not assert its independence. At that time a young man stood up and asked me how I could say this. Then an old man stood up and refuted him, saying that President Kim Il Sung was right and that he could not say the Japanese people had any independence, when they kowtowed to the Americans so blindly.

I told them that the south Korean “government” had no independence and compared it to a horsehair hat. I said: the south Korean “government” can be compared to a horsehair hat, which Koreans used to wear in the old days; there are two strings on the hat, and when they are bound together, the hat can remain on the head without being blown off; the two strings of the south Korean “regime” comprise the United States and Japan; the “regime” is now maintained by these two strings and will become a useless hat if only one string is cut. When I finished speaking, they applauded me, saying that I was right. Then a young man stood up and said that if the Japan’s string of the two strings of the south Korean “regime” was cut, only America’s string would remain and then the “regime” would collapse, and that they would cut it. Following his words, the head of the group said that they were not powerful now enough to cut Japan’s string once and for all, but they could loosen it by launching a struggle.

I also told them that Japan should not follow the road to militarism. I told them: It would be good if Japan became an economic-power but she should not follow the road to militarism. For many Asian peoples

suffered a lot from the Japanese in the past, the Asian peoples and the peoples from other parts of the world would hate Japan if she embarked on the road of militarism again. As a small island country, Japan is importing most raw materials and fuel. If Japan attempts to become a military power, the progressive nations, including third-world countries, would blockade Japan; then the factories in Japan would stop operating within a few days. A woman, named Ri Hyang Ran, a member of the group, said that all I had said was true and that she fully agreed with me.

Ri was a pretty lady and a good singer when she had been young. As the adopted daughter of a Chinese man, she had had a Chinese name in the past and served for the Japanese Kwantung Army. When I asked her if she was not Ri Hyang Ran, she asked me how I knew her name. I told her that I had known her well since the days when I was waging a guerrilla struggle in the northeastern region of China. During the dinner on that day, the head of the group requested that she sing a Korean song. She replied that she had not prepared a Korean song and would sing it later after preparing properly. Later on she visited our country again and met me; when she asked if she would sing a song, I told her to do so. She sang a Korean song, *Leader, the Night Is Far Advanced*.

When Kanemaru Shin visited our country last year, I also told him that Japan should not embark on the road of militarism. I said: When I met the delegation of sympathetic Diet members from the Japan Liberal Democratic Party years ago, I said that it would not be good for Japan to embark on the road to militarism, and that it was laudable that her politicians had not chosen that path; if she had gone along that road, she would not have become the rich nation as she is today; the United States had claimed in the past that she was the richest country in the world, but she had now become a debtor to Japan; Japan had only become a creditor nation of the United States, because she had not attempted to become a military power; as the United States had invested so much money in the “Star Wars” programme and other arms race projects, she was broke: but as she had not participated in the arms

race, Japan had become a rich nation in the world. If she plans to develop further, she should not embark on the road to militarism in the future: she is now developing the processing industry by importing raw materials and fuel from different countries in the world and, if she becomes a military power and loses her credit in the world, she would be plunged into a far worse situation than the United States; the United States is a big country and has plenty of raw materials and fuel and consequently can manage to survive, even though she loses credit in the world, but Japan cannot if she loses credit, as she is a small country and depends on other countries for raw materials and fuel. He said that I was right when I told the delegation of sympathetic Diet members from the Japan Liberal Democratic Party that Japan should not embark on the path to militarism. He continued that Japan was not taking that road. On his return to Japan, he said that the man he respected most was President Kim Il Sung.

While vigorously engaged in socialist construction, we are now striving to achieve the reunification of the country, which is the greatest desire of our nation. As we achieved national liberation in the past by forming a broad national united front, we will reunify the country via the great unity of the nation.

Many obstacles and difficulties block the path of our people's struggle to reunify the country. All the Korean people in the north, south and abroad unanimously advocate reunification, but the south Korean authorities remain dead set against it.

Ever since last year high-level talks have been held between the north and south. At the talks, our side proposed to the south side that the two sides adopt a nonaggression declaration, emphasizing that there was no reason for both sides not to adopt the declaration, provided that both promised not to invade the other side. When the south side insisted on adopting an agreement on basic relations for reconciliation and collaboration, while rejecting a nonaggression declaration, we proposed once again one document comprising the nonaggression declaration and the agreement on basic relations. The chief delegate of the south rejected adopting the nonaggression

declaration, saying that the issue should be discussed at a summit meeting, rather than at prime ministerial talks; consequently the head of our delegation proposed the compilation of a draft declaration of nonaggression and its submission to the summit meeting, inasmuch as he was taking part in talks authorized by President Kim Il Sung, and the chief delegate from the south by “President” Roh Tae Woo. However, the chief delegate was at a loss, as he knew well that the United States would not agree with the adoption of the declaration. If the declaration was adopted between the north and south, the US troops would have no excuse for remaining in south Korea any longer. Consequently the United States is interfering with the adoption of the declaration, to perpetuate their occupation of south Korea on the lame excuse of checking “southward invasion”. The south Korean authorities can do nothing if the United States opposes.

The high-level talks between the north and south were adjourned owing to the “Team Spirit” joint military exercises launched by the United States and south Korea; we are not in a position to resume the talks now even if we want to. Since the third high-level talks, the “premier” of south Korea has been replaced twice.

The youth and students of south Korea now advocate vigorously the reunification of the country. They include many students who burned themselves to death against the fascist and anti-reunification policies of the south Korean authorities.

The reunification of the country must be achieved in the 1990s at any cost.

You said you had toured many places of the motherland including the Mt. Paektu, Myohyang and Kumgang Mountains, and I think it was a good experience for you.

I think that the ice on the Lake Chon on Mt. Paektu has still not melted. As the temperature in the area around the mountain is low, at the end of May the tree leaves appear, but the ice on the Lake Chon does not melt. At one point the Vice-chairman of Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan–Tr.), who had participated in the celebration of the victorious Pochonbo Battle,

suggested that he climb Mt. Paektu; so we mobilized people to sweep away snow before he went up the mountain. He said that the lake was still frozen at that time. A cable railway is furnished on the mountain now; you reach the top of the mountain easily.

You say the Samjiyon Grand Monument is a masterpiece; it was built up by our Party members and other working people under the leadership of Comrade Kim Jong Il. He took the officials concerned there and gave them personal guidance on the creation of such architectural monument masterpieces as the bronze statue and group sculptures. There is a monument in Taehongdan, too; you should go there on your next occasion.

I am glad to hear that you enjoyed one day on the Myohyang Mountains, touring Sangwon Hermitage and Manphok Valley and taking lunch at the entrance of Habiro. As you said, the mountains are a scenic masterpiece in all aspects. Abbot Sosan, a famous monk of our country, educated himself at Pohyon Temple, saying that he liked the Myohyang Mountains best of all the places in the country. He had been a monk with a high sense of patriotism and ended his life in the mountains. Although he was a Buddhist monk, he organized monk volunteers, involving such a well-known monk as Sa Myong Dang during the Japanese invasion in the year of Imjin (1592) and rendered distinguished military service in the battle to recover the walled city of Pyongyang. The precepts of Buddhism prohibit destruction of animal life, but the abbot punished foreign aggressors mercilessly. King Sonjo, who had taken refuge near Thonggun Pavilion in Uiju from the invasion of the Japanese, highly praised the monk on his return to Seoul and offered him a high government post, but he declined it and returned to the Myohyang Mountains to lead a peaceful life. The mountains are home to Kumgang Cave, which is said to have been the monk's dwelling place.

There are many legends about the Myohyang Mountains. One legend has it that Tangun, the first King of our country, descended from Heaven to the mountains for their scenic beauty and ruled the country. It is said that the Tangun Cave on the mountains was his

residence and that the odd rock on the mountain opposite the Pulyong Temple was used as a target for his archery practice. It is called Chonju Rock.

The Myohyang Mountains have been transformed today into an excellent recreation centre for the working people. Now 3,000-4,000 sightseers, and 5,000 sightseers at the most, visit the mountains each day. Many foreigners come to see the mountains; I have heard how sad they feel when they have to leave the beautiful mountains.

Just after liberation, I had been to Myohyang Mountains, where I found a gold mine which had been operated by the Japanese. If the mine had continued its operation, it might have distorted the scenery of the mountains and polluted the limpid streams. So I ordered that the mine be shut down. The economic officials suggested that we continue running the mine, but at the same time prevent pollution of the streams. I told them that we should earn money from other sources, that we could not exchange the scenic beauty of the mountains with gold extracted from the mine and should not damage the beautiful mountains of the motherland and so we must shut down the mine.

Before liberation, the Japanese imperialists plundered gold by building a gold mine on Myohyang Mountains and also felled big trees on the mountains. They did not allow Koreans to fell a single tree on the mountains, on the pretext of “protecting” the forest, but they felled the trees at random for their use. The Koreans could not protect the mountains properly even if they had wanted to do so, because they were colonial slaves, deprived of their country by the Japanese imperialists. Imperialists resort to every possible means in the pursuit of their own interests. Unlimited domination and plunder is their way of life.

During the Fatherland Liberation War, a lot of historical relics and trees were damaged and burned owing to the indiscriminate bombing of US imperialists. The US planes dropped incendiaries and other bombs at random and burned the trees, so that the Korean People’s Army soldiers could not hide in the mountains. Nearly 40 years have passed since the ceasefire and many trees have grown during this period. Many rainbow trouts flow in the streams along the valleys of

the Myohyang Mountains. Prior to liberation, the Americans mined gold in Unsan and in those days brought fish with them and bred the trout. When the Japanese colonial rule came to an end, our people tried to exterminate the fish in an effort to extinguish all the remnants of the Japanese imperialists. They thought that the rainbow trouts were also brought and bred by the Japanese. The fish were caught indiscriminately after liberation and so very small numbers remained. When I learned of this, I said that imperialism was bad, rather than fish and that there was no reason for exterminating the fish and that we should preserve and increase the numbers of fish; I made sure that the rainbow trouts spread widely. They are now bred in many places in great numbers. As you have been to the Phothae Fish Farm in Samjiyon County, you no doubt know that we are breeding rainbow trout in areas around Mt. Paektu. The fish can be bred in sea water, too. It is a cold water fish and so is difficult to breed in the water, where the temperature is above 20 degrees. It has little fine bones and is very tasty. It is delicious both in seasoned raw fish and in soup.

The Americans who mined gold in Unsan before liberation also brought maize seeds and propagated them; the United States is a country which became rich through maize farming. Of course, our people had cultivated it on a small scale since the old days. Our ancestors planted a little in their kitchen gardens and ate it when it was green. They cultivated millet, sorghum, barnyard grass and the like on a wide scale, which are low-yield crops. A rich harvest of millet amounts to no more than 800 kilogrammes per hectare. But maize is a high-yield crop. After the war I created the slogan, “Maize is the king of dry-field crops!”, and made sure that maize was cultivated on a wide scale. Until then, our farmers had not tried to cultivate maize. I took a great deal of trouble to persuade old peasants who used to only cultivate millet and sorghum. Today nobody considers it irrational to cultivate maize. Maize is planted on a large scale in our country now; its output is 8-9 tons per hectare in plain areas and more than 10 tons in some places. If we process maize skilfully, we can make a variety of foodstuffs.

You were right when you said that the architectural forms of

Korean-style buildings are splendid and their blue-tiled roofs make them look imposing.

During the feudal Ri dynasty, a great neighbour of ours was so chauvinistic that she alone used blue tiles, and prohibited our country from using them. Worse still she did not allow us to roof the Kyongbok and Changdok Palaces with blue tiles. The feudal rulers of the Ri dynasty, worshipping the great power, obeyed her blindly and roofed their royal palace with black tiles.

Nowadays we mass-produce blue tiles. We roofed the monumental, Korean-style buildings, including the Grand People's Study House with the blue tiles we have produced. When the Korean-style buildings are roofed with blue tiles, they look more beautiful from an architectural point of view and more imposing.

You should visit North Hamgyong Province, if you visit the homeland again in future. The province is located in the northeastern part of the country, so it is rather cold there, but it is not colder than in the areas around Mt. Paektu. The weather will be fine nowadays in the province. As it is located along the seashore, the province comprises many scenic spots; the scenery of Mt. Chilbo is extremely beautiful. The mountain is even more attractive owing to its hot springs as well as its scenic beauty. The temperature of the hot springs on the mountain is 60-70 degrees.

I am happy to hear that you have witnessed many things in the motherland on your current visit. I think it is very good that you and your wife are still healthy and have no trouble walking.

You say you are free of disease and that your wife has a trouble with her eyes; if she is experiencing early cataract problems, I advise you to have her cured by using Koryo medicines. The Koryo medicines made from restoratives in our country cure cataracts and prevent cancer and other diseases. Your wife would do well to try Koryo medicines made from restoratives, if Western medicines do not help. The German woman writer Luise Rinser visits our country every year. When she came the first time, she told me she could not see films owing to her bad eyesight. I told her that life would not be enjoyable without seeing

films and that I would instruct our doctors to make Koryo medicines for her. She took these medicines for some years, before her eyesight became better and she is now able to see films. Luise Rinser is a well-known writer involved in the anti-fascist struggle in Germany. She is a household name in Western countries. She said that she would come to our country this year; it will be her 11th visit. She comes to our country in July every year, and rests for about one month at such scenic spots as Mt. Paektu and Kumgang Mountains. Since she began visiting our country, she has never been to south Korea. Apparently the south Koreans shadowed her when she visited south Korea. She said that they shadowed her, a mere writer, and so she would not go there. She now lives in Rome; she is celebrating her 80th birthday this year, so I sent her my gifts.

We can claim that the Koryo medicine of our country is better than Western medicine. The surgical operation and sterilization technology is well developed in Western medicine, but the technology for curing diseases with restoratives is not as developed as in the case of our traditional medicine. A variety of restoratives are used in Koryo medicine in our country. We can claim that Koryo medicine is a preventative medicine.

Our country has the lowest mortality rate in the world. As the section doctor system has been established in our country, preventing people from catching diseases, not many people die of illness. The section doctor system is a system, whereby every doctor is in charge of a certain number of households and calls on houses, making medical examinations and providing preventive treatment. The doctors in our country are responsible for the households under their charge, so that they do not fall ill. This is a positive medical system, which can only be found in our socialist system, where people have become the masters of everything and everything serves them.

When Rev. Kim Song Rak, a Korean resident in America, visited the homeland, I once asked him whether he had received regular medical examination, during talks with him. He replied that a blood pressure examination once cost him a considerable amount of money

in the United States, and so he could not imagine regular medical examinations on his small pension; he continued that owing to his high blood pressure, he bought a tonometer and he and his wife examined each others' blood pressure levels. When I advised him to take a medical examination in our hospital, he expressed his thanks and said that Korea was a paradise, as the President had established a free medical system. When I told him to say grace, before taking lunch with him because he was a minister, he prayed for the long life and good health of President Kim Il Sung, who had built paradise on this land.

I hope you will often come to the homeland in future. You say you are afraid that you will trouble me a lot if you come to the homeland, but you should not think this way. You are my guest and deserve my hospitality.

You said that you could prepare all your travelling expenses and become footloose, if you sold the 30 hectares of land you own in the United States; then, you had better come every year. I miss the comrades of my youth, probably because I am advanced in age. I miss greatly comrades like Cha Kwang Su, who fell while fighting for the revolution with me. In the early days of my revolutionary struggle I made contacts and became acquainted with many people, but later on I could not meet them, as I had been so busy waging the anti-Japanese armed struggle. Since Comrade Kim Jong Il began to lead the Party as a whole, the historical materials of my revolutionary struggle were discovered, arranged into a proper order and made public; many people and materials related to my struggle had been discovered. In the past I had not allowed such work to be done or films dealing with my revolutionary struggle to be produced. About 15 years have passed since the task of finding out and arranging in good order materials concerning my revolutionary activities was launched in real earnest. If this work had been launched earlier, we could have discovered more people and materials related to my activities.

Of the members of the Jilin Association of Korean Children only Hwang Kwi Hon, Kwak Yon Bong and you are still alive. I had not seen Hwang Kwi Hon before the country's liberation since I separated

with her in 1928. I met her immediately after liberation and met her again on her later return to the motherland. She still has such a good memory that she remembers that she met me in 1947. She is good at composing poems. I once read a poem she wrote and sent to me.

I hope that you come to the homeland every year so that we can share our past experiences.

When you come to the homeland on the occasion of my 80th birthday as you said you would, please come with your wife. It would be ideal if you could bring your son and daughters with you when you come next year.

Apparently your wife thought that she could meet her elder brother, Mr. Ri Yu Song, on her current visit to the motherland, but unfortunately he passed away. I was told that it was impossible to cure him, as he was too old and had suffered from cirrhosis of the liver. A Korean artiste in the United States who took part in the April Spring Friendship Art Festival this year called at his house to see him, but at that time he was in a comatose state. Curing liver cirrhosis is considered difficult even for modern medicine.

Although he passed away, Mr. Ri Yu Song rendered distinguished service in the education of the rising generation. He volunteered for the Korean People's Army during the Fatherland Liberation War and followed our Party as a member of the KPA Song and Dance Ensemble. He taught at Pyongyang University of Music and Dance for a long time, training many talented artists. He enjoyed the love of the Party and people, because he carried out his revolutionary duty with credit. You said that his wife had asked you to convey her regards to me when you saw me; she was also an artiste.

As you consider me your elder brother, it will be great if you celebrate your 80th birthday in the homeland. Your birthday, August 11, occurs just before August 15 liberation day, when the weather is good in our country. On that occasion I will arrange your birthday party with the due sincerity I would display for my younger brother. You can also take this opportunity to relax in the homeland and go fishing sometimes.

When it is difficult to travel at your advanced age, after visiting the homeland every year, you can take up permanent residence in the homeland. It would be good for us to live together in the homeland. As I am now too old, I entrusted the general affairs of the Party and state to Comrade Kim Jong Il and take charge of mostly foreign affairs, dealing with only important matters by discussing them with him. Some people say I can live for more than 100 years, because I am healthy; I think I can work 10 more years.

You are two years younger than me, but your hair has turned grey. Apparently your family is one, where hair turns grey early. Even now only some of my hair is grey. By nature, my family members do not go grey easily, but I have gone grey.

You said that the daughter of Ri Yu Song and her husband expressed a wish to come for my 80th birthday. You can convey my invitation to them. I also welcome a Doctor of Medicine living in the United States who wants to come to our country. Now that the United States does not restrict Koreans from visiting their homeland, everyone who wants to visit the motherland is able to do so. We will always welcome our compatriots in the United States, who want to visit their motherland.

Please remind me to Son In Sil when you meet her. She is 74 years old now and that is an advanced age.

Thank you for singing the song *Nostalgia*. As a token of our current meaningful meeting, I prepared as a gift a wristwatch with my name inscribed on it. Of course. I prepared other gifts, but I am going to strap the watch on your wrist myself. I will present you and your wife with the watches with my name inscribed on them, because I hope you will remember me as your eternal friend. Please write to me often on your return.

**TALK TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION
OF NATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEES
AND PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR-GENERAL
OF THE PUBLISHING ORGANIZATION
OF MEXICO AND HIS PARTY**

June 5, 1991

I warmly welcome you and your party, who have come such a long way to visit our country.

I met you for the first time when you visited our country in May 1988. I am very glad to meet you again today.

I am sorry that I am meeting you in a province, not in Pyongyang. I enjoy visiting provinces frequently and guiding work in the field. I spend ten days a month in Pyongyang and 20 days working in the provinces. This means I give field guidance to each province for about 20 days a year. At the moment I am in this province, guiding the work of the province and its counties.

You said you want to know my opinion on the political and economic affairs of our country, international issues, sports issues and the question of Korea's reunification, a matter of international concern; I am ready to answer your questions.

I have not prepared any answers. I shall just speak my mind when you raise questions.

Question: First of all, Your Excellency, Mr. President, I want to know the major successes your people have achieved and the difficulties they have

faced in the course of achieving these successes.

Answer: The tasks facing the Workers' Party of Korea and Government of the DPRK are, first, to successfully build socialism in the northern half of Korea; second, to bring the south Korean people to their national consciousness and rally the whole nation as one to realize the independent and peaceful reunification of the country; and third, to strengthen solidarity with all the anti-imperialist, independent forces of the world and build a free, peaceful new world.

Before anything else, we have striven to build socialism successfully in the northern half of Korea.

The fighting goal we put forward was to build a completely socialist and sovereign state whose guiding ideology is the Juche idea, a state which is politically independent, economically self-sufficient and self-reliant in national defence.

In order to build a socialist, independent state, we put most of our effort into strengthening the Party and rallying all people firmly around the Party.

When building a new Korea after liberation we first founded the Communist Party. Nevertheless, people lacked a correct understanding of the Communist Party owing to the aftermath of the evil propaganda against communism the Japanese imperialists had spread so widely in the past. So we merged the Communist Party with the New Democratic Party to found the Workers' Party, a mass political party of the working people.

Developing the Communist Party into the Workers' Party, we defined working intellectuals, along with workers and peasants, as a component of the Party and an important driving force of the revolution. Our Party emblem bears a hammer, a sickle and a writing brush; the writing brush symbolizes intellectuals. That the working intellectuals are a component of the Party along with the workers and peasants is the special aspect by which our Party differs from the communist parties of other countries.

After founding the Party, we vigorously promoted the work of the

united front to rally the broad sections of the masses around the Party.

In a speech I delivered to the people immediately after liberation I pronounced the slogan, "To contribute positively to the work of building the state, let those with strength give strength, those with knowledge give knowledge and those with money give money." I put forward this slogan with the aim of making the masses from all walks of life rally and contribute their strength and wisdom to the building of a new society.

The work of the united front in our country started in the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. I started the revolutionary struggle after forming the Down-with-Imperialism Union in 1926. Since the first day I started the revolutionary struggle I have ever served the people and fought by relying on them. Revolution is an undertaking for the masses of the people, so one cannot emerge victorious in the revolution without organizing and enlisting them. The essential thing is to organize and enlist them in a proper way. In the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle we founded the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland to organize the masses and enlist them in the struggle against Japanese imperialism. The ARF was an anti-Japanese national united front organization involving broad masses from various social levels. By founding the ARF and rallying the broad masses, we could advance the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle to a fresh stage.

As we formed the national united front by inheriting these traditions after liberation, we could rally the masses firmly around the Party and push forward the struggle to build an independent, sovereign state and reunify the country.

We still perform the work of the united front. Intensifying and developing the national united front is a consistent policy of our Party. We will continue to adhere to the policy of a national united front until we have realized the reunification of the country and the complete victory of socialism.

All the people in our country today have rallied firmly around the Party and their leader and live like members of one family. To have

fully achieved the single-hearted unity of the leader, Party and the masses is our great victory.

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

In order to build an independent, sovereign state and realize the complete victory of socialism, ideological, technological and cultural revolutions should be promoted. From the first days of building a new society after liberation we have carried out these three revolutions, and, with the establishment of the socialist system, we set the three revolutions as a main task of socialist construction.

The most important of the three revolutions is ideological revolution. Ideological revolution is an undertaking imbuing all members of the society with the Juche idea, socialist patriotism and the socialist and communist ideas that serve the people. In other words, it is an undertaking of transforming all people into communist men armed with the Juche idea of our Party and the collectivist idea of “One for all and all for one”.

We ensure that all members of society receive ideological education through organizational life. There is no one in our country who does not lead an organizational life. Every one in our country lives his or her life in certain organizations. They lead a political life and receive ideological education—Party members in Party organizations, trade union members in trade union organizations, members of the Union of Agricultural Working People in UAWP organizations, members of the League of Socialist Working Youth in LSWY organizations and members of the Children’s Union in CU organizations. Tomorrow is the 6th of June, the day when the Children’s Union was founded. All members of our society are arming themselves firmly with the Juche idea.

Technological revolution occupies an important place in the three

revolutions. The fundamental thing in this revolution is to extensively introduce machinery, automation and electronic devices in as many fields as possible so as to free the people from hard physical labour. By promoting the technological revolution we are going to liberate our people, who have been freed from exploitation and oppression, from backbreaking labour and further eliminate the distinctions between mental and physical labour. When machinery, automation and electronic devices are widely used so that machines perform labour in the place of man, then the differences between mental and physical labour will have been eliminated.

In our country today we have the working class and the peasantry; only when class differences between the working class and peasantry are eliminated can a classless society be established.

I made public the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* long ago. The basic tasks of the technological revolution set forth in these theses are to introduce irrigation, electricity, machinery and chemicals widely in the rural economy. When we further consolidate and develop the successes we have achieved so far in irrigation and electrification and complete the introduction of machinery and chemicals, peasants will be working six to eight hours a day like workers and the differences between workers' and peasants' labour conditions will be eliminated.

We are now engaged in a project to introduce gas and central heating to rural villages. When this project is finished, the differences between urban and rural communities in living conditions will also be eliminated.

When the class difference between the working class and the peasantry and the difference in living conditions between urban and rural communities are eliminated, a classless society will be established, as Marx predicted.

At present socialist construction is being promoted successfully in our country. Under the banner of the three revolutions our people will dynamically push ahead socialist construction and thereby consummate the cause of socialism and communism.

The main difficulty we have faced in the course of building a new society is the division of the country. The division of the country imposed by foreign forces has been the greatest obstacle on the road of our people's struggle to build a new society.

Our country has been divided since the end of the Second World War. Shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet army, the Korean People's Revolutionary Army defeated the Japanese imperialist aggressors and liberated the country. After liberation the Soviet army marched to north Korea and the US army was stationed in south Korea. The former soon withdrew, entrusting everything to the Korean people, but the latter occupied south Korea instead of withdrawing. In this way was Korea divided.

Question: Mr. President, what is the industrial production situation in the northern half of Korea today? I also want to know how construction is being conducted in your country.

Answer: We are now carrying out the Third Seven-Year Plan.

The target of the Third Seven-Year Plan is to produce in the last year of the long-term plan 100,000 million kwh of electricity, 120 million tons of coal, 10 million tons of steel, 1.7 million tons of non-ferrous metals, 22 million tons of cement, 7.2 million tons of chemical fertilizer, 1,500 million metres of cloth, 11 million tons of seafood and 15 million tons of grain.

We envisage building 1.2-1.5 million flats in the period of the Third Seven-Year Plan. To attain this target we build about 200,000 flats every year.

At present we are making efforts to build 50,000 flats in Pyongyang. No one in the city is homeless, but some live in one-room flats. In order to ensure that the people of Pyongyang all live in three-, four- and five-roomed modern flats, Comrade Kim Jong Il took the initiative of building 50,000 flats in Pyongyang to mark my 80th birthday and is guiding the project. It is not long since the initiative was taken, but the building workers faithful to the Party's leadership scored

the success of building 30,000 flats last year. When the 50,000 flats are finished Pyongyang's citizens will lead happy lives in modern dwelling houses.

I was told that the most difficult problem in the world is that of shelter. The problem is still felt even in developed capitalist countries.

The slogan we set to improve the people's standard of living is to ensure that everyone, without exception, lives on rice and meat soup, wears silk clothes and lives in tile-roofed houses, freed from the differences between rich and poor. When the Third Seven-Year Plan is fulfilled, our country will rank with the advanced countries in terms of economic development and the standard of living of our people will reach that of rich peasants.

Question: I want to know, Mr. President, the amount of grain produced in your country, the amount exported, and the rate of economic growth.

Answer: Our country produces 10 million tons of grain a year. We export 1.5-2 million tons of rice and import wheat and maize.

The average economic growth rate of our country in recent years is 8 per cent a year. Some years it is about 10 per cent but on the average it is 8 per cent.

You say this is quite high; frankly speaking, it is not easy to develop the economy by 8 per cent a year. The high growth rate of our economy is achieved solely by the efforts of our people. We do not develop with loans from other countries. We take the course of self-reliance in economic construction. As we are building and developing an independent national economy in this way, we are able to construct large projects with credit.

Question: The United States, Canada and Mexico recently agreed to create a free trade zone. The member states of the Andes Union agreed to create a similar free trade zone. I want to know if you, Mr. President, have the idea of creating such a free trade zone in Asia.

Answer: I was told that some people in Asia recently proposed creating a free trade zone. I have not yet thought about this.

They say that the Japanese proposed creating a “Rim-Sea of Japan Economic Sphere” involving Japan, Korea, China and the Soviet Union. It seems to me this is just a rumour. It is too early for such a zone. I have never thought of our country participating in this.

Question: Some time ago the unification of East and West Germany was realized. What do you think about the issue of Korea’s reunification?

Until some time ago high-level talks were held between the north and south of Korea. What do you think about this matter?

Answer: The Korean people are a homogeneous nation that have lived in one territory for thousands of years with the same culture and language. Therefore, Korea must be reunified. A homogeneous nation with a long history cannot be artificially divided forever. Making the division permanent is a great crime.

Two trends of thought now stand opposed to one another on the issue of Korea’s reunification; one is to reunify the divided country and the other is to make the nation’s division permanent and thus make our country “two Koreas”. The absolute majority of our nation aspire after the country’s reunification. A tiny handful of people instigated by the US authorities are attempting to divide our country permanently into two.

We are going to reunify the country at any cost. The south Korean people also aspire after the reunification of the country. It is only the south Korean authorities who are opposed to reunification.

We intend to realize the reunification of the country through federation as suited to the desires and aspirations of the all the Korean people. Our policy of reunification through federation aims at establishing one federal state, leaving the two systems and governments existing in the north and south intact on the principle of one side neither conquering nor being conquered by the other. In other words, we plan to reunify the country through federation based on one

nation, one state, two systems and two governments. The question of reunification of our country cannot, and should not, be solved by one side conquering the other. As two different systems exist in the north and south, we think that there is no way other than reunification through federation to peacefully solve the issue of the country's reunification.

The United States is opposed to our country's reunification through federation. As I have said on several occasions, the US President cheered the demolition of the Berlin Wall, but he does not utter a word on whether or not the concrete wall in the south of the Military Demarcation Line in our country should be demolished. The United States wants south Korea to swallow north Korea, just as West Germany annexed East Germany through absorption. But the reunification in our country will never be realized in that way.

As for the north-south high-level talks, they have been suspended owing to the obstructive manoeuvres of the US and south Korean authorities.

When starting the talks, we made three proposals to the south Korean authorities: first, the people who visited the north be released; second, the "Team Spirit" joint military exercises conducted by the United States and south Korea every year be suspended; and third, the issue of entering the United Nations as a single member be solved through discussion between the north and south. The south Korean authorities, however, did not accept any of the proposals. They have not released the delegate of the National Council of Student Representatives of south Korea who participated in the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students and other people whom they threw behind bars for visiting the northern half of Korea. This year they also conducted the "Team Spirit" joint military exercises against the north, neglecting our proposal that they suspend the exercises only while the north-south high-level talks were in progress. Consequently, the talks, which had taken so much effort to get going, were suspended. Peaceful talks for the country's reunification have no chance of success if one side has an ulterior motive.

Question: Mr. President, the US people say that they would withdraw some of their troops stationing in south Korea. Do you think this would be beneficial for Korea's reunification?

Answer: The US troops withdrawing from south Korea would, of course, be beneficial for the reunification of our country. If the United States withdraws its troops from south Korea while the north and south establish a federal state, it is welcome; it will be all the more welcome if it withdraws them before then.

We proposed long ago that north and south adopt a nonaggression declaration and radically reduce their troops to 100,000 or less. With the adoption of a nonaggression declaration between the north and south and a phased reduction of their troops, US troops should also be progressively reduced; when the troops of the north and south are reduced to less than 100,000, the United States should withdraw all its troops from south Korea, remove all its nuclear weapons and abolish its military bases there.

During the north-south high-level talks we again proposed adopting a nonaggression declaration between the north and south, but the south Korean authorities rejected our proposal; they proposed exchanges in the fields of trade, transport and communications between the north and south. So we suggested adopting a nonaggression declaration and also realizing exchanges in trade, transport and communications between the north and south. The south Korean authorities did not accept this proposal of ours, either. Apparently, the US is pressuring them not to adopt the nonaggression declaration as it would deprive them of any excuse to remain in south Korea.

Question: Mr. President, do you have any intention to meet Roh Tae Woo of south Korea?

Answer: I will meet any one if it is for the reunification of the country. The man in authority in south Korea said he wanted to meet me and I have said on several occasions that I would meet him, so I will

meet him when conditions are ripe.

For the summit talks between the north and south, he and I should sit face to face with reunification proposals. We have a clear-cut proposal—that the country should be reunified through federation based on one nation, one state, two systems and two governments. However, the man in authority in south Korea has no proposal as to how to achieve the country’s reunification. To meet me, he ought to advance his own proposal for reunification. If he sits face to face with me without any clear reunification proposal and speaks empty words drinking tea, then it will be of no avail. The prime ministers of both sides have met several times, but they have achieved no success because the south Korean side came to the meeting without any clear-cut reunification proposal.

I met the south Korean “prime minister” last year when he came to Pyongyang for the north-south high-level talks. I said to him: Your “President” said he wants to see me and I am going to meet him; if he wants to see me, he should come with a proposal to reunify the country for it is necessary to discuss his proposal to see whether we can accept it or not. The man in power in south Korea has not advanced any clear proposal for the country’s reunification; instead, he repeatedly insists on conducting exchanges between the north and south. These other issues can be fully solved without going to the length of holding summit talks.

Question: Mr. President, when receiving the President of the *Kyodo* News Service of Japan, you said to him that it was excellent that a Japanese politician had volunteered to act as a bridge in improving relations between the DPRK and the United States. Do you wish a third country to play the role of intermediary in realizing Korea’s reunification?

Answer: The Korean question is, to all intents and purposes, an internal problem of the Korean nation, so it should be settled by the Korean people themselves. If the countries neighbouring ours create conditions favourable to achieving the country’s reunification by the

joint effort of the north and south, then I will welcome it. For all that, the issue of national reunification should be settled by the joint effort of the north and south.

As long ago as in 1972 the north and south made public the July 4 Joint Statement of the North and South. It stipulates that the country's reunification should be realized on the principles of independence, peace and great national unity. Owing to the obstructive manoeuvres of the United States and south Korean authorities, a great obstacle and difficulties now lie on the road of national reunification. Despite this, our people will achieve the country's independent and peaceful reunification through the united effort of the whole nation.

Question: Mr. President, I was very happy to see the north and south joint team playing at the 41st World Table Tennis Championships held in Japan recently. Do you intend to form a combined north and south team again for the 25th Olympic Games in Barcelona?

Answer: Officials concerned in the north and south are now holding discussions on the issue of taking part in the Barcelona Olympic Games as a single team. If there is no great change in the future, the north and south will form a single team to take part in the 25th Olympic Games in Barcelona.

Question: In some East European countries socialist governments have been toppled and they are experiencing many difficulties because of severed cooperation with large countries. Mr. President, please tell me how the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea views these changes in the international situation.

Answer: Socialist governments in some East European countries have been toppled because of the mistakes of the people of these countries.

First of all, they lacked conviction in socialism. This being the case, they entertained illusions about capitalism and thought that the West

would feed them. This was misguided. They lacked conviction in socialism because the socialism established in their countries had not been chosen by themselves nor had it been built by their own efforts. Their countries had been liberated by the Soviet army during the Second World War and afterwards they began to build socialism after the model of the Soviet Union.

You wondered whether the socialism that had been established in East European countries was imposed; in a sense it was imposed, but it was also imported from another country. The East European countries did not maintain independence in building socialism; they mechanically copied another country. Consequently, it was said that when it rained in Moscow, the people in the East European countries walked under umbrellas even though it was not raining in their countries.

Needless to say, one can learn from the experiences of other countries in the course of building socialism. However, one should introduce it not mechanically but in a way that suits the actual realities of one's country. I always say to our officials that, if they are thinking of introducing the experience of another country, they should first chew it over to see whether or not it suits the realities of our country and swallow it if it is to the liking of their stomach or spit it out if it does not. The East European countries swallowed the other's experience whole without first chewing it to see whether or not it suited their realities. Subsequently, they caught stomach disease. That they failed to conduct the revolution and construction in their own fashion and mechanically copied others is a major reason why their socialist governments have been toppled.

In addition, the rulers in these countries resorted to bureaucratism, which was contrary to the requirements of socialism and the people's interests. Subjectivism and bureaucratism are taboo in socialist society. The economy in capitalist countries is based on individual management, so their rulers indulging in bureaucratism does not greatly affect the management of the economy. But since the socialist economy is based on collectivist management, the leading officials of

the state can do a lot of damage if they are given to subjectivism and bureaucratism. Worse still, they would be divorced from the people if out of bureaucratism they impose unwanted things upon them, encroaching upon their interests. This is why officials in socialist society must not resort to subjectivism and bureaucratism. If subjectivism is given free rein, it entails bureaucratism. Socialist governments have been toppled in the East European countries because their rulers indulged in bureaucratism.

Question: What is the basic principle that should be maintained in building socialism?

Answer: The basic principle that should be maintained in building socialism is, in a word, independence. Each country should build socialism independently. The actual situation, custom and traditions differ from one country to another, so one should perform socialist construction in one's own fashion. In other words, socialism should be built to suit the aspirations and demands of one's people.

We have built a socialism of our own style that suits the aspirations and demands of our people. So our socialism is advancing triumphantly, unperturbed in the turbulent international situation. Our people are living happily and carefree in a socialist society built by our own efforts. In the United States, which is said to have the world's most highly developed economy, many homeless people have to sleep on the street; you can find no such people in our country.

Some time ago, the 85th Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union was held in our country. Some people attending the Conference attempted to abuse and slander our socialist system. In order to acquaint themselves with how our people live, some of them visited people's homes; others shared meals with our people at the Taesongsan Pleasure Ground. They found our people eating rice and the rooms furnished with all the necessary furniture. After witnessing how our people are living, they said that just like Columbus had discovered the American Continent, they discovered on this occasion

a new country called Korea.

Question: Mr. President, how do you rate President Gorbachev?

Answer: I only wish everything could be good in the Soviet Union. I am neither a journalist nor a commentator. So I do not want to comment on him. I do not think it is advisable to appraise the president of a country.

Question: Mr. President, I think it is necessary that Mexico and the DPRK establish a close relationship by developing exchanges in several fields, including trade, culture and sport. How do you think about it?

Answer: I fully agree with your opinion that the two countries should develop a relationship. As they are far away from one another geographically, they have not so far conducted brisk exchanges. You say that you would make strenuous efforts to ensure the opening of a trade mission or a trade office of our country in Mexico, and I am grateful for that. If such a mission or an office is established in your country, then it will be beneficial for developing trade between our two countries.

I hope that relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries will develop in all fields of politics, the economy and culture.

If you have no more questions, I am going to finish my talk with you.

I would like you to convey the greetings of the Korean people to your people on your return to Mexico.

You say you are going to Cuba on June 26; on your visit to Cuba please remember me to Comrade Fidel Castro.

I think highly of Comrade Fidel Castro.

He is a revolutionary with unshakable revolutionary faith and profound loyalty. As an expression of solidarity with the Korean people, he saw to it that Cuba did not attend the 24th Olympic Games held in Seoul. A man without unshakable conviction and profound

loyalty cannot perform such a deed. Comrade Fidel Castro is fighting staunchly with imperialism under the slogan, "Socialism or death, we will win!" He says that he will defend socialism even if Cuba were to sink beneath the sea. This shows how strong are his revolutionary faith and will.

Comrade Fidel Castro is not only strong in will but is also a man of the people. He is always among the people; that is most laudable. A man who mixes with the people is not liable to make mistakes. If he mixes with the people, learning from them and teaching them, he does not make mistakes.

Korea and Cuba will hold fast to the banner of socialism to the last.

US President Bush is now trying to force the peoples of Korea and Cuba to abandon socialism, thinking that socialism's days are numbered; but he cannot destroy the faith in socialism that is rooted in the hearts of our people. If one forces the people who lack faith in socialism to abandon socialism, it may make sense, but it cannot with the people who have a strong faith in it and enjoy genuine happiness in socialist society. The United States should improve its relations with Korea and Cuba, both socialist countries, and get along well with them. The people of each country have the right to choose the social system that conforms with their opinion and interests.

I am convinced that the flag of socialism will one day fly across the world.

We met three years ago and we have met again today, having a heart-to-heart talk, so we have become old friends. I would like you to visit our country frequently. Then we will become more and more acquainted.

I am sure we will remain good friends.

TALK TO THE PRESIDENT OF CAMBODIA

June 18, 1991

Today is the 55th birthday of Her Royal Highness Madame Monique Sihanouk, our close friend. I would like to extend my warm congratulations to you, Madame Monique Sihanouk.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I would also like to offer my congratulations to you, Your Royal Highness Norodom Sihanouk, on being elected Chairman of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia.

Madame Sihanouk, you have devoted half your life to His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. You have warmly loved him as a woman and helped him self-sacrificingly. We are greatly moved by your active assistance in his work as his intimate friend, his comrade and as his wife.

You have also done a lot of work for the friendship between the peoples of Korea and Cambodia.

Twenty-six years have elapsed since we became acquainted with you and Your Royal Highness. I met you both for the first time in Jakarta in 1965, and we met each other again on your visit to our country in the same year. Since then, we have been getting along like brothers.

I have cherished affection for you, Madame Monique Sihanouk, regarding you as my own sister. Many years have passed since our first meeting and your appearance has changed a lot; your hair is getting grey. But our friendship will never change. You are celebrating your

55th birthday in Pyongyang, but you will enjoy your 60th birthday in Phnom Penh. I hope to go to Phnom Penh to congratulate you on that occasion.

You, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, will celebrate your 70th birthday next year. I will prepare for your 70th birthday so that you can celebrate it in Pyongyang. If you celebrate your 70th birthday in Phnom Penh, it would be good for me to go there.

Korea is geographically far away from Cambodia, but the two countries formed an anti-imperialist common front long ago and have fought shoulder to shoulder for independence, sovereignty and peace. On the one road of struggle for anti-imperialist independence, sovereignty and peace, we have cemented our friendship as brothers, comrades and comrades-in-arms and closely cooperated with each other; in the course of this, the relations between our two countries have developed favourably. While in power, you, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, recognized the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as the only lawful government of the Korean people and drove out the south Korean consul-general from Phnom Penh. You and Madame Sihanouk have always given active support to our people's just cause of national reunification. We in turn have extended consistent and active support to the just struggle of the Cambodian people.

Your Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, you have just made heart-warming remarks for me and said your stand of supporting our people's cause of national reunification will not change; I am grateful for this.

At present, the south Korean authorities are proposing to hold a summit meeting between the north and the south. In other words, the man in power in south Korea wants to have talks with me. I said that I do not object to holding such a meeting. I have already invited him to Pyongyang on several occasions.

If the man in power in south Korea wants to come to Pyongyang to see me, he must bring with him a proposal for reunifying the country. But he has nothing to propose. We have already advanced many reasonable proposals for national reunification, but he has advanced

none. He just wants to conclude a “three-way agreement”—effecting exchange of goods, travel and correspondence between the north and the south, leaving the present division intact. So we responded to the south Korean authorities: it is, of course, necessary to effect these exchanges, but we must first create an atmosphere conducive to effecting such exchanges. They should not arrest and put in prison patriotic young people, students and the people who visited the north. They should desist from holding the “Team Spirit” joint military exercise. Needless to say, the south Korean authorities have not met either of these requests. They have put in jail the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan, whom they released unwillingly from prison during the north-south high-level talks, and continue to hold the “Team Spirit” joint military exercise. The “Team Spirit” joint military exercise is a nuclear test war aimed at driving our people into a nuclear holocaust. This means in the long run that the man in power in south Korea would come to see me holding a dagger in his bosom. If that is the case, his coming will be of no avail. So I said that, if he wished to come to Pyongyang, he should first get rid of the dagger. He has made no response to my remark.

With regard to our country’s entry to the UN, we hold the stand that solving this problem should help realize the reunification of Korea. Our stand in principle on the issue of our country’s entry to the UN is to enter it under the name of a single country after reunification through federation and, if the north and the south are to enter it before reunification, they should share one seat in it. However, disregarding our reasonable proposal, the south Korean authorities insist that south Korea alone should be admitted in the UN. The Korean people are a homogeneous nation that has lived on the same land for a long time. Why should the north and the south enter the UN separately? South Korea’s attempt to enter the UN unilaterally when the reunification of Korea is yet to be achieved is, in the final analysis, aimed at obstructing the reunification of the country and perpetuating the national division.

As the south Korean authorities proclaimed that they would enter the UN separately, we issued a statement of the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs a few days ago declaring that we are entering the UN. In the statement we made it clear that the attempt of the south Korean authorities to apply for UN membership unilaterally is aimed at dividing one Korea into two permanently through the UN arena and the south Korean authorities will have to answer to history and the nation for this criminal act. We also pointed out that at the present stage we could not but take the road of applying for UN membership, just to break through the temporary difficulties created by the south Korean authorities. We are going to leave in the annals of history that the south Korean authorities are entirely accountable for the proposed separate entry to the UN by the north and the south, and that this is contrary to the desire of our nation before entering the UN. Many countries support our decision to apply for membership in the UN.

The United States is now claiming that our country should undergo nuclear inspection, spreading the false rumour that we are producing atomic bombs.

We have no intention or ability to produce atomic bombs. We do not object to a nuclear inspection. We are ready to undergo the inspection on the condition that impartiality is ensured in the process. Our stand in principle on the nuclear inspection is that the inspection should not be made only of our country, which has no nuclear weapons, but that an international inspection should be made simultaneously of the US nuclear bases in south Korea after making them known to the public. The Americans have not said that they do not keep nuclear weapons in south Korea. It is a truth well-known to the world that over one thousand nuclear weapons of the United States have been deployed in south Korea. Their explosive power is 1,000 times greater than that of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The United States deployed a large number of nuclear weapons in south Korea not only to invade the northern half of Korea but also to attack the Soviet Union. In view of the fact that the Soviet Union and the United States have reconciled and stated that they no longer regard one another as enemies, there is now no reason for the United States to

keep nuclear weapons in south Korea.

Today young people and students in south Korea are fighting bravely to get the US nuclear weapons removed from south Korea. Quite a few people in the United States also contend that the US nuclear weapons should be withdrawn from south Korea. The chairman of the Asia-Pacific Affairs Sub-committee of the US Foreign Affairs Committee has insisted on the withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from south Korea. The United States will not be able to hold out unless it pulls its nuclear weapons out of south Korea.

I was told that the former consul-general of south Korea who was expelled from Phnom Penh later went into exile in the United States. Many people from south Korea emigrate there. Koreans living in the United States now number more than one million. The number will further increase in the future, I was told. The number of south Korean people emigrating to the United States is now on the increase. There are also many Koreans resident in Japan; they number 700,000.

Some days ago I met a Korean compatriot who holds American citizenship. He is my friend. I last saw him when I was 16 years old. His father is the Rev. Son Jong Do, a friend of my father's. The Rev. Son served a prison term with my father for their involvement in the "case of 105 people". His son came to see me after a lapse of over 60 years. I had a pleasant meeting with him. He told me much about the present state of affairs in America; according to him, he had long wished to visit the motherland, but he could not owing to the obstructive schemes of the US administration. He said that the US administration now permits Korean compatriots in America to visit our country.

The number of countries wishing to keep friendly relations with our country is ever increasing.

The Philippines has recently been trying to establish diplomatic relations with our country. A delegation of the Philippine Parliament headed by the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Lower House of the Philippines visited our country last year. I did not intend to grant an audience to the head of the delegation because our

country has no diplomatic relations with the Philippines. But he continually asked for an audience with me, saying that he would play an important role in establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries; so I met him. A few days ago the President of the Philippines granted an audience to a vice-premier of the Administration Council of our country who was on a visit to the Philippines. During his sojourn the vice-premier held talks with the Foreign Minister of the Philippines and made public a joint statement. Apparently, diplomatic relations will soon be established between our country and the Philippines.

The relations between our country and Thailand are developing favourably. Recently the Princess of Thailand visited our country. The Thai King's sister visited our country a few years ago and on her return she advised the Princess to visit Korea, so the Princess visited our country.

The present state of socialist construction in our country is good.

Our country has good crops every year. The weather forecast predicts that it will rain this afternoon; this will be good for the farmers. This year's crop situation in our country is not bad. We gather a bumper harvest every year because of extensive irrigation. We have built an excellent irrigation network and the country has plentiful water resources.

An important matter in building socialism is to believe in one's own strength and do everything by relying on one's own strength. From the outset we have built socialism by our own efforts, giving rein to the spirit of self-reliance. After liberating the country we established Kim Il Sung University and met by our own efforts the shortage of native cadres, a difficult problem that arose in building a new, democratic Korea; we also solved all the problems that faced us in socialist construction by applying the principle of self-reliance.

This is a past thing: at one point the Soviets brought heavy pressure to bear upon us to apply for membership in the CMEA. They claimed that, if our country entered the CMEA, they would permit us to use electricity produced by the Bratsk Hydroelectric Power Station situated in the vicinity of Lake Baikal. I told them: We will not use

electricity generated by the power station; if we become dependent on electricity from you and then you fail to supply it, then we would suffer greatly; if we have funds for transmission cables from the power station to our country, it would be more effective for us to use these funds to build another hydroelectric power station in our country. It has become more clear today that our decision to build socialism by our own efforts on the principle of self-reliance and not enter the CMEA was quite correct.

The countries that still hold fast to the banner of socialism are China, Cuba and our country. The United States has ruined the East European socialist countries with the strategy of “peaceful transition”. It once made an attempt to do so with China, but the latter took a decisive countermeasure and now it does not dare provoke China.

The United States is also waiting for social unrest to break out in our country, but it is a foolish dream. Our style of socialism, which our people have built with their own strength and in accordance with their own conviction, is strong, and our society is very stable. This is recognized by all foreigners who visit our country.

Not long ago the 85th Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union was held in our country. Among the delegates to the conference were people who had heard much evil propaganda against our country. Some of them went to a place where our people were enjoying a picnic and shared a meal with them; they even visited our people’s homes, only to fail to find any fault. After witnessing the happy life our people were enjoying, they said it was as if they had found a new country. According to our officials who attended the conference, some foreign delegates, who had prepared a long speech abusive of us before coming to our country, discarded it after witnessing the realities in our country and wrote another.

Many actors and actresses famous in our country are present here. Comrade Kim Jong Il ensured that they attend this function to congratulate Her Royal Highness Madame Monique Sihanouk on her 55th birthday.

Our artists are sound in their ideology. They give publicity to our

Party's ideas through art activities. I think that is a good thing.

Your Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk said that Comrade Kim Jong Il is very loyal and filial to me; you are right. Comrade Kim Jong Il is extremely devoted to me. He spares nothing for my health.

He also takes a good care of the veteran revolutionaries who waged revolution with me, not forgetting them for even a moment. Though he does not take a day of rest all the year round, he sends them to rest homes so that they can enjoy relaxation. I am very satisfied with this. It is filial piety towards me that he takes constant care of the comrades whom I treasure and love and who fought for the revolution with me.

Comrade Kim Jong Il is boundlessly faithful to the country and people. He works devoting his all for the prosperity of the country, for the happiness of the people and for the completion of the revolutionary cause of Juche.

No bureaucratism is found in his work and his love for his comrades is very warm. He visits his comrades on their birthdays, including their 60th birthdays, and honours the memory of their comrades on memorial days. I am very pleased with his treasuring and cherishing of his comrades.

Treasuring and cherishing comrades is apparently the history of my family. My father and mother made much of their comrades and cherished them. My grandfather, too, always saying that a comrade is precious, instructed that one should love one's comrades. They taught me much about the preciousness of comrades. This is why I have come to treasure and love comrades. I have carried out the revolution for scores of years, from my childhood until now, but I have never forgotten my comrades for even a moment. I have dared any danger if it was for the sake of my comrades.

My comrades have cherished me with sincerity. It is thanks to their trust and love that I am still engaged in the revolution and in good health. In the arduous days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle they did not hesitate to sacrifice even their lives to defend me. When we were fighting against Japanese imperialism we had neither country nor

power, but the revolutionaries fought stoutly, trusting in me. If they had gone back home, they would have had an easy life. But they fought against the Japanese imperialists in the deep forests of Mt. Paektu, following me to the end. In order to make the men of the anti-Japanese guerrilla army surrender, the Japanese imperialists at one point inveigled writers and scholars, including Ri Kwang Su and Choe Nam Son, into writing leaflets under joint signature and scattered them over the mountains. The leaflets read that the anti-Japanese guerrilla army, small in number, would not be able to defeat the powerful Japanese army, comparing it to a drop in the ocean. The leaflets also carried tricky photographs of an erstwhile soldier of the guerrilla army who had run away from the mountain to his house, married a pretty girl and was leading a happy life. In those days Japanese imperialists carried out all manner of evil propaganda—that the anti-Japanese guerrillas, having nothing to eat, were eating grass roots. The guerrillas, however, neither vacillated nor surrendered; they fought against Japanese imperialism to the end, braving all sorts of difficulties and trials and trusting me in full. By so doing, we knew we could defeat the brigandish Japanese imperialism and achieve national liberation.

Love for comrade produces a truly great power. It has been said from ancient times that love between husband and wife and between parents and children is deep, but I think love between comrades is the warmest and strongest. I have learned this in the course of my revolutionary struggle spanning scores of years.

Comrade Kim Jong Il respects you, Your Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, a friend of mine. He does everything for your benefit.

You have said that you will visit our country again in early July; you are welcome. I will be looking forward to it.

LET US ACHIEVE THE GREAT UNITY OF OUR NATION

**Talk to the Senior Officials of the Committee for the Peaceful
Reunification of Korea and the Members
of the North Side's Headquarters of the Pan-National
Alliance for the Country's Reunification**

August 1, 1991

The Pan-National Rally for the Peace and Reunification of the Country was held last year on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of national liberation, and this year the second Pan-National Rally is to be held on August 15, too. I think it is a good thing that the Pan-National Rally and the various joint national festivals for reunification are held on the memorable occasion of the anniversary of national liberation. We must work hard to make the forthcoming events a success and a major occasion for achieving great national unity and hastening the reunification of the country.

Achieving the reunification of our country means linking the nation's severed blood vessels, bringing about national harmony and gaining national independence across the country. In other words, it concerns the fate of our fellow-countrymen; it is a matter vital to our nation.

As is well known, our country was divided not because of contradictions within our nation; its division was imposed upon it exclusively by foreign forces. After the end of the Second World War the Korean question was dealt with to suit the interests of the great

powers, contrary to our nation's desire and will to be independent, and the United States occupied south Korea. As a result, Korea was divided into north and south. It is because of continued interference and obstruction by foreign forces that Korea has not yet achieved her reunification.

In the half a century since our country was divided not a day has passed without our nation's misfortunes and sufferings weighing on my mind, and without my thinking how the country can be reunified. We must not leave the task of national reunification to the younger generation. We must reunify the country in our lifetime. National reunification is the supreme desire of the Korean people and there is no more pressing task for them than to reunify their country.

The reunification of our country must be achieved independently and in a peaceful way, and this calls on us to achieve the great unity of the whole nation. The realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country is inconceivable without great national unity. Great national unity is a fundamental precondition for the achievement of the independent and peaceful reunification of our country, as well as the most essential aspect of it. The first and foremost task in achieving national reunification is to achieve the great unity of our nation.

Whatever movement we may join, we can emerge victorious only when we strengthen the driving force and increase its role. This is an essential revolutionary truth which has been our philosophy and faith throughout the long revolutionary struggle.

The driving force for national reunification is the entire Korean nation. The reunification of the country is our nation's cause of independence, and it can be achieved by the efforts of our nation alone. Every Korean person is responsible for national reunification and must bear his or her responsibility and play his or her allotted role in the struggle to reunify the country. If our nation, as the driving force for national reunification, is to fulfil its responsibility and role, it must be united firmly as one. The strength of the driving force is precisely the strength of its unity. The decisive guarantee for the independent and

peaceful reunification of the country lies in the achievement of the unity of the whole nation and in strengthening the driving force for reunification.

All the Korean people must unite closely under the banner of great national unity, in the spirit of patriotism and national independence.

A nation is a solid community which has been formed and developed historically, and it is a unit of social life. Historically, people have lived with their country and nation as a unit and have shaped their destiny through a combined effort. The question of a nation essentially means the question of achieving and defending its independence. Independence is the lifeblood of the people as well as of their country and nation. If a man is deprived of his independence, he is as good as dead; likewise, if a nation is deprived of its independence, its existence and development is inconceivable.

It is only when the independence of a country and a nation is achieved that the independence of individuals can be realized; no one can escape the fate of slavery if his country and nation is enslaved, for the life of an individual as a member of the nation exists in the life of his or her country and nation. It is precisely for this reason that, although a nation consists of different classes and strata, people love their country, value their nation's independence and fight in unity for the independence of their country and nation. People love their motherland and value the independence of their nation. These feelings are common to every member of a nation.

Originally, nationalism came about as a progressive idea promoting national interests. Under the banner of nationalism, the newly-emergent bourgeoisie took the lead in the nationalist movement, yet nationalism could not be regarded as an ideology of the capitalist class from the outset. During the period of the bourgeois nationalist movement against feudalism the interests of the masses of the people were basically identical with those of the newly-emergent bourgeoisie and, accordingly, nationalism reflected the common interests of the nation. Subsequently, as capitalism developed and the bourgeoisie became the reactionary ruling class, nationalism was reduced to the

ideological means for the capitalist class to defend its interests. Bourgeois nationalism conflicts with genuine nationalism which truly promotes the interests of the nation. For idlers, who may be called the parasites of the nation, to pose as nationalists is nothing but a deception. Only he who does some work, mental or physical, which is beneficial to the nation, can be a genuine nationalist.

In our country, the land of a homogeneous nation, genuine nationalism means precisely patriotism. Our nation, which has inherited the same blood generation after generation and built up a brilliant national culture with the same language on the same territory, is a nation with a strong spirit of patriotism and independence. Our people have always loved their motherland ardently and fought strongly to defend the independence of their country and nation. This is a proud tradition of our nation.

My father put forward the idea of *Jiwon* (aim high-Tr.) and educated me in patriotism and in the spirit of national independence. So I set out on the road of struggle with a resolution to dedicate my whole life to saving the country and nation. My revolutionary activities began with the struggle for national liberation and in the course of the struggle to establish the identity of the nation, the identity of the revolution, I have evolved the Juche idea, the guiding idea of our revolution. I have been fighting all my life for the independence, sovereignty and prosperity of our nation, for the independence of the masses of the people. I am fighting for the independence not only of our people but also of people throughout the world, and for the abolition of exploitation and oppression of man by man not only in our country but also throughout the world. Just as it is inconceivable for a person who does not love his parents and brothers to love his country and nation, so it is unthinkable for a person who is indifferent to the destiny of his nation to be loyal to the world revolution. As I always say, only a genuine patriot can be a true internationalist who is loyal to the world revolution. I can say that, in this sense, I am a communist and patriot as well as an internationalist.

At the present stage of historical development, when the destiny of

the masses of the people is being shaped with the country and nation as the basic unit, the whole nation must firmly establish the identity of the nation and fight in unity for its common interests and prosperity. We must not only achieve national reunification on the basis of great national unity but also, after the country is reunified, build an ideal society by relying on the united efforts of the entire nation so that all the people enjoy equally unbounded happiness on this land.

A nation must regard its independence as its lifeblood, advocate and realize its independence by united effort and achieve its common prosperity. I can say that this is our Juche view on the nation.

We have firmly adhered to the principle of always believing in and relying on the combined strength of the people both in the struggle against imperialism and in the struggle for the building of socialism. We have always given top priority to national interests and relied on the combined strength of the people in the struggle. We can say that this is the secret of the victory we have achieved in the revolution and construction.

We emerged victorious from the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle for national liberation because the guerrillas and the people forged ties of kinship and all the anti-Japanese patriotic forces fought in close unity. During the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle we brought together patriotic people from all walks of life into the anti-Japanese national united front and fought Japanese imperialism with the united strength of the nation. The Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland, formed in 1936, was an anti-Japanese national united front comprising broad sections of patriotic people who opposed Japanese imperialism and aspired to national independence. This association united all the anti-Japanese patriotic forces from all walks of life including communists, nationalists, workers, peasants, intellectuals, young people and students, as well as conscientious national capitalists and religious men. We established the tradition of national unity in the course of waging the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, relying on the broad-based anti-Japanese national united front.

In the struggle to build a new society after national liberation, too, we channelled our efforts firstly into achieving great national unity. In the speech I addressed to the people after national liberation, I called upon all the people who loved their country and nation and democracy to unite as one and make a positive contribution to nation-building, those with strength giving their strength, those with knowledge contributing their knowledge and those with money offering their money. We have pushed forward dynamically with the building of a democratic new state and with socialist construction, relying on the combined strength of all the people. Our socialist construction aims at enabling all our people to lead happy and worthwhile lives in a society free from exploitation and oppression. The socialist society we are building is socialism centred on the masses of the people. Socialism centred on the masses of the people means a genuine society for the people where all the people are the masters of the country and everything in society serves the masses of the people. We need not build socialism which does not serve the masses, and we cannot build socialism centred on the masses without uniting the masses.

The aim of the reunification of our nation is to realize the independence of our nation, to achieve the common development and prosperity of the nation and to ensure that all the Korean people lead happy and worthy lives in one reunified land. It is natural, therefore, that all the people should combine their will and rally as one in the struggle for national reunification, and this is fully possible.

The Joint Conference of the Representatives of Political Parties and Social Organizations of North and South Korea was held in Pyongyang in 1948. We called this conference to discuss the pressing save-the-nation measures and national reunification. The conference was attended by representatives of almost all the political parties and social organizations of south Korea, except Syngman Rhee's party. Kim Ku, the leader of the "Korean Independence Party", too, attended the conference. In pre-liberation years when he was in the "Provisional Government in Shanghai" Kim Ku had regarded communists as his enemies. But he attended the conference having accepted our just

proposal to meet and have a heart-to-heart discussion on important questions concerning the destiny of the nation as members of the same nation, and he eventually took the road of alliance and coalition with us communists. He had no clear idea of what a genuine communist was, but he was a patriot. He made a fine speech at the north-south joint conference and after his return to south Korea he fought for national unity and reunification before being assassinated by the Yankees and their stooges. The historic April north-south joint conference served as clear proof that despite differences in ideologies and ideals, political views and religious beliefs all people can unite in the struggle for the common cause of the nation.

If the whole nation fights in concert, drawing on the traditions and experience of national unity built up in the course of the struggle to realize our nation's independence, we shall not fail to achieve national reunification, the supreme task of the nation.

The concert and unity of the whole nation means the national reunification we desire. What is most important in national reunification is not the procedures or methods but the achievement of the genuine harmony and unity of the whole nation. If all Korean people in the north, south and overseas unite their minds and, on this basis, attain great national unity the most important problem in achieving national reunification will have been solved and then other problems can be resolved easily.

In recent years signal progress has been made in our efforts to bring about national unity. Last year, after the August 15 Pan-National Rally, the Pan-National Reunification Concert was held; also the north-south reunification football matches and art festival took place. This year the north and the south formed unified teams and participated jointly in the World Table Tennis Championships and the World Youth Football Championship. This was a result of our people's desire for reunification that was stronger than ever before and the intensified trend towards national concert and unity. This delighted all the brethren in the north, south and abroad and led them to gain national pride and confidence. If the minds of all our compatriots are united as

one, the great unity of the whole nation will be achieved and the country reunified. It is in this sense, I think, that the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan in south Korea said that our nation had been reunified now, that the reunification was in the perfect tense.

It is also for the sake of genuine national concert and reunification that we have advanced proposals on national reunification through federation based on one nation, one state, two systems and two governments. Since there exist two different ideologies and systems in the north and south of our country, the federation formula is the only way to achieve national harmony and reunification. In the light of the situation prevailing in our country it is wrong for either side to attempt to attain reunification by conquering the other. An ideology and system should be chosen by the people themselves of their own accord, not through coercion from outsiders. If one side were to try to impose its ideology and system on the other, it would be impossible to realize national reunification; it would rather aggravate the confrontation within our nation and cause further national calamity. The ideological and institutional differences within our nation should be gradually overcome not by coercive methods but by strengthening national unity based on the common interests of the nation. The most essential interests of our nation lie in the nation's reunification free from any foreign domination and interference. In spite of the ideological and institutional differences within our nation we, as a single people, can bring about reunification and work together for the common prosperity of the nation.

Whether they are in the north, south or abroad, whether they are workers, farmers, intellectuals, young people, students, politicians, businessmen, religious men, or soldiers, Koreans must all unite and strive to achieve the reunification of their country, the common cause of the nation. Just as our people did in the days of building a new country, compatriots from all strata in the north, south and abroad must join hands in the cause of national reunification; those who have strength should contribute their strength, those who have knowledge their knowledge and those who have money their money.

The workers, farmers and intellectuals form the major force of the nation. If they cooperate and unite, while maintaining their own characteristics, they can form a mighty, independent driving force of the nation and achieve reunification. Workers and farmers should join hands with intellectuals, while intellectuals should cast in their lot with workers and farmers and thereby fulfil their role as the motive force in the struggle for the country's reunification. It is unfair to underestimate the role of intellectuals or to adopt a narrow-minded attitude towards them. When founding the Party, we defined intellectuals, along with workers and farmers, as one of its components. Our Party's emblem consists of a hammer, a sickle and a writing brush. These symbolize the workers, farmers, and intellectuals who make up our Party. When we began to build a new society immediately after liberation, we did not leave out the intellectuals, arguing that they had served Japanese imperialism. We believed in their patriotism and spirit of national independence and generously brought them to our side. We regarded the intellectuals scattered across the country as the nation's treasure and searched for them one by one. We positively encouraged them to play an important role in the building of a new country. Our intellectuals trusted and followed our Party and have thrown in their lot with it. They dedicated all their efforts and talents to the building of the new democratic Korea. They also fought courageously in the Fatherland Liberation War against US imperialist aggression, and after the war they worked for socialist revolution and construction.

Today the south Korean intellectuals, too, are fighting well for the reunification of the country. The young people and students of south Korea are ardently patriotic and have a strong spirit of independence against the US. They are playing a central, leading role in the struggle to make south Korean society independent and democratic and to reunify the nation. The south Korean young people and students who are struggling heroically, dedicating their precious youth without hesitation for independence, democracy and national reunification are the pride of our nation.

In addition to the workers, peasants and intellectuals, there are

many people in south Korea from different backgrounds who live in different conditions. We must not neglect them. We must achieve national unity on the principle of welcoming everyone without hesitation, who is not a traitor to the nation.

It is very important to have a correct understanding of religions and to work properly with religious believers. People believe in a religion because they take their sufferings and misfortunes in this world as predestined, and they yearn for happiness in the next world. Therefore, we cannot call them bad. What is bad is the anti-popular politics that misleads people about the situation and reactionary rulers who misuse religions, making them an instrument for paralysing the people's consciousness of independence and ensuring that the people obey their rule. Progressive religious believers wish the people to love one another and live in harmony. The south Korean men of religion are opposed to the foreign invaders who keep our nation artificially divided and who suppress the champions of reunification at the point of the bayonet. We must be highly appreciative of the devoted struggle of the south Korean men of religion for national reunification and unite with them.

It is mortifying that in south Korea young people, the sons and daughters of the nation, serve in the "ROK army" under the command of Americans who use it as a tool for their neo-colonialist domination and for the implementation of their policy of keeping our nation divided. We must awaken the officers and men of the "ROK army" to the anti-national and anti-popular nature of the imperialists and their minions so that they stand firmly by their own nation and people and cooperate with their parents and brothers in the struggle for independence, democracy and national reunification.

As I always say, reunification means patriotism and division means treason. Those Koreans who desire national reunification and strive for it are patriots, whereas those who are opposed to reunification and accept division in league with foreign forces are traitors. By this criterion we must unite with all those who support reunification and advance with them in the same ranks. Even one who may have once

been opposed to reunification and have committed crimes against the country and the nation, if he repents of his mistake and takes part in the struggle for patriotism and reunification, must be allowed to start with a clean slate and join hands with us.

There are many people who once led a dishonourable life in the eyes of the nation but have broken with their past and taken the patriotic road of national unity and national reunification. Mr. Choe Tok Sin was one of them. As you all know, he served as a corps commander of the “ROK army” and “foreign minister” in south Korea. While he was pursuing the road of pro-US, anti-communism at important military and political posts, he gradually began to feel disillusioned about the traitorous and anti-reunification acts of the ruling authorities and took refuge in a foreign country with the aim of living an honest life for the nation. While in exile he engaged in patriotic activities for bringing about the independence and democracy of south Korean society and reunifying the country. He became clearly aware of which was the patriotic way to follow during many visits to the homeland. He was moved by the fact that our Republic, which is independent, self-sufficient and self-reliant in defence, is displaying the pride and dignity of the Korean nation. He also sympathized with our consistent, just policy of embracing and joining hands with all those who love their country and nation, regardless of differences in political views, ideas and religions without asking about their past, and the policy of great national unity. He said he had found a paradise on Earth in the homeland, the land of bliss which he, as a nationalist and Chondoist, had aspired to and sought all his life. With a determination to dedicate the rest of his life to the just cause of the country and the nation, he applied for permanent residence in the homeland. Although he had opposed us in the past, we positively supported his decision and agreed to join hands with him for the sake of great national unity and the reunification of the country since he was resolved to break with the past and make a fresh start for the sake of the country and the nation. After being taken into the embrace of the homeland, he worked with devotion to the last moment of his life as the Chairman of the Central

Committee of the Chondoist Chongu Party and the Vice-Chairman of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of Korea; he did so for the prosperity and development of the country, for great national unity and for the country's reunification. He passed away, failing to see the day of national reunification to which he had looked forward. But in his last years he joined the ranks of the national reunification movement and marched forward with his fellow countrymen. As a result, he came to enjoy immortality as a patriotic martyr who is held in affection by the people, and who helped his compatriots at home and abroad to understand the real meaning of national concert and great unity.

For the realization of great national unity compatriots from all social strata in the north, south and abroad must place their common national interests above all else and subordinate everything to national reunification, transcending differences in ideas, social systems and religious beliefs. We must regard this as a fundamental principle in achieving great national unity and firmly adhere to this principle.

Our national community which has been formed and consolidated over a history of five thousand years is greater than transient differences in social systems, ideals and ideologies which have come about owing to national division; the common national desire to achieve reunification as a homogeneous nation is incomparably more important than the interests of individual social classes and social strata. Although the defence of the ideals and ideologies of individual classes and strata and the realization of their interests are important, it is even more important to realize the common cause of the nation. Classes and strata form part of the nation. Therefore, no class and no stratum can realize its own interests apart from the common national interests. Only when there is a nation can there be classes, and only when national interests are guaranteed can the interests of the classes be ensured.

Today when the independence of our nation is being trampled upon by foreign forces, no class or stratum, if it belongs to the Korean nation, should hamper the achievement of national reunification, the

common cause of our nation, by putting its interests to the fore. There should be no practice of placing class interests ahead of national interests, or of setting the struggle to satisfy class demands against the struggle for national reunification, swayed by minor interests and prejudices. Moreover, for fellow countrymen to reject or repress one another on the strength of government authority because of differences in political views, isms and assertions or for them to be hostile to one another because of differences in ideas and social systems—these are fundamentally contrary to the principle of great national unity jointly agreed upon between north and south, and such acts are intolerable for the nation. Our people will never be able to achieve their reunification if the two sides reject and are hostile towards each other, putting differences to the fore instead of uniting on their common ground as a single nation.

If the great unity of the nation is to be achieved, contacts and visits should be widely encouraged among the fellow countrymen in the north, south and abroad and dialogue be promoted actively among them.

If the whole nation is to act in concert and pool its strength for the common purpose, an atmosphere of understanding and confidence should be created within the nation. Because our country has been divided and the north and the south have been alienated from each other for a long time, some people misunderstand their fellow countrymen, believing them to be their enemy, and some people hesitate to go hand in hand with their fellow countrymen because of a lack of confidence, although they wish to see national unity. In order to remove such misunderstanding and distrust within the nation and realize national concert and unity, it is necessary to encourage free visits, contacts and talks.

What is important in realizing free travel and contact and wide-ranging dialogue is to pull down the barrier of division and remove all political and legal obstacles to it. We have already made proposals for removing the barrier of division, ensuring free travel and opening all doors between north and south and have been making

untiring efforts to realize them. The point in question is that the south Korean authorities should pull down the barrier of division and remove all obstacles that hamper free travel, contact and dialogue among the fellow countrymen in the north, south and abroad. Today the “National Security Law” of south Korea is a major obstacle to free travel, contact and dialogue between north and south. In south Korea those who have been to the north or who have discussed reunification in foreign lands with people from the north are punished under the “National Security Law”. The Rev. Mun Ik Hwan, who is over 70, a young girl student Rim Su Gyong and other visitors to the north, as well as a large number of those working for reunification, are currently imprisoned under this law. If this wicked law is not repealed, there can be neither free travel and contact nor free dialogue between north and south. That is why the “National Security Law” must be abolished as soon as possible.

In order to achieve great national unity we must strengthen nationwide solidarity in the struggle for national reunification.

Great national unity cannot be achieved only by words. It can be achieved and consolidated in the course of developing joint action by uniting minds and efforts in the struggle to reunify the country. All political parties, organizations and compatriots from all walks of life in the north, south and abroad must support one another and take concerted action in the struggle for the country’s reunification.

The cardinal task here is to check and frustrate the schemes of the forces which are opposed to reunification and working to keep the nation divided for ever and unleash another war. In order to isolate and weaken these forces and defeat their divisive moves, the compatriots in the north, south and abroad must develop an active joint struggle in various forms. The tens of thousands of US troops and more than 1,000 nuclear weapons of various types deployed in south Korea are the root cause of tension on the Korean peninsula and pose the threat of a nuclear war. We must have the US troops and nuclear weapons withdrawn from south Korea as soon as possible and thus remove the danger of a nuclear war that threatens the existence of our nation; thus we shall provide a firm guarantee for peace on the Korean peninsula.

All our compatriots in the north, south and abroad must launch a nationwide struggle to compel the US to withdraw its troops and nuclear weapons from south Korea and make the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free, peace zone.

In order to achieve great national unity all the political parties, organizations and compatriots of all strata in the north, south and abroad that are struggling for the reunification of the country must ally themselves with one another organizationally.

It is only when all our compatriots who adhere to the patriotic cause of reunification are organized into an allied force that solid national unity can be achieved and unity of action and unanimity ensured in the struggle for the country's reunification.

For the organized unity of the whole nation, there must be an organization that can ensure the voluntary association of our compatriots of all strata in the north, south and abroad. I believe that the Pan-National Alliance for the Country's Reunification which was inaugurated in accordance with the decision of the Pan-National Rally last year can be such an organization. The Pan-National Alliance for the Country's Reunification was formed through the joint efforts of the patriotic organizations and public figures of all strata in the north, south and abroad that aspire to the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. It is a patriotic organization for reunification, whose mission it is to reunify the country on the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity, and which represents the common will of Koreans in the north, south and overseas. It has the important duty and responsibility of achieving great national unity and hastening the reunification of the country. It will have to work hard, conducting a variety of activities, to expand and strengthen its ranks steadily among our compatriots and to hasten national reunification.

Many obstacles and difficulties still lie in the way of the reunification of our country, but we are looking forward with confidence to the bright future of national reunification.

Our nation's move towards reunification is now stronger than ever

before. Our compatriots in the north, south and abroad are working hard with a firm determination to reunify the country without fail in the 1990s. Nobody can break our people's will to reunify their country, and no force can ever check our nation's strong move towards national reunification. Through the united efforts of the whole nation, our people will overcome the obstacles and difficulties in their way to national reunification and reunify their country, come what may.

Once the country is reunified, our nation will be a dignified and strong nation and our country will emerge on the world stage as an independent and sovereign country with more than seventy million people, a brilliant national culture and a powerful economy. Our nation is industrious and resourceful, and our country is a beautiful land of three thousand *ri* in which it is good to live. When the whole nation is united as one, and when the country is reunified, there will be nothing for us to fear or envy. Our people will proudly display the resourcefulness and greatness of the Korean nation and nobody will dare to encroach upon our sovereignty. If the whole nation combines its efforts and talents and develops the economy and culture after the country's reunification, our country will be more prosperous and civilized, and it will make a more effective contribution to the common cause of the people in Asia and the rest of the world for peace and prosperity.

For the Korean people to devote themselves to national reunification is most honourable and worthwhile. Those who have contributed to the noble cause of national reunification will be held in love and respect by the nation and will be highly appreciated by the reunified nation.

I believe that you comrades, who are at the forefront of the struggle for national reunification, will carry out the honourable duty entrusted to you by the country and the nation.

SOME TASKS FOR BUILDING UP THE MAJOR AREAS OF RYANGGANG PROVINCE AND DEVELOPING ITS ECONOMY

**Speech at a Consultative Meeting of Senior
Officials of Ryanggang Province**

August 20, 1991

At this consultative meeting I would like to speak about building up the major areas of Ryanggang Province and developing the economy of the province.

I will first refer to building up the major areas of Ryanggang Province.

Ryanggang Province is the sacred land of our revolution in which Mt. Paektu, the sacred mountain of the revolution, the secret camp on Mt. Paektu, and many revolutionary battle sites such as Pochonbo are located. It can be said that Ryanggang Province is a grand open-air revolutionary museum: The revolutionaries who fought the Japanese left their footprints in all parts of this province. A large number of Korean nationals abroad and revolutionary people throughout the world, not to speak of our people, visit Ryanggang Province because many revolutionary battle sites, as well as the house of Comrade Kim Jong Il's birth, are located here. Building up the Hyesan, Samjiyon, Pochon and other major areas of Ryanggang Province is very important in exerting a favourable influence not only upon our people but also on Korean nationals abroad and revolutionary people around the world.

In view of the importance of building up Ryanggang Province, whenever I come here I set detailed tasks for building your province and also adopt the measures needed for this. However, the tasks I assigned you have not been carried out properly.

Ryanggang Province has not properly equipped the bases for the production of foodstuffs and beverages for visitors to the revolutionary battle sites.

In order to provide good food and drink to visitors to the revolutionary battle sites on Mt. Paektu, I saw to it that the state gave assistance for the smooth operation of the Pyongon Brewery in Hyesan and that a lunch-box factory was built to cook and provide good rice packed in lunch boxes. Visitors to the revolutionary battle sites on Mt. Paektu must be able to enjoy good food and drink if they are to be able to survey the battle sites with a pleasant feeling.

On my current visit I have found out that the quality of the rice packed in lunch boxes, which is now supplied to the visitors to the revolutionary battle sites on Mt. Paektu, is reasonably good, but the beer provided to them is not bottled. It is absurd that although you have a good brewery, you give each visitor a cup of draught beer at meal times instead of bottled beer. This is because of your failure to provide a sufficient number of bottles. I have been told that although you have a bottle factory, you are unable to produce enough bottles because of the shortage of a few electric motors and decelerators. We are fully able to solve the problem because these things are produced domestically. The facts, that draught beer is supplied to visitors, and that with a little effort enough bottles could be produced, show that our officials are lacking in their loyalty to the revolution, the Party, the working class and the people.

The failure to make good progress in the work of building Ryanggang Province is due to the fact that the Administration Council, the State Planning Commission, the provincial Party committee and the provincial administration and economic guidance committee are not concerned about this work.

You must complete the construction of good bases for the

production of a variety of foodstuffs and beverages.

You must bring and install the equipment needed for the production of beer bottles as soon as possible. If some senior officials of the State Planning Commission have come here, grasped the state of affairs and incorporated in the plan the production of the necessary equipment, then they must implement the plan without fail. Even if the production of the equipment is included in the plan, it will be useless if it is not carried out.

You must produce a large quantity of bottled beer. If the construction of a factory producing flip-top cans is near completion, you must also produce and supply a large amount of canned beer. If you provide bottled beer and canned beer to visitors to the revolutionary battle sites, they will be very pleased. If large quantities of flip-top cans are produced, you must also sell blueberry syrup in them.

I have been told that blueberry syrup and blueberry liquor are sold to visitors to the revolutionary battle sites on Mt. Paektu when they leave for home after completing their visit. You must limit the production of blueberry liquor, and make large quantities of blueberry syrup for sale. On my current visit here I had a taste of 40% blueberry liquor. There is no need to make this kind of liquor in large quantities. You must make only enough blueberry liquor for sale to foreigners visiting the revolutionary battle sites on Mt. Paektu; you should make large quantities of blueberry syrup with the blueberries instead of blueberry liquor. Blueberry syrup is good to drink. Things made of blueberry are special products of our country.

You must develop the Samjiyon and Hyesan areas as well as other major areas.

You must build international hotels and a large number of good houses in the Samjiyon and Hyesan areas. You must build a good international hotel in Hyesan City. It is good that some 500 family dwellings of five and seven stories have been built in Hyesan this year. It will be all right if you proceed according to the directions I gave for the construction of Hyesan while I was examining the blueprint.

If we are to develop the Samjiyon, Hyesan and other major areas,

we must set up firm bases for the production of building materials. Ryanggang Province can succeed in its construction projects only when it produces a large quantity of cement with its own resources. However, the Hyesan Cement Factory fails to produce at a steady rate because it has to get the anthracite it needs from South Phyongan Province. The decision to provide anthracite produced in South Phyongan Province to the Hyesan Cement Factory seems to be wrong. South Phyongan Province itself is short of anthracite, so it does not have much to give to Ryanggang Province. Because it is difficult for Ryanggang Province to produce a large quantity of cement, last year I saw to it that the Hyesan Cement Factory took the clinker produced at the Chonnaeri Cement Complex and made some 4,000 tons of cement every month by pulverizing it. However, the Ministry of Railways fails to transport as much clinker as is needed. This ministry must take measures to carry clinker from the Chonnaeri Cement Complex to this cement factory as planned.

We must also provide the lorries needed for developing the Samjiyon, Hyesan and other major areas. I have ensured that *Jaju-64* lorries and *Sungni-58* lorries are provided to Ryanggang Province. You must receive these lorries without delay.

It is advisable for the Administration Council to summon the provincial officials concerned and hold a meeting about the problems of building the Samjiyon, Hyesan and other major areas. This should be done within the year.

Now I will refer to the economic problems of Ryanggang Province.

Ryanggang Province must solve the problem of electricity. This is the way for this province to put production on a steady basis.

At present Ryanggang Province uses electricity from the Hochongang Power Station. It must consider if it will be able to produce the equivalent of this electricity with its own efforts. If this province manages to do so, it will not need electricity from the Hochongang Power Station. If Ryanggang Province depends on electricity from this power station, it will not be able to receive as much as it needs. South Hamgyong Province consumes a large

quantity of electricity because it has many large enterprises such as the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex, the February 8 Vinalon Complex, the Komdok Mining Complex and the Tanchon Smeltery. It is difficult for this province to develop thermal power stations on a large scale because there is not much coal there.

If Ryanggang Province is to solve the problem of electricity by its own efforts, it must build a large number of medium-sized and small hydroelectric power stations sufficient to generate at least 20,000 to 30,000 kw of electricity there annually.

There are many valleys in Ryanggang Province. Therefore, it can build many medium-sized hydroelectric power stations by constructing dams, if only cement is available.

When building medium-sized hydroelectric power stations, Ryanggang Province must adopt measures to generate electricity in winter as well as in summer. I think it would be a good idea to build seasonal reservoirs to produce electricity even in winter. In other words, it will do if dams are built in various places, fix the reservoirs to be used for generating electricity in summer and the ones to be used for the generation of electricity in winter. There is little rainfall here in winter, so those reservoirs designated for winter generation would be filled in the summer. It is cool in Ryanggang Province, with a short summer and a long winter, so if you build reservoirs for winter use and impound water there, not much water will evaporate.

It is possible to build high dams in the valleys of Ryanggang Province because the mountains on both sides of these valleys are generally high. There is not much arable land in these valleys and crops do not grow well there, so there will be no great loss even if we build high dams in them.

It seems a good idea to build three or four dams in the Taejinphyong Valley, along which the Karim River flows. It would be possible to impound a large amount of water if dams are built along the Taejinphyong Valley because the mountains on both sides of this valley are high. If dams are constructed in this valley, one must be built at the Taejinphyong estuary and a few more should be built upstream.

The waterway must be built in such a way that the water of the reservoir in the rear flows toward the reservoir in front of it along the mountainside so as to build a high fall. They must be located in this way so as to make maximum use of the water. If you build several reservoirs in the Taejinphyong Valley, you would be able to produce a large amount of electricity even in winter.

It would also be possible to build a hydroelectric power station on the river flowing from Paegam toward Kilju. The annual flow of this river is very large, enough for a large power station.

If a hydroelectric power station is constructed on this river, either Ryanggang Province or North Hamgyong Province may be allowed to use the electricity generated there. If only electricity is produced, it will be all right no matter which province uses it.

The problem of building a hydroelectric power station on the river flowing from Paegam toward Kilju has not yet been solved because it would mean moving the railways. However, in view of our shortage of electricity, detailed studies might show that it would be best to move the railway lines and build the dam and power station. If the railways between Kilju and Paegam are moved, it would also be possible to build a hydroelectric power station on the Unchong River. We must ask senior officials of the Ministry of Railways to conduct a field inspection to see how the railways could be moved.

Ryanggang Province must also build many small power stations such as water-mill power stations. The province must classify these power stations for summer use and for winter use and generate electricity to operate local factories.

We can also solve the problem of electricity for Ryanggang Province by building the Rimgang Power Station and transmitting the electricity generated there. We intend to build the Rimgang Power Station and the Uiju Power Station in cooperation with China. When the construction of these power stations is complete, we will be able to receive a large amount of electricity from the Rimgang Power Station alone. If we add to this the electricity produced by the province itself, the problem of electricity for Ryanggang Province can be fully solved.

The electricity generated by the Rimgang Power Station must not be used by Jagang Province; it must be used by Ryanggang Province. Because there are many power stations in Jagang Province, this province can get along without electricity from the Rimgang Power Station.

I will state my conclusions on the matter of Ryanggang Province producing its own electricity after discussing the matter again with senior officials of the Electric Power Industry Commission and the officials concerned of the province. These people will first conduct a feasibility study, which should take until October this year.

It would be a good idea to allow Ryanggang Province to get the electricity it needs from the Hochongang Power Station until the province solves the problem of electricity by its own efforts.

Copper mines in Ryanggang Province must increase production.

Copper is a very valuable nonferrous metal. It is indispensable for the production of electric wires, electric motors, generators and transformers and for the development of the machine, electronics and automation industries as well as for the development of the national defence industry. However, we are not producing a large amount of copper, with the result that we cannot accelerate production and construction properly. During my recent field guidance tour in South Hamgyong Province I found out that the main reason for the failure of factories and enterprises in the province to ensure steady production was the frequent breakdown of electric facilities such as electric motors and transformers or their inferior quality. The failure of the factories and enterprises in Ryanggang Province to put their production on a steady basis is also attributable to problems with motors and transformers. It is possible to make as many motors and transformers as are needed, if only sufficient copper is available, but we cannot produce them in the required amount because of the shortage of copper. Similarly, we are unable to accelerate construction because of the shortage of copper wire and cable for electricity transmission. And production of fertilizers is held up because smelters fail to produce the required amount of sulfuric acid.

If Ryanggang Province is to produce a large quantity of copper, the Hyesan Youth Mine must maintain a steady rate of production and

continue to increase it. Among our copper mines the Hyesan Youth Mine has large deposits and a good potential. In view of the importance of increasing the production of concentrated copper ore at the Hyesan Youth Mine, each time I visit Ryanggang Province I look into the production situation at this mine and assign the mine a task. Last February, I sent the chairman of the State Planning Commission to the Hyesan Youth Mine to investigate and solve its difficult production problems. Recently I sent an official to this mine to find out how the task I assigned it is being performed. The task is not being done properly. It seems that the chairman of the State Planning Commission, during his previous visit to the Hyesan Youth Mine, did not properly organize work to solve its problems. The senior officials of the Administration Council also pay little attention to the Hyesan Youth Mine and do not work hard to increase the production of copper. Few officials are concerned about increasing copper production and making active endeavours to this end. Some officials do not take a serious view even when things are not going as they should; they do not organize work properly or with due consideration.

The senior officials of the Administration Council and the Ministry of Mining Industry must provide by September 9 all the planned amount of such things as motors and pumps so that the Hyesan Youth Mine can produce at a steady level. It would be advisable to solve by the end of September all the problems raised by other copper mines in Ryanggang Province.

We must sanction the agreed copper production plan, which must be carried out by the copper mines in Ryanggang Province next year. In the present situation these mines do not seem capable of carrying out an additional task even if they are assigned it. We must correctly spell out in the plan the time by which all the problems raised by the copper mines in Ryanggang Province should be solved and when the production of concentrated copper ore should start and how much of it should be produced.

We must also put great efforts into the development of forestry.

Ryanggang Province is a major log production base of our country.

Only when this province develops forestry will it be possible to produce large quantities of logs and satisfy the demands of various sectors of the national economy.

Among the logs we now need props are the most pressing problem. Coal mines are unable to mine the required amount of coal because of the shortage of props. If we are to solve the problem of props, we must greatly increase the production of logs. Ryanggang Province must continue to devote great efforts to the development of forestry and solve the problem of props without fail.

We must provide oil to the timber stations. This is indispensable for efficiently transporting the logs. The Commission of Materials Supply must supply as soon as possible the oil needed for the transport of logs so that the timber stations will not be hindered in carrying them because of the shortage of oil. We must provide the oil needed for the transportation of logs and agriculture even if we are unable to supply it for other purposes.

You must build many forest railways in Ryanggang Province. In future many hydroelectric power stations are to be constructed in this province, so rafting will gradually become difficult. In those places where it is or becomes difficult to drive log rafts, you must build forest railways to transport the logs. Rafting must continue in those places where hydroelectric power stations are not built.

You must work hard to increase agricultural production.

It is important for Ryanggang Province to grow good crops on the high ground. It is said that the area of dry fields on the plateau of this province amounts to some 30,000 hectares. This is not a small area. Ryanggang Province can produce a large amount of grain if it succeeds in plateau farming alone. Some time ago the chairman of the rural economy committee of this province said that some three tons of barley could be produced in future on each hectare on this land. This is too small. Plateau fields should produce five to seven tons of barley per hectare, and four tons at least. If the yield is only four tons of barley per hectare, the 120,000 tons of grain produced would fully meet the demand of Ryanggang Province.

Varieties of crops must be well distributed. The most important thing in this respect is to plant high-yielding crops on a large area.

Ryanggang Province should grow barley on a wide area. At present this province raises wheat on a wide scale, but wheat is not well suited to the climatic and soil conditions of our country. A series of experiments on wheat farming were conducted on the plains, but the results were not very good. At that time the wheat planted in Phungjong-ri, Jungsan County, was reasonably good in the early period of its growth, so I thought that some five tons would be produced per hectare. However, when I went there at harvest time, I found that only 1.5 tons were produced. In our country the rainy season generally coincides with the time when wheat ripens, so it is difficult to prevent rust. It would be a different matter if we could produce five to seven tons of wheat per hectare, but we had better not grow it if we are to produce only 1.5 tons. We can exchange our rice for foreign wheat. We should not grow wheat which does not thrive and whose output is low. Instead, we must raise barley. In future Ryanggang Province must grow barley and work hard to produce four to five tons per hectare. It will be acceptable if the yield is only four tons per hectare.

In view of the fact that Ryanggang Province is to grow barley over a large area, thorough measures must be taken for its procurement. Problems have arisen because proper measures have not been adopted for the procurement of barley. Some provinces do not transport barley produced in Ryanggang Province and the state does not promptly provide the province with rice in exchange for its barley, thereby causing inconvenience to the provincial population. The senior officials of the Commission of Public Welfare do not organize work well to procure barley and send rice in exchange for it. Because these officials are working in an irresponsible manner, Ryanggang Province has a surplus of barley while South Hamgyong Province makes beer with maize because of a shortage of barley. When I heard during my visit to South Hamgyong Province last year that beer was made of maize, I criticized the local officials for this because they did not grow barley in Jangjin County, even though this would be possible. In

future, Ryanggang Province must give barley to Pyongyang and other provinces and receive rice in return. South Hamgyong Province and some other provinces may refuse to receive barley from Ryanggang Province because they themselves produce barley, but you need not worry about this. If other provinces do not take barley from Ryanggang Province, I will ensure that the state procure it and send the equivalent amount of rice to your province.

The exchange rate between barley and rice must be 2 to 1 or 3 to 1. If the exchange rate is fixed at 1 to 1, no one will be willing to exchange rice for barley. In future we must procure the barley produced in Ryanggang Province and send rice there. Ryanggang Province must grow barley over a large area without worrying that their barley will not be procured.

You must also grow broad beans on a wide area.

Broad beans thrive only in Ryanggang Province. If in future a large quantity of broad beans is produced, I intend to provide soya milk to the children of creches and kindergartens as well as to the pupils of primary and senior middle schools and supply soya bean soup to visitors to the revolutionary battle sites.

The per-hectare yield of broad beans must be increased. At present some two tons of broad beans are produced per hectare; their per-hectare yield must be raised. It is said that the Jungphyongjang Cooperative Farm in Samsu County is expecting 2.5 to 3 tons of broad beans per hectare this year. Other farms will also be able to produce the same amount if they work well. Ryanggang Province must raise the per-hectare yield of broad beans to 3 to 4 tons. Four tons per hectare would be a great amount.

Ryanggang Province must grow broad beans on some 2,000 hectares as it is doing now. Thorough measures must be taken so that broad beans will not suffer any damage from harmful insects. I worry most whether these beans will suffer damage from red rot.

We must ensure that broad beans continue to be exchanged for rice. It is gratifying that members of the Jungphyongjang Cooperative Farm in Samsu County eat boiled rice because the state exchanges broad

beans for rice. They are said to be very pleased because the state exchanges broad beans for rice at the rate of 1 to 1. We must continue to encourage the cultivation of broad beans. If we are to exchange broad beans with rice in the required amount, the Agricultural Commission must create reserves of rice. I think it would be a good idea to fix a certain cooperative farm as one to create reserves of rice and keep the rice produced on that farm in reserve. The Agricultural Commission must designate this farm.

Ryanggang Province must grow an appropriate amount of potatoes. It would be reasonably good if only 20 tons of potatoes are produced per hectare. Twenty tons of potatoes is equivalent to five tons of grain because the exchange rate between potatoes and grain is 4 to 1.

We must also grow sugar beet in some areas. Ryanggang Province is said to have planted 1,100 hectares of sugar beet this year. This province must not increase the area growing sugar beet because its sugar content is only 17 per cent. You should not increase the area growing sugar beet until the sugar content is raised. If the beet's sugar content is raised to some 20 per cent, the area of sugar beet should be augmented by 2,000 to 3,000 hectares.

In order to increase agricultural production, we must supply fertilizers in the required amounts.

An adequate amount of nitrogenous fertilizer must be provided. Some 80,000 tons of nitrogenous fertilizer will do for Ryanggang Province because this province does not have a large area of cultivated land. Ryanggang Province must get nitrogenous fertilizer from the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex. During my recent field guidance in South Hamgyong Province, which lasted nearly one month, I ensured that efforts were channelled into enlarging and modernizing the equipment of the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex. When this project is completed, this complex alone will be able to produce some 850,000 tons of nitrogenous fertilizer a year. If this is done, we will be quite able to provide the 80,000 tons of nitrogenous fertilizer needed for Ryanggang Province. The Hungnam Fertilizer Complex must provide Ryanggang Province with 80,000 tons of nitrogenous fertilizer with no conditions attached.

If in future Ryanggang Province produces a large amount of electricity, this province will be able to build a nitrogenous fertilizer factory with a production capacity of 100,000 tons. At present Jagang Province is constructing a nitrogenous fertilizer factory with a capacity of 300,000 tons. Jagang Province will be quite able to operate a 300,000-ton nitrogenous fertilizer factory because the province has a large amount of electricity. If Jagang Province produces nitrogenous fertilizer as planned, then it will be able to provide some of it to Ryanggang Province.

You should receive supplies of phosphatic fertilizer from the Ssangryong Mine of North Hamgyong Province, as you are doing now. The Ssangryong Mine is to produce 150,000 tons of phosphatic fertilizer annually and provide 100,000 tons to North Hamgyong Province and 50,000 tons to Ryanggang Province, but it is supplying only a small amount to the latter because it does not produce the required amount. In future Ryanggang Province must receive 50,000 tons of phosphatic fertilizer from the Ssangryong Mine annually. It is difficult for Ryanggang Province to produce phosphatic fertilizer.

Your province must produce its own potassic fertilizer. The Hyesan Potassic Fertilizer Factory is perfectly able to produce as much as the province needs, but for this purpose you must manage and operate the factory well and put its production on a steady basis.

Ryanggang Province must also produce sufficient *hukposan* fertilizer for its own needs.

Increasing the fertility of soil is an important way of augmenting grain production. This year all cooperative farms have grown good maize crops because they increased soil fertility by spreading fresh soil on maize fields through a mass movement. This fresh soil also prevents soil from being acidified and increases its fertility. In the past my grandfather used to compost grass and spread it on the fields. I learned from my grandfather that soil fertility increases if fields are spread with fresh soil. The fields should receive fresh soil about every three years.

Ryanggang Province should carpet soil in the fields in a qualitative way and also produce and apply a large quantity of *hukposan* fertilizer.

There is no better fertilizer than *hukposan* fertilizer for increasing soil fertility. There will be no big problem for Ryanggang Province in producing *hukposan* fertilizer because it abounds in peat and has the *hukposan* fertilizer factory.

The senior official of the rural economy committee of your province has asked for railway cars to transport peat, saying that the greatest problem in the production of *hukposan* fertilizer is transport of peat. Ryanggang Province must provide the Ministry of Railways with the log needed for the production of railway cars and receive from the ministry 100 cars and two locomotives for its exclusive use. The two trains, each consisting of 50 cars, will then run between Paegam and Hyesan, carrying coal and peat. Ryanggang Province must discuss with the Ministry of Railways the problem of trains needed for the transportation of coal and peat. When the vice-premier returns to Pyongyang, he must inform the senior officials of the Administration Council and the Ministry of Railways of this train problem. When the trains become available, Ryanggang Province must carry coal and peat with them and produce about 160,000 tons of *hukposan* fertilizer annually. This amount will be enough for two tons per hectare. Three to four tons would be better, but this is probably not possible.

The provincial Party committee must always pay close attention to all the work that is done in the province and give a strong impetus to production and construction within the province through Party channels. In particular, the provincial Party committee must be in direct charge of the production of copper and logs. The solution of the problem of copper and log production is the most important economic task facing the Ryanggang Provincial Party Committee. If the committee fails to carry out this task, it cannot be said to have fulfilled its duty. The provincial Party committee must also give a strong impetus to agricultural work including the production of *hukposan* fertilizer.

The Ryanggang Provincial Party Committee must carry out the tasks I have assigned to it today and promote economic work in the province as soon as possible.

ON PRODUCING SALT BY THE INDUSTRIAL METHOD

**Speech Delivered at a Consultative Meeting
of the Senior Officials of the Economic Sector**

August 23, 1991

Today's consultative meeting will discuss the production of salt by the industrial method.

Salt is essential in people's diet. Even though he eats his fill of rice, going without salt for only a few days makes a man feel weak in the legs and unable to move properly.

I know well what will become of a man if he does not eat salt, because I had firsthand experience of it during the anti-Japanese armed struggle, when we went through great hardships for want of salt. The Japanese imperialists, while stepping up their "punitive" operations against the anti-Japanese guerrilla army, severed the connection between the guerrilla army and the people and intensified their control over food and salt, in an attempt to stifle us. In the spring of 1939, on our arrival at a place near Shierdaogou after the Arduous March, we could not eat salt for a few days. The salt situation was so critical that I sent a soldier, who had lived in that region before joining the guerrilla army, on a mission with some money to buy salt with the help of his father. He happened to meet his father, who had been chopping firewood on a mountain. He asked his father to buy some salt for him, telling him that the guerrilla army was suffering from want of salt. In those days the Japanese imperialists were spreading lies that they had

captured Kim Il Sung. Hearing that I was alive, his father was very glad at the news and went down to his village to buy salt. Out of his intention to buy a large amount at one time, his father requested one of his friends to buy him some salt, telling him that the guerrilla army had been feeling a shortage of salt. But, another old man's son, who had been a member of the "Concordia Association", working as an agent of the Japanese imperialists, overheard the old men's talk and reported it to the police. Upon receiving the report, the Japanese imperialists saw to it that all the salt on sale in shops was replaced by poisoned salt overnight. Unaware of this, the soldier and his father bought the poisoned salt on their backs to the unit. The supply officers immediately shared out the salt among the regiments and Guard Company. Some of the soldiers who had taken food cooked with the salt got headaches and stomachache. I got the report on this in the middle of a meeting, and instructed that the salt be collected, for I suspected that the Japanese might have played tricks with the salt. After the meeting I threw a handful of salt into the fire and saw blue flames flare up. So I made sure that the salt was burnt up. For about ten days subsequent to the incident, we marched on without eating salt; we could not walk properly because our limbs were weak.

Salt is one of the major raw materials for the chemical industry. Only when we get sufficient salt supplies can we increase the production of caustic soda and sodium carbonate so as to manufacture a large amount of cloth, paper, glass bottles and others indispensable to people's lives. Without sufficient salt, it will be impossible to produce soda without a hitch, which in turn will cause problems in the production of acetate fibre, paper and bottles. Then we shall be unable to raise the people's standard of living. Because the production of caustic soda is now held back by a salt shortage, many provincial paper mills are not working as they should, and even the modernized kraft mill is not producing at full capacity. On my recent visit to Ryanggang Province I found that although large amounts of beer and blueberry juice were being produced, these were supplied in large containers to the visitors to the revolutionary battle

sites, because glass bottles were not available.

Unless we solve the problem of salt and the problem of soda, it is impossible to develop the chemical industry or improve the people's standard of living. This means, in the long run, that salt is a major factor in the development of our chemical industry and in the improvement of people's living standard.

In order to solve the problem of salt in our country, we must not rely on salt fields exclusively, but take measures to produce salt by the industrial method. In our country the salt necessary for the people's diet is now produced and supplied by the Namsi Saltworks in North Phyongan Province, the salt fields in Onchon County, South Phyongan Province, the Yonbaek Saltworks in South Hwanghae Province and other salt fields on the west coast. Salt is not produced in Kangwon, North and South Hamgyong, Ryanggang and Jagang Provinces. We intend to produce one million tons of salt annually from salt fields in the future, but this depends on having enough dry, sunny days. Last year, due to frequent rainfalls and cloudy weather, we could not fulfil the plan for salt production. As a result we have had to import a large amount of it this year. We must take every possible measure for the production and supply of salt to meet the demand for it on our own.

In order to solve the problem of salt, we must employ an industrial method for its production.

The matter of producing salt industrially is not raised for the first time today. We first tried using an electrolysers equipped with an ion-exchange membrane. This process is not a new invention, but our officials have not put it into effect as yet because they gave up halfway. We started construction of the June 16 Thermal Power Station, just to produce salt by this process. Comrade Jong Jun Thak took up its construction for this purpose, but after his death, the project was abandoned. Later our officials started another project for the construction of a salt factory with a capacity of 200,000 tons, but they also gave up halfway. Because of their habitual practice of abandoning their tasks whenever they encountered slight difficulties, even though they had pledged themselves openly to carry them out, the industrial

method of salt production has not been introduced.

At a time when the problem of producing salt has become very urgent, I have got a pleasant report that the June 16 Thermal Power Station has succeeded in producing salt by using waste heat. So I have called this consultative meeting today to discuss the measures for salt production by industrial method. Encouraged by this success, we must now work hard to produce salt by the industrial method.

This meeting will discuss two tasks: one is the task of salt production by using waste heat, the other the construction in the Hamhung area of a salt production base with a capacity of 200,000 tons.

South and North Hamgyong, Kangwon and South Hwanghae Provinces must produce salt by using waste heat to meet their own needs. These provinces have favourable conditions for the purpose. Other coastal provinces, however, are unable to do this because they do not have waste-heat producing factories and enterprises near the sea.

South Hamgyong Province must work out a plan to produce the salt it needs from next year, except for the salt to be used by the chemical industry. Even though it may get salt for the chemical industry from other sources, it is still good for the province to produce enough salt to meet the demands of its inhabitants and local industries. Since each province is responsible for the management of its local industries, it must produce and supply the salt needed for running them. South Hamgyong Province needs 30,000 tons of salt for the diet of its population and for running its local industries. It should therefore plan for the production of that amount by making use of waste heat. If the officials of the province work efficiently, they can produce that amount in the Tanchon area alone.

North Hamgyong Province must also think of producing salt for its own needs. The province has very favourable conditions for producing salt by making use of waste heat. It must soon create the condition for producing 20,000 tons of salt by using waste heat, and in the future ensure that the June 16 Thermal Power Station produce 20,000 tons, the Chongjin area 20,000 tons and the city of Kim Chaek 10,000 tons, a total of 50,000 tons of salt. If it produces that amount of salt annually

by making use of waste heat, it will be free from worry over salt. Ryanggang Province has a small population and therefore it should receive the necessary amount of salt from North Hamgyong Province. When North Hamgyong Province produces 50,000 tons of salt by making use of waste heat, that amount will be more than enough for both provinces. The surplus can be exported.

The purity of the salt produced by the June 16 Thermal Power Station is said to be 95 to 96 per cent; it is quite high. This salt is now supplied to not only Sonbong County but also to Rajin and even Undok County. This is good. By drawing on the good experience of the June 16 Thermal Power Station, North Hamgyong Province must provide other provinces with designs for salt production processes using waste heat.

Kangwon Province must also seek the way of producing salt on its own. I have heard that the province now produces some salt with excess steam from the Munphyong Smeltery; but that amount is not enough for the diet of its population.

South Hwanghae Province will find it difficult to produce a large quantity of salt because there is little waste heat available from the Haeju Smeltery and the Haeju Cement Factory. Nevertheless the province must launch a campaign to produce salt necessary for its own consumption by making effective use of all the waste heat.

Even if the amount of waste heat produced by factories is small, we must use it all for salt production. I have been told that making the equipment for producing salt with waste heat is not so difficult. The point is how our officials commit themselves to this work. They must organize work in detail to set up the equipment in all factories and enterprises which could produce salt by making use of waste heat.

The equipment made of iron for producing salt by using waste heat is said to rust easily. However, it can still last for five years, and you must therefore, first manufacture the equipment with iron plate. Needless to say, it would be good to use stainless steel, but in the present situation it is impossible for the state to supply the stainless steel immediately. Those which can obtain stainless steel and make the

equipment with it, must do so. It is advisable for every unit to undertake such work as manufacturing equipment and putting tiles on the cement tank. You must not delay this work by waiting for a supply of stainless steel from higher authorities, but manufacture the equipment quickly even with iron plate and start salt production. In addition, you must ensure that the factories and enterprises capable of producing salt by making use of waste heat send their technicians to the June 16 Thermal Power Station for a short course on the scientific and technical problems arising in the manufacture and operation of salt-producing equipment.

Next, you must build a salt production base with a capacity of 200,000 tons in the Hamhung area. The February 8 Vinalon Complex is not producing caustic soda at full capacity because of salt shortage. So we must build a new salt production base in the Hamhung area. The boilers to be installed in the salt factory must be manufactured by South Hamgyong Province.

As the electrolytic process can produce large amounts of salt at low cost, you must take measures to either import or manufacture on your own the necessary ion-exchange membranes. Cation-exchange membranes are now produced in our country. Therefore, you must adopt measures for the development of anion-exchange membranes so that you can produce them for salt production.

After today's consultative meeting, the Administration Council must reexamine the problems of setting up a salt production base with 200,000-ton capacity in the Hamhung area and of producing ion-exchange membranes.

The Hungnam Fertilizer Complex and the Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Complex must put their production on a steady basis.

In order to ensure success in agriculture in our country, we must put fertilizer production at the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex on a regular basis. Last year wide areas of farmland were carpeted with new soil, but this year's estimated grain harvest falls short of the planned figure; this is entirely because of insufficient fertilizer.

Only when we complete the installation of large and modern

equipment in the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex at an earlier date and keep its production on a steady basis can we grow rich crops. When this is finished, the integrated enterprise will produce 850,000 tons of fertilizer every year. Its present equipment for producing nitrogenous fertilizer is so old-fashioned and worn-out that it frequently gets out of order and leaks gas, giving rise to unsteady production and pollution. If we replace all the worn-out equipment with large, modern equipment, we can possibly eliminate pollution in Hamhung.

I have been here in the east coast area for a long time, instead of returning to Pyongyang, in order to step up and finish the projects for installing large, modern equipment in the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex and improving the carbide kiln in the February 8 Vinalon Complex. I will not return to Pyongyang before all the old equipment in the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex is completely replaced with new equipment.

I have been told that high-pressure valves had been a bottleneck in improving the equipment in the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex. Now that this problem has been solved, there will be no other major problems and therefore, if you work well, you will be able to finish the project before September 9. I intend to go to this complex on September 9 to cut the ribbon at the opening ceremony and celebrate the holiday with Hamhung citizens. You must also complete the project for improving the carbide kiln in the February 8 Vinalon Complex by September 9.

If it completes the construction of an oxygen plant and the project for improving its carbide kiln, the February 8 Vinalon Complex will be able to put production on a steady basis, and turn out 100,000 tons of methanol annually. Then, the factory will not need to receive methanol supplies from North Hamgyong Province. North Hamgyong Province must produce formalin resin with the methanol it has been supplying to the February 8 Vinalon Complex.

You must adopt measures for the Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Complex to produce at a steady rate. Regular production in this works is the key to all the other problems. If it is not supplied with coking

coal, the iron and steel works must rely on domestic raw material to meet the demand of the national economy for iron and steel. The integrated enterprise must take measures for producing iron and steel in this way.

We must do our best to live on our own, without relying on other countries. North Hamgyong Province has manufactured slurry explosive; that is very commendable. After getting a report from Comrade Kim Jong Il that the workers of the Musan Mining Complex have been working hard, installing new equipment, I looked round the mine to encourage the workers. That was about my fourth visit to the mine. I found that the mine has done a great deal of work during the time since my first visit. The most important success it has achieved is the production of slurry explosive. North and South Hamgyong Provinces and South Phyongan Province hold the lion's share in the use of explosives. South Phyongan Province must also manufacture slurry explosive for its own consumption. So a few days ago I phoned the chief secretary of the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee and told him to visit the slurry explosive factory in North Hamgyong Province.

In order to ensure a high and steady rate of production in all economic sectors, you must increase the generation of electricity and supply it efficiently. Electricity is not generated satisfactorily now mainly because sufficient coal is not supplied to thermal power stations. It will be impossible to produce sufficient amounts of coal if you pay only lip service, without making investment in coal mines. Since we have appointed large numbers of fine workers to the coal mines, you can produce large quantities of coal if only you invest in the coal mines. You must organize work meticulously and make a daring investment in the coal-mining sector, so all thermal power stations can operate at full capacity.

While increasing the production of electricity you must also deal efficiently with its supply. This year the work of supplying electricity was managed so poorly that during the farming season water pumps were not operated properly, retarding agricultural production. Even if

you have to cut power supplies to other sectors in the spring, you must not fail to supply the rural areas with electricity to operate water pumps.

In South Hamgyong Province you must concentrate power supplies on the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex and the February 8 Vinalon Complex. If not supplied with enough electricity, these enterprises will not be able to produce fertilizer, vinalon and caustic soda as planned, thereby badly affecting the people's lives. You must supply these enterprises with electricity without fail, so that they can operate at full capacity.

North Hamgyong Province must adopt measures to supply electricity to the Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Complex and the Musan Mining Complex. While operating the March 17 Power Station at full capacity on the one hand, the province, as with other provinces, must boost coal production on the other, to supply sufficient fuel to the other thermal power stations.

Officials must pay close attention to improving the people's diet.

We must take measures to feed enough meat to the children. Only when they eat enough meat can our children grow tall, thick-boned and become strong. In our country the state is responsible for bringing up children, so the state must concentrate its efforts on feeding them well. On my return from my visit to the European countries in 1984, I summoned the cadres together and emphasized the need to hurry up with the construction of factories that would produce nutritious food for children. We must do our best to produce large quantities of nutritious foodstuffs for our children, including meat and eggs, so that all of them will grow big and strong.

According to a foreign film I saw recently, the people of that country take rice with one meal a day and mostly noodles for other meals. Food made of flour is good for both digestion and absorption.

In our country, too, we should produce lots of delicious maize noodles for our people. So in future you must grow good maize-crops and raise ducks widely in rural communities so that people can take maize noodles garnished with duck meat.

Noodles should be made of denaturalized maize. The people of a certain country are said to be taking instant noodles for their lunch at work. Instant noodles, when dipped into hot water, become warm noodles, and, if put into cold water, become cold noodles. We must also produce a large quantity of instant noodles. Only then, can we let our people eat delicious flour food and relieve women from the burden of their household chores. Flour food is also good for the health.

The maize must be denaturalized because food made from natural maize is not good for the digestion and absorption as it contains a lot of indigestible protein. However, denaturalizing will dissolve indigestible protein, thereby stimulating its digestion and absorption. Cakes made of denaturalized maize flour are not inferior to those made of glutinous rice.

In order to make denaturalized maize noodles, you must manufacture many maize-denaturalizing machines. I once went to Jongpho-ri, Janggang County, Jagang Province, where I visited a serviceman's family and read a letter from a son who was serving in the army. There I saw the family boiling denaturalized maize noodles it had dried and eating them dipped into cold soup. Now, however, you are not manufacturing denaturalized-noodle presses as in the past. In future you must plan the manufacturing of maize-denaturalizing machines and make them for every dong and ri. They should be first installed in rural communities. You must not dictate the same size of machine for every rural area. Instead, you must see to it that every region selects size suited to its actual situation. Powdering maize is also a process of denaturalization, so you must not tell all rural communities to manufacture modern denaturalizing machines all at once, but allow them to manufacture powdering machines and noodle presses first and gradually manufacture and install modern denaturalizing machines.

Now there is a good supply of white rice in Pyongyang and some other cities; for the citizens to eat white rice is good, so you must not increase the supply of maize simply because you have been instructed to make a large quantity of denaturalized maize noodles. However,

since even in cities maize and other kinds of minor cereals are supplied to the citizens, you must ensure that each dong is provided with a set of maize-denaturalizing equipment.

On my current visit to North Hamgyong Province, I have found many interesting things, such as silkworm grass, drying of tobacco in the sun, cultivation of licorice, and maize and millet bearing many ears and good soy bean crops. It seems to me the yield of soy beans planted in experimental plots in North Hamgyong Province will be at least five tons per hectare. Five tons of soy beans per hectare is great. In our country soy beans are planted in limited areas and their yield is low. As North Hamgyong Province has high-yielding soy beans, you must distribute them widely so that all other provinces can plant them.

Today we discussed the matter of producing salt by making use of waste heat; after this consultative meeting all the attendants had better accompany the chief secretary of the North Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee to the June 16 Thermal Power Station and listen again to his explanation of the process.

Because the agricultural sector of North Hamgyong Province has done a great deal of work, I have summoned all the chief secretaries of the provincial Party committees, secretaries for provincial agriculture and the chairmen of the provincial rural economy, just to show them what the agricultural sector of North Hamgyong Province has done. I will also review the results of this year's farming and discuss the preparation for next year's farming with them. When they arrive, I intend to let them look around the experimental plots tomorrow morning, then discuss agriculture with them on the 25th. Around the 27th I plan to discuss the economic problems of North Hamgyong Province. In the meantime, you must check the fulfilment of the tasks I gave to North Hamgyong Province last year, and prepare the necessary documents.

**OFFICIALS MUST WORK FAITHFULLY
FOR THE PARTY AND LEADER,
THE COUNTRY AND PEOPLE**

**Talk to the Chief Secretary of the Jagang Provincial
Party Committee and the Head of the Jonchon
County Commercial Agency**

September 19, 1991

I have called you today to have lunch with you. Being apart for a long time, I wanted to see you and invite you to a meal.

You have inquired after the health of Comrade Kim Jong Il: He is in good health and leading the revolution and construction successfully. As he is dealing with all problems arising in the revolution and construction, I travel around frequently, giving on-the-spot guidance.

You have expressed your determination to work harder for the country and people under the leadership of Comrade Kim Jong Il. Nothing is more honourable and worthwhile for you than to work devotedly for your leader and Party, country and people.

Next year Comrade Kim Jong Il will celebrate his 50th birthday. He is, indeed, loyal to his country and people and boundlessly dutiful to me. So I always tell the officials to emulate his loyalty and filial devotion. All the cadres and the entire Party members and working people are now making all efforts to emulate Comrade Kim Jong Il's unflinching loyalty and great devotion to the leader, and it is quite natural for them to do so. The European socialist countries have all collapsed

overnight, whereas only our country retains socialism without flinching. That we are maintaining socialism into the future is attributable to the fact that I strengthened the Party in the past, and that Comrade Kim Jong Il has laid down solid organizational and ideological foundations, and has been carrying forward the revolution and construction, while giving wise leadership.

It is only when the right person is acclaimed as the successor to the leader that it is possible to preserve the leader's revolutionary achievements through to the end. Otherwise revolution and construction will come to naught and the country will come to ruin. Many people throughout the world are very envious of our country, and our people who have been to foreign countries, too, are saying that their leader, their Party, their country, their people and their socialism are the best in the world. You must complete our revolution following Comrade Kim Jong Il faithfully.

I have heard that Jagang Province has developed Mt. Jangja, where Comrade Kim Jong Il stayed during the Fatherland Liberation War, into a fine, revolutionary site, where Party members and working people as well as youth and children are educated. I will also find time to pay a visit to Mt. Jangja.

Comrade Jong Chun Sil, you are still in the prime of life. You are now 49 years old, and at this time of life you can work to the best of your ability. You have four children—two sons and two daughters—and that is reasonable. Ours is the one and only country which raises children at state expense. Our socialist system is the best.

I have seen the maize brought to me, the maize which the Jonchon County Commercial Agency harvested in the fields it cultivated on sideline. The ears are too large for the husk to wrap them up. Though not first filial generation, the ears of the maize are very large, and appeal to me. If 60 per cent of the maize plants have two ears each, as you say, then the per-hectare yield will be very high. The commercial agency has reclaimed land which other people had abandoned as unfit for cultivation. It planted maize there, harvesting 13 tons per hectare. It has done farming much good, and it would be a good idea to give some

of your maize seeds to the People's Army for cultivation. About two tons of maize seeds will be enough for them. I will take two ears of your maize and make a showing of them to other people at meetings. Your commercial agency has produced several hundred tons of maize annually, feeding it to domestic animals, and has delivered the remainder to the state. The quantity, totalling about 2,000 tons, is wonderful.

The 1.2 tons of cocoon you have produced per hectare of mulberry grove is great. You must proudly tell cocoon producers throughout the country that you have produced 1.2 tons of cocoon per hectare. If Jagang Province raises silkworms as successfully as you, Comrade Jong Chun Sil, it can produce 10,000 tons of cocoon annually. To do this the province must redouble its efforts.

In order to mass-produce cocoons, it is necessary to produce a large quantity of mulberry leaves. Acting on your experience in raising silkworms, you have produced a large quantity of mulberry leaves and fed them to silkworms. If Jagang Province produces a large quantity of mulberry leaves and plants a great amount of silkworm grass in the future, it can increase the production of cocoons per hectare by far.

Comrade Jong Chun Sil, you say that immediately after I instructed Jagang Province to create a wide area of mulberry grove and raise silkworms, you cultivated 12 hectares of mulberry grove and raised silkworms. You took the lead in silkworm-raising. You have played a leading role in all undertakings up to now. When I first met you, you were just a young girl with bobbed hair, but now you have won the Title of Twice Labour Heroine. It is not easy to twice become a labour hero. Some officials suggested that you be appointed a cadre, and recalled to Pyongyang in appreciation of your efficiency in working, but I declined their suggestion. If you are promoted to a cadre and recalled to Pyongyang, you will be away from the production field. So I saw to it that you remained in the same position. You must continue to play the role of heroine well in Jonchon County.

As is known, the officials of the Jonchon County Commercial Agency strove to implement the task I set for Jagang Province, the task

of improving the standard of living of its population by earning much foreign currency through silkworm raising. They supplied flower-patterned nylon cloth, a silk quilt, a high-quality blanket and suiting to each household of the county in 1984. They have done very well indeed.

Anyone who is working as I have instructed is a loyal person. Comrade Jong Chun Sil, you have produced 13 tons of maize per hectare from the field you cultivated on marginal land by mobilizing the officials of the commercial agency. A person like you is a hero or heroine and a loyal person. When there are many loyal officials like you, Comrade Jong Chun Sil, everything will be successful. You were admitted to the Party with my reference, but you have been trained as loyal worker by Comrade Kim Jong Il. You were right when you said that Comrade Kim Jong Il has nurtured you into being a loyal worker. Comrade Kim Jong Il has trained not only you but many other people to be loyal.

You, the Chief Secretary of the Jagang Provincial Party Committee, are also one of the officials we have trained. You were right when you said that you, who was born into a lumberman's family and went hungry in rags, suffering all sorts of maltreatment and humiliation before liberation, have become a Party member, chairman of a Party cell, chief secretary of a provincial Party committee, a member of the Party Central Committee and a deputy to the Supreme People's Assembly, all along under the care of the Party. I hope both of you will work faithfully in future too for the Party and the leader, the country and people.

The Jagang Provincial Party Committee must work more efficiently. If it carries out the task I have given on this occasion, the province will become prosperous.

If you tend 10,000 hectares of mulberry grove well, you will be producing 5,000 tons of cocoons at the rate of 0.5 tons per hectare. Five thousand tons of cocoons, if exported, can earn 12 million US dollars. This amount of foreign currency is enough to purchase about 120,000 tons of maize or about 100,000 tons of wheat.

Jagang Province can earn a lot of money if only it improves the land in Osu Heights and plants industrial crops there. On this visit to the province I have decided to have the land of Osu Heights carpeted with new soil and planted with industrial crops. If you spread new soil there, turning it into a fertile land, you can plant any amount of industrial crops there.

If the province builds a fertilizer factory with the capacity of 300,000 tons, and consumes 100,000 tons of fertilizer for its own purposes while exporting the other 200,000 tons, it can earn about 12 million US dollars. When the province produces cocoons, industrial crops and fertilizer and sells them to other countries, it can earn enough money to import food grains and everything it needs. And then, its population will be able to live well on rice and meat soup, in silk clothing and in tile-roofed housing, even putting aside the food grains it produces. On my last visit, while travelling by train and looking at the dwelling houses built nicely along the railways in Hwaphyong County, I said that living in such houses, eating rice and meat soup and wearing silk clothes, was the desire of our people. Jagang Province must carry out the task I have given so as to satisfy the wishes of our people.

Jagang Province must finish the construction of both the Hungju and Uijin Power Stations by next spring. I saw to it that cement and structural steel, wood and other materials and equipment needed for the construction of these power stations, and other medium and small-size power stations, were supplied out of state reserves. Next year I will come and look around the Hungju Power Station when it has been constructed. I will visit Jagang Province every year until the three tasks I have given this time—the task of planting mulberry trees closely on 10,000 hectares of mulberry grove and planting silkworm grass so as to produce 5,000 tons of cocoons, the task of improving the soil fertility of Osu Heights and planting industrial crops there, and the task of constructing a fertilizer factory of 300,000-ton capacity—are carried out so that its population can live happily. The city of Kanggye, Jonchon and Songgan Counties, and the cities of Manpho and Huichon in this province are industrial districts where workers are concentrated.

We must do our best to provide the working class with a good life.

It is reported that the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex has installed large-size, modern equipment and is conducting test operations successfully. On October 10, I shall go to the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex to attend its inauguration and give a banquet to congratulate the builders on their success.

On September 23 I expect to meet a Japanese delegation and, on the next day, visit Jonchon County. There I shall inspect the consumer-goods shop which has been rebuilt in a larger size than the former shop which stood on the same spot and which I once visited. Then I will go looking round the Jonchon Rock Drill Factory, Jonchon Match Factory and other factories in Jonchon County. On my way to Jonchon County I intend to drop in at Songgan County to visit the factories and enterprises there.

It would be a good idea to take the bear, a gift from Comrade Jong Chun Sil, at the Kumsusan Assembly Hall. Only then can I see the animal frequently.

You, the chief secretary of the provincial Party committee, must go to Osu Heights again tomorrow to inquire into the matter of carpeting it with new soil. Following my plan to turn the land of Osu Heights into a fertile land, you must pay constant attention to the matter. Carpeting with new soil and building non-paddy irrigation at Osu Heights can be done by the soldiers.

If I send you 500 discharged soldiers, you must see that 200 of them learn how to grow industrial crops, and that the other 300 build dwelling houses in Osu Heights. In future when 500 of them all marry, the manpower of young people will number 1,000 and will bring about a great change in Osu Heights.

Thank you for the toast you have proposed to my health and good life. Let us drink to the health of Comrade Kim Jong Il, to the unity and cohesion of our Party and to the ultimate victory of our revolution.

I hope you will remain loyal to Comrade Kim Jong Il for ever.

**ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED
BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE IWANAMI
SHOTEN, PUBLISHERS, JAPAN**

September 26, 1991

I would like to bid you a warm welcome to our country.

You are visiting our country again at a time when understanding between the Korean and Japanese peoples is growing deeper and the two peoples are calling louder than ever for normal diplomatic relations to be established between Korea and Japan. I am delighted to meet you, an old friend of mine, and talk with you again after six years.

I shall now answer your questions.

Question: Everyone now feels that mankind is in the midst of a great change.

I believe that the current age is a vortex in which the changes taking place are greater than those in the international order after the Second World War and which has appeared as the close of the 20th century coincides with the rapid advance of modern society.

Your Excellency, esteemed President, you are an unequalled, preeminent statesman who, as the great leader of your nation since the end of the Second World War, has lived through the changes in international politics.

Your Excellency, Mr. President, what is your view on this age of change and what do you foresee in the future?

Answer: Many changes are now taking place in the world. The

East-West confrontation that lasted, centring on the two superpowers, from the end of the Second World War has disappeared, new multilateral international relations are being formed, and the political situation in the world is becoming extremely complex. Sometimes unexpected events occur in succession. Generally speaking, this can be called a passing historical vortex which has appeared in the course of mankind's advance towards a new world of independence.

In order to form a correct view of the present age it is necessary to see the process of historical development in its full context and to identify its essence, not phenomena alone. To my regret, some people are interpreting the end of the cold war between East and West and the frustration of socialism in some countries as the victory of the old over the new and as a change in the direction of the historical tide. They are mistaken. There may be setbacks in the course of historical progress, but its direction cannot change.

To lead an equitable, happy life in a free and peaceful world, without domination, subjugation, aggression and war, is mankind's ideal which is derived from the social nature of independent man, and to aspire to such a world is the basic trend of historical development. Just as man's social nature is immutable, so the ideal of mankind is also immutable, and so is the direction of historical development. When we say that the present age is the age of change, a vortex, we should see it as a turn towards a new world of independence and as an upheaval to bring about such a turn.

Mankind not only aspires to a free and peaceful world but also creates the social and material conditions for building such a new world. Today no one approves of the old order of domination and subjugation under which man's independence is trampled underfoot, and it is rejected everywhere as a legacy of the old age. The rapid development of modern science and technology and the results of people's creative labour provide full possibilities for mankind to build a free and peaceful new world and to lead an equitable, happy life in that world. Nevertheless, mankind's aspiration to independence and its efforts to make it the reality are now confronted by an immense

obstacle and a serious challenge.

The cold war of the past caused by the confrontation between superpowers is disappearing, but the old forces of imperialism still remain and the imperialists are pursuing as ever their wild ambition to dominate the world. They are trying openly to rule the world, while maintaining the old order of domination and subjugation on the strength, above all, of their military superiority. Violence is the last resort of imperialism. The reactionary nature of imperialism, as the old forces which run counter to the trend of the new age, is now being revealed all the more clearly.

History will advance. Its tide will never be turned back due to an obstacle in its way. The masters of the world are the masses of the people, and they are the force that propels historical progress. We must not feel disappointed or hesitate at the changes on the historical scene on the eve of the 21st century; we must advance with firm confidence in the approach of a bright future for mankind, and pave the way for historical progress by believing in the strength of the masses of the people and relying on them. History shall advance along the path of independence and peace and the people's cause of independence will certainly end in victory.

Question: I think that the Korean nation's cause of reunification is now entering a new stage in which fresh possibilities for its realization are visible.

I believe that this is because the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has always regarded national reunification as its supreme task and has conducted all its activities towards its achievement.

I admire this.

In addition, people who believe in Korea's reunification and demand its realization are raising their voices louder as a result of a certain degree of democracy having been realized in south Korea, along with the changes in international politics.

Nevertheless, no great advance has yet been made. What is the reason? The consistent stand of your state is widely recognized. For this reason there are demands for bold concessions and improvements for greatly promoting

the negotiations between north and south Korea.

Will you please tell me once again your opinion on the principles for Korea's reunification, the detailed plan for its realization and the obstacles to it?

Answer: Our Party and the Government of the Republic have always regarded national reunification as the most important and pressing national task and made every effort to realize it. The fundamental principles we have consistently adhered to in the struggle for national reunification are the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity. On the basis of these principles, we have put forward many reasonable proposals for achieving national reunification.

With the growth of the democratic forces in south Korea and the new changes taking place in international relations, the south Korean people and our overseas compatriots have reached a deeper understanding of the consistent stand of our Party and the Government of our Republic and the justice of our plan for national reunification; they are turning out in the struggle for national reunification with greater determination as the days go by. Among the people living in the north and south, as well as abroad, the barrier of division has virtually crumbled and national reconciliation and unity has been achieved. Thus, the pan-national force for reunifying the country is becoming strong. The people are not to blame for the lack of progress towards national reunification. The failure to make further progress in this matter is due to the misguided attitude of those who are trying to keep the country divided for ever, clinging to the old way of thinking that existed during the cold war. The people consider that, when the country is reunified, they will lose nothing but the barrier of division. But those who want the permanent division of the country are afraid of losing their ruling position if the country is reunified. So they are laying artificial obstacles and difficulties in the way of national reunification.

Our country's reunification is not a matter of one side conquering

the other; it is a matter of linking the national blood ties which have been severed by foreign forces and of establishing the sovereignty of our nation across the country. That is why great national unity should be achieved in order to realize national reunification, and the interests and demands of individual classes and strata within the nation should be subordinated to those of the whole nation. In addition, all the activities of the entire nation should be directed to achieving national reunification. From this principled standpoint we hold that national reunification should be realized as soon as possible through the great unity of our nation, transcending differences in ideas, systems, classes, strata and religions.

Although the north and south of Korea have entered the UN separately, not occupying a single seat as was our just stand which would have been favourable to national reunification, there is no change in our view that Korea is one and shall certainly be reunified. In the future we will continue to hold fast to the stand of national independence and the principle of great national unity, and make persevering efforts to realize national reunification by means of federation on the basis of one nation, one state, two systems and two governments.

Question: Your Excellency, Mr. President, you have for a long time been saying that the improvement of relations between Korea and the United States is very important in achieving the reunification of the Korean nation and in ensuring security in the Far East.

It is reported that measures to this end have been sought in recent years.

Do you have any intention to open concrete negotiations with the United States now when the cold war is ending? What are the conditions necessary for the improvement of relations between Korea and the United States?

Answer: Because the United States is directly responsible for the division of Korea, and the achievement of national reunification is closely related to the US policy towards Korea, our Republic has made tireless efforts to improve relations between Korea and the United States.

It is common knowledge that the division of Korea began with the US military occupation of south Korea, and the danger of war on the Korean peninsula has been growing and great obstacles have been laid to national reunification because the US has turned south Korea into a nuclear military base.

From the point of view of justice in the international community, the present Korea-US relations are unequal.

Our Republic has never encroached upon the interests of the United States, nor can it do so. It is the United States that has always forced its will on us; we have never imposed our will on the United States.

When the two superpowers were opposed to each other, the United States could use the excuse that south Korea was necessary as a military base against communism; however, nowadays even this excuse no longer exists. Despite this, the United States, as ever, is maintaining its nuclear military base in south Korea and threatening our Republic militarily. Nevertheless, the United States insists that the Korean question should be settled by the north and south of Korea and is trying to evade its responsibility. This is a mistaken attitude which can convince nobody today.

As we have already said, there are large and small countries and developed and less developed nations in the world, but there should be no higher and lower countries nor predominant and dominated nations. We believe that the time has come when the United States should change its policy towards Korea. The American people are now demanding this, and it accords with the interests of the American and Korean peoples and with the common aspirations of the world people.

If the United States, in accordance with the trend of the times, reexamines its Korea policy and aids Korea's reunification, it will be welcomed by the Korean and world people, and a new phase will be opened in improving the relations between Korea and the United States.

Recently there has been contact between Korean and US diplomats and they have exchanged their views with each other, though on a limited scale. I think that it is a good thing. We hope that the contact

between Korean and US diplomats will develop into dialogue for the signing of a peace agreement and the settling of other basic problems that exist between Korea and the United States.

Question: The question of the so-called “nuclear inspection” of your country is arousing international concern since it is related to the settlement of Japan-Korea and Japan-US relations.

I am dubious about the fact that the Japanese government has placed this issue as a major item on the agenda in the talks for normalizing Japan-Korea relations and that it has gained some support in the media.

Japan must demand the denuclearization of the north and south of Korea and of Japan itself. It is obviously wrong for Japan to insist on this issue unilaterally, it being a bilateral matter between Japan and Korea.

You have put forward a non-nuclear policy time and again and a plan for turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear free, peace zone.

Mr. President, what is your opinion on the issue of “nuclear inspection”?

Answer: The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea is a non-nuclear state. Proceeding from its noble desire to remove the danger of nuclear war from the Korean peninsula and ensure the peace and security of Asia and the rest of the world, the Government of our Republic has put forward a proposal for turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear free, peace zone and has made positive efforts to realize it.

We have no intention to develop nuclear weapons and have no ability to do so. Therefore, we have no objection to nuclear inspection. What we are against is not the nuclear inspection itself, but the unreasonable attitude of some people who are trying to impose nuclear inspection on us unilaterally, contrary to international justice. We have never posed a nuclear threat to anyone, yet we are exposed to a nuclear threat. It is no secret that more than 1,000 US nuclear weapons have been deployed in south Korea. Therefore, if a fair nuclear inspection is to be carried out, it should be made not only in the north, but also at the nuclear bases in south Korea.

The attempt by some countries to impose a nuclear inspection on us is a flagrant encroachment on the sovereignty of our country. By nature, nuclear inspection must not be dealt with under international pressure; it must be settled by our country independently with the International Atomic Energy Agency. Independence is the lifeblood of an independent and sovereign state. It is self-evident that a country which regards independence as its lifeblood cannot tolerate and accept the pressure of other countries aimed at meddling in its internal affairs.

Nuclear inspection is not a matter to be discussed at the talks for the normalization of Korea-Japan diplomatic relations. It is wrong for Japan, if she desires the establishment of friendly relations with our country, to try to put pressure on us in tune with the unjustified demands of external forces, far from being sympathetic with and giving support to our country, the victim of a constant nuclear menace.

As we are not opposed to nuclear inspection, this issue will be settled spontaneously if the unreasonable pressure that is being put on us is removed and impartiality is ensured.

Question: The door to the normalization of Japan-Korea relations has just been opened as a result of the publication of the joint declaration of the three Parties. It is something we have desired for many years. Nevertheless I, as a Japanese, am very apprehensive because the Japanese attitude lacks sincerity and the determination to redress their historical errors.

Your Excellency, Mr. President, you have been optimistic about the prospects, saying that “nothing can hinder the negotiations for normal relations between Japan and Korea.”

What do you think is important for the quick success of the negotiations?

I will be grateful to you if you give me some practical suggestions.

Your Excellency, esteemed President, please tell the Japanese people what you would like to say to them today when hope and stagnation are mixed.

Answer: The normalization of Korea-Japan relations is an important, pressing matter both in view of the desires and the interests of our two peoples and the trend in the world situation. That is why the

Workers' Party of Korea, the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan and the Japan Social Democratic Party proposed and adopted the joint declaration of the three Parties, which was warmly welcomed and supported by our two peoples and the peace-loving people of the world.

The joint declaration of the three Parties identifies the essence of the problem of normalizing Korea-Japan relations and the principles for achieving it, and we have already clarified them many times.

Our Republic, which makes independence, peace and friendship the basis of its foreign policy, desires the normalization of relations with Japan, a neighbour with which it has historically had long-standing relations. This is quite natural. I fought Japanese imperialism for many years to liberate our nation, but I have never been against the Japanese people. In the past we had Japanese friends who supported the just struggle of our people and we have many such friends today, too. I have a high regard for the just activities of such Japanese friends.

The starting point in the settlement of Korea-Japan relations is that Japan sincerely repents of her past wrongs. In order to get on well with each other and develop their relations, both individuals and countries must repent of their wrongs of the past and learn a lesson from them. I consider that it is because Japan rejected her aggressive militarist policy of the past and made a new start that she, a defeated country, could be reconstructed and developed rapidly after the war. I think, therefore, that in order to achieve further development as an economic power Japan should not repeat her wrongs of the past in her relations with other countries but repent of them and develop relations of genuine friendship.

There is a Korean saying that by seeing one a man can know ten. The progressive people of Asia and the rest of the world will watch to see with what idea and on what principles Japan will work to normalize Korea-Japan diplomatic relations, and they will judge a great deal from it. There are many far-sighted politicians in Japan. Therefore, we are optimistic about the normalization of Korea-Japan diplomatic relations, believing that Japan will strive to solve the problem from the

stand of independence, brushing aside foreign interference and obstruction.

Both Korea and Japan are Asian countries and are interested in the common development and prosperity of Asia. If the peoples of Korea and Japan, which are neighbours with a sea in between and which have great potential, understand each other and make joint efforts, they will be able to contribute greatly to the Asian people's common cause of building a new, free and peaceful Asia.

I hope that the Korean and Japanese peoples will unite and cooperate with each other for peace and prosperity in Asia. I would also like to avail myself of this opportunity to extend my warm greetings to the Japanese people.

ON DEVELOPING FOREIGN TRADE IN CONFORMITY WITH CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES

**Speech at a Consultative Meeting of Party,
State and Economic Officials**

November 23 and 26, 1991

The situation in relation to our foreign trade has now undergone a great change. With the collapse of socialism and the revival of capitalism in the Soviet Union and East European countries which had been building socialism, the socialist market has ceased to exist. These countries are now adopting the capitalist market economy and conducting their foreign trade by capitalist methods. Some other countries continue to advance along the socialist road, but they have adopted the capitalist mode of foreign trade. They request our country to settle trade accounts in dollars.

We should alter our foreign trade practices in conformity with the changed circumstances.

In the past when the socialist market existed we used the socialist market mainly and the capitalist market secondarily. But we cannot conduct foreign trade in a socialist way now that the socialist market disappeared and all countries are applying the capitalist way of foreign trade. Since we have to trade with the capitalist market, not the socialist market, we have to change the method of foreign trade accordingly. The changed circumstances require us to venture into the capitalist market and effect a change in foreign trade.

In order to develop our foreign trade by dealing with the capitalist market, we must, above all, tap large sources of exports.

We have already set long-term targets for the commissions and ministries under the Administration Council to earn foreign currency annually by increasing exports. However, next year's export indexes of the commissions and ministries, which were drafted after discussion by the Administration Council, are far from satisfactory. In order to attain the goal we have set, all sectors must strive to explore sources of exports and increase the production of export goods.

Our country has many sources of export goods. If officials use their heads and work hard, every sector can increase the production of export goods and earn large amounts of foreign currency.

The Ministry of Railways, for example, has the potential to earn a lot of foreign currency. The ministry has built a large container factory. If the ministry were to install all the necessary equipment and manufacture and export containers, they would earn a lot of foreign currency. Selling steel in the form of containers will bring us several times as much money as can be earned by selling unprocessed steel. Raw steel enough for a container can be sold for 700 dollars, but a container sells for 2,000 dollars. The Ministry of Railways could also sell such things as train wheels and axles. Foreign demand for train wheels and axles is great. One train wheel sells for 400 dollars. If we produce 100,000 train wheels, we can use 50,000 and export 50,000, which would bring in 20 million dollars. Until now the Ministry of Railways has not thought it could earn much foreign currency, but that is not really the case. It could earn a lot of foreign currency. The rail transport sector needs about 100,000 tons of steel a year. From now on, the ministry must earn foreign currency on its own and import the steel it needs.

We are now exporting magnesia clinker in large quantities. If we sell it in the form of firebricks, instead of selling it raw, we could earn more foreign currency. Magnesia clinker sells on the international market for 60 dollars a ton, but in the form of firebricks it sells for at least four times as much. Firebricks are used in industrial furnaces for smelting ores, metals and the likes and heating steel, so there is a great

demand for them on the world market. Since our country produces large quantities of magnesia clinker and is rich in clay, we are perfectly able to produce firebricks for the foreign market. It is not difficult to make firebricks. They are made with a power press. Presses needed for the production of firebricks can be made domestically. We have made a 10,000-ton press, so there is no reason why we should not make presses for firebrick production.

In order to earn more foreign currency we must decisively develop secondary-processing industries. Our industry is now well developed, much more so than in the postwar period, when the Kangson Steel Works valiantly managed to produce 120,000 tons of rolled steel in the spirit of fortitude with a blooming mill of only 60,000-ton capacity. Now we can make very sophisticated machines on our own. Recently we modernized the equipment of the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex and greatly increased its production capacity in only three months. The large synthetic ammonia converter, the 4,000-hp compressor, the high-pressure valves and the other equipment were made by our own efforts. I watched on video the operating of this new equipment. It is well made. If we upgrade the Ryongsong General Machine Bureau, the Taean Heavy Machine Complex and other machine-building factories and produce ordered equipment there so as to build many secondary-processing factories, this will allow us to produce and sell fine goods in large quantities, instead of selling raw materials.

If we cultivate various medicinal herbs and produce Koryo medicines for the foreign market, we could also earn a lot of foreign currency.

Insam (ginseng) has a good export potential. If we produce one ton of *insam* and sell it in the form of *paeksam* we can buy 150 tons of maize, if in the form of *hongsam*, 500 tons and if in the form of liquor, 1,400 tons. However, our officials are not working hard to increase the production of *insam*. I have long emphasized the need to increase the area of *insam* farms in Kaesong and cultivate it on a large scale, but this task is not being carried out properly.

A foreign country is now making a large amount of medicines from such drugs as *insam* and deer antler and selling them at high prices. In

our country, virtually no trading organization except for the Mannyon General Bureau of Public Health is making Koryo medicines for the foreign market. From this we can see that our officials do not yet know how to earn money.

The number of export items must be sharply increased. All export potentials, even trifling ones, must be tapped. A certain country exports pickled bellflower roots, radish and pumpkin, or dried slices of them, at high prices by packing them in plastic containers. Only by exporting a large variety of items by every possible method can you earn a lot of money. Although we have a large source of export items, we cannot earn money because our trading officials are still working in a crude manner.

Foreign visitors say that they could find many lucrative ventures in our country. If we work efficiently we could earn a large sum of foreign currency by selling spring water, sand, stone or similar things which are abundant in our country. There are many good springs like Sindok spring in every part of our country, for instance, in Kyongsong County, North Hamgyong Province and in Thaethan County, South Hwanghae Province. Foreign demand for spring water is great.

There is also large demand for stones like granite and marble on the foreign market. Nearly 80 per cent of our country is mountainous, so there are large deposits of various kinds of stone. We should mine granite, marble and non-metallic minerals in large quantities, and process and export them. There are many other sources of foreign currency. If we actively explore the export potential of every item, we could earn tens of billions of dollars annually. We must make every effort to discover large amounts of export potentials from every sector.

To develop our foreign trade we must ensure that every sector strives to greatly improve the quality of export goods.

If we want to sell our goods on the capitalist market, we must improve their qualities much higher. The quality of the goods we are now producing is not high. Nobody will buy goods of poor quality in the capitalist market. Foreign countries are now endeavouring to improve the quality of their goods. By contrast, our officials do not make sufficient efforts to improve the product quality. Consequently

they cannot raise their qualities as they should. We must upgrade the qualities of export goods to the level required for the capitalist market.

It is very important for the machine-building industry to improve the quality of machine products. Some of the machines we make are not of very high quality. It is said that the Ryongsong General Machine Bureau cannot improve product quality because they cannot test their products as test equipment is unavailable. We must provide the Ryongsong General Machine Bureau with test equipment. Foreign currency needed for the test equipment shall be supplied. You must import it as soon as possible and install it there by April 15 next year. You must see that in future all the machinery produced by the Ryongsong General Machine Bureau passes the test.

We must also improve the packaging of export goods to develop foreign trade.

It is very important to package export goods well. In order to sell our products on the capitalist market, we must also package them well. Poorly packaged goods do not fetch good prices. Goods should be packaged to cater to the tastes of people in capitalist countries.

To develop foreign trade to meet the requirements of the changed circumstances we must rectify the trading work system.

You have decided that the commissions and ministries under the Administration Council take over some trading corporations from the Ministry of Foreign Trade. That is a good idea. By doing so you will see that the commissions and ministries manage foreign trade on their own to support themselves. As trade with the capitalist countries has to deal with individual capitalists, the commissions and ministries should be allowed to have their own trading corporations to deal with them.

In this way the commissions and ministries under the Administration Council will import raw materials and other supplies needed for their factories and enterprises and ensure steady production. They should regard it as their basic task in foreign trade to provide raw materials and other necessities for the factories and enterprises on their charge in good time. They must also actively explore export potentials and improve trade in every way to earn as much foreign currency as possible.

If we had developed foreign trade efficiently in this manner earlier, we could have found prompt solutions to problems arising in the various sectors of the national economy and ensured steady production. This year potato farming in Ryanggang Province suffered considerable losses due to the cocorado beetle. If the Agricultural Commission or Ryanggang Province had imported insecticide through foreign trade on its own, the damage could have been prevented.

It is important to allocate trading indices properly to the commissions and ministries in accordance with the trading corporations turned over to them. The amounts of export and import items for each of them must be clearly defined. For example, crude rubber, though used by different sectors of light industry and other industries, could be imported to meet national needs by the Ministry of Mining Industry with the money it earns by exporting magnesia clinker. At the same time it would import raw materials and other supplies necessary for regular production in its own sector. If the Ministry of Mining Industry cannot manufacture firebricks, even though it produces magnesia clinker, the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry could be given the task of producing and exporting them in exchange for its necessities. The same trade items can be handled by several different organizations. As matters now stand, footwear production is in a hitch because of the delay in the import of crude rubber. So long as crude rubber is imported by different trading corporations, such a situation can be avoided.

Now that the commissions and ministries conduct foreign trade through their own trading corporations, the Ministry of Foreign Trade must give efficient guidance to foreign trade overall. It is particularly important to tighten price controls to prevent the trading corporations of commissions and ministries from competing with each other on the international market. If they compete with each other in their dealings with foreign countries, the state may suffer a great loss.

Next year's export plan, which has been submitted after discussion by the Administration Council, still leaves much room for exploring reserves. So it should not be seen as a final decision, but be supplemented further by tapping more potential even while implementing it.

**SPEECH DELIVERED AT A BANQUET
HELD TO CONGRATULATE THE COMPLETION
OF THE PROJECT TO INSTALL LARGE
AND MODERN EQUIPMENT TO THE
HUNGNAM FERTILIZER COMPLEX**

December 1, 1991

First I would like to extend heartfelt thanks on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Government of the Republic and myself to the working class, scientists and technicians of the Ryongsong General Machine Bureau, the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex, the Taean Heavy Machine Complex, the Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Complex, the Songjin Steel Complex, the Chollima Steel Complex and the Equipment Assembly Complex, to the members of the Party guidance team, shock brigades, citizens of Hamhung and to all other people who have participated in the project to install large-scale, modern equipment in the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex. They completed it in a short time with an unflinching loyalty to the Party and the leader.

While giving field guidance to South Hamgyong Province last July, I made a decision to have large-scale, modern equipment installed in the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex and called on our working class and officials to do the job as quickly as possible. In true response to the Party's call, our working class, scientists, technicians, members of the Party guidance team and the Hamhung citizens rose up as one for the project. They made intensive efforts and completed the project in three months, producing ammonia for the first time with the equipment on

October 8. The completion of such a large project in such a short span of time was unexpected and unusual. The working class, scientists, technicians, members of the Party guidance team and the Hamhung citizens who participated in the project have performed a colossal task. I am delighted with it.

This success story proves the greatness of the socialist system and independent national economy of our country, where the leader, the Party and the masses are united as one. It also proves the power of our working class and other people. Throughout the project we were fully convinced that the slogan, “When the Party is determined, we can do anything!” is impeccable in that it reflects truthfully the realities of our country, where the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses have been achieved. It is an excellent slogan that has rooted deep in the hearts of our people. On this occasion I have been convinced once again that when our Party is determined, there is nothing we cannot perform and gained a fresh courage.

We must not slacken the revolutionary spirit displayed in the current project; we should make a continuous advance at a fast speed and bring about another great revolutionary upsurge in socialist construction.

We have sufficient power to do this. We have the laudable working class and people who carry out any difficult task without fail if the Party is determined, a large army of scientists, technicians and specialists whom we have trained and a great number of modern factories and enterprises including the Ryongsong General Machine Bureau and the Taean Heavy Machine Complex. In these circumstances, if we set out with determination, we will be able to create fresh innovations and miraculous successes in socialist economic construction and fully realize the goals of socialism.

The goals of socialism we have set up are not so high nor are they so distant. The goals are to raise the standard of living of the entire people to the level of the middle class of the past. In other words, we are going to enable all people to live on rice and meat soup, in silk clothing and tile-roofed housing. Living in this way is a

centuries-old desire of our people.

The chemical industry, particularly the chemical factories in Hamhung, occupies an important place in solving the problem of food, clothing and housing for our people. If the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex, the February 8 Vinalon Complex and other chemical factories in the city produce such chemical goods as chemical fertilizers, vinalon, caustic soda and vinyl chloride in large quantities, a great change will take place in the solving of the problem of food, clothing and housing for our people.

I expect that the working class in the chemical industry in Hamhung and the working class in related sectors will make a great contribution to solving the problem of food, clothing and housing for our people in true response to the Party's call to bring about another great revolutionary upsurge.

First of all, great efforts should continuously be made to increase fertilizer production.

As I always say, fertilizer is immediately rice and rice is communism. Only when we have a sufficient amount of fertilizer can we raise good crops to produce a great amount of grain and meat and further build socialism and communism. Now that modern equipment has been installed in the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex, the problem of fertilizer will be largely solved.

Crop cultivation has not been satisfactory in recent years, not because farming machines are small in number or the rural economic system is bad, but because fertilizer has been in short supply. In our rural areas an advanced socialist rural economy has been established and there are many farming machines. If we are to develop the rural economy and build socialism, we should hold fast to the cooperativization of agriculture; we must not introduce a private peasant economy, through which it is impossible to effect irrigation and mechanization in agriculture and raise crop production. We should feel pride in our socialist rural economic system and develop the rural economy in our own fashion. If fertilizer is produced in large quantities on the basis of the further development of the socialist cooperative

economic system, farming can be done effectively.

South Hamgyong Province says it can produce one million tons of grain next year if it is supplied with enough fertilizer for 800 kg per hectare. What is important in farming in this province is to study an effective method suited to the east coast area and disseminate it, along with applying much fertilizer. The essentials of the Juche farming method are raising healthy seedlings, applying fertilizer appropriately and regulating water properly, and these have not been studied in detail for farming in the east coast area. As I took the helm of farming in the west coast area and gave constant guidance, everything is clear as to how to raise seedlings, when to transplant them, when and how much fertilizer should be applied and how water should be controlled. But it is a different case for farming in the east coast area because I failed to give frequent guidance to it and officials, too, paid little attention. So on this occasion I gave the Secretary for Agricultural Affairs of the Party Central Committee and the chairman of the Agricultural Commission the task of studying farming methods suited to the east coast area.

With the installation of the new equipment in the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex, the problem of fertilizer can be solved largely, but we cannot rest content. The greater the amount of fertilizer produced, the better. If we produce fertilizer in large quantities, we can export it either to earn money or to import materials we need. In recent years capitalism has revived in the Soviet Union and in other East European socialist countries and our economic exchange with them has been severed. In these circumstances we must make inroads in the southeast Asian market with chemical fertilizers. As the countries in southeast Asia farm on a large scale, they demand fertilizers and agricultural chemicals in great quantities. If we export fertilizers to them, we can import crude rubber and palm oil from them.

The Hungnam Fertilizer Complex, without slackening the spirit with which it installed large, modern equipment, should try to increase its capacity for fertilizer production to one million tons. Yesterday while inspecting the complex, I found places where more compressors

can be installed. If two or so 4,000-hp compressors are installed, the complex's capacity for producing fertilizer could be increased to one million tons. In addition, the working class and builders of the Ryongsong General Machine Bureau, the Tae'an Heavy Machine Complex and other factories and enterprises should buckle down to creating a capacity for producing 900,000 tons of fertilizer at the Sunchon Vinalon Complex.

For fertilizer production capacity to be increased, the Ryongsong General Machine Bureau and other factories and enterprises that produce ordered equipment should produce 4,000-hp compressors for timely supply.

If the production capacity of the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex is increased to one million tons, a capacity for producing 900,000 tons of fertilizer created in the Sunchon Vinalon Complex and a new base for producing 300,000 tons of fertilizer built in Jagang Province, then we can produce about 3 million tons of nitrogen fertilizer every year. This will be enough; we would use 2 million tons at the rate of one ton of it per hectare and export about one million tons.

The project to install modern equipment should be stepped up in the February 8 Vinalon Complex.

The vinalon complex is a base of the Juche-orientated chemical industry that relies completely on domestic raw materials. The complex makes carbide from limestone and anthracite to manufacture vinalon and various other chemical goods. Resins such as vinyl chloride can be made from carbide, and footwear, toys and various other daily necessities are made from vinyl chloride. Anthracite, and especially limestone, are abundant in our country. If we mine limestone and make active use of it, we can be well-off for many generations. We praise Dr. Ri Sung Gi because he made it possible to build the Juche-oriented chemical industry, which produces vinalon and other chemical goods from limestone and anthracite. We should not slight the carbide industry, but develop it continuously. In this light installing modern equipment in the February 8 Vinalon Complex can be called a project of great significance.

What is important in the project is to build the oxygen-plant workshop as early as possible and blow oxygen into the hermetic electric furnaces to produce carbide. This has many good aspects. If oxygen is blown into the furnace, not only is a great deal of electricity saved, but the gas emitted from the furnace can be collected to produce methanol. If methanol is produced, vinalon production can be ensured without fetching methanol from North Hamgyong Province and both formalin resin and protein feed can be produced.

If protein feed is produced from methanol, the problem of domestic-animal feed can be solved. We fail to produce meat in large quantities and supply it to the people because of the shortage of domestic-animal feed. It is at present beyond our power to solve the feed problem by growing more grain. Unless we produce more than ten million tons of grain, it is difficult to supply sufficient feed needed for meat production. If we are to make soya milk for children and protein feed with soy beans, we need about 250,000 tons of them and it is not simple to produce that amount. We gather no more than two tons of soy beans per hectare at the most in our country, so we need at least 100,000 hectares to produce 250,000 tons of soy beans. With our limited cropland it is difficult to allot 100,000 hectares to soy beans.

Though it is difficult to solve the problem of protein feed by growing more soy beans, it is possible to solve the problem of soya milk and bean-curd for children. About 100,000 tons of soy beans are needed for producing soya milk and bean-curd for children and that amount can be obtained if we plant them on 50,000 hectares, an average of 5,000 hectares per province. That amount of soy beans could be imported. This would cost 30 million dollars at the rate of 300 dollars per ton.

The problem of protein feed should be solved by producing it from methanol rather than by planting or importing soy beans. Protein feed made from methanol is very good as it contains twice as much protein as soy beans. When the first-stage project of installing modern equipment in the February 8 Vinalon Complex is completed, the

complex will produce 30,000 tons of protein feed, enough for producing meat to be supplied to the Hamhung citizens and the people living in the Tanchon and Kowon areas. At present the Kwangpho Duck Farm is not producing duck as it should because of the shortage of feed; when protein feed is produced it should be used to produce duck for supplying to Hamhung. For the present, our Party is going to ensure that 100 grammes of meat is supplied to every man every day. When protein feed is produced, Hamhung should first supply 100 grammes of meat to each citizen and then 200 grammes. For that, the city should make an effort. South Hamgyong Province should install modern equipment in the February 8 Vinalon Complex as soon as possible and in the same spirit with which it finished so quickly the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex project.

The building of the oxygen-plant workshop should be finished as quickly as possible. Since the oxygen plant and other equipment have all arrived at the complex, it is important to assemble them quickly.

The hermetic electric furnaces that produce carbide in the complex should all be modified quickly so that oxygen can be blown into them. If production of methanol by blowing oxygen into the furnaces is successful, we intend to do it on a larger scale. When ten more hermetic furnaces are built during the second-stage project of introducing modern equipment in the complex, methanol can be produced in large quantities and production of protein feed, formalin resin and various other goods from methanol can be increased. The oxygen plants needed in the second-stage project are produced by ourselves, so they will not pose any problem.

In order to collect the gas emitted from the hermetic electric carbide furnace to produce methanol, a 40,000-cubic-metre centrifugal compressor should be developed soon. The compressor is a major kind of equipment essential for collecting gas from the hermetic electric carbide furnace to produce methanol. If only one or two compressors of that kind were needed, we could import them, but they are demanded in large numbers by the Sunchon Vinalon Complex, the

February 8 Vinalon Complex, by North Hamgyong Province and various other places. In these circumstances, we must develop the compressor as soon as possible and produce it ourselves. The Ryongsong General Machine Bureau and the Taean Heavy Machine Complex must manufacture the compressor at any cost through a joint effort. The Ryongsong General Machine Bureau is determined to produce and supply without fail the compressors needed, for example, by the Sunchon Vinalon Complex and the February 8 Vinalon Complex, and that is laudable. It is also excellent that the Taean Heavy Machine Complex has organized work to produce high-quality impellers for the 40,000-cubic-metre centrifugal compressor.

South Hamgyong Province should maintain the Sinhung Chemical Complex that has been organized on this occasion, and make an effort to put its production on a steady footing. During my current stay in the province I found that the February 8 Vinalon Complex was too big, so I separated some factories from the complex and organized a new complex, naming it the Sinhung Chemical Complex.

The immediate task facing the Sinhung Chemical Complex is to put its equipment in a good state of repair. The complex should not repair them in a passive way, like patching up torn trousers, but in a comprehensive way.

The complex should quickly put the production of caustic soda on a steady basis. Since caustic soda is a basic material in the chemical industry, we cannot run chemical factories properly if it is not available. The Sinuiju Chemical Fibre Complex, the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Complex and other chemical factories are now not running as they should because of the shortage of caustic soda.

For proper production of caustic soda in the Sinhung Chemical Complex, a salt factory should be constructed as early as possible. We now produce salt with saltpans, but we cannot meet the demand for salt in this way alone. The saltpans in our country yield one million tons of salt a year at the most. As saltpans, by nature, depend greatly on the weather, we cannot meet the demand for salt by relying only on saltpans.

So, a salt factory should be built. The issue of building the factory was originally raised by Jong Jun Thae, and the June 16 Thermal Power Station was built to generate electricity needed by the salt factory. But as the supply of electricity is strained in the country, we have so far failed to build the factory. In the meantime it was reported to me that our scientists had finished research on the method of producing salt by means of an ion-exchange resin membrane, without using much electricity. The greatest problem in making salt through the ion exchange method was the membrane, and our scientists have solved the problem. If new scientific and technological ideas are researched in this way and introduced to production, we can solve all the knotty problems. We should attach great importance to science at all times and exert great effort on its development. A man living in the age of science cannot move even one step forward without attaching great importance to science. Now that the problems raised in the building of the salt factory have all been solved, we should build the factory as soon as possible and meet the demand for salt.

Hamhung should continue to make a vigorous effort to eliminate air pollution. This is a fundamental issue facing the city. It should pay constant and special attention to this issue, for there are many chemical factories there.

I have long stressed this issue but air pollution remains. Large and modern equipment has been installed at the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex partly to increase fertilizer production and partly to prevent air pollution. Officials should make a dynamic effort for about one year so as to make Hamhung a city free from polluted air, an excellent city in which all its citizens lead a happy life to their heart's content without breathing polluted air.

In order to eliminate polluted air in Hamhung, officials should have a correct point of view in the first place. Air pollution has not yet been eliminated in Hamhung largely because of the officials who have not made strenuous efforts to this end, thinking that air pollution is inevitable in the city for it has many chemical factories. If they are of the view that air pollution is unavoidable, air pollution will never be

eliminated. Any one who lives in Hamhung should always bear in mind the phrase “elimination of air pollution” and take an active part in the effort to eliminate air pollution.

To prevent air pollution, the gasket problem should be solved. At present a great amount of gas leaks from chemical factories because of inefficient gaskets. Quality gaskets should be produced to prevent gas leakage from these factories.

Equipment for chemical factories should also be manufactured in an excellent way. Unless it is made efficiently, prevention of air pollution is impossible whatever else we do. Officials and workers of the Ryongsong General Machine Bureau, the Taean Heavy Machine Complex and other factories and enterprises that manufacture a lot of equipment for chemical factories should radically improve the quality of their products. On the current inspection of the finished project of installing large and modern equipment in the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex, I found that the quality of the equipment was not so high. It is advisable that all machine factories put up slogans for improving the quality of their products and preventing air pollution, and work in accordance with these slogans.

Machine factories should be provided with test equipment. Without this equipment they cannot improve the quality of their products. The low quality of the machines produced by machine factories is in part due to the lack of test equipment. Some time ago the Ryongsong General Machine Bureau requested foreign currency for buying test equipment, so I ensured that it was supplied with it. The general bureau should be provided with all the money needed for improving the quality of machines produced there.

After installing the test equipment the general bureau should make a strenuous effort to improve the quality of its products. The quality of machines produced does not improve on its own accord simply because the equipment to test them has been installed. Accurately examining the machines produced before shipping them is important, and more important is that machines should be made in an excellent way from the start.

It is advisable that Hamhung produce many bicycles and sell them to its citizens.

The bicycle is a convenient means of transport. Using bicycles is good economically as it does not consume oil and it is also good for people's health.

In recent years other countries have begun to use bicycles in large numbers. On my last visit to China, I saw many people riding bicycles.

In order to solve the problem of bicycle supply in Hamhung, it should have a strong base for producing bicycles. The Hamhung Bicycle Factory is said to have a production capacity of 10,000 bicycles a year; this is too small. With that capacity, it is impossible to meet the demand of even a single district of the city. There should be several hundred thousand bicycles to meet the demand of the city. The bicycle factory should be supplied with sufficient amounts of materials so that it can produce bicycles in great numbers. Producing a bicycle does not need much material. Even in the difficult period of the Fatherland Liberation War we ensured that a bicycle-production base was built and bicycles were produced.

The Ryongsong General Machine Bureau is said to be producing bicycles; it should sell them to its workers. It is also laudable that the Taeon Heavy Machine Complex has begun to manufacture bicycles. The roads in Nampho have been paved well, so if the Taeon Heavy Machine Complex manufactures bicycles in great numbers and sells them to workers, they will commute and go to other places by bicycle.

An active effort should be made to economize on anthracite.

At present, most residential buildings burn anthracite. Many houses in South Hamgyong Province would be burning it. There are four million flats in our country. And they burn a lot of anthracite every year. On average each one burns two tons of anthracite a year, which adds up to eight million tons every year. That is a lot of coal, therefore, we cannot meet the demand for it by allowing residential units to burn it. We might run dry of anthracite resources in the near future if we consume it as we do at the moment.

If we are to ensure that homes do not burn anthracite, we should introduce central heating. If we introduce central heating and cooking gas, they will not use anthracite even if we allow them to. It is said that houses can be heated by making use of solar energy or electricity generated by wind-driven generators, without going to the length of introducing central heating. But they are not yet realistic choices. A foreign magazine carried an article that describes heating and cooking with solar energy. I read the article with interest, but it is difficult to introduce solar technology at the moment. Foreign magazines carry various data on generating electricity with solar energy, waves and so on, but in all aspects they are in the research stage. It is the same case with producing electricity with wind-driven generators. Officials who had been to other countries once reported to me that those countries were producing electricity with wind-driven generators, so I told them to buy some and try them. But they did not generate electricity properly. Introducing central heating is the most realistic and best way to solve the problem of residential heating.

The boilers to be used for central heating should be made in such a way that they can burn corn stalk, rice straw and the like. Other countries manufacture boilers that burn such fuels for heating. We too should make such boilers in a large number and plant acacia and other fast-growing trees to burn in them.

The material that is in the shortest supply in introducing central heating to houses is piping; that can be solved by using welded pipe.

Our Party considers developing the chemical industry an important thing in its effort to solve the problem of food, clothing and housing for the people, and expects a great deal from the chemical factories in Hamhung in particular. When the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex, the February 8 Vinalon Complex and the Sinhung Chemical Complex put their production on a steady footing and produce chemical fertilizer, vinalon, vinyl chloride and other chemical products in large quantities, the problem of food and clothing will be largely solved and we will be able to build socialism with greater success.

The chief secretary of the Party committee of South Hamgyong

Province is determined to rouse the population of his province through efficient organizational work and ideological education to perform within the set date the tasks I have given this time, finish the project of installing modern equipment in the February 8 Vinalon Complex and commission the equipment on October 10 next year; you should do so.

Extending once again thanks to all the working class, scientists, technicians, Party guidance team members and shock brigade members who have performed brilliant feats of labour in the project to install large and modern equipment in the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex, I propose a toast to the health of all comrades present here.

LET US IMPROVE THE PEOPLE'S DIET BY INCREASING THE PRODUCTION OF SEAFOOD

**Speech at a Consultative Meeting of the Senior
Officials of the Fishing Industry**

December 3, 1991

For several years we have seldom discussed the production of seafood though we did it often in the past. Availing myself of this opportunity to visit South Hamgyong Province, I have now called upon you, the senior officials of the fishing industry, to inquire about the situation in the fishing sector including the province's general bureau of fisheries. I intend to have measures taken to increase seafood production.

In attaining the goal of socialism, it is important to provide the people with sufficient fish and seaweed by increasing seafood production. The goal of socialism is to ensure that all the people live in equality, eating rice and meat, wearing silk clothes and living in tile-roofed houses. This is what I tell foreigners when they ask me what the goal of socialism in Korea is. Our goal is to raise the people's standard of living to that of the former middle class. The former middle peasants in our country could afford to eat three meals a day; we can now say that our people are now better off than those middle peasants. However, we are not yet supplying the people with sufficient meat and seafood. I intend to ensure a daily supply of 100 grammes of meat to every one of our people by developing agriculture in every way

possible. This year cooperative farms reaped a comparatively rich harvest, so they can raise pigs on a large scale. If we now supply plenty of fish and other kinds of seafood, it will constitute a great step in attaining the goal of socialism.

The supply of large quantities of seafood will make it possible to enrich the people's diet and bring up children to be tall and strong. If growing children eat sufficient fish and other protein foods, they will grow taller quickly and their bones will be thick.

In the past I would often see art performances of pupils from all parts of the country; I found that pupils from Sinpho, girls as well as boys, were the tallest of all, and with the thickest-bones. That was because they ate a lot of fish.

Unless children eat enough nutritious food, they do not grow tall and strong. Most of the Children's Company members during the anti-Japanese armed struggle were small because they had gone hungry, both before and after their enlistment in the Children's Company. Many of the children who were newly enrolled in the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School were also of low stature because of poor diets. After their enrollment in the school they grew healthier and taller as they were provided with nutritious food.

The children born in our country are brought up in nurseries, kindergartens and schools. This is a state responsibility, so the officials concerned must ensure that the children grow up tall and strong. If not, they not only fail to fulfil their duty as servants of the people, but also commit a crime against the people.

As matters now stand, however, our officials are not providing children and adults with sufficient fish and other seafood. The output of seafood has not increased over recent years. The officials of the fishing industry are to blame. When one former chairman of the Fisheries Commission held office, seafood production continuously increased, and the annual fish catch often surpassed 1,500,000 tons.

It is now said that the fish catch is decreasing because fish resources are being depleted, but that is only an excuse. If some fish resources are depleted you can catch species which are plentiful. Information

says that the fish resources in the West Sea of Korea are stable. If the officials of the fishing industry organize work properly, they could catch a lot of fish in the West Sea. It is reported that foreigners are catching large quantities of fish there. This proves it is untenable to say that catches are low because of depleted resources.

It is also a mere excuse to say that they do not catch fish in large quantities because they are not supplied with sufficient oil. Fishing can be done without oil; when they have no oil, they can do small-scale fishing with small paddle boats. If they do it skilfully, they will be able to catch a great deal of fish.

Seeing a flock of seagulls flying over the waters of Majon yesterday morning, I told soldiers to set a fyke net with horn-shaped traps, which they did aboard a small boat to get a haul of about 200 kilogrammes of fish. Afterwards I had them set four of the same type of net near the Majon Bathing Resort. As a result, they caught about 800 kilogrammes of sandfish alone.

Small-scale fishing can be successfully done only with small nets and paddle boats. Hundreds of kilogrammes of fish can be caught in one night by this method. If South Hamgyong Province were to catch fish by small-scale fishing and supply them to workers in Hamhung, they would be very pleased. It is unreasonable that we in a maritime country fail to supply enough fish to the people.

Our fish catch is small because the officials of the fishing industry are working inefficiently. These officials are living in comfort without any worries and receiving salaries and food supplies from the state, so they do not work hard to increase the fish catch. If fishermen in south Korea worked like our officials, they would probably starve to death. They can live only when they catch fish. If they fail to catch fish, they cannot educate their children, or buy medicine if their wives fall ill, so they have to go to sea no matter how bad the weather. They even catch fish by angling in order to survive. Our fishery officials, however, get free education for their children, benefit from free medical care and live free from worries, not even knowing the word tax since a long time ago, even if they cannot catch fish. If these officials were obliged to

catch fish in order to live, they would all work hard. Nevertheless, we cannot make people work for money as they do in capitalist society. Socialism in East European countries collapsed because they had adopted the capitalist method, instead of encouraging people ideologically to work hard and meticulously organizing economic work. We must not adopt the capitalist method, but use the socialist method and fully display the advantages of our socialist system, which is the best in the world. In order to give full play to the advantages of the socialist system, we must ensure that all the people work honestly and carry out their revolutionary tasks in a responsible manner with an attitude befitting masters of their country.

The fisheries should ensure a daily supply of 150 grammes of fish per head of the population, though 200 grammes would be much better.

The fishing industry should produce a large quantity of seaweed so that each of the population is supplied with 50 grammes of dried seaweed a day. They have produced hundreds of thousands of tons this year, but it will not amount to much when dry.

If the fishing industry ensures a daily supply of 150 grammes of fish and 50 grammes of dried seaweed per head of the population, then our people's diet will be further improved and children will grow much taller.

These amounts of seafood, which I now indicate as the target, must reach all households. The seafood to be exported or the amount of natural loss must not be included in these figures, or else the amounts that actually reach the people will be smaller. The target I set means the actual amounts of fish and seaweed available at shops for every household.

Our population includes the soldiers of the People's Army, who should receive preferential supplies of seafood.

Seafood production quotas must be accurately assigned. Accurate assignment of production quotas will encourage the officials of the fishing sector to work hard to increase seafood production.

As matters now stand, seafood production quotas are not allotted properly. The fishing industry is not giving fishing quotas according to

the total number of employees of the fishery stations, but according to the number of workers who are engaged in fishing operations on the sea. Consequently, the fish catch per employee is low and small-scale fishing and marine aquaculture are neglected.

The quota for an employee in the fishing industry of South Hamgyong Province this year is less than 10 tons. This means that fishing quotas are not accurately assigned. Officials of the State Planning Commission do not plan fishing quotas on the basis of correct understanding of the situation at subordinate units. They do not even visit them, and plan the quotas on the basis of data submitted from lower echelons. As a result, the fishing quotas are planned inaccurately. An annual fish catch of ten tons or so per employee of the fishing industry is not enough. If we are to supply the people with enough fish, the annual fish catch per head of the fishing population must be 15 tons.

Then we would be able to export part of the catch in exchange for oil and fishing tackle as well as supply sufficient fish to the people. The figure of 15 tons must include only fish and nothing else. The fishing industry must work hard to hit this target. Next year South Hamgyong Province must set the target of catching 546,000 tons of fish and other coastal provinces, namely, North Hamgyong, Kangwon, South Phyongan, North Phyongan and South Hwanghae Provinces should plan to ensure 15 tons of catch per head of the fishing population.

Seaweed production plans must also be based on the number of employees of the fishing sector. Officials concerned must discuss and decide the quota per head of the population in this sector.

The seafood production sector must solve their problems by their own efforts. In other words, the General Bureau of Fisheries and management bureaux must think of improving enterprise management to make both ends meet. This is the very point which I would like to emphasize at this consultative meeting. If oil is out of stock, the fishing industry must import it by exporting fish so as to continue fishing. They must repair fishing vessels on their own and obtain nets and make up for shortages of fishing tackle and material by their own efforts. Of

course, the state should provide the fishing sector with necessary things. However, they must not turn to the state for everything, but keep the existing fishing equipment and vessels in good repair, raise the rate of their utilization and work hard to increase the fish catch. They must not complain of lack of oil and fishing equipment but rather solve problems on the principle of solving problems by themselves and bring about an upsurge in seafood production.

Next year I myself will sum up the implementation of the tasks which I gave today. At that time the senior officials of the fishing industry should report that they have supplied the people with the amounts of fish and seaweed I have defined.

It is good that the chairman of the Fisheries Commission and the head of the general bureau of fisheries of South Hamgyong Province made a pledge to produce fish and seaweed by rousing all the officials and workers in the fishing sector and supply the people with them as I instructed today. I hope that from next year on they will supply seafood to the people without running out of stock.

ON THE DUTIES OF THE COMPANY POLITICAL INSTRUCTORS OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S ARMY

**Speech at the Meeting of the Company Political
Instructors of the Korean People's Army**

December 25, 1991

I would first like to inform you attending this meeting and, through you, all other officers and men of the KPA, of the resolution adopted in the 19th Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea.

The plenary meeting held yesterday nominated Comrade Kim Jong Il as the Supreme Commander of the KPA, out of the unanimous desire of all the soldiers and people.

I am now in my eighties, so I am not in a position to work day and night commanding the entire army as the supreme commander. From now on, I will work as an adviser, being chairman of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee. I hope that all the officers and men will obey Comrade Kim Jong Il's orders without question, regarding them as my own, and follow his leadership loyally.

The current meeting of company political instructors is the first of its kind in the history of the KPA. I extend my warm congratulations to the participants at this meeting.

I would like to take this opportunity to extend my warm thanks to all the company commanders and political instructors of the KPA who are educating and training company soldiers, living together with them

in hearty response to the Party's call to strengthen companies.

The Korean People's Army is a revolutionary army. A revolutionary army means it is an army of the Party, which means an army of the people. In order to develop the People's Army into a true army of revolution, Party and people, it is essential to train every single soldier to be a match for a hundred of the enemy and revolutionize the entire army.

To strengthen the People's Army, I have long set forth the slogan "a match-for-a-hundred", which means that our every soldier must be able to beat one hundred foes. The People's Army must work continuously under this slogan.

Our People's Army is an army which inherited the glorious traditions of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. It was established as a regular force on February 8, 1948, but we declared April 25 to be its founding day, when the Korean People's Revolutionary Army was organized, because it inherited the traditions of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. The ranks of the People's Army must be thoroughly revolutionized by carrying forward the glorious traditions of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.

The place and role of a company is very important in developing the People's Army into an army of revolution, Party and people. The company is the basic organization of the People's Army and its primary combat unit. A company is to the People's Army what a cell is to an organic body. Just as cells make up an organic body, so companies combine to constitute a battalion, a regiment, a division, a corps and the entire People's Army. And as a man is healthy when all the cells making up his body are fresh and work well, so will the People's Army be strong when all its companies are sound and play their role perfectly. The position of companies is therefore very important in strengthening the People's Army.

Company political instructors are priceless people. As the heads of Party cells, the basic organizations of our Party, they guide the organizational life of its Party members in their companies and direct the organizations of the League of Socialist Working Youth in their companies. They help the company commanders in their work and

conduct political and ideological education among the company soldiers, living together with them and taking part in their military exercises.

We can say that the political instructor is the eldest sister of a company while the company commander is the eldest brother. We may call the political instructor the mother of a company, but it seems an exaggeration. Eldest sister sounds better. In a family, the eldest sister takes tender care of her younger brothers and sisters, looking after their dining and dressing, loving and educating them. The company political instructors should take warm care of the soldiers and educate them with the heart of an eldest sister. I hope that all of them will become tender and kind-hearted eldest sisters.

In order to strengthen the companies, political instructors must fulfil their duty and play their role to the full. Revolutionizing the companies by carrying forward the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese struggle is the most important task facing company political instructors. Under the slogan “Let us revolutionize the People’s Army”, they must lay primary emphasis on revolutionizing their companies. If they perform satisfactorily their duty it will consolidate company Party cells and revolutionize companies, thereby helping the People’s Army develop into a true revolutionary army, an army of the Party and people.

If they are to fulfil their duty, company political instructors must carry out some tasks as follows:

First, company political instructors must intensify political and ideological education among the soldiers.

Their first and foremost task is to educate their men politically and ideologically, whereas that of the company commanders is to intensify the military exercises. We can say that all of their important tasks are to intensify political and ideological education among the soldiers.

The imperialists are now trying all sorts of manoeuvres to break the socialist countries from within under the strategy of “peaceful transition” and make them regress to capitalism. The imperialists’ crafty manoeuvres resulted in the grave situation that socialism is frustrated and capitalism is restored in many countries, but in our

country socialism remains strong, unflinching in the face of any adversity. Such success has been achieved since our Party has conducted the struggle to capture the ideological and material fortresses of communism, under the banner of three revolutions—ideological, technological and cultural.

If we are to build socialism and communism successfully we must occupy the ideological fortress as well as the material fortress. The target of our struggle is to scale these two fortresses together. Since we have fought to capture these two fortresses of communism, our socialism centred on the masses has been steadily consolidated. It is invincible and will ever be prosperous.

The socialist system we have built is a really advantageous system. The new song, *My Country Is Best*, is very good. As the song says, the world is so wide, but our country is best. Our country which the People's Army soldiers are defending is the land best to live in and our socialist system and Party are the best.

Company political instructors should conduct political and ideological education conscientiously among the soldiers, so that they can display the spirit of a-match-for-a-hundred to the full in the fight to defend our country and socialist system.

I am not going to dwell on the method of how to educate the soldiers politically and ideologically.

The basic orientation of ideological and political education is to intensify education in the Juche idea, revolutionary traditions, class spirit and communist idea. Primary attention should be paid to education in the Juche idea and revolutionary traditions and next, class and communist education. If they instil these spirits into the soldiers repeatedly and efficiently, then our People's Army will be turned into a revolutionary armed force whose every member is equal to a hundred foes. The detailed contents and method of ideological and political education can be found in my works and the works of Comrade Kim Jong Il. Company political instructors must learn by heart these works needed to educate the soldiers.

They must diligently read many newspapers, magazines and books.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, the guerrillas had few books, but they studied diligently. When they obtained a newspaper published by the Comintern or something like that, they circulated it until it became too defaced to read. Nowadays, different kinds of newspapers, magazines and books are available for the soldiers to study. You now receive the newspapers *Rodong Sinmun* and *Joson Inmingun* and various magazines. By reading such publications political instructors can obtain the rich materials needed to educate the soldiers.

Secondly, political instructors should encourage the soldiers to display to the full laudable customs such as unity between officers and men, between army and people and between Party members and youth league members.

Boosting such virtues is an excellent aspect of our People's Army. Establishing unity between Party members and youth league members is what I advanced first on this occasion. We cannot say that only unity between officers and men and between army and people is enough to guarantee the perfect mental and moral preparation of the People's Army. Since the People's Army consists of Party members and youth league members, it must establish unity between them. Company political instructors must ensure that these three unities prevail in the everyday life of the soldiers.

Unity between officers and men means that they closely unite with each other as revolutionary comrades, valuing and loving each other, sharing life and death, fair and foul. As the officers and men are all sons and daughters of workers and peasants, the slightest discord between them cannot be tolerated. Commanding officers of the People's Army should not try to enjoy privilege and put on airs simply because they are officers, but live equally with their men, eating with them and sharing the same accommodation.

Since the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle I have demanded that the commanders share with the rank and file food from the same pot at all times. If the officers take advantage of their position to have special food, it may engender a special section. Nobody in the anti-Japanese guerrilla army had special food. When their men ate

maize or millet or porridge or grass roots, the officers had the same. So there could not be any discord between officers and men.

Because I have been accustomed to living together with the men since the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, I lived a frugal life with the people after liberation. When they ate millet, I ate millet.

As you saw in the feature film *Longing for the Sunshine*, Ryo Un Hyong came from south Korea to see me immediately after liberation. At that time he was sixty. We exchanged greetings and had a talk, being acquainted with each other. I wondered for a while whether I should treat him to a bowl of noodles in a restaurant or say farewell to him without having a meal together. But I decided to invite him to my home. I was afraid that he would be sorry if I treated him to a noodle house. When I proposed he share a meal with me at my home, he was very glad, saying that it was lucky for him to enjoy a meal at my home. Though I invited him to my home, I had only millet to serve him. In those days, our people ate millet and so did I. He was deeply moved by my frugal life after having millet and bean paste soup and stew which Comrade Kim Jong Suk cooked.

Company political instructors must not only stress unity between officers and men in words but demonstrate it in everyday life. Sharing board and room with their men, political instructors must sincerely value and love them as their own kin. When their men miss a meal, they should also miss a meal. Only when they have such habits, will they be considered to have the heart of an elder sister.

Unity between army and people means that they are united as one, respecting, loving and helping each other. Together with the unity between officers and men, the traditional unity between army and people was established during the anti-Japanese armed struggle. In those days we realized our blood relationship with the people under the slogan "As fish cannot live without water, so guerrillas cannot live without the people". Our People's Army, which has inherited the revolutionary tradition of the anti-Japanese struggle, cannot exist apart from the people. Company political instructors must, therefore, exert positive efforts to ensure this unity.

Any difference between Party members and youth league members should not be tolerated in army life. Party members must not deport themselves haughtily or misuse their authority but set an example in military service and always help and lead sincerely.

Third, company political instructors must strive to boost the military training of their companies.

Intensifying military training is an important task of company commanders and political instructors. They should put primary emphasis on three kinds of training—target practice, tactical exercises and drill.

First of all, target practice should be intensified. It is natural that soldiers must steadily improve their marksmanship through diligent practice. A soldier who is not skillful in shooting cannot fulfil his mission. By boosting target practice, companies must make their every soldier a crack shot.

Next, tactical exercises and drill must be intensified. Successful tactical exercises will make the soldiers acquire our style of tactics. Drill is important in establishing order and discipline within the People's Army.

In order to intensify military training, the company political instructors must be of one mind with commanders and help them sincerely in their work. They must become the most reliable assistants to commanders, who organize and lead military training. They should sincerely help commanders not only in organizing military training but also in strengthening company discipline and in carrying out other tasks facing their units. By so doing, they must make commanders trust them more deeply, believing that they can do nothing without the help of their political instructors.

Fourth, company political instructors must strive to establish strict discipline in their companies.

Discipline is what keeps an army alive and a source of combat capability. Without discipline, it is impossible to guarantee unity in ideology and action. An army without discipline cannot be called an army. The People's Army has different kinds of regulations, including service regulations and disciplinary regulations. Only when all the

soldiers live and act as required by the military rules can an iron discipline be established within the army.

For the strengthening of discipline in their companies, political instructors must enhance their role. They must be well-versed in all military regulations, set an example in observing them and strongly demand all soldiers to live and move in accordance with the regulations.

Fifth, company political instructors must take good care of their soldiers in their daily life.

Most young people in our country serve in the army. They are still of an age to play on their parents' affection. So company commanders and political instructors must love and take meticulous care of them in place of their parents. Who else can do this job? When political instructors look after them sincerely, they will display enthusiasm in military exercises, stay in good health and become excellent fighters.

If a soldier has an illness or skips a meal, they must examine what sort of illness he has or why he is not taking food, and take prompt measures. They should also investigate whether the barracks are properly ventilated, what the soldiers want in their lives and make then efforts to improve them. Together with the sergeant-majors, they should provide fine conditions for the soldiers and help them live as required by the regulations.

If company political instructors carry out these five tasks with credit, our People's Army will be strengthened and developed into revolutionary armed forces which are fully prepared ideologically and politically, excellent in military technology and mentally and morally sound.

The recent 19th Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the WPK discussed the results of the fifth north-south high-level talks and the tasks required to execute the "Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, Cooperation and Exchange between the North and the South". If the agreement is put into effect and peace is secured in our country, and a prerequisite for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country is established, it would be good. But the People's Army must always be ready to fight, as it is an

armed force whose task is to defend the country.

I had a report that, after inspecting the front-line units as soon as the talks ended, the south Korean ruler said that the agreement with the communists could not be a solution to all problems, so their soldiers must be more thoroughly ready for a war. So, we cannot sit idle. We must remain alert and ready for combat.

We are now advancing towards socialism full of confidence under the banner of revolution. Ours is the best and most powerful socialism in the world. That is why the imperialists and reactionaries are watching for a chance to attack the northern half of Korea, holding that if they are to eradicate socialism in the world once and for all, they must destroy the socialist system in north Korea.

The enemy cannot destroy our socialism no matter how tenaciously they try. The cause of socialism is just, and only when people advance along the road of socialism can they lead stable and happy lives. This has been clearly proved by the reality in some countries that gave up socialism and are reverting to capitalism. No matter what sort of wind may blow, we must continuously advance along the road of socialism without the slightest vacillation.

It is an honourable task for the People's Army to safeguard our motherland, our socialist system and our Party. All the People's Army soldiers must be ready for a possible war, always thinking how to defend their country, their socialist system and their Party, and how to defeat the enemy at a blow if they dare to attack us. The more completely every soldier is ready for combat, the stronger our People's Army will be and the enemy will not run recklessly amuck. The People's Army must step up both military training and build up defences, keeping a watchful eye on every move of the enemy with a heightened vigilance. By so doing, it must be ready to beat the imperialists and their stooges in one stroke when the Supreme Commander issues order in an emergency.

I firmly believe that the entire army will carry out the orders of the Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il with credit and display their loyalty to him to the full.

NEW YEAR ADDRESS

January 1, 1992

Dear comrades,

Fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters,

Today we are greeting the New Year 1992, full of great pride and confidence in pioneering the road of socialism victoriously under the banner of revolution.

Seeing the significant New Year in, I offer warm congratulations and greetings to all the people of the northern half of Korea, the brothers of the south and all other fellow countrymen abroad including those in Japan.

I extend New Year greetings to the progressive people and our friends throughout the world who love justice and peace and are aspiring after an independent, new world.

1991 was a year of severe trials, a year of worthwhile struggle and a year of glorious victory for our people.

Last year the imperialists and reactionaries concentrated the spearhead of attack on our Republic, the bulwark of socialism, and manoeuvred to check our forward movement by resorting to all means and ways. However, any challenges and trials failed to break the revolutionary conviction and will of our Party and people. Our Party relied on the people and our people trusted in the Party, and they fought in unity with one mind, with the result that our cause of socialism has been firmly safeguarded and steadily making forceful progress. I take great pride in and highly appreciate the fact that our people have

overcome the ordeals of history and displayed to the full the heroic mettle of the revolutionary people and the indomitable spirit of Juche Korea, firmly united behind the Party.

Last year our people made a devoted struggle with a strong conviction and will that “When the Party is determined, we can do anything!” demonstrating their boundless loyalty to the Party and the revolution and rendered distinguished services in the building of socialism.

The heroic workers, the soldiers of the People’s Army and other builders who had launched a grand construction campaign for the everlasting prosperity of the country and a happy life of the people kindled a furious flame of innovations in the construction of the capital city and all the construction sites of the country, braving through all the difficulties and hardships. In hearty response to the Party’s call for increasing the production capacity and accelerating the modernization of the major sectors of the national economy, our workers and technicians successfully completed the project of increasing the capacity of the Musan Mining Complex. They also carried out successfully in a short span of time the project of making the equipment of the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex large and modern and the first-stage construction of the oxygen plant workshop of the February 8 Vinalon Complex, so that they further strengthened the might of our independent national economy and afforded a broad prospect for bringing about a new upswing in production. Our agricultural workers and helpers who had come out as one in response to the call of the Party, spread new soil over all paddy and non-paddy fields of the whole country and thus splendidly carried out the nature-remaking work for increasing the fertility of soil radically and brought about excellent results in last year’s farming. Our intellectuals, too, made an active contribution to developing socialist culture by working to the best of their creative wisdom and talents with a strong conviction in the cause of socialism.

Last year the leading Party, state and economic officials, upholding the slogan of the Party “We serve the people!” went deep among the

masses and set examples to sincerely help and lead them, sharing weal and woe with them. The leading officials and the masses, in a body, made a worthwhile struggle to implement the Party's lines and policies. In the course of this, the unity and cohesion between the Party and the people in ideology and will became unbreakable.

The successes achieved by our people under the leadership of our Party are most valuable and proud in that they have done in the extremely difficult and complicated circumstances and in very sharp confrontation with the enemies, and they are a clear demonstration of the advantages and vitality of our socialism centred on the masses of the people embodying the Juche idea.

I would like to express warm thanks to our workers, farmers, soldiers, working intellectuals and all the other people and to the leading Party, state and economic officials who, being of the same mind and will with the Party, made a historic contribution last year to safeguarding and maintaining the cause of socialism and to victoriously advancing it.

Today our people who have been hardened and have become stronger in the severe trials are entering the New Year campaign in high spirits with confidence.

We should bring about a new upswing in socialist construction with the whole Party, the whole state and all the people mobilized in order to make this meaningful year a year of most brilliant victory in the history of our motherland.

Our general direction in socialist construction at the present time is to establish Juche principle more firmly in all fields of politics, the economy and culture, so that we may actively provide against the rapidly changing situation by pressing on with the three revolutions—ideological, technical and cultural. When we firmly establish Juche principle in all fields and when all the people, closely rallied around the Party, perform their responsibility and role as masters of the state and society, our socialism will continue to advance victoriously even in the face of all storms and tempests.

In socialist economic construction, we must carry through the line

of building an independent national economy whose soundness has been clearly substantiated, in order to strengthen the economic might of the country and satisfactorily solve the problem of providing the population with food, clothing and housing in keeping with the requirements of socialism.

The most important and urgent task to be fulfilled in socialist economic construction this year is to increase the production of electricity and coal and to develop rail transport.

In the field of the power industry, we must keep the generating equipment in good condition and reinforce it, make it work at top capacity to increase the production of electricity to the maximum, concentrate efforts on the construction of power stations now under way in order to bring earlier the day of their operation and build more new hydraulic and thermal power stations. In the field of the coal industry, a steady output of coal must be ensured in coal mines and new coal mines be explored so as to definitely increase the output of coal.

Transport is, so to speak, production and construction. In the field of rail transport, we must further modernize the material and technical foundations of railways, and organize the work of transport scrupulously so as to opportunely and fully meet the growing demands for transport in various fields of the national economy.

This year, the leading officials in the economic field must organize and carry out their economic work on the principle of giving definite priority to the power and coal industries, and rail transport, and ensuring that materials are supplied to this sector preferentially.

Our major goal that we must attain at the moment in socialist construction is to fulfil our people's long-cherished desire that all people might equally eat rice and meat soup regularly, wear silk clothes and live in a house with a tiled roof.

In order to solve the problem of providing the population with food, clothing and housing more satisfactorily and steadily improve the people's living, great efforts must be continuously put into agriculture and light industry. Our Party, defining this year as the year of

put-greater-efforts-into-agriculture, took positive measures for radically increasing agricultural production. This year, we must raise the level of irrigation and electrification of the rural economy, actively promote the mechanization and the application of chemicals and thus definitely increase agricultural production by meeting the requirements of Juche farming methods. In the field of light industry, we, in strict adherence to the Party's line that calls for bringing about a radical change in light industry, must produce larger quantities of fabrics and various other consumer goods of good quality to fill the shops.

This year we must also make active efforts to build modern dwellings on a large scale in Pyongyang and other cities and in the rural villages.

Advancing socialist culture successfully is of great significance in defending and developing the socialist cause at the present time.

Scientists and technicians, with high revolutionary enthusiasm and creativity, must strive to fulfil the three-year plan for the development of science and technology and to move the major branches of science and technology into a new, higher stage, and contribute a worthy share to making the national economy Juche-oriented, modern and scientifically-based. This year coincides with the 15th anniversary of the publication of the *Theses on Socialist Education*. In the educational field, we must improve the curricula and programmes of education in line with the actual situation that is developing, raise its qualitative level, and thus make great advances in educational work for the rising generation and in the work to train our own cadres. The advantages of the healthy and abundant socialist cultural life of our people should be brought into fuller play by rapidly developing the revolutionary art and literature and all fields of socialist culture.

The basic way of giving full play to the advantages of the socialist system and of pressing on with socialist construction lies in strengthening the driving force of the revolution and constantly enhancing its role. We should ensure that the political and ideological unity of the Party and the masses of the people is strengthened in every

way and that all the working people fully display their revolutionary enthusiasm and creativity by enhancing the leading role of the Party in all fields of social life and by implementing the revolutionary mass line. The Party, state and economic leadership personnel should go deep among the masses of the people as required by the Chongsanri spirit and method and the Taean work system and discharge their honourable mission and role as the faithful servants of the people, so that they can forcefully lead the working people to worthwhile creation and great feats.

To unite more firmly and fight with redoubled efforts whenever the situation is difficult and complex—this is the proud revolutionary character of our people who have broken through many ordeals together with the Party. There can be no difficulty which we cannot surmount nor fortress which we cannot seize when our Party leads the people with ever-victorious Juche-orientated strategy and tactics and when all the people turn out as one under the leadership of the Party. I am convinced that this year, too, all our Party members and the working people will fight heroically by fully displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude in hearty response to the call of the Party and thus become the honourable victors in socialist construction.

Last year considerable progress was made in realizing the cause of national reunification thanks to the unremitting struggle of our compatriots in the north, the south and abroad.

The south Korean students and patriotic-minded people from all walks of life fought unyieldingly by displaying gallantry and the self-sacrificing spirit under the slogan of independence, democracy and national reunification even under the difficult conditions in which repression and persecution continued. The fellow countrymen abroad also made a positive contribution to developing the struggle for national reunification into a pan-national movement, aware of their honour and responsibility as the members of the Korean nation. I pay my respect to the south Korean people and the overseas compatriots who are fighting with the noble patriotic spirit, dedicating their all, so

as to bring earlier the day of national reunification, a long-cherished desire of the 70 million compatriots.

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the publication of the July 4 North-South Joint Statement whose keynote is the three principles—*independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity*. The three principles for national reunification are the joint reunification programme of our nation and their soundness and vitality are being proved more clearly with every passing day. The adoption of the “Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, Cooperation and Exchange between the North and the South” at the end of last year is a great victory which was won in the course of the nationwide struggle to carry into effect the three principles and is a historic event which provided a new landmark in the way of achieving national reunification. Along with the July 4 North-South Joint Statement the recently adopted north-south agreement is the most reasonable national reunification programme which correctly reflects the unanimous demand of our nation to reunify the country independently and peacefully and the trend of the present era that is moving towards independence and peace. The north-south agreement is arousing a hope for reunification and inspiring confidence in the minds of all our fellow countrymen who eagerly desire national reunification and is enjoying the support and welcome of the progressive people the world over.

The north and the south must sincerely carry out the agreement in line with the desire of the whole nation and the expectation of the people the world over on the basis of the three principles of national reunification, so as to achieve reunification at the earliest possible date.

The independent stand is a fundamental position that must firmly be held to in effecting the north-south agreement and in bringing about the reunification cause.

It was due to the coercion of the foreign forces that our country had been divided, and our struggle for national reunification is aimed at putting an end to the foreign domination and achieving national identity. Therefore, the independent stand is the starting point in the

struggle for national reunification. Apart from this stand, no problem with regard to national reunification can be settled in the interests and demands of our nation. The adoption of the north-south agreement this time as required by the nation was also made possible because the north and south proceeded from the principle of national independence and how great vitality it displays in achieving national reunification also depends on how faithfully the north and the south adhere to the principle of national independence.

Those people who want to contribute to national reunification should thoroughly reject the dependence on foreign forces and hold on to the stand of national independence. They must not rely on the outside forces who are responsible for national division, but instead depend on the internal forces of the nation. Especially, they must positively support and encourage the patriots who fight for an independent reunification of the country against foreign interference and refrain themselves from persecuting them.

The important problem to be settled primarily in achieving national reunification lies in creating the premise for peaceful reunification.

Since an agreement on nonaggression was reached between the north and the south, it is most important to take practical measures for ensuring peace on the Korean peninsula and providing the precondition for peaceful reunification. The north and the south should make every effort to realize arms reduction, ease tensions and turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear arms-free, peace zone in accordance with the spirit of the north-south agreement.

Since the problem of Korea's reunification is historically related with the international relationship, the assistance of the countries concerned is needed in carrying out the north-south agreement. They must respect the spirit of the north-south agreement and actively help our nation to settle the reunification problem independently and peacefully. It is anachronistic to face the Korean problem on the position of strength from an outmoded viewpoint of the cold war era, now that the antagonistic relationship between the East and the West has ended and that the tendency towards peaceful reunification within

our nation is growing stronger.

Moreover, no one shall be permitted to put unjust pressure upon us, arguing about the nuclear inspection. It is our consistent stand that the Korean peninsula should be turned into a denuclearized, peace zone. We have stated more than once that we have no intention or capacity to develop nuclear weapons and that we are ready to accept the nuclear inspection if fair treatment is assured. We say what we mean, we do not say empty words. Independence is the lifeblood of man, as well as of a country and a nation. It was solely in order to safeguard the dignity of people and to achieve the independence of the country and the nation that we have waged an arduous struggle for a long time. It is inconceivable that we refrain from doing what we should do or that we do what we must not do, yielding to outside pressure. In the international community today no one has a right to infringe upon the sovereignty of other countries. Every nation is equal and a larger nation is even more responsible for abiding by the principle of international justice and equality. If a certain superpower tries to impose its unjust demand upon the others, it will inevitably be denounced as a challenge against the people of the world who aspire after independence and will meet their strong reprisal. The bullies shall also be left responsible before history for the unpredictable consequences which arise from their misconduct.

The driving force for national reunification is all the Korean people, so the achievement of a great national unity is vital for this cause.

Every member of the Korean nation must put the nation's common interests above all and must subordinate everything to these interests; they must unite in the spirit of patriotism and national independence, irrespective of the differences of ideology, political views and religious beliefs. Broad sections of the fellow countrymen in the north, in the south and abroad must, as members of the Korean nation, make tangible contributions to the cause of national reunification, those who have strength by giving strength, those who have knowledge by devoting knowledge and those who have money by donating money, according to their respective capabilities and conditions.

The authorities are particularly responsible for achieving a great national unity. They must work hard to remove the barriers within the nation, to eliminate the misunderstanding and mistrust and to develop wide negotiations and diversified cooperation and exchange, so as to meet the common aspiration and expectation of the nation. They must make every possible effort in order not to reduce the latest north-south agreement to a scrap of paper, but to put it into reality and must make a positive contribution to facilitating national reunification, discharging their heavy responsibility and duties for the nation.

This year all the fellow countrymen in the north, the south and abroad must work hard to stimulate still further the rising enthusiasm for national reunification and they must open a decisive phase for the reunification.

It is important that we should develop our external relations properly to cope with the present complicated international situation.

Despite the imperialists' and reactionaries' attempts to hold back the progress of history, it continues to move forward along the orbit of independence. Looking at the fact that socialism has been collapsed in some countries, some people talk loudly about the "triumph" of capitalism over socialism and about the "collapse of socialism". This only exposes their ignorance of the law of historical development and their sophistry faked out to maintain the old order. The fact that socialism has been collapsed and capitalism has been restored in some countries is causing a great loss to the achievement of the independence of the people. But it can never be interpreted as the denial of the just cause of socialism, and of the reactionary character of imperialism. It is inevitable to incur the collapse of socialism if one fails to abide correctly by the socialist principles in socialist construction, and people will suffer untold misfortunes and hardships if the restoration of capitalism is allowed. This is a grave lesson we have learned from historical facts, and this itself contains every evidence of the advantage of socialism over capitalism. Socialism is an ideal which embodies the nature of man, a social being, who wants to end the exploitation and oppression of man by man and to live

independently all together. There is no doubt, therefore, that as history advances and the independence and creativity of people increase it will have a greater magnetism and surely triumph. But capitalism, which is based on the principle of money dominating man, will become more and more inhuman with each passing day and it is inevitable that it will finally be overthrown by the people who have been awakened to the sense of independence. We must see the change of the current situation not pessimistically but optimistically and advance more vigorously along the road of independence with firm confidence in socialism.

The strategic goal the imperialists are now seeking is to destroy socialism completely, to revive the colonialist system and to bring about world domination by imperialism. In order to attain this goal the imperialists are resorting to such methods as military and political pressure and threat, economic bribery and subjugation, ideological and cultural degeneration, and division and debacle. To cope with this, the world's people must unite under the banner of anti-imperialism and independence and struggle to baffle the imperialist policy of colonialism and build a free, peaceful new world.

In the future, too, we shall develop the external relations on the basis of the ideal of independence, peace and friendship and contribute positively to the common cause of mankind for global independence.

We shall strengthen unity and solidarity with the socialist countries on the principle of independence and in the spirit of comradesly cooperation and shall fight on shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries for the triumph of the socialist cause.

The Non-aligned Movement is a movement which opposes domination and subjugation and champions the independence of countries and nations and it is of great importance as ever. We shall further strengthen friendship and cooperation with the non-aligned nations and strive to strengthen and develop this movement to meet the aspirations of the people around the world to build a new independent world, in order to meet the present changing situation.

It is important to further intensify the peace movement since the imperialists now continue to follow their policy of strength under the

disguise of “peace”. We shall, in unity with all the peace-loving people of the world, do our utmost to check and frustrate the imperialist aggressions, interventions and harassing operations, abolish weapons of mass destruction including nuclear weapons which threaten the survival of mankind and defend peace and security in Asia and the rest of the world.

Our people will be ever-victorious and invincible as they fight, well aware of the justness of their cause and single-heartedly united under the seasoned leadership of the Party. Let all of us fight on vigorously towards a fresh victory, closely rallied behind the Party Central Committee, under the uplifted banner of the Juche idea.

**ON ENFORCING THE POLICY
OF PAY RAISES FOR ALL WORKERS,
TECHNICIANS AND OFFICE WORKERS
AND OF INCREASING THE INCOME
OF THE COOPERATIVE FARMERS**

**A Decree of the Central People's Committee
of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea**

February 13, 1992

Steadily promoting the people's welfare is a supreme principle of our Party and the Government of the Republic and a basic requirement of socialist construction.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic have built a socialist independent national economy, strengthened the country's economic power, and, on the basis of this, continually enforced various measures to systematically raise the living standard of the people.

Thanks to the correct leadership and the popular policies of our Party and the Government of the Republic, our people are provided with happy material and cultural lives under the best socialist system, enjoying true political freedom and democratic rights as masters of the state and society.

Today our people are guaranteed by the state all the material and cultural conditions needed for their food, clothing and housing and everyone leads a happy, creative working life with a secure job.

Our people are provided with cereals at low prices, virtually free, and enjoy free education and medical care, as well as various other

state and social benefits. As a result of the abolishment of the tax system, they live without even knowing the term tax.

All members of society lead happy and worthy lives with no worry; they work hard to bring the socialist cause to consummation with a firm confidence and optimism, united single-heartedly around the Party and the leader.

We are now faced with the important task of further consolidating and developing the great success achieved in ensuring the people's material and cultural lives and of improving the living standard of the people to a higher stage to meet the demand of socialism.

Over recent years grand socialist construction has been vigorously promoted under the wise leadership of our Party; many monumental creations have been set up throughout the country and the material and technical foundations of socialism further consolidated.

Now that new successes have been achieved in socialist construction and the country's economic power has been further increased, our Party and the Government of the Republic have taken epoch-making measures for markedly raising the pay for all the workers, technicians and office workers, increasing the income of cooperative farmers and granting more state benefits to the people.

These measures are an embodiment of the consistent policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic to more satisfactorily provide the people with an independent and creative life. These are historic measures which demonstrate the superiority and invincibility of socialism in our country.

In order to increase the income of the working people and further improve the people's living standards as a whole to meet the practical demand of socialist construction, the Central People's Committee of the DPRK decides as follows:

1. The state enforces the policy of raising the pay for all workers, technicians and office workers, and increasing social security payments for pensioners, students' scholarships, and the income of cooperative farmers.

- 1) The pay for workers, technicians and office workers is raised by

an average of 43.4 per cent.

2) Social security payments for pensioners are raised by an average of 50.7 per cent.

3) The scholarships of students at universities, colleges and other schools at different levels are raised by an average of 33 per cent.

4) In order to increase the income of cooperative farmers, state procurement prices are raised by 26.2 per cent for rice and by 44.8 per cent for maize, in addition to increasing the prices of some other agricultural products.

The prices of food rations for the inhabitants are maintained at the present level.

2. These measures are effective from March 1, 1992.

3. The Administration Council shall adopt administrative and practical measures for implementing this decree.

POEM

**DEDICATED TO COMRADE KIM JONG IL
ON HIS 50TH BIRTHDAY**

February 16, 1992

白頭山頂正日峰
小白水河碧溪流
光明星誕五十週
皆贊文武忠孝備
萬民稱頌齊同心
歡呼聲高震天地

Jong Il Peak soars high above Mt. Paektu,
Where the limpid Sobaek meanders.
Can it be the Shining Star's fiftieth birthday already?
Admired by all for his power of pen and sword
Combined with his loyal and filial mind,
And unanimous praise and cheers shake heaven and earth.

**LET THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH
OPEN THE WAY TO PEACE
AND THE REUNIFICATION
OF THE COUNTRY
IN A UNITED EFFORT**

**Talk to the Delegates to the North-South
High Level Negotiations from Both Sides**

February 20, 1992

I am glad today to meet you, the delegates of the two sides, who have successfully concluded the sixth north-south high-level talks.

I am satisfied with and highly praise the joint efforts you have made for 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” which have been effected at this time.

The effectuation of these documents is an epoch-making event and a landmark on the way to realizing peace and the reunification of the country.

With the north-south agreement and the joint declaration, the north and the south can break with their past of distrust and confrontation and make a fresh advance towards reconciliation; further, they are able to eliminate the danger of war and look forward to a bright future of peace and the peaceful reunification of the country.

The agreement of the north and the south to reconcile themselves and cooperate with each other and to advance towards reunification

has proved irrefutably that neither outside forces nor differences in ideology and system can divide our nation of one and the same blood that has existed for thousands of years.

All the Korean compatriots in the north and the south as well as abroad actively support and warmly welcome the success in your talks, regarding it as the common success of the nation and as a historic victory for the national ideal.

With the current sixth north-south high-level talks as the impetus, our fellow countrymen have taken an extremely important first step towards the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. This advance should not be stopped and should not falter; it must continue until reunification.

To this end, the stand of independence should be maintained above all else.

The division of our country caused by outside forces should on all accounts be ended through the efforts of our nation itself.

If one side depends on foreign forces and tolerates foreign interference at a time when the country is divided into the north and the south, it can be viewed as a confrontational attitude, not as an attitude for reunification. Such a confrontational attitude will make it impossible to implement the north-south agreements properly and difficult to conduct dialogue responsibly and based on mutual trust. Now that the two sides have agreed on reconciliation, they must discard the idea of confrontation, trust their fellow countrymen and rely on the national force for independence instead of depending on foreign forces.

The north and the south must also direct primary attention to achieving peace and adopt practical measures for ensuring peace in the country.

Since they have reached an agreement on nonaggression, the north and the south must stop their arms race and realize disarmament. Herein lies the surest guarantee for nonaggression and also the way completely to remove the fear of northward or “southward” invasion. There is no need for foreign troops to be in our country, nor is there any reason for foreign military bases to be maintained here. We consider

that it is high time for us to reach a decision on this matter.

The nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula should also be resolved.

We cannot know whether there are still nuclear weapons in south Korea or whether they have all been withdrawn. So we, who have been exposed to a nuclear threat for more than 30 years, are still gravely concerned.

As for us, as we have already said on numerous occasions, we are not producing nuclear weapons, nor do we have any need to do so, and we do not possess any. We have no intention of entering into a nuclear confrontation with the neighbouring major powers and, moreover, we cannot conceive of developing nuclear weapons which can exterminate part of our own nation. No one should doubt this.

Promoting the great unity of the nation is the basic spirit of the north-south agreement.

If the north and the south are to become reconciled and achieve reunification, they should bring about great national unity, transcending the differences in ideas and systems.

Opposing each other and regarding the other as a pariah because of differences in ideologies and ideals only produces national disruption. Every Korean should put the common interest of his nation to the fore, subordinate everything to it and unite on the basis of patriotism and the spirit of national independence.

We should destroy the barriers in ideology and system and enforce the policies of great national unity and of love for the country and the nation.

The agreements which have become effective at the sixth north-south high-level talks are a pledge made by the authorities of the north and the south before the nation.

The Government of our Republic regards these historic agreements as precious results of our efforts to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of our country and will make every effort to implement them.

We are convinced that if the north and the south build up mutual confidence by working on details, adhering to the principles of

independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity, they will be able to give our people greater pleasure in the future and achieve without fail the reunification of the country in the '90s, which the entire nation desires.

In conclusion, I express my hope that the north and the south will make joint efforts to open up the way to peace and the reunification of the country further, and I wish the delegates of the two sides greater success in the future.

ON THE WORK OF CHONGRYON

**Talk to the Congratulatory Group of Koreans
Who Came from Japan to Celebrate
Comrade Kim Jong Il's 50th Birthday**
February 24, 1992

I am pleased to know that the congratulatory group of Koreans came to the homeland from Japan and celebrated Comrade Kim Jong Il's 50th birthday together with their compatriots at home.

I should like to take this opportunity of meeting you today to speak briefly about the work of Chongryon.

Chongryon must, above all, intensify ideological education among its officials and Korean nationals.

Over the past years Chongryon has conducted unremitting ideological education among Korean nationals and achieved great success in uniting them around the Chongryon organization. Chongryon is a powerful organization of overseas compatriots of our Republic. In the past, the Japanese reactionaries took a hostile attitude towards our Republic and schemed tenaciously to suppress and destroy Chongryon. However, Chongryon has courageously defeated their suppressive manoeuvres by the united efforts of the masses of the Korean nationals and firmly defended its organization. This is a proud success which exalted our national dignity and honour. Even foreigners admire that we have such a strong organization as Chongryon in Japan.

We are convinced that Chongryon will remain firm against no

matter what reactionary manoeuvres in and out of Japan and no matter how fierce the wind. But Chongryon officials must never be complacent. The south Korean puppets are now making frantic efforts to undermine Chongryon. It is said that recently they called on top hierarchies of “Mindan” and urged them to destroy Chongryon in collaboration with the Japanese reactionaries. Saying that socialism collapsed in East European countries, they complained why they could not pull down Chongryon. Under the aegis of the United States, the Japanese reactionaries, in league with the south Korean stooges, are continually putting pressure on Chongryon. The more tenacious the subversive manoeuvres of the enemies, the more Chongryon must intensify ideological education of Korean nationals and unite them solidly behind the Chongryon organization.

An important aspect of ideological education for Chongryon officials and Korean nationals is to encourage them to have a firm confidence in our own socialism.

Describing the collapse of socialism in the former Soviet Union and East European countries as the “end of socialism”, the imperialists and reactionaries are scheming to eradicate socialism for ever from the minds of the people. However, socialism is the idea which embodies the masses’ desire for independence and the ideal of humanity, so it will always remain alive as long as there are the masses of the people. Socialism collapsed in some countries because it had been corrupted by the renegades from the revolution.

Socialism in our country is fundamentally different from that in other countries. Our socialism is centred on the masses through the application of the Juche idea. The socialism of our own style is the best one, chosen by our people themselves and built by their efforts in keeping with our own situation. It is an indestructible socialism which advances on the strength of the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses. That is why our socialism is emerging victorious without any vacillation, even though the imperialists and reactionaries are trying frantically to annihilate it.

The enemies are devising every possible means to isolate our

Republic and disintegrate it from within. They are now trying to impose an economic blockade on our Republic. But we are not afraid of it, because we have built the solid foundations of an independent national economy. Some time ago a businessman from south Korea asked us to show him a motor works, a machine-tool factory and a textile mill. So I ordered our officials to show him all of them. After visiting several factories in local areas, he told our officials that the economy of the north was a completely independent national economy, capable of withstanding any blockade. He added that the economy in the north had no problems, whereas the south Korean economy was like a hired tailor, just processing goods of other countries or assembling goods for sale by bringing machine parts from other countries. So it will soon go bankrupt when the relations with those countries are broken off or when it comes under blockade. South Koreans are worrying about possible bankruptcy because the south Korean economy is an appendage of foreign economies. By contrast, we have built an independent national economy, so we can break through any blockade. If there is anything we are a little short of at present it is the shortage of some consumer goods. We are going to solve this problem by effecting a revolution in light industry within the next few years.

Now it seems that the United States has come to realize that it is of no use, however hard they try, to try to isolate and disintegrate our Republic from within. They are now trying to be on good terms with us, so we shall also try to improve the relation with them.

Chongryon must teach its officials and Korean nationals the essential advantages and invincibility of our own socialism, so that they live with a firm belief in our socialist homeland as their moral support.

What is important in the ideological education of Chongryon is to make officials and other compatriots have faith in the patriotic cause of Chongryon.

Chongryon officials and Koreans in Japan are masters of Chongryon and carry out the patriotic movement. Only when they have

a firm faith in the patriotic cause of Chongryon, can they reliably defend Chongryon organizations and further display their enthusiasm and creativity in patriotic work. Chongryon must explain to them clearly the validity of its patriotic cause and encourage them to devote themselves to patriotic work, with faith in victory and revolutionary optimism.

While energetically conducting various forms of ideological education among Koreans in Japan, Chongryon must widely organize visits to their socialist homeland.

This work is of great significance for Korean nationals in Japan in cultivating their patriotic minds by enabling them to see the reality of their homeland with their own eyes. Without knowing about their homeland they cannot become true patriots.

My experience of struggle shows that it is very important to be acquainted with reality. In former days there was a communist college in Moscow run by the Comintern. People chosen from various countries studied there. The Comintern and my comrades once advised me to come to the college for study in the early days of my revolutionary activity. One year in the early 1930s, Cha Kwang Su, Pak So Sim and many other comrades gathered and heartily congratulated me on my going abroad to study. Then I said to them: "I am grateful to the organization and you comrades for persuading me to study abroad, but I will not go. Many books written by Marx and Lenin are available here, too, so why should I go to the Soviet Union to read them? We must go among the people to learn the method of revolution in the thick of things. How can I work for the Korean revolution by learning the experience of the Soviet Union? I will go among the people with you, instead of going to the Soviet Union, to learn from them and seek the line and method of the Korean revolution through practical struggle." I was absolutely right when I, together with my comrades, went among the masses to learn from them and evolved the Juche-motivated line of the Korean revolution and the way to carry it out. If I had gone to the Soviet Union for study, I might not have been able to lead the Korean revolution to the right path.

Chongryon must organize visits to the socialist homeland on a wide scale, so that many Korean nationals in Japan see the situation in their homeland and gain firsthand experience. It is particularly important to ensure that the students and pupils who were born in Japan and have never set foot on the soil of the homeland see the country's reality with their own eyes. At present Chongryon is organizing travel to the socialist homeland twice for each student—once in high school days and once in university days—and the students in the political-economy department of Korea University and the students of the three-year course of the teachers training department of the university are made to stay in the homeland for six months to learn the reality there, I am told. I think that is a good thing. Chongryon should ensure that as many compatriots, students and pupils as possible see Mt. Paektu, Mt. Kumgang, Mt. Myohyang and other scenic spots, see mass gymnastic performances and inspect educational, cultural and public health facilities in the homeland, so that they can realize the true advantages of our people-centred socialist system through firsthand experience.

In order to properly organize the travel to the socialist homeland for Chongryon workers and Korean nationals in Japan, we must provide them with good transport conditions. In the past Koreans in Japan visited the socialist homeland mainly by ship. But now airliners have become available between our country and Japan, so home-visiting members will be able to come by air. It is said that the *Mangyongbong-92* cargo-passenger ship now being built is fast and modern—she can accommodate a great number of passengers, along with dozens of motor-cars. When the vessel comes into service, she will offer convenience to Koreans in Japan for their home-visit tours.

Chongryon workers must be efficient in their work with people.

The main task of Chongryon is to work skilfully among people. Capitalists move people with money, but they cannot buy their minds. If you are to move the minds of the people, you must be skilful in working among them. That is why I always tell our Party officials that the basis of Party work is work among people. Efficient work with people will lead all work to success.

If we are to carry out the revolution, we must obtain many comrades through efficient work with people. We started the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle by rallying comrades from scratch when we had neither a party nor a state. Anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters overcame all the terrible difficulties for over 20 years, believing in and loving each other, and fought to the last to emerge victorious. In order to live and carry out the revolution in the same spirit as in those days, we put forward the slogan “Let us produce, study and live like the anti-Japanese guerrillas!” and are putting it into effect.

You must continue to work well among people. You must, in particular, teach the younger people how to work with people, so that they will work well among people down through generations.

You say that Chongryon has achieved a qualitative improvement in its work under the leadership of Comrade Kim Jong Il and that all work goes well; this is very commendable. Comrade Kim Jong Il is always thinking of Korean nationals abroad and pays particular attention to the development of the overseas Korean movement. He is guiding the whole work of the Party, the state and the army, day and night.

Comrade Kim Jong Il is a man of talent, having both political and military accomplishments; he is also loyal and dutiful. He is efficient both in political work and military command; he has a deep knowledge of philosophy, economics, politics and other social sciences, and is also a gifted writer. He is loyal to the country and the people and also dutiful to me. He sets an example to subordinate officials, saying that they must work hard to give pleasure to the leader. He is doing Party work, work with people, in an experienced and skilful way, as I told him to. Because he works among people so skilfully all work at home is now going smoothly.

Comrade Kim Jong Il respects veteran fighters and long-standing cadres who engaged in the revolutionary struggle with me for a long time, and takes good care of them in and out of work. He gives prominence to the veterans of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle

and looks after them with great care. Although he himself refrains from having holidays, he sends veterans to rest homes every year. Those officials who have worked with me since immediately after liberation are now over 70 years old. However, Comrade Kim Jong Il leads and takes good care of them so that they work faithfully through to the end. As he leads them well, takes warm care of them and solves all problems they raise, they sincerely take loving care of him and support him in good faith. That is why I always say that Comrade Kim Jong Il is an example of loyalty and dutifulness for everyone to follow. You must support him well through whatever adversity in the future.

Chongryon must encourage its officials and Korean nationals to give material assistance to their socialist homeland.

The socialist homeland is a motherly embrace for Korean nationals in Japan, and a symbol of national dignity and honour. Material support to the socialist homeland is a noble national duty of Chongryon workers and compatriots in Japan; it is also honourable and worthwhile work, because it is a patriotic work of making the country prosperous and providing all the people with better lives, not an undertaking to provide good food, clothing or housing for any particular individual.

Today factories have been built in various parts of the country as a result of the patriotic devotion of Korean nationals in Japan, and are proving their worth. We are grateful to merchants, industrialists and other compatriots in Japan for having sent factory equipment to the homeland with ardent patriotic devotion. We believe that they will continue to do many more good things for the prosperity and development of the country and for the people's happiness.

Chongryon must encourage its officials and compatriots to intensify the movement for national reunification.

Recently the south Korean authorities have been fussing about what they call the "northern policy", which aims at isolating and absorbing our Republic. The "northern policy" has been formulated by the United States. Although the south Korean authorities, under the instigation of the United States, are trying to achieve their vicious dream of "unification by absorption", fussing about the "northern policy", they

cannot touch our socialism under which the leader, the Party and the people are united into a single force.

At present the ardent desire for national reunification of Koreans in the north, south and abroad is stronger than ever. No matter how desperately the US imperialists and south Korean puppet clique are working, they can never obstruct the aspiration of our nation for reunification of the country.

The reunification of our country must be achieved through federation. There is no other way of realizing the country's independent and peaceful reunification than by establishing a federal country based on one nation, one state, two systems and two governments, transcending the differences of thoughts, ideals and systems existing in the north and the south. We believe that our country will be reunified through federation.

Chongryon organizations must strengthen the work of national unity in Japan so as to firmly unite Korean compatriots of all social levels into a patriotic force of reunification and organize various forms of mass movements of compatriots more briskly in order to hasten the country's reunification.

I hope that you will build up Chongryon organizations and conduct patriotic work for the prosperity and development of the socialist homeland and national reunification.

**ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED
BY THE MANAGING EDITOR
OF THE JAPANESE NEWSPAPER
*ASAHI SHIMBUN***

March 31, 1992

I welcome you on your visit to our country. *Asahi Shimbun* has carried many good articles about our country. I would like to express my thanks to you for this.

I shall now answer the questions you, the managing editor, have raised.

Question: President Kim Il Sung, you will soon be greeting your 80th birthday; you have been leading the Korean revolution and making a great contribution to the world revolution for more than 60 years. What matters have concerned you most in these years?

Answer: As you know, I have been struggling for a long time to realize the desire of the masses of the people to be free from every manner of subjugation and all fetters and lead an independent life. In the course of this, I have had to undergo many trials and difficulties and have experienced many events, both happy and painful, that I will never forget.

We look back on the past in order to learn lessons from it and make further progress. So people who struggle to realize the independence of the masses of the people should concentrate on raising the level of the

people's ideological consciousness of independence.

That man is the master of everything and decides everything is the basic principle of our Juche philosophy. Of course, the objective conditions and the environment have a major effect on shaping man's destiny, but it is always man who plays the decisive role. When I say that man plays the decisive role, I mean that, ultimately, it is his ideological consciousness that plays the decisive role. The importance of man's development of his creative ability in enhancing his role has often been emphasized, but little attention has been paid to the fact that his ideological consciousness has a more important effect on enhancing his role. A man's creative ability is defined by his ideological consciousness. A man can work creatively to meet his desire for independence because he has the ideological consciousness of independence. Just as the development of man's creative power is unlimited, so the development of his ideological consciousness of independence is unlimited.

The masses of the people who have become the masters of their state and society after the overthrow of the outmoded, exploitative society must acquire ideological consciousness at a qualitatively higher level than in the previous period. In the struggle to overthrow the outmoded social system, it is important to have the idea of opposing exploitation and oppression; after the establishment of the socialist system, it is important not only to oppose exploitation and oppression but also to adhere to socialist collectivism that enables the masses, with a high degree of consciousness of being the masters of their state and society, to struggle together, cooperating with one another as comrades. When they lack a high level of this consciousness in a socialist society, the masses cannot fulfil their responsibility and role as the masters of the state and society, and such a society is no better than a society without masters. Burglars may break into a house without a master. Likewise, an anti-socialist current from outside may flow into a society without masters, and anti-socialist elements may grow within that society. This can explain the fact that socialism crumbled in some countries which had been following the path of socialism.

Having witnessed the unexpected events that have taken place in the international arena over recent years, we have all the more keenly felt that ideology is the lifeblood of socialist society and that nothing is more important in the revolution and construction than raising the level of the masses' ideological consciousness. The fact that we have been able to build socialism centring on the masses in our country where the socialist ideology has struck root deep in the minds of the people and has been translated into reality, and the fact that our socialism has continued to strengthen and develop, standing firm despite the complex situation, can be explained as, ultimately, the result of our having established Juche in ideology and our having directed great efforts to the development of the people's ideological consciousness.

Question: President Kim Il Sung, you have stressed that an independent, peaceful and prosperous new Asia should be built. What is your opinion of the prospects for peace, security and economic cooperation in Asia?

Answer: To build an independent, peaceful and prosperous new Asia is the common aspiration of the Asian people. In order to realize humanity's common cause of building an independent new world which is free from domination, subjugation, aggression and war, the Asian people must first of all make Asia independent. It is only when they make Asia independent that all the Asian countries can develop rapidly and contribute to the cause of an independent world.

Asia possesses great potential for making rapid development. It is the largest continent in the world and accounts for more than half of the world's population. It has abundant natural resources and favourable conditions for developing its economy and culture. The Asian people are industrious, intelligent and talented. They have a long history and rich experience in having created a brilliant culture which has contributed greatly to the development of mankind. They are now on a new road of progress, with the consciousness of being the masters of their own destiny and they are making great advances in all fields of politics, the economy and culture. If all the people of Asia unite and

cooperate with one another and make use of the favourable conditions and potential to the full, they can quickly rehabilitate themselves and successfully build a new Asia where they can all lead a happy and prosperous life. It is not by accident that people say that the next century will be the age of Asia.

In Asia there are still many remnants of the former age, the legacy of imperialism. In order to build a new Asia for the Asian people, it is necessary to abolish the aggressive military bases and nuclear bases which threaten the peace and security of Asia, put an end to the old order which benefits the imperialists, and reject every manner of domination and interference by the imperialists.

The master of Asia is the Asian people. Therefore, Asian affairs should be handled to meet the common demands and interests of the Asian people. Among the countries of Asia there are large and small countries, developed and less developed countries as well as countries with rich natural resources and those which do have few natural resources. However, all the countries of Asia have the possibility to make characteristic contribution to the building of a new Asia. What is important is that all these countries should unite sincerely and cooperate with one another unselfishly for their common prosperity. Such practices as pursuing dominationist demands or treating others unfairly out of a sense of national superiority must not be tolerated in relations between the countries of Asia. All the countries of Asia should firmly unite and closely cooperate for their common cause, respecting one another and learning from one another on the principle of genuine independence, equality and mutual benefit.

Question: Progress has been made recently on the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula. Could you tell me about the stand of the Government of your Republic with regard to the nuclear issue?

Answer: The nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula has been raised because the United States brought nuclear weapons into south Korea. Being a nuclear-free state, our Republic has invariably maintained that

the Korean peninsula should be made a nuclear-free, peace zone; this is widely known.

As far as nuclear inspection is concerned, only the question of formalities remains. This will be resolved smoothly through the prescribed procedure if the Supreme People's Assembly which convenes in a few days approves the Nuclear Safeguards Accord under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Our stand with regard to nuclear inspection is clear, and there is no reason to have any doubt about it. But attempts are being made to tarnish the image of our Republic in the international community concerning this issue. This can be viewed only as the pursuance of an ulterior objective. The fact that the major nuclear power, which is actually threatening the existence of mankind, is leading those who are bringing unreasonable pressure to bear on us, a nuclear-free state, can be called an expression of the arrogance of those who have got into the habit of imposing their will on others, disregarding the principles of justice and equality in international relations.

Question: High-level talks have been held between Korea and the United States. How do you intend to develop relations with the US?

Answer: The United States is the very country that is directly responsible for the Korean problem, and the matter of Korea's reunification is related to US policy towards Korea. So we have been concerned about improving Korea-US relations and have made efforts to this end. The cold war is now over and a new situation is being created for the improvement of Korea-US relations. There is neither a need nor a reason for the United States to maintain its previous fallacious policy towards Korea. So high-level talks were held recently between Korea and the United States. This was of some significance in improving Korea-US relations; but it is no more than a beginning.

In future we will make continuous efforts to improve Korea-US relations. But an improvement depends entirely on how the United States changes her policy towards Korea and how much effort she will

make to improve Korea-US relations. If the United States judges the new situation and the current of historical development accurately and does not hesitate to change her policy towards Korea to meet the interests of the American people and in accordance with the aspirations of the peace-loving people the world over, the relations between Korea and the United States will improve.

Question: Now that a north-south agreement has been concluded and ratified, what do you think should be done to achieve the reunification of Korea?

Answer: That the “Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, Cooperation and Exchange between the North and the South” has been concluded and ratified is an invaluable success attained through the joint efforts of the nation in the struggle for national reunification. The important task in achieving our country’s reunification now is for the north and the south to implement the north-south agreement sincerely in the political, military, economic, cultural and all other sectors and to make positive joint efforts for national reunification.

Implementing the north-south agreement is an extremely important and weighty matter for opening the door to national reunification, which is longed for by all our fellow countrymen.

In implementing the north-south agreement the authorities of the north and the south have important duties. These authorities, having assumed a heavy responsibility before the nation, should carry out the agreement sincerely, in accordance with the aspiration and desire of the nation and holding fast to the stand of national independence. Since the authorities have sworn to the nation to pave the way to national reunification, they must abandon dependence on foreign forces and the outdated mode of confrontation and make energetic efforts to effect reconciliation, cooperate genuinely on the basis of the spirit of national independence and settle the matter of national reunification in a practical manner. If the matter is dealt with in this way, a summit meeting between the north and the south will be possible and bright prospects for

achieving national reunification through a federation will be revealed.

The reunification of the country is a cause for the entire nation and must be accomplished by our people as the country's masters. The basic guarantee for removing all the obstacles standing in the way of reunification and for opening the door to national reunification is to achieve the great unity of the whole nation. When all our compatriots in the north, the south and abroad work as one on the principle of giving priority to the common interests of the nation and subordinating everything to them, they can eliminate the interference of outside forces and all anti-national hindrances and hasten national reunification.

Question: Your Republic has been building socialism in its own way. Would you tell me about the present state of and prospects for socialist construction in your country?

Answer: Our socialism is socialism centring on the masses and is the embodiment of the Juche idea.

Generally speaking, a socialist society is a society free from the exploitation and oppression of man by man and a society in which everyone lives equitably. This is correct, of course, but the essential characteristics of socialism are more than this. Another essential characteristic of socialism is that socialist society is a society in which the masses of the people are fused in comradeship as masters of the state and society and lead an independent and creative life in keeping with the nature of social man.

Our socialism, which has been built through the application of the Juche idea, is characterized in essence by the fact that it is a society in which the masses of the people hold the position of the masters of the state and society and have combined to form a socio-political organism, sharing life and death on the basis of revolutionary loyalty and comradeship, and in which they realize their desire for independence fully in all the fields of politics, the economy and culture.

In our country, the political life, the material life and the cultural

life are developing in a balanced manner and everyone is creating and enjoying a socialist way of life.

Everyone in our country has a steady job according to his ability, works conscientiously for society and for himself and lives equitably without distinction between rich and poor, free from any worries about food, clothing and housing. Thanks to the system of free and compulsory education and the system of free medical care, our people study to their heart's content, lead a long life in good health and enjoy a rich socialist cultural life. Their political life is particularly important for our people. Our people, as the masters of political power, exercise genuine political rights and, belonging to a certain socio-political organization, raise their valuable socio-political integrity, being loved and trusted by the collective.

Our people are leading an independent life free from every manner of domination and subjugation from at home and abroad, and they are enjoying a truly decent, happy and worthwhile life free from poverty, unemployment, worries about their livelihood and social evils. Our people are able to lead such a socialist life today because we have built an independent socialist society by implementing the principles of Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-reliance in national defence.

In order to meet the people's desire for independence to the full, we must continue with socialist construction. We are now showing preferential concern for strengthening the independent motive force of society by making all the members of society revolutionary, assimilating them to the working class and training them into intellectuals, while at the same time pressing on with economic construction for consolidating the material and technical foundations of socialism and raising the people's material and cultural standards; we are also working better to improve state and social management by developing socialist democracy. Our Party's general line of stepping up the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions while strengthening the people's state power and steadily enhancing its functions and role is the basic way to build socialism successfully by transforming nature, society and man as

required by the Juche idea. We firmly believe that only when we hold fast to our Party's general line in socialist construction and carry it out to the letter will we be able to build socialism successfully without any deviation and accomplish the cause of socialism.

Question: What is your view on the normalization of Japan-Korea diplomatic relations and of the prospects for talks between our two governments?

Answer: I have already spoken on many occasions about the historic significance of the normalization of diplomatic relations between Korea and Japan and about the matters of principle relating to it. At present, the talks between the two governments on normalizing relations are not making due progress. It seems that the two sides still lack common recognition and understanding concerning the significance of improving Korea-Japan relations and the matters of principle relating to it.

It is the common desire of the two peoples to eliminate the legacies of the past and to develop good-neighbourly, friendly relations; this accords with the trend of the present age towards independence, peace and friendship. Therefore, far-sighted politicians have a common understanding concerning this problem and are striving to improve Korea-Japan relations. The joint declaration of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan and the Japan Social Democratic Party resulted from a common understanding and effort. I think that with the passage of time many more people will form a correct understanding concerning this matter and that the normalization of Korea-Japan diplomatic relations will be achieved with the support of broad sections of the politicians and people of the two countries.

I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to send warm greetings to the Japanese politicians and people who are making sincere efforts to normalize Korea-Japan diplomatic relations and create friendship between the two countries.

SOCIALIST CONSTITUTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

**Adopted on December 27, 1972 at the First Session
of the Fifth Supreme People's Assembly, and Revised
on April 9, 1992 at the Third Session of the Ninth
Supreme People's Assembly, of the Democratic
People's Republic of Korea**

CHAPTER I. POLITICS

Article 1. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is an independent socialist state representing the interests of all the Korean people.

Article 2. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a revolutionary power which has inherited brilliant traditions formed during the glorious revolutionary struggle against the imperialist aggressors, in the struggle to achieve the liberation of the homeland and the freedom and well-being of the people.

Article 3. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is guided in its activities by the Juche idea, a world outlook centred on people, a revolutionary ideology for achieving the independence of the masses of people.

Article 4. The sovereignty of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea resides in the workers, peasants, working intellectuals and all

other working people.

The working people exercise power through their representative organs—the Supreme People’s Assembly and local People’s Assemblies at all levels.

Article 5. All State organs in the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea are formed and function on the principle of democratic centralism.

Article 6. The organs of State power at all levels, from the county People’s Assembly to the Supreme People’s Assembly, are elected on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Article 7. Deputies to the organs of State power at all levels have close ties with their constituents and are accountable to them for their work.

The electors may recall the deputies they have elected if the latter are not to be trusted.

Article 8. The social system of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea is a people-centred system under which the working people are the masters of everything and everything in society serves the working people.

The State shall defend and protect the interests of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals who have been freed from exploitation and oppression and become masters of the State and society.

Article 9. The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea shall strive to achieve the complete victory of socialism in the northern half of Korea by strengthening the people’s power and vigorously performing the three revolutions—the ideological, technical and cultural—and reunify the country on the principle of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.

Article 10. The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea rests on the politico-ideological unity of all the people based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class.

The State shall revolutionize all the members of society, and assimilate them to the working class by intensifying the ideological

revolution, and shall turn the whole of society into a collective, united in a comradely way.

Article 11. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea shall conduct all activities under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea.

Article 12. The State shall adhere to the class line, strengthen the dictatorship of people's democracy and firmly defend the people's power and socialist system against all subversive acts of hostile elements at home and abroad.

Article 13. The State shall implement the mass line and apply the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method to all its activities, the spirit and method by which superiors assist their subordinates, mix with the masses to find solutions to problems and rouse them to conscious enthusiasm preferentially through political work, work with people.

Article 14. The State shall powerfully conduct the Three-Revolution Red Flag Movement and other mass movements and accelerate the building of socialism to the maximum.

Article 15. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea shall champion the democratic, national rights of Koreans overseas and their rights recognized by the international law.

Article 16. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea shall guarantee the legal rights and interests of foreigners in its region.

Article 17. Independence, peace and friendship are the basic ideals of the foreign policy and the principles of external activities of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The State shall establish diplomatic as well as political, economic and cultural relations with all friendly countries, on principles of complete equality, independence, mutual respect, noninterference in each other's affairs and mutual benefit.

The State shall promote unity with the world public defending independence, resolutely support and encourage the struggle of all peoples who oppose all forms of aggression and interference and fight for their countries' independence and national and class emancipation.

Article 18. The law of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

reflects the wishes and interests of the working people and is a basic instrument for State administration.

Respect for the law and its strict adherence and execution is the duty of all institutions, enterprises, organizations and citizens.

The State shall perfect the system of socialist law and promote the socialist law-abiding life.

CHAPTER II. THE ECONOMY

Article 19. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea relies on the socialist production relations and on the foundation of an independent national economy.

Article 20. In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea the means of production are owned only by the State and cooperative organizations.

Article 21. The property of the State belongs to the entire people. There is no limit to the property which the State can own.

All natural resources of the country, major factories and enterprises, ports and harbours, banks, transport and communications establishments are owned solely by the State.

The State shall protect and develop on a preferential basis State property playing the leading role in the economic development of the country.

Article 22. The property of cooperative organizations is collectively owned by the working people involved in the cooperative economy.

Land, draught animals, farm implements, fishing boats, buildings, as well as small and medium-size factories and enterprises may be owned by cooperative organizations.

The State shall protect the property of cooperative organizations.

Article 23. The State shall enhance the ideological consciousness and the technical and cultural level of the peasants, increase the role of

the property of the entire people in leading the cooperative property so as to combine the two forms of property in an organic way, shall consolidate and develop the socialist cooperative economic system by improving the guidance and management of the cooperative economy and gradually transform the property of cooperative organizations into the property of the people as a whole based on the voluntary will of all their members.

Article 24. Private property is property owned and consumed by individual working people.

The private property of the working people is derived from socialist distribution according to work done and from fringe benefits granted by the State and society.

The products of individual sideline activities including those from the kitchen gardens of cooperative farmers shall also be private property.

The State shall protect the working people's private property and guarantee their right to inherit it by law.

Article 25. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea regards the steady improvement of the material and cultural standards of the people as the supreme principle of its activities.

The constantly-increasing material wealth of society in our country, where taxes have been abolished, is used entirely to promote the well-being of the working people.

The State shall provide all working people with every condition for obtaining food, clothing and housing.

Article 26. The independent national economy in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a solid foundation for the people's happy socialist life and for the country's independent development.

The State, adhering to the socialist line of building an independent national economy, shall endeavour to promote the national economy onto a Juche-oriented, modern and scientific basis so as to make the national economy highly developed, Juche-oriented economy and build material and technical foundations commensurate with a completely socialist society.

Article 27. The technical revolution is a basic link for developing the socialist economy.

The State shall conduct all economic activities giving primary preference to technical development, push ahead with scientific and technical development and the technical renovation of the national economy and vigorously launch the mass technical innovation movement so as to free the working people from difficult, tiresome labour and to narrow down the distinctions between physical and mental labour.

Article 28. The State shall accelerate the rural technical revolution and industrialize agriculture, increase the role of the county and its guidance and assistance to rural areas in order to eliminate the difference between town and country and the class distinction between workers and peasants.

The State shall undertake, at its own expense, the building of production facilities for the cooperative farms and modern houses in the countryside.

Article 29. Socialism and communism are built by the creative labour of the working people.

Labour in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is the independent and creative labour of the working people, freed from exploitation and oppression.

The State renders the labour of our working people, who do not worry about unemployment, more joyful and worthwhile, so that they willingly work with enthusiasm and creativeness for society, the collective and themselves.

Article 30. The working day shall be eight hours.

The length of the working day shall be reduced by the State in arduous trades and other special categories of work.

The State shall guarantee that the working hours are fully utilized through proper organization of labour and enforcement of labour discipline.

Article 31. In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea the minimum working age is 16 years.

The State shall prohibit the employment of children under the minimum working age.

Article 32. The State shall firmly adhere to the principle of properly combining political guidance with economic and technical guidance, the unified guidance of the State with the creativeness of each unit, unitary direction with democracy, political and moral incentive with material incentive in the guidance and management of the socialist economy.

Article 33. The State shall direct and manage the national economy through the Taean work system, a socialist form of economic management whereby the economy is operated and managed scientifically and rationally on the basis of collective effort of the producer masses, and through the system of agricultural guidance whereby agricultural management is conducted by industrial methods.

Article 34. The national economy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a planned economy.

The State shall draw up and implement the plans for the development of the national economy in accordance with the laws of socialist economic development so that the balance of accumulation and consumption can be maintained correctly, economic construction accelerated, the people's living standard steadily raised and the nation's defence capability strengthened.

The State shall ensure a high rate of growth in production and a balanced development of the national economy by implementing the policy of unified and detailed planning.

Article 35. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea shall compile and implement the State budget according to the national economic development plan.

The State shall systematically increase its accumulations and expand and develop socialist property by intensifying the campaign for increased production and greater economy, and by exercising strict financial control in all spheres.

Article 36. In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea foreign trade shall be conducted by the State or under its supervision.

The State shall develop foreign trade on the principles of complete equality and mutual benefit.

Article 37. The State shall encourage institutions, enterprises and organizations in our country to joint ventures and cooperation of enterprise with foreign corporations and individuals.

Article 38. The State shall pursue a tariff policy to protect the independent national economy.

CHAPTER III. CULTURE

Article 39. Socialist culture, which is flourishing and developing in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, contributes to the improvement of the creative ability of the working people and to meeting their sound cultural and aesthetic demands.

Article 40. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea shall, by carrying out a thorough cultural revolution, train the working people to be builders of socialism and communism equipped with a profound knowledge of nature and society and a high level of culture and technology, thus making the whole of society intellectual.

Article 41. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea shall develop a truly popular, revolutionary culture which serves the socialist working people.

In building a socialist national culture, the State shall oppose the cultural infiltration of imperialism and any tendency to return to the past, protect its national cultural heritage, and develop it in keeping with the existing socialist situation.

Article 42. The State shall eliminate the way of life inherited from the outmoded society and establish a new socialist way of life in every sphere.

Article 43. The State shall put the principles of socialist education into practice and raise the new generation to be steadfast

revolutionaries who will fight for society and the people, to be people of a new communist type who are knowledgeable, morally sound and physically healthy.

Article 44. The State shall give precedence to public education and the training of cadres for the nation and combine general education with technological education, and education with productive labour.

Article 45. The State shall develop universal compulsory eleven-year education which includes a compulsory one-year preschool education at a high level in accordance with the trend of modern science and technology and the practical requirements of socialist construction.

Article 46. The State shall train competent technicians and experts by enhancing the regular educational system as well as different forms of study while working, and by improving the scientific and theoretical levels of technical education and education on social science and basic science.

Article 47. The State shall provide education to all pupils and students free of charge and grant allowances to students of universities and colleges.

Article 48. The State shall strengthen social education and provide the working people with all available conditions for study.

Article 49. The State shall maintain all children of preschool age in creches and kindergartens at State and public expense.

Article 50. The State shall establish Juche in scientific research, introduce advanced science and technology in every possible way, open up new areas of science and technology and raise the country's science and technology to the world level.

Article 51. The State shall promote the scientific and technical development of the country by elaborating a correct plan to develop science and technology, setting up a strict discipline to implement it, and strengthening creative cooperation among scientists, technicians and producers.

Article 52. The State shall develop a Juche-oriented, revolutionary art and literature, national in form and socialist in content.

The State shall encourage creative workers and artists to produce works of high ideological and artistic value and enlist the working masses widely in literary and artistic activity.

Article 53. The State shall provide sufficient modern cultural facilities to meet the demands of the people who want to continually improve themselves, both mentally and physically, so that the working people may enjoy a socialist cultured, aesthetic life to their heart's content.

Article 54. The State shall safeguard our language from all attempts to obliterate it and shall develop it to meet present-day needs.

Article 55. The State shall thoroughly prepare the people for work and national defence by carrying out a policy of popularizing physical culture and sport, making it their daily regime, and augment sporting skills to meet our country's reality and the trend in modern sporting skills.

Article 56. The State shall protect people's lives and improve the working people's health by consolidating and developing the system of universal free medical service, improving the district doctor system and implementing the policy of preventive medicine.

Article 57. The State shall adopt measures to protect the environment in preference to production, preserve and promote the natural environment and prevent environmental pollution so as to provide the people with a hygienic environment and working conditions.

CHAPTER IV. NATIONAL DEFENCE

Article 58. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea rests on the people's nationwide defence system.

Article 59. The mission of the armed forces of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is to safeguard the interests of the working people, to defend the socialist system and the gains of the revolution

from aggression and to protect the freedom, independence and peace of the country.

Article 60. The State shall implement the line of self-reliant defence, the import of which is to arm the entire people, fortify the country, train the army into a cadre army and modernize the army on the basis of equipping the army and the people politically and ideologically.

Article 61. The State shall strengthen military and mass discipline in the army and promote the display of the noble traditional trait of unity between officers and men and unity between the army and the people.

CHAPTER V. FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS

Article 62. The terms for becoming a citizen of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are defined by the Law on Nationality.

A citizen is under the protection of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regardless of the domicile.

Article 63. In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea the rights and duties of citizens are based on the collectivist principle, "One for all and all for one."

Article 64. The State shall effectively guarantee genuine democratic rights and liberties as well as the material and cultural well-being of all its citizens.

In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea the rights and freedom of citizens shall be amplified with the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

Article 65. Citizens enjoy equal rights in all spheres of State and public activity.

Article 66. All citizens who have reached the age of 17 have the right to elect and to be elected, irrespective of sex, race, occupation,

length of residence, property status, education, party affiliation, political views or religion.

Citizens serving in the armed forces also have the right to elect and to be elected.

A person who has been disenfranchised by a Court decision and a person legally certified insane do not have the right to elect or to be elected.

Article 67. Citizens are guaranteed freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, demonstration and association.

The State shall guarantee conditions for the free activity of democratic political parties and social organizations.

Article 68. Citizens have freedom of religious beliefs. This right is granted by approving the construction of religious buildings and the holding of religious ceremonies.

No one may use religion as a pretext for drawing in foreign forces or for harming the State and social order.

Article 69. Citizens are entitled to submit complaints and petitions.

Complaints and petitions shall be investigated and dealt with according to procedure and within the period fixed by law.

Article 70. Citizens have the right to work.

All able-bodied citizens choose occupations in accordance with their wishes and skills and are provided with stable jobs and working conditions.

Citizens work according to their abilities and are paid in accordance with the quantity and quality of their work.

Article 71. Citizens have the right to relaxation. This right is ensured by the establishment of the working hours, the provision of holidays, paid leave, accommodation at health resorts and holiday homes at State expense and by a growing network of cultural facilities.

Article 72. Citizens are entitled to free medical care, and all persons who are no longer able to work because of old age, illness or a physical disability, the old and children who have no means of support are all entitled to material assistance. This right is ensured by free medical care, an expanding network of hospitals, sanatoria and other

medical institutions, State social insurance and other social security systems.

Article 73. Citizens have the right to education. This right is ensured by an advanced educational system and by the educational measures enacted by the State for the benefit of the people.

Article 74. Citizens are free to engage in scientific, literary and artistic pursuits.

The State shall grant benefits to inventors and innovators.

Copyright and patent rights shall be protected by law.

Article 75. Revolutionary fighters, the families of revolutionary and patriotic martyrs, the families of soldiers of the People's Army and disabled soldiers enjoy the special protection of the State and society.

Article 76. Women are accorded an equal social status and rights with men. The State shall afford special protection to mothers and children by providing maternity leave, reduced working hours for mothers with many children, a wide network of maternity hospitals, creches and kindergartens, and other measures.

The State shall provide all conditions for a woman to play a full role in society.

Article 77. Marriage and the family shall be protected by the State.

The State pays great attention to consolidating the family, the basic unit of social life.

Article 78. Citizens are guaranteed inviolability of the person and the home and privacy of correspondence.

No citizens can be placed under control or be arrested nor can their homes be searched without a legal warrant.

Article 79. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea shall grant the right of asylum to foreign nationals persecuted for struggling for peace and democracy, national independence and socialism or for the freedom of scientific and cultural pursuits.

Article 80. Citizens shall firmly safeguard the political and ideological unity and solidarity of the people.

Article 81. Citizens shall strictly observe the laws of the State and the socialist standards of life and defend their honour and dignity as

citizens of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Article 82. Collectivism is the basis of life of socialist society.

Citizens shall cherish their organization and collective and work devotedly for the good of society and the people.

Article 83. Work is the noble duty and honour of a citizen.

Citizens shall willingly and conscientiously participate in work and strictly observe labour discipline and the working hours.

Article 84. Citizens shall take good care of State and communal property, combat all forms of misappropriation and waste and manage the nation's economy diligently as the masters.

The property of the State and the social, cooperative organization is inviolable.

Article 85. Citizens shall constantly increase their revolutionary vigilance and devotedly fight for the security of the State.

Article 86. National defence is the supreme duty and honour of citizens.

Citizens shall defend the country and serve in the army as required by law.

Treason against the country and the people is the most heinous of crimes and those who betray the country and the people are punishable with the full force of the law.

CHAPTER VI. STATE ORGAN

SECTION 1. THE SUPREME PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

Article 87. The Supreme People's Assembly is the highest organ of State power in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly is a permanent body of the Supreme People's Assembly when it is not in session.

Article 88. Legislative power is exercised by the Supreme People's Assembly and the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly.

Article 89. The Supreme People's Assembly is composed of deputies elected on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Article 90. The Supreme People's Assembly is elected for a term of five years.

A new Supreme People's Assembly is elected according to the decision of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly prior to the expiry of its term of office.

When unavoidable circumstances render an election impossible, the term of office is prolonged until the election.

Article 91. The Supreme People's Assembly has the authority to:

1. amend the Constitution;
2. adopt or amend laws and ordinances;
3. approve the laws adopted by the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly, when the Supreme People's Assembly is not in session;
4. establish the basic principles of the State's domestic and foreign policies;
5. elect or recall the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea;
6. elect or recall the Vice-Presidents of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the recommendation of the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea;
7. elect or recall the Chairman of the National Defence Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea;
8. elect or recall the First Vice-Chairman, Vice-Chairmen and members of the National Defence Commission on the recommendation of the Chairman of the National Defence Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea;
9. elect or recall the Secretary and members of the Central People's Committee;

10. elect or recall the Secretary and members of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly;

11. elect or recall the Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen and members of the Committees of the Supreme People's Assembly;

12. elect or recall the President of the Central Court;

13. appoint or remove the Prosecutor General of the Central Public Prosecutors Office;

14. elect or recall the Premier of the Administration Council on the recommendation of the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea;

15. appoint the Vice-Premiers, Chairmen, Ministers and other members of the Administration Council on the recommendation of the Premier of the Administration Council;

16. deliberate and approve the reports on the State plan for the development of the national economy and on its implementation;

17. deliberate and approve the State budget and the report on its implementation;

18. hear a report on the work of the central State bodies organized by the Supreme People's Assembly, when necessary and adopt measures;

19. decide on ratification and nullification of treaties suggested to the Supreme People's Assembly;

20. decide on questions of war and peace.

Article 92. The Supreme People's Assembly holds regular and extraordinary sessions.

Regular sessions are convened once or twice a year by the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly.

Extraordinary sessions are convened when the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly deems them necessary, or at the request of a minimum of one-third of the total number of deputies.

Article 93. The Supreme People's Assembly requires a quorum of at least two-thirds of the total number of deputies in order to meet.

Article 94. The Supreme People's Assembly elects its Chairman and Vice-Chairmen.

The Chairman presides over the sessions and represents the Supreme People's Assembly in foreign relations.

Vice-Chairmen assist the Chairman in his work.

Article 95. Items to be considered at the Supreme People's Assembly are submitted by the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the National Defence Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly, the Central People's Committee, the Administration Council and the Committees of the Supreme People's Assembly.

Items can also be presented by deputies.

Article 96. The first session of the Supreme People's Assembly elects a Credentials Committee and, on hearing the Committee's report, adopts a decision confirming the credentials of deputies.

Article 97. The Supreme People's Assembly issues laws, ordinances and decisions.

Laws, ordinances and decisions of the Supreme People's Assembly are adopted when more than half of the deputies attending signify approval by a show of hands.

The Constitution is amended with the approval of more than two-thirds of the total number of deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly.

Article 98. The Supreme People's Assembly appoints the Bills Committee, the Budget Committee, the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Reunification Policy Committee and other Committees it deems necessary.

The Committees of the Supreme People's Assembly consists of Chairman, Vice-Chairmen and members.

The Committees of the Supreme People's Assembly assist in the work of the Supreme People's Assembly; they plan or deliberate the State policy and bills and take measures for their implementation.

The Committees of the Supreme People's Assembly work under the guidance of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly during the intervals of sessions of the Supreme People's Assembly.

Article 99. Deputies to the Supreme People’s Assembly are guaranteed inviolability as such.

No deputy to the Supreme People’s Assembly can be arrested or punished without the consent of the Supreme People’s Assembly or, when it is not in session, without the consent of its Standing Committee.

Article 100. The Standing Committee of the Supreme People’s Assembly consists of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Secretary and members.

The Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Supreme People’s Assembly are ipso facto the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of its Standing Committee.

The term of office of Standing Committee of the Supreme People’s Assembly is the same as that of the Supreme People’s Assembly.

Article 101. The Standing Committee of the Supreme People’s Assembly has the duties and authority to:

1. examine and adopt bills raised in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme People’s Assembly and amendments to current laws and ordinances and obtain the approval of the next session of the Supreme People’s Assembly;

2. abrogate old laws and regulations when new bills and amendments to laws are adopted;

3. interpret current laws and ordinances;

4. convene sessions of the Supreme People’s Assembly;

5. conduct the election of deputies to the Supreme People’s Assembly;

6. work with the deputies to the Supreme People’s Assembly;

7. work with the Committees of the Supreme People’s Assembly;

8. organize the election of deputies to the local People’s Assemblies;

9. elect or recall the Judges and People’s Assessors of the Central Court;

10. conduct foreign affairs including work with parliaments of foreign countries and the organizations of international parliaments.

Article 102. The Standing Committee of the Supreme People’s

Assembly issues decisions and instructions.

Article 103. The Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly continues its work until the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly is newly elected, even after the term of the Supreme People's Assembly expires.

Article 104. The Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly is responsible for its work before the Supreme People's Assembly.

SECTION 2. THE PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Article 105. The President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is the Head of State and represents the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Article 106. The term of office of the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is the same as that of the Supreme People's Assembly.

Article 107. The President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has the duties and authority to:

1. guide the work of the Central People's Committee;
2. convene and preside over meetings of the Administration Council, when necessary;
3. promulgate the laws and ordinances of the Supreme People's Assembly, the decisions of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly, important decrees and decisions of the Central People's Committee;
4. grant special pardon;
5. promulgate the ratification or abrogations of treaties concluded with other countries;
6. make public the appointment or recall of diplomatic representatives to other countries;
7. receive the credentials and letters of recall of diplomatic representatives

accredited by foreign states.

Article 108. The President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issues edicts.

Article 109. The President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is accountable to the Supreme People's Assembly.

Article 110. The Vice-Presidents of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea assist the President in his work.

SECTION 3. THE NATIONAL DEFENCE COMMISSION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Article 111. The National Defence Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is the highest military leadership body of State power in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Article 112. The National Defence Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea consists of the Chairman, the First Vice-Chairman, Vice-Chairmen and members.

The term of office of the National Defence Commission is the same as that of the Supreme People's Assembly.

Article 113. The Chairman of the National Defence Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea commands and directs all the armed forces.

Article 114. The National Defence Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has the duties and authority to:

1. direct the whole armed forces and defence upbuilding of the State;
2. appoint or remove important military cadres;
3. enact military ranks and confer military ranks higher than a general;
4. proclaim a state of war and mobilization order in case of emergency.

Article 115. The National Defence Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issues decisions and orders.

Article 116. The National Defence Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is accountable to the Supreme People's Assembly.

SECTION 4. THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

Article 117. The Central People's Committee is the highest leadership body of State power in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Article 118. The Central People's Committee is headed by the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Article 119. The Central People's Committee consists of the President and Vice-Presidents of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Secretary and members of the Central People's Committee.

The term of office of the Central People's Committee is the same as that of the Supreme People's Assembly.

Article 120. The Central People's Committee has the duties and authority to:

1. form the State policies and adopt measures for their implementation;
2. direct the work of the Administration Council and the local People's Assemblies and People's Committees;
3. direct the work of the judicial and procuratorial bodies;
4. guide the observance and implementations of laws by the State bodies and deal with problems arising from the implementation of laws;
5. supervise the observance of the Constitution and of the laws and ordinances passed by the Supreme People's Assembly, oversee the implementation of the decisions of the Supreme People's Assembly, of the decisions and directives of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly, of the edicts of the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, of the decisions and orders of the National

Defence Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and of the decrees, decisions and directives of the Central People's Committee, suspend the implementation of decisions by local People's Assemblies, and annul the decisions and directives of State bodies, which contravene them;

6. set up or abolish Commissions and Ministries, which are the administrative and executive bodies of the Administration Council;

7. appoint or remove Vice-Premiers, Chairmen, Ministers and other members of the Administration Council on the recommendation of the Premier of the Administration Council, when the Supreme People's Assembly is not in session;

8. appoint or remove members of Commissions of the Central People's Committee;

9. approve or nullify treaties concluded with other countries;

10. decide the appointment or recall of diplomatic representatives to other countries;

11. institute decorations, medals, titles of honour and diplomatic ranks and confer decorations, medals and titles of honour;

12. grant general amnesties;

13. establish or alter administrative districts.

Article 121. The Central People's Committee issues decrees, decisions and directives.

Article 122. The Central People's Committee establishes the necessary Commissions to assist it in its work.

Article 123. The Central People's Committee is accountable to the Supreme People's Assembly.

SECTION 5. THE ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL

Article 124. The Administration Council is the administrative and executive body of the highest organ of State power.

The Administration Council works under the guidance of the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the

Central People's Committee.

Article 125. The Administration Council consists of the Premier, Vice-Premiers, Chairmen, Ministers and other members as required.

The term of office of the Administration Council is the same as that of the Supreme People's Assembly.

Article 126. The Administration Council has the duties and authority to:

1. direct the work of Commissions, Ministries, organs directly under its authority and local administration and economic committees;

2. establish or abolish organs directly under its authority;

3. draft the State plan for the development of the national economy and adopt measures to put it into effect;

4. compile the State budget and adopt measures to implement it;

5. organize and execute the work of industries, agriculture, construction, transport, communications, commerce, trade, land administration, municipal administration, education, science, culture, health service, protection of environment, sightseeing, and so on;

6. adopt measures to strengthen the monetary and banking system;

7. conclude treaties with foreign countries and conduct external affairs;

8. adopt measures to maintain public order, protect the property and interests of the State and cooperative organizations, and safeguard the rights of citizens;

9. rescind the decisions and directives of administrative and economic bodies which run counter to the decisions and directives of the Administration Council.

Article 127. The Administration Council convenes Plenary Meeting and Meetings of the Permanent Committee.

The Plenary Meeting consists of all the members of the Administration Council. The Meeting of the Permanent Committee consists of the Premier, Vice-Premiers and other members of the Administration Council appointed by the Premier.

Article 128. The Plenary Meeting of the Administration Council deliberates and decides on important matters arising in State administration.

The Meeting of the Standing Members of the Administration Council deliberates and decides on matters entrusted to it by the Plenary Meeting of the Administration Council.

Article 129. The Administration Council issues decisions and directives.

Article 130. The Administration Council is accountable to the Supreme People's Assembly, the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Central People's Committee.

Article 131. The newly-elected Premier of the Administration Council takes an oath of allegiance before the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on behalf of the members of the Administration Council at the Supreme People's Assembly.

Article 132. Commissions and Ministries are departmental executive bodies of the Administration Council.

Commissions and Ministries issue directives.

SECTION 6. THE LOCAL PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY AND THE PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

Article 133. The People's Assembly of the province (or municipality directly under central authority), city (or district) and county is the local organ of State power.

Article 134. The local People's Assembly consists of deputies elected on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Article 135. The term of office of the People's Assembly of the province (or municipality directly under central authority), city (or district) and county is four years.

Article 136. The local People's Assembly has the duties and authority to:

1. deliberate and approve the reports on the local plan for the development of the national economy and on its implementation;

2. deliberate and approve the reports on the local budget and on its implementation;

3. adopt measures to observe State laws in the area concerned;

4. elect or recall the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Secretary and members of the People's Committee at the corresponding level;

5. elect or recall the Chairman of the Administration and Economic Committee at the corresponding level;

6. appoint or remove the Vice-Chairmen, Secretary and members of the Administration and Economic Committee at the corresponding level;

7. elect or recall the Judges and People's Assessors of the Court at the corresponding level;

8. rescind unwarranted decisions and directives of the People's Committee at the corresponding level and the People's Assemblies and People's Committees at lower levels.

Article 137. The local People's Assembly convenes regular and extraordinary sessions.

Regular sessions are convened once or twice a year by the People's Committee at the corresponding level.

Extraordinary sessions are convened when the People's Committee at the corresponding level deems them necessary or at the request of a minimum of one-third of the total number of deputies.

Article 138. The local People's Assembly requires a quorum of at least two-thirds of the total number of deputies in order to meet.

Article 139. The local People's Assembly elects its Chairman. The Chairman presides over the sessions.

Article 140. The local People's Assembly issues decisions.

Decisions of the local People's Assembly are announced by the People's Committee at the corresponding level.

Article 141. The People's Committee of the province (or municipality directly under central authority), city (or district) and county exercises the function of the local organ of State power when

the People's Assembly at the corresponding level is not in session.

Article 142. The local People's Committee consists of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Secretary and members.

The term of office of the local People's Committee is the same as that of the corresponding People's Assembly.

Article 143. The local People's Committee has the duties and authority to:

1. convene sessions of the People's Assembly;
2. organize the election of deputies to the People's Assembly;
3. work with the deputies to the People's Assembly;
4. adopt measures to implement the decisions of the corresponding People's Assembly and the People's Assemblies and the People's Committees at higher levels;
5. direct the work of the Administration and Economic Committee at the corresponding level;
6. direct the work of the People's Committees at lower levels;
7. direct the work of the institutions, enterprises and organizations within the given area;
8. rescind unwarranted decisions and directives of the Administration and Economic Committee at the corresponding level and the People's Committees and Administration and Economic Committees at lower levels, and suspend the implementation of unwarranted decisions of the People's Assemblies at lower levels;
9. appoint or remove the Vice-Chairmen, Secretary and members of the Administration and Economic Committee at the corresponding level when the People's Assembly is not in session.

Article 144. The local People's Committee issues decisions and directives.

Article 145. The local People's Committee continues its work until a new People's Committee is elected even after the term of office of the corresponding People's Assembly has expired.

Article 146. The local People's Committee is guided by the corresponding People's Assembly and the People's Assemblies and the People's Committees at higher levels and is accountable to them.

SECTION 7. THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

Article 147. The Administration and Economic Committee of the province (or municipality directly under central authority), city (or district) and county is the administrative and executive unit of the local organ of State power.

Article 148. The local Administration and Economic Committee consists of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Secretary and members.

The term of office of the local Administration and Economic Committee is the same as that of the corresponding People's Assembly.

Article 149. The local Administration and Economic Committee has the duties and authority to:

1. organize and carry out all administrative and economic affairs in the given area;

2. carry out the decisions and directives of the People's Assembly and People's Committee at the corresponding level and of the People's Assemblies, People's Committees and the Administration and Economic Committees at higher levels and the Administration Council;

3. draft the local plan for the development of the national economy and adopt measures to implement it;

4. compile the local budget and adopt measures for its implementation;

5. adopt measures to maintain public order, protect the property and interests of the State and cooperative organizations and safeguard the rights of citizens in the given area;

6. guide the work of the Administration and Economic Committees at lower levels;

7. rescind unwarranted decisions and directives of the Administration and Economic Committees at lower levels.

Article 150. The local Administration and Economic Committee issues decisions and directives.

Article 151. The local Administration and Economic Committee is accountable to the People's Assembly and People's Committee at the corresponding level.

The local Administration and Economic Committee is subordinate to the higher Administration and Economic Committees and to the Administration Council.

SECTION 8. THE COURT AND THE PUBLIC PROSECUTORS OFFICE

Article 152. Justice is administered by the Central Court, the Court of the province (or municipality directly under central authority), the People's Court and the Special Court.

Verdicts are delivered in the name of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Article 153. The term of office of the President of the Central Court is the same as that of the Supreme People's Assembly.

The term of office of Judges and People's Assessors of the Central Court, the Court of the province (or municipality directly under central authority) and the People's Court is the same as that of the People's Assembly at the corresponding level.

Article 154. The Chairman and Judges of the Special Court are appointed or removed by the Central Court.

The People's Assessors of the Special Court are elected by soldiers of the unit concerned or by employees at their meetings.

Article 155. The functions of the Court are to:

1. protect through judicial procedure the State power and the socialist system established in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the property of the State and social, cooperative organizations, personal rights as guaranteed by the Constitution, and the lives and property of citizens;

2. ensure that all institutions, enterprises, organizations and citizens abide strictly by State laws and staunchly combat class

enemies and all law-breakers;

3. give judgements and findings with regard to property and conduct notarial work.

Article 156. Justice is administered by a Court consisting of one Judge and two People's Assessors. In special cases there may be three Judges.

Article 157. Court cases are heard in public and the accused is guaranteed the right of defence.

Hearings may be closed to the public as stipulated by law.

Article 158. Judicial proceedings are conducted in the Korean language.

Foreign citizens may use their own language during court proceedings.

Article 159. In administering justice, the Court is independent, and judicial proceedings are carried out in strict accordance with the law.

Article 160. The Central Court is the highest judicial organ of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The Central Court supervises the judicial activities of all the Courts.

The Central Court is guided by the Central People's Committee.

Article 161. The Central Court is accountable to the Supreme People's Assembly, the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Central People's Committee.

The Court of the province (or municipality directly under central authority) and the People's Court are accountable to their respective People's Assemblies.

Article 162. Investigation and prosecution are conducted by the Central Public Prosecutors Office, the Public Prosecutors Offices of the province (or municipality directly under central authority), city (or district) and county and the Special Public Prosecutors Office.

Article 163. The term of office of the Prosecutor General of the Central Public Prosecutors Office is the same as that of the Supreme People's Assembly.

Article 164. Public prosecutors are appointed or removed by the Central Public Prosecutors Office.

Article 165. The functions of the Public Prosecutors Office are to:

1. ensure the strict observance of laws by institutions, enterprises, organizations and by citizens;

2. ensure that decisions and directives of State bodies conform with the Constitution, the laws and ordinances, decisions of the Supreme People's Assembly, the decisions and directives of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly, the edicts of the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the decisions and orders of the National Defence Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the decrees, decisions and directives of the Central People's Committee, and with the decisions and directives of the Administration Council;

3. expose and institute legal proceedings against criminals and offenders in order to protect the State power of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the socialist system, the property of the State and social, cooperative organizations and personal rights as guaranteed by the Constitution and the people's lives and property.

Article 166. Investigation and prosecution are conducted under the unified direction of the Central Public Prosecutors Office, and all Public Prosecutors Offices are subordinate to their higher offices and the Central Public Prosecutors Office.

The Central Public Prosecutors Office is guided by the Central People's Committee.

Article 167. The Central Public Prosecutors Office is accountable to the Supreme People's Assembly, the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Central People's Committee.

CHAPTER VII. EMBLEM, FLAG, ANTHEM AND CAPITAL

Article 168. The national emblem of the Democratic People's

Republic of Korea bears the design of a grand hydroelectric power station under Mt. Paektu, the sacred mountain of the revolution, and the beaming light of a five-pointed red star, with ears of rice forming an oval frame, bound with a red ribbon bearing the inscription “The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea”.

Article 169. The national flag of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea consists of a central red panel, bordered both above and below by a narrow white stripe and a broad blue stripe. The central red panel bears a five-pointed red star within a white circle near the hoist.

The ratio of the width to its length is 1:2.

Article 170. The national anthem of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea is “The Patriotic Song”.

Article 171. The capital of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea is Pyongyang.

**ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED
BY A DELEGATION OF JOURNALISTS
OF *WASHINGTON TIMES*
FROM THE UNITED STATES**

April 12, 1992

I welcome you to my country.

I express my thanks to you for your congratulations upon my birthday.

I shall briefly answer your questions.

Question: I see that efforts have been made recently to improve the relations between north Korea and the United States.

Mr. President, what is your view of the present relations between the two countries, and what do you hope will be done to improve the relations between your Republic and the United States?

Answer: Moves have recently begun to improve the relations between Korea and the United States, and this is attracting the attention of the world. The abnormal relations that have continued until now can be considered, in short, to be related to the cold war between East and West. It is natural that the matter of improving the abnormal relations has come to the fore with the end of the cold war.

Some people suggest that the end of the cold war represents the victory of one side over the other. This can be considered to be a superficial view of a historic change. Since the cold war was a

misguided competition to gain the position of superior power, now that the cold war itself has been nullified, there can be no question of the victory of one side over the other.

From the point of view of the development of world history, the end of the cold war means the nullity of power politics, and this can be viewed as a major precondition for independence to prevail in the world. If one side assumes that it has a monopoly of world power because it has defeated the other side and attempts to maintain and expand the outmoded order of domination and subjugation by means of power politics, it will not only meet the resistance of the peace-loving people of the world but also be deserted by its partners and ultimately invite its own collapse. On the other hand, if the United States, the only superpower, abandons power politics of its own accord now that the cold war has ended, and respects and implements the principles of international justice and equality, it will enjoy popular support, and the democratic progress of the international community and the cause of worldwide independence will be speeded up accordingly.

If the statesmen who are responsible for the destiny of the United States take a far-sighted view and amend their Korea policy in accordance with the trend of the present times towards independence, a smooth solution will be found to the question of improving Korea-US relations. We hope that the United States will amend its Korea policy without hesitation, make a due contribution to the peaceful reunification of Korea and, moreover, join the historic trend towards worldwide independence.

Question: The whole world is now very nervous about nuclear development in north Korea.

The US Government is talking about north Korea's nuclear development as if it had authentic information on it.

Your Government has made public its nuclear policy on many occasions. In addition, the recent Supreme People's Assembly session has considered the matter of ratifying the Accord between your Government and the

International Atomic Energy Agency on the Application of Safeguards according to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and has approved the accord.

Mr. President, can you as the leader of north Korea give the United States and the whole world a positive guarantee that an inspection that can be trusted by the world will be made?

Answer: The recent third session of the ninth Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea considered and approved the Accord on the Application of Safeguards according to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. It can be considered, therefore, that the question of the legal procedures concerning nuclear inspection has been resolved. The matter of nuclear inspection will be dealt with smoothly, so I think there is no need to talk about it any further.

Question: The remains of two soldiers believed to have died in the Korean war have been returned to the United States via Panmunjom during the last two years. This has given the United States a very good humanitarian impression.

I wish to learn whether there are still more remains of American war dead to be returned. The returning of their remains will be a very good sign in improving Korea-US relations.

Mr. President, would you tell me your opinion about this?

Answer: The Government of our Republic has, from a humanitarian stand, continued its efforts to discover such remains after returning remains in compliance with the Armistice Agreement concluded between the DPRK and the US, and in recent years it has returned several bodies. As DPRK-US relations improve, so this matter will be dealt with more satisfactorily.

Question: Many people in the world now have the view that the DPRK is gradually establishing economic relations with the outside world and

intending to open itself economically.

Would you, Mr. President, please tell me the prospects for north Korea's economic opening and your opinion on foreign investment and foreign trade?

Answer: Our policy of building an independent national economy is contrary to economic subjugation by others, not to economic exchange and cooperation with other countries. The consistent policy of the Government of our Republic is to develop economic cooperation with other countries on the principles of independence, equality and reciprocity.

In recent years we have been developing economic cooperation and exchange with other countries more energetically. It is natural in the light of the world trend that, since the end of the cold war, economic and technical exchange and cooperation between countries have been increasing. Our broadening of economic ties with other countries does not mean any change in our principled stand of maintaining economic independence. We will continue independently to develop economic and technical exchange and cooperation with all other countries which are friendly towards our country.

Question: Generally there is a tendency to regard China as a model of socialist economic development.

Also, so far as I know, the leaders of your Republic have inspected a special economic zone in China.

Would you, Mr. President, please tell me your view on China's model of economic opening and what bearing this has on the economic development, the open-door policy, of north Korea?

Answer: China is our close neighbour and a country of veteran comrades-in-arms of ours. Our people and the fraternal Chinese people shed their blood together in the past in their common struggle against imperialism and are now actively supporting each other and closely cooperating with each other in their struggle to build socialism.

We sincerely wish that everything goes well in China. We are very

pleased with the great success which the fraternal Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, have achieved in recent years in the building of socialism.

So far as the specific method of building socialism is concerned, it is impossible to take the method of one country as an immutable example because there are differences in the size of countries and in the level of their development, and also because the situation differs from country to country. Each country should seek a way to build socialism which suits its own situation. We actively support China's policy of economic construction, regarding it as suited to her situation.

Question: Mr. President, could you kindly tell me about the prospects for the north-south dialogue following the signing of the North-South Agreement, the prospects and possibility for the reunification of the Korean peninsula, as well as about the feasibility of a US embassy being established in Pyongyang?

Answer: The adoption of the North-South Agreement represents great progress in the struggle of our nation for the reunification of the country. Dialogue is being held in many fields between the north and the south to implement the agreement. It is necessary to develop the dialogue in conformity with the desire of all our compatriots who wish the satisfactory fulfilment of the North-South Agreement so that it will lead to national reunification.

Historically the question of Korea's reunification is largely related to external factors. But, the motive force of reunification has always been our nation. If all our compatriots in the north, the south and abroad fight in firm unity on the principle of great national unity, they will be able to accomplish the cause of national reunification without fail, overcoming the interference of foreign forces and all obstacles.

With regard to the possibility of a US embassy being established in Pyongyang, this is a matter which depends on how Korea-US relations improve in the future.

Question: Many people say that for economic reasons the US must

withdraw from Asia and south Korea. Then Japan will have to be responsible for her national defence and to rearm herself.

What can you, Mr. President, tell me about this?

Answer: We must wait and see when the US forces will withdraw from Asia. But I think there is no need for Japan to rearm herself and become a military power, simply because US forces withdraw from Asia.

Several countries today want to develop economic cooperation with Japan, an economic power. But there are neither countries which threaten her militarily nor countries which welcome her becoming a military power.

If Japan, having failed to learn a serious historical lesson from the past, becomes a military power, she will be going counter to the tide of the present age and will end in self-destruction. Therefore, the Japanese people and progressive politicians must not tolerate the revival of Japanese militarism.

Question: People say that the 21st century will be the Pacific era, and that the main force of the future world economy will be in Asia.

Do you think that your Republic will be one of the economically advanced countries in the Pacific era, or will she have to concede the leadership of the Asian economy to China or Japan? Would you please describe to me the appearance of the Korean peninsula in the Pacific era?

Answer: When people say that the 21st century will be the Pacific era, and that the main force of the future world economy will be in Asia, I think that they have understood the fact that this region has great potential for economic development and that the people in this region have entered a new stage of development.

If Asian countries are to mobilize and use Asia's potential for development fully and make Asia the main force of the world economy, they must cooperate selflessly with one another on the principles of independence, equality and mutual benefit. We cannot

tolerate the economic subjugation of countries through the assumption of economic leadership, to say nothing of the political and military domination of other countries. If the countries of Asia cooperate selflessly with one another for their common prosperity, the differences in their levels of development will disappear and they will all achieve fresh development and progress.

Our people shall not only strive for national prosperity but also struggle shoulder to shoulder with all the Asian people for the prosperity of Asia.

When national reunification, the earnest desire of our nation, is realized, our country, as a proud country in Asia, will, with its developed culture and strong economy, make a greater contribution to the prosperity of Asia.

Question: Many people see the collapse of the Soviet Union and East European countries as the failure of socialism. But in a recent speech you said that their collapse does not mean the declaration of the failure of socialism.

How would you like to analyze and view the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and East Europe? And I shall be much obliged if you would tell me about the character and specific features of Korean-style socialism.

Answer: Although there may be temporary twists and turns in the course of the development of socialism, the ideal of socialism can never change as it embodies the social nature of man which requires the end of exploitation and oppression of man by man and an equitable, independent and happy life for all people. As society advances, the social nature of man for socialism develops further and, accordingly, it is an inviolable law that people choose the road of socialism.

There are several reasons for the frustration of socialism in some countries, but it was caused above all by the fact that these countries failed to adhere to the basic principle of socialism. In socialist society the people are the masters of the country and society and this society is developed by the people's creative role. The basic principle to be adhered to in the building of socialism is to ensure that the people hold

the position of masters of the country and society and play their role as such. In order to implement this principle, it is necessary to educate the people in socialist ideas, unite them in a socialist collective and develop socialist democracy in state management along the mass line and under the Party's guidance. Otherwise the infiltration of anti-socialist ideas cannot be prevented and bureaucracy will emerge, with the result that the people cannot play their role as masters of the country and society and socialism will not display its advantages. In some countries no particular attention was paid to the basic question which should be tackled first in socialist construction, with the result that socialism became invalid and the cause of socialism was frustrated.

The people are the masters of the world and the makers of history. We have always paid primary attention to strengthening the driving force and increasing its role in socialist construction and conducted the transformations of nature and society to meet its requirements.

The socialism we have built is anthropocentric socialism under which the Party and the people have been integrated into a solid social and political organism and everything serves the people. In our country the political, economic, cultural and other domains are being developed harmoniously to meet the people's desire for independence, and all the members of society enjoy a stable material life, a rich cultural life and a noble political life. This is the basic characteristic and the advantage of our country's socialism which is developing vigorously without wavering, whatever the adversity.

Question: This century ends in eight years.

Would you like to say something, looking forward to the 21st century?

Who is the historical or living leader you respect most, and what is the reason?

Answer: Independence, peace and friendship are the common ideals of the progressive people of the world. The cold war has ended and the democratic and independent development of the international

community will be accelerated still faster. The 21st century will be a new historic century in which the people of all countries will enjoy welfare and prosperity in a free and peaceful new world.

In history there have been many renowned leaders who have devoted their lives to the freedom and liberation of the people. They have worked at different times and in different socio-historical conditions and had different personalities. So I find it difficult to say that I respect any particular leader most.

I respect all the leaders who have fought with devotion for the independence of the people.

Question: I congratulate you, Mr. President, on your 80th birthday. Many say that you are as healthy as a man in his fifties. What is the secret of this?

Would you like to say how you feel on your 80th birthday and as the senior head of state in the world?

What is your hobby? Will you tell me of the amusement and sports, if any, that you enjoy?

Answer: When people ask what the secret of my health is, I answer that I am healthy because I am optimistic.

Since I set out on the road of the revolution I have believed in the people, shared good times and bad with them and felt the value of life and happiness in that. Nothing is impossible if one relies on the inexhaustible strength of the people and there is nothing that is nobler than devoting oneself to the people. This belief is the source of my optimism.

I am truly happy that I have lived in the love and trust of the people for 80 years and I will continue to do my best to meet the people's expectations and prove myself worthy of their trust.

I have no particular hobby or amusement of my own. I am fond of reading and I like mixing with the people and sharing their company.

I wish you success in your work.

**ENHANCING THE ROLE OF THE MASSES
OF THE PEOPLE IS THE GUARANTEE
FOR VICTORY IN THE CAUSE
OF INDEPENDENCE**

**Speech at a Banquet Given by the Government
of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea**

April 15, 1992

Esteemed, distinguished guests from foreign countries,
Comrades and friends,

This banquet is honoured by the company of our close comrades-in-arms and intimate friends, Comrade Yang Shang-kun, President of the People's Republic of China; His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State and President of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia; Comrade Kaysone Phomvihane, President of the Lao People's Democratic Republic; His Excellency Lansana Conte, President and Head of State of the Republic of Guinea; His Excellency Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda; His Excellency Joseph Saidu Momoh, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone; His Excellency Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea; as well as the members of more than 420 delegations from over 130 countries.

Allow me to express my heartfelt thanks to you Heads of State, high-ranking leaders of parties and governments, distinguished figures and friends from many countries of the world for having taken the

trouble of making long journeys to congratulate me on my birthday.

Allow me also to offer my thanks to the members of the congratulatory group of the National Democratic Front of South Korea, the congratulatory group of the Koreans in Japan, and all the congratulatory groups from China, the Russian Federation, Europe, the United States, Canada and other parts of the world for coming to congratulate me on my birthday, and to send my warm greetings to all the people in south Korea and to all my overseas compatriots.

It seems only yesterday that I crossed the Amnok River, determined not to return home without liberating my country, but now I am 80 years old. With so many comrades and friends congratulating me on my 80th birthday today, I cannot repress my surging emotions.

Ever since I took the path of revolution I have lived under the loving care of my comrades and my fellow people. Throughout the whole period of the arduous revolutionary struggle, my comrades in the revolution and my people have loved me warmly, protected me and helped me with all their hearts. Whenever I was undergoing trials, they inspired me with courage and confidence. I am very proud of the fact that I have enjoyed the trust and love of such loyal revolutionary comrades and such fine people. I would like to take this important opportunity, which is overflowing with beautiful feelings of revolutionary obligation and comradely love, to express my warm gratitude to the veteran revolutionary comrades who have shared weal and woe with me all along the path of revolution, to the cadres who have grown up to become reliable leaders in the practical struggle, and to all the Party members and all the people who are unfailingly loyal to the Party and the revolution.

As I look back on my past I can say, in short, that the 80 years of my life as a son of the people have been years of struggle devoted for the people.

I embarked on the path of revolution with a determination to dedicate myself to the country and my fellow people, and ever since my love for the people has at all times been uppermost in my mind. Even in almost helpless situations when I had to eat in the wind and

sleep in the open during the grim days of the anti-Japanese revolution, I strengthened my fighting spirit at the thought of our suffering nation, and when I had to endure cold and hunger by a campfire I took courage by picturing in my mind our happy people who would live in the liberated country.

With the belief that the masses of the people, not an individual, are the makers of history, I have always linked my life with the life of the masses and found the value of my life and the key to victory in sharing the same destiny with the masses. I fought, braving all the difficulties, with the conviction that I would surely emerge victorious if I fought, believing in the people and relying on their strength.

Our enemy was formidable and our struggle was arduous. When the country was liberated through the protracted and arduous struggle against imperialism, the whole country bubbled over with joy and delight. The people were hopeful about worthwhile creation and a happy future, but unexpectedly we were faced with the new misfortune of national division and had again to fight imperialist forces of aggression. The three-year-long Fatherland Liberation War against the imperialist invasion was a hard fight. Our struggle to reconstruct towns and villages on the ruins after the war and our efforts to build socialism were also difficult. But we were not afraid of our enemies from whatever quarter, nor did we feel discouraged in the face of any trials and difficulties. We have been able to overcome all our trials and difficulties and win a brilliant victory by fighting with the conviction that nothing is impossible for us as long as we have the Party and the masses who are solidly united behind the Party.

Our Juche idea reflects the desire of the masses, the makers of history, for independence and their interests. In the whole course of the revolution and construction we have been guided by the Juche idea and adhered strictly to the Juche stand and Juche principles.

Meeting the desire of the motive force of the revolution for independence by strengthening it and increasing its role is the guiding principle of the revolution and construction which embodies the Juche idea. Both in our struggle against imperialism and in our efforts to

build socialism we have put our main efforts into strengthening the motive force and enhancing its role, and we have promoted all our work to transform nature and society to meet the requirements of the motive force. The line of effecting Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-reliance in national defence, as well as the general line of socialist construction on giving a strong impetus to the three revolutions—ideological, technical and cultural—while strengthening the people’s power and continually raising its function and role, embody our Party’s Juche-based guiding principle.

The society we have built is a society in which the Party and the masses have been fused into a single-hearted unity and constitute an independent motive force for the revolution; it is also a society in which Juche has been firmly established in all fields of politics, the economy and culture and it is a socialist society centred on the people that makes everything serve them. That is why our socialism is advancing confidently and steadily, displaying its advantages, in spite of the ceaseless anti-socialist manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries and despite the turbulent situation.

I can say that the Juche idea is a life-giving factor in the efforts of our Party and our people to accomplish the Juche revolutionary cause. In the future, too, we must continue to advance under the banner of the Juche idea and consistently implement the guiding principles of Juche, holding fast to them. Then we will be able to achieve the ultimate victory of our cause.

The unity and cohesion of the Party and the masses achieved on the basis of the Juche idea through a long-drawn-out and arduous struggle is the core of the glorious revolutionary traditions of our Party. Today, by inheriting the Party’s revolutionary traditions, our entire Party membership and all the working people have become a strong motive force that will continue the revolution, closely united behind Comrade Kim Jong Il and the Central Committee of the Party. This is the basic guarantee for the ultimate victory of our revolution, and it gives me great satisfaction. I would like to say that this was a summary of my

life of 80 years.

One thing that concerns me today is that I have not met our nation's desire to live happily together in a reunified country. It is a great misfortune for our people that they are suffering national division, unable to reunify their country, still today when nearly half a century has passed since the country was liberated. To reunify the country is the long-cherished common desire of our nation as well as my own pledge to the nation.

The reunification of our country is, of course, influenced a great deal by foreign forces. National division itself was forced on us by foreign forces, and these forces still remain the major obstacle to national reunification. But we must reunify the country by believing always in our own nation and relying on the efforts of our own nation. There are still many obstacles in the way of national reunification but the prospects for reunification are brightening. The spirit of our nation which has a long history and time-honoured cultural traditions is alive, and the motive force for national reunification is growing stronger with each passing day through the tireless patriotic struggle of compatriots in the north, south and abroad. All our fellow countrymen must unite firmly and open the door to reunification, under the banner of great national unity and in the patriotic spirit of independence, the pride of our nation.

Present here now are many of my old comrades-in-arms, comrades and friends from many countries who can advance hand in hand with us for a common cause. This is a source of great support and encouragement for our people.

Since the early years of our revolutionary activities we have been establishing unbreakable comradely ties with fraternal peoples and have been fighting shoulder to shoulder with one another against our common enemy. We have never forgotten our fraternal peoples and internationalist revolutionary comrades who assisted us in our revolution at the cost of their blood.

The destiny of our nation is closely linked with that of the world's people. Our people will remain loyal not only to their own cause but

also to the common cause of the people of the world; they will oppose national egoism and fulfil their internationalist obligations.

Although imperialists and reactionaries are clamouring about the crumbling of socialism in some countries as if humanity's cause of independence had been completely foiled, history will inevitably develop along the road of independence, as the masses of the people desire. Exploitation and oppression which are contrary to man's intrinsic independent nature are being rejected with the passage of time, and the aspirations and desire of the people to live freely and peacefully in an independent world are daily growing stronger.

Taking advantage of the disappearance of their military rival and the destruction of the balance of forces, the modern imperialists are scheming to maintain and extend the old order of domination and subjugation, relying on their military superiority, but this is an anachronistic delusion. Deriving feelings of superiority and satisfaction from ruling and oppressing others by violence is a manifestation of the aggressive nature and anti-popular spirit which are characteristic of the law of the jungle, and clinging to outmoded views and methods will ultimately hasten self-destruction. Because of its long-accumulated self-contradictions, modern imperialism is not only ailing and rotting, but also being rejected by both the people and the capitalist world for the arrogance and arbitrariness it displays in its attempts to dominate the world. With the world producing a vast amount of material wealth thanks to the rapid development of modern science and technology, and with international relations growing close in political, economic, cultural and all other spheres, the globe is genuinely becoming a common environment for human existence. All this means that, contrary to the subjective will of the imperialists and reactionaries, the social and historical conditions for building a free and peaceful new world are maturing. We must view the present situation optimistically and continue to advance.

Today the common task facing the progressive people of the world is to build an independent new world. By an independent world I mean a world which is free from domination and subjugation between

countries and nations and from aggression and war, in other words, a new world where the international community has become democratic. When the whole world becomes independent, a broad avenue will be open not only to durable world peace and the full development of friendship and cooperation among peoples but also to complete independence for the peoples of all countries.

An independent new world can be built only by the joint efforts of the people united throughout the world. Unlike in the past when the monopoly of capital was limited to individual countries and capitalist powers were biting at one another, the monopoly of capital has now extended on an international scale and the imperialists are allied in their opposition to the people's cause of independence. In this situation, strengthening solidarity among the progressive people throughout the world is now our major strategic task.

The people who have emerged in the historical arena as the masters of the world and the masters of their own destiny demand independence, peace and friendship, not subordination, war and antagonism. Independence, peace and friendship are the noble, common ideals of humanity and these serve as the basis for the unity of the world's people in their struggle for making the whole world independent. The social and historical conditions and the situation differ from country to country. But, if they base themselves on the noble, common ideals of mankind, the people of the world will be fully able to unite and become a great force that is capable of putting an end to the old world and creating an independent new world.

In effecting the unity of the world's people, the responsibility and role of the progressive parties that represent the desire of the people of every country for independence and their interests are very important. The progressive parties of different countries must unite on the basis of the principles of independence and internationalism, cooperate closely to chart a correct common strategy for coping with the changing situation and circumstances and encourage the people and lead them dynamically towards the implementation of the cause of independence against imperialism.

When all the progressive parties and peoples throughout the world struggle shoulder to shoulder, faithful to and with a firm belief in the cause of independence, they will frustrate all the manoeuvres of the reactionaries to reverse the historical tide and bring about a bright future for humanity.

It is the noblest of moral obligations and duties for a revolutionary to serve the people. Nothing is worthier and more glorious for him than to devote his whole life for the people. I wish to dedicate the rest of my life to the people's cause, being loved and trusted by them.

Allow me to propose a toast to the victory of the common cause of the people for independence,

to the health of the Heads of State and high-ranking party and government leaders from different countries present here,

to the health of my compatriots from south Korea and abroad, and
to the health of other comrades and friends.

**ANTI-JAPANESE VETERANS
ARE THE PROUD FIRST GENERATION
OF OUR REVOLUTION**

**Talk to Those Attending the Lunch Party in Commemoration
of the 100th Birthday of Mother Kang Pan Sok**

April 21, 1992

Today is the 100th birthday of my mother, Kang Pan Sok.

My mother devoted her whole life to the liberation of the country and the freedom and happiness of the people. From her days in Mangyongdae she actively helped my father in his revolutionary work and took lots of trouble to help independence fighters. For revolutionary work my father used to visit not only his homeland, but also Shanghai, Jiandao and several other places in China, and on his return he would bring independence fighters home with him. She cooked meals for the frequent visitors and washed their clothes. Still involving herself in revolutionary work after her husband's death, she gave active assistance to me and my comrades in this endeavour.

I still remember the days when we founded the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army in Antu. At that time she was ill, but, accompanied by my younger brother, she came to where the guerrillas were staying in order to see the army we had founded. She looked with pride at their sturdy appearance and, touching the rifles on their shoulders, said that we could put up a good fight against the Japanese imperialists with such weaponry and that it was impossible to win national independence by collecting war funds from people carrying

pistols like the Independence Army had done. She continued, “How glad your mothers would be if they heard about today’s happy event! Mothers of Korea weep tears of pain when they see their sons playing the fool or doing evil, but they feel delight and pride when they see their sons embarking on the road of national liberation.” The guerrillas were delighted to hear her encouraging words.

As the news about our founding of the Anti-Japanese People’s Guerrilla Army spread, hot-blooded young men and women of about 20 came to join us. Comrade Choe Song Suk, who is present here, was a girl at that time; she left the county town of Muling in search of us on hearing of our guerrilla struggle, and met us later in Wangqing.

Several days after organizing the Anti-Japanese People’s Guerrilla Army, we celebrated May Day. In command of my unit I entered the county town of Antu and marched in parade. Later I led an expedition to southern Manchuria. The purpose of the expedition, conducted shortly after the founding of the AJPGA, was to form a united front with Ryang Se Bong’s unit of the Independence Army there. I thought that if I went to southern Manchuria we could form a united front with his unit because Ryang Se Bong, commander of the Independence Army, had been on intimate terms with my father.

Before leaving for southern Manchuria I bought a large *mal* of foxtail millet with money my comrades had given me and dropped in at the house where my mother was living. At that time my mother was seriously ill, but she showed no sign of it. It was very difficult for me to leave for southern Manchuria, for I was so worried about my ailing mother. Seeing that I was walking around and around the house, reluctant to leave, she told me severely to leave with my unit quickly and not trouble myself on account of the family, saying that spiders do not spin webs over the mouth of a living person.

You have seen the revolutionary film *Star of Korea*. A secret agent of the Japanese imperialists was a staff officer in the Independence Army unit led by Ryang Se Bong. Our effort to form a united front with the Independence Army unit proved futile owing to his obstructive scheme. He even hatched a plot to disarm our guerrillas.

So, we left there and went to Wangqing via Liuhe, Mengjiang and Antu.

On my return from the expedition to southern Manchuria I found that my mother had died. She had fallen ill because she had worked so hard to help independence fighters. In those days she called the illness heartburn. Looking back, I think it might have been cancer. She was forty years old at that time. Having fought for the independence of the country, she died too early, without seeing the liberation of the country for which she had so yearned.

As today is the 100th birthday of my mother, I planned to take a meal with all the anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans, but as there is another opportunity to get together on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Korean People's Army a few days later, I have invited only you, anti-Japanese women veterans, the women related to the anti-Japanese revolution and women cadres.

I am grateful for your congratulations on my 80th birthday and on my becoming Generalissimo and your wish for my long life in good health.

You say you are worried about my health because I overworked myself with foreign affairs on the occasion of April 15, but I am alright. The functions held on this year's April 15 were attended by 420 delegations and thousands of foreign guests from 130 countries. I cannot forego my work simply by giving a banquet for all the foreign guests who have come to congratulate me. They have come a long way to see me, so I have to meet them separately, even though it might be tiring for me. There are still several delegations that I have to receive.

You say that you are most happy when you see me hale and hearty on TV. I am healthy. Long ago, I said that youth begins at 60 and old age at 90. I do not recognize that old age begins at 60. Since we are still on the right side of 90 we can say that we are in the prime stage of life.

I owe it entirely to my comrades and people that I have been able to continue revolutionary work in good health until today, when I am 80 years old. They have always loved and protected me devotedly and helped me with all their heart.

During my activities in Jilin I received a great deal of help from the Rev. Son Jong Do. When I was thrown into Jilin prison he conducted a campaign to get me released, giving Zhang Zuo-xiang a large sum of money. Thanks to the Rev. Son Jong Do and other progressive figures I was released from prison. If I had been left in the prison one more year, I would have fallen into the hands of the Japanese imperialists. I was told that soon after they occupied the northeastern area of China, the Japanese imperialists went to Jilin prison in search of me. Finding that I had already been let out, they lamented that they were a little late. If I had been handed over to their hands at that time, I would not have been able to launch the armed struggle against Japan.

The Rev. Son Jong Do's youngest son, Son Won Thae, is now on a visit to our country. A doctor of pathology, he lives in the United States. I met him for the first time last year after parting with him in Jilin. His younger sister was until some days ago the Vice-President of the Red Cross Society of south Korea.

The first organization we formed in Jilin was the Jilin Association of Korean Children. Comrade Hwang Kwi Hon must remember those days clearly. She was a member of the association.

I also received a lot of help from my comrades and people when I was conducting activities in Wujiazi. I still cannot forget what happened in those days.

In Wujiazi I stayed at Mun Suk Gon's house and received great help. The family fed me for months. They used to serve me with pickled garlic at meals; it had a distinct taste. After liberation Comrade Mun Suk Gon once came to my house and pickled garlic for me.

Wujiazi was an important revolutionary base we built during the early days of our revolutionary activities. If I had not transformed it into a revolutionary village and brought up many young communists there, it would have been difficult for me to organize and launch the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

As I was proficient in Chinese, I had a great advantage in operating in Wujiazi. When I was young, my father instructed me to learn Chinese assiduously. Bearing his instruction in mind, I learned

Chinese, which proved a great help during my revolutionary struggle.

In Wujiazi there lived a man named Kim Hae San. As a doctor, he frequented the house of a Chinese landlord. One day he visited me and asked me if I could write an indictment, saying that the Chinese landlord had quarrelled with another landlord in the neighbouring village over some farmland and resolved to bring a law suit against him, but he was worried over the indictment because he did not know how to write it. When I said I could, Kim asked me to go with him to the landlord's house. The landlord had a son who had received secondary education in a town, but the son did not know how to draft it because he had idled away his time at school. When I followed Kim Hae San to his house, the landlord invited us to a dinner and asked me to write the indictment. I wrote it for him; then he submitted it to the court and won the case. Had he lost the case, he would have lost dozens of hectares of land. From then on he never failed to invite me to dinner on holidays and provide effective protection for my revolutionary activities. In those days the secret agents of the Japanese imperialists came to the landlord's house from Gongzhuling several times and tried to do me harm, for they suspected that I was a communist. Each time the landlord turned them back, saying it was a lie that I was a communist, and that I was a good man. Under his protection in Wujiazi I transformed the people there into revolutionaries and trained a large number of young people to be hard core, forming the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army with them as its backbone. Kim Pong Ho, Kim Hae San's daughter, was cast in *The Flower Girl* which we created and staged in Wujiazi. After liberation she lived in North Phyongan Province until she died.

In Wujiazi I received a lot of help from Zhang Wei-hua. A son of a rich man who held vast land and kept private soldiers in the Fusong area, he gave us 40 of his private soldiers' rifles. As far as I remember, his family kept about 200 private soldiers.

Zhang Wei-hua is unforgettable in that he helped me much in my revolutionary activities. On my way to the Mt. Paektu area with my unit after the Nanhutou conference in February 1936, I visited the

Maanshan Secret Camp, where I saw that the clothes the members of the Children's Corps were wearing were beyond description. In those days we were experiencing many difficulties as we were advancing to the northern border area after relinquishing the guerrilla bases. I racked my brains as to how to provide the children with new clothes. At that time I had only 20 *yuan* in my pocket. My mother had given it to me when I called at my home before advancing to southern Manchuria, saying that man must carry money in case of emergency. I had been carrying the money until then. I decided to buy cloth with the money for the children and gave it to Kim San Ho to buy cloth. However, the cloth bought with that sum was not enough to dress all the children. So, I asked Zhang Wei-hua, who in turn bought and sent us a great amount of cloth. With the cloth we made clothes for the children and military uniforms for the guerrillas. I later met Zhang Wei-hua several times. In 1937 I led my unit to the Fusong area and met him; it was my last meeting with him. Spending a night with him, I taught him how to do underground work and gave him new tasks. After I left him, a turncoat came to see him, a turncoat who had been engaged in underground struggle before being arrested by the Japanese imperialists. He had turned traitor and acted as their cat's paw in a "surrender hunting team". He knew that Zhang Wei-hua was on intimate terms with me because he himself had been affiliated in the Paeksan Youth League. As he did not know about his betrayal, Zhang told him about his meeting with me when he said he wanted to see me. Had Zhang said nothing at that time, everything would have been all right with him. Because he spoke about his meeting with me, the turncoat reported it to the enemy, resulting in Zhang's arrest by the military police.

Fearing that under torture he might reveal the underground organizations in Fusong County or tell of my whereabouts, he made up his mind to take his own life. But he could not do it while in the hands of the military police. So he asked his father to help him get parole for a few days. His father brought him home on parole after bribing the military police with money and gifts. In his house he left his last will to his wife and committed suicide by taking a doze of corrosive sublimate

used in film development. All in all, he killed himself for the sake of my safety. We fought shoulder to shoulder with many Chinese comrades in the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, but it is only Zhang Wei-hua who killed himself for my safety. He had a son, Zhang Jin-quan, and a daughter, Zhang Jin-lu. The former was born in March 1933 and the latter in 1937.

I had not seen Zhang's family since liberation, and only a few years ago I met them. When the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party visited our country some years ago, I asked him to send Zhang Jin-quan, Zhang Wei-hua's son, to me, for I wanted to see him. The next year Zhang Jin-quan visited our country. He is very clever. He and his sister are also on a visit to our country to mark this year's April 15. One evening I talked with them for several hours over dinner. On this occasion Zhang Jin-quan brought me the same wine that I had drunk with Zhang Wei-hua in Fusong, and Zhang Jin-lu brought me a woolen sweater which she had made herself. Presenting the sweater to me, she implored me not to display it in the International Friendship Exhibition but wear it myself. So I put it on as they wanted and posed for a souvenir photograph with them.

Comrade Jon Mun Jin made a military uniform for me. When I went to Wangqing with my unit, members of the sewing unit there said they would make a fine uniform for the young general and they sewed a uniform and a overcoat.

The love and support I received from my comrades and people in the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle was truly valuable, and, thanks to their love and support, we emerged victorious, fighting unyieldingly under unprecedentedly arduous and severe conditions.

The anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle was a glorious revolutionary struggle that pioneered the cause of Juche and the veterans who participated in this struggle are the proud first generation of our revolution. Herein lies the pride and dignity of the anti-Japanese veterans.

None of the veterans who fought with arms in hand took the road of revolution to win fame or high position. They followed the bloody path

looking forward only to the days when people would live happily in a liberated country.

I also did not plunge myself into the revolution to make myself famous or to become president when the country was liberated. From the first day of embarking on the road of the revolution, I fought braving all difficulties in order to drive the Japanese imperialist aggressors out of the motherland and build a country where the people live equally in happiness as its masters.

Of course, our comrades in the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle hoped that I would become president of our liberated country. One year I went to Moscow with Comrades Kim Chaek, An Kil and So Chol to attend a meeting. We stayed in a guest house there. One night I dreamed a dream: Comrade Kim Jong Suk, learning that I read books brought by the guerrillas I had dispatched to various places, brought heaps of books to a spacious room and told me to read them as I liked, adding that I would not be able to read them all in my lifetime. I awoke from the dream to find that it was about midnight. The others were still not sleeping. When I told them about the dream, they all interpreted that it foretold I would be president, and proposed a toast to the happy day. We asked an old man working at the guest house for some wine. He brought us two bottles of vodka. We drank it in cups and went to bed. On return from Moscow I told Comrade Kim Jong Suk about the dream. She kept in her heart what I told her; after liberation she filled the shelves in my study with books and said to me that I should read books to my heart's content. At her request she and I posed for a souvenir photograph in the study. The photograph still exists.

The women veterans of the anti-Japanese struggle are now over 70 years old. You, Comrade Jon Sun Hui, are 69 years old; you must be the youngest of the anti-Japanese veterans. You, the first generation of the revolution, should take good care of your health and live long to continue to bring the flower of the revolution to bloom. Only then can you still unceasingly exalt the honours of being the first generation of the revolution.

A man must end his life with honour. Even though he once lived a

life shameful for the country and nation, he will enjoy respect and love from the people if he lives his last days with honour. Mr. Choe Tok Sin can be taken as an example. Although he had followed a road conflicting with ours in the past, in the last days of his life he repented his past and joined the ranks of the national reunification movement, fighting shoulder to shoulder with his fellow countrymen and thus leading a life of lasting value. He became a patriotic martyr respected and loved by the people. The archetype of the parts 1 to 4 of the multi-part film *The Nation and Destiny* produced recently is Mr. Choe Tok Sin. His wife is a daughter of Mr. Ryu Tong Yol, who was well-known in bygone days. In 1932 Yun Pong Gil threw a bomb at the Japanese imperialists at a park in Shanghai. He belonged to the group of Mr. Ryu Tong Yol. I am sure that you, Mr. Choe Tok Sin's wife, will devote yourself to the cause of national reunification, following the road Mr. Choe chose in the last days of his life.

Today I celebrate the 100th birthday of my mother in a very meaningful way, by having a souvenir photograph taken and taking lunch with you.

It is thanks to the deep attention of Comrade Kim Jong Il that you celebrate the 100th birthday of my mother with me today. Last evening I discussed with him whom to invite to this lunch party. He suggested that I invite the anti-Japanese women veterans, the women related to the anti-Japanese revolution and women cadres. So I followed his suggestion and invited you here.

Comrade Kim Jong Il in all ways respects and takes good care of the officials who fought shoulder to shoulder with me in the past. He sincerely looks after the veterans of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, lest they feel any inconveniences in their life. He provided the veterans resting in the house with fine clothes and excellent cars and solves all their problems. He looks after their health carefully and sends them to a rest home every year lest they fall ill. He respects not only the veterans of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle but also the officials who have worked with me since liberation, and takes care of them, too.

This is laudable. I am very pleased with it. It is never easy for him to look after them while he is so busy himself.

Comrade Kim Jong Il has a high sense of loyalty to the country and people and filial piety to his parents. This is why I say he is a loyal man to the country and people and filial son to his parents. In view of these traits of his, he can be said to have acquired the personalities and qualifications befitting the leader of the people. If a man leading a country disregards his parents and the forerunners of the revolution he cannot properly perform his duties as leader. In the past the leader of a country slandered his revolutionary predecessors as soon as he took power. His aim was to pay a high tribute to himself. When a man respects his revolutionary predecessors and serves the people sincerely, people support and pay a high tribute to him though he does not try to cut a feather; but they neither love nor respect a man who brags.

The anti-Party, counterrevolutionary factionalists who were occupying important posts in our Party Central Committee once plotted to do harm to the officials we had appointed and removed them from their posts. Owing to their conspiratorial schemes many of those who were related to me in the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, people who had participated in the anti-Japanese armed struggle and those whom we had trained and promoted after liberation, suffered harm.

Comrade Kim Jong Il hates paying high tribute to himself. He thinks that it is enough for him to remain loyal to the country and people and dutiful to his parents. As he serves the people devotedly, he enjoys profound respect and love from them. In the ode I wrote to mark his 50th birthday I wrote; *Admired by all for his power of pen and sword, Combined with his loyal and filial mind.* Frankly speaking, we would seldom find a people's leader as equipped with those traits as Comrade Kim Jong Il. As you all say, he was most deservedly conferred the title of Marshal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Korean People's Army.

You want me to wear the generalissimo uniform, and Comrade Kim Jong Il the marshal uniform, for the parade to be held in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Korean People's Army, but I am not going to do so. It would be different if I was to come out to the square of reunification after the country was reunified. Since the country has not yet been reunified, it is not appropriate for me to wear the generalissimo uniform and for Comrade Kim Jong Il the marshal uniform.

The revolutionary cause we started in the forests of Mt. Paektu has not yet been achieved. We have a long way to go for the revolution. In order to carry forward the revolutionary cause of Juche to consummation over many generations, you should uphold Comrade Kim Jong Il, a master of literature and military affairs, a man of loyalty and filial piety who is guiding the revolution and construction to victory. The anti-Japanese veterans should effectively help the second, third and fourth generations of the revolution to be faithful to Comrade Kim Jong Il. I am strongly convinced that you will support Comrade Kim Jong Il with single-minded loyalty and ever strive for the building of socialism and national reunification, just as you have unswervingly followed the road of revolution in support of me.

**CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE TO THE 16TH
CONGRESS OF THE GENERAL ASSOCIATION
OF KOREAN RESIDENTS IN JAPAN**

May 21, 1992

On the occasion of the 16th Congress of the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (Chongryon), which is being held amid the great interest and expectations of the Korean compatriots in Japan and the people in the homeland, I extend warm congratulations to you all, and to the 700,000 Korean compatriots in Japan. Your presence here today demonstrates your boundless national dignity and pride in victory.

By bravely overcoming all manner of difficulties faced in the complicated prevailing situation, Chongryon, during the period under review, has further strengthened its organizations at all levels organizationally and ideologically and carried out with credit the patriotic tasks assigned to it, thereby developing the movement of Koreans in Japan to a higher stage.

Chongryon, as the prevailing situation demands, has intensified the work of establishing the ideological system of Juche in its organizations and has prepared its officials and other compatriots to be true overseas citizens of the DPRK. In particular, it has made a fresh advance in educating the rising generation to be reliable successors to the patriotic cause.

By defending the democratic national rights of compatriots, sincerely supporting the socialist construction in the homeland and vigorously waging the movement for the reunification of the country

as a mass movement involving all compatriots under the banner of great national unity, Chongryon has played with credit the role of pioneer among organizations of overseas compatriots faithful and devoted to the country and nation.

Indeed, Chongryon is a dignified and authoritative organization of our overseas citizens. It stands firmly shoulder to shoulder with the people in the homeland in the glorious and worthwhile struggle for the victory of the cause of Juche. Chongryon is a proud model organization of overseas compatriots envied unanimously by overseas compatriots of all other countries.

Highly appreciative of Chongryon's utmost patriotic devotion to the sacred cause for the country and nation under the banner of the Juche idea, I send my warm thanks to all Chongryon officials and Korean compatriots in Japan.

The 16th Congress of Chongryon is very significant in that it is being held in the historical period when the authority of our Republic is higher than ever before and a new phase has been opened for the peace and independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

With optimism and unshakable faith in the victory of the cause of Juche, Chongryon should strengthen its ranks organizationally and ideologically and promote more dynamically all patriotic work, including the national-reunification movement.

The independent and peaceful reunification of the country is the vital demand of our nation and it is the important task Chongryon should perform most energetically at present. The situation is steadily developing in favour of our country's reunification, so Chongryon should intensify its work of achieving national unity with Korean compatriots from all walks of life. It should wage more forcefully the mass movement to give impetus to the implementation of the agreement and joint declaration on denuclearization adopted between the north and south and give support and encouragement to the south Korean people in their just struggle to expedite the reunification of the country.

Chongryon should effectively lead Korean compatriots in Japan so that they rise up in the effort to win all the rights proper to the overseas

citizens of the DPRK and display a strong patriotic spirit to contribute effectively to the prosperity of the socialist motherland. Intensifying, along with this, activities to strengthen ties of friendship with the Japanese people, it should create an atmosphere favourable to normalizing the relations between Korea and Japan and to reunifying the country peacefully; it should also continue to work for the movement of solidarity with the progressive peoples of the world so as to expand the ranks of supporters to and sympathizers with our revolutionary cause.

In order to improve its work as demanded by the developing situation and carry out the patriotic tasks for the country and nation satisfactorily, Chongryon should strengthen the motive force of the movement of Koreans in Japan and steadily enhance its role.

Chongryon should channel particularly great effort into thoroughly establishing the ideological system and guidance system of Juche in its organizations, build up the ranks of its cadres with the hard core who would share their destiny with the socialist motherland, and strengthen the single-hearted unity of its ranks.

In strengthening the motive force of the movement of Koreans in Japan, it is of great importance to efficiently conduct the work with the masses of compatriots.

Chongryon should go deep among the masses of compatriots in all walks of life and conduct organizational and political work energetically to rally more compatriots to the patriotic side. Particularly, it should efficiently conduct the work with the new generation, including the young men of commerce and industry, and radically intensify its work with chapters and branches so that it makes its organizations powerful, patriotic ones rooted deep in the broad masses of compatriots.

Victory and glory will always be in store for Chongryon and the movement of Koreans in Japan that are advancing shoulder to shoulder with the socialist motherland under the unfurled banner of the Juche idea.

Believing that the 16th Congress of Chongryon will mark an important milestone in further intensifying Chongryon organizations and dynamically advancing the Juche-oriented movement of Koreans in Japan, I wish the congress great success.

**TALK WITH THE CHAIRMAN
OF THE WORKERS' COMMUNIST
PARTY OF SWEDEN**

June 29, 1992

I am very glad to meet you again, Comrade Chairman, and warmly welcome your visit to our country. Your current visit to our country for the second time shows the close relationship between our two parties.

I am grateful to you for having sent the general secretary of your party to our country to congratulate me on my 80th birthday. During his visit he took an active part in drawing up and publishing the Pyongyang Declaration in concert with representatives of various other foreign political parties.

I speak highly of your party, which firmly maintains an independent stand and aspires after socialism despite the extremely complicated situation in Europe. It is very commendable that there is such a revolutionary party within the international communist movement as yours which is advancing under the correct banner in the face of the present complicated circumstances. If our two parties continue to adhere to the independent stand as we do now, we will bring about good results in the future.

As pointed out in the Pyongyang Declaration, the parties aspiring after socialism must unite firmly on a new basis and pool their efforts in a vigorous movement to restore socialism. The imperialists are advertising that socialism has perished; however, socialism is still alive in the minds of people and new movements are under way for its restoration. We think

that in such a time as today the parties aspiring after socialism must restir themselves up by force of unity to advance dynamically.

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

Our Party's history of over 50 years shows that adherence to independence in Party activities will bring about brilliant successes in socialist construction. We have achieved a great success in socialist construction, but we have never forced the parties of other countries to follow our example or put out much information.

In our opinion it is unnecessary for the parties aspiring to socialism to look for any model in the revolution and construction work. Each country's specific situation is different. Therefore, there is no one formula capable of coping with every specific situation of each country. Marxism is not a dogma but a creative theory. Both Lenin and Stalin objected to the dogmatic attitude to Marxism. We are of the opinion that every party in each country should independently carry out the revolution and construction in its own way. Korea must carry out the revolution and construction in her own way and Sweden, in her own way. The general secretary of the central committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, who visited our country on the occasion of my 80th birthday, also said that it was necessary to build socialism in an independent way. She told me that they would revive Leninism and the idea of Stalin. That is not bad, I think. In our opinion, that party should adopt lines that accord with the demands of the Russian people.

To strengthen the Party is essential for independently carrying out the revolution and construction. How the party is strengthened decides success in the revolution and construction work.

Lenin achieved victory in the Russian revolution because he had founded the Bolshevik Party, and Stalin could defeat Nazi Germany because he had strengthened the party founded by Lenin.

The former Soviet Union began to collapse after the modern revisionists took power. They abandoned the principle of party building and systematically weakened the party. Consequently, the leading elements of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, while clamouring for a “new way of thinking”, at last accepted cosmopolitanism asserted by the imperialists. The US imperialists have long since used cosmopolitanism as the ideological means for realizing their ambition for world domination. While Stalin was in power, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union fought resolutely against cosmopolitanism. No sooner had the US imperialists put forward cosmopolitanism than Stalin seemed to have already perceived that its purpose was to realize their strategy of “peaceful transition” aimed at dominating the world. When the tendency to cosmopolitanism appeared in the field of Soviet art and literature following the Second World War, Zhdanov, a follower of Stalin, went among writers, artists and the people and emphasized the need for them to fight resolutely against it.

A “new way of thinking”, asserted by the leading elements of the former Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was the capitulationist way of thinking. To give up fighting against the imperialists and to live and cooperate with them—this is precisely the content of their “new way of thinking”. Living together with the imperialists while cooperating with them in the long run means surrendering to them. The nature of imperialism never changes. Imperialism means monopolistic capitalism—this is a proposition advanced by Lenin. If imperialism based on monopolistic capital is left to its own devices unopposed, it will naturally go on invading and plundering other countries. The leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, however, preached cooperation with the imperialists, harbouring illusions about them and so leading the Soviet Union to ruin, unable to withstand the anti-socialist attack by the imperialists. It is hardly imaginable that the Soviet Union, which built socialism for over 70 years, has collapsed in a day. The renegade socialists who ruined the Soviet Union do not have a national conscience, still less dignity as a communist. If they

had had a bit of patriotic spirit, they would not have put the Soviet Union into such a state. They have destroyed the Soviet Union and are now acting as the Americans tell them.

You have said the Russians seem to trade Honecker, the former leader of the German Democratic Republic who is now under medical treatment in Moscow, just to make money; it is quite lamentable. It does not stand to reason that they are so crazy about a few dollars that they would sell their fellow comrade.

Some time ago, Honecker requested permission for medical treatment in our country. I got the report on his request one early morning. About 4 o'clock in the morning, Comrade Kim Jong Il phoned me to say he had an urgent problem to report, informing that Honecker had sent us a letter in which he requested permission for medical treatment in our country. So I said then and there without the slightest hesitation that Honecker should be informed of our intention to welcome him to our country and to provide him with all conditions necessary for his medical treatment. After granting our approval to his request, we even sent an airplane to Moscow to fetch him. But the Russians would not hand him over to us. I have been an intimate acquaintance of Honecker for a long time. He and I are of the same age and are close to each other. I am worried over his future. As the country has fallen to ruin, the people cannot but experience their miserable lot.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Since then the Soviets have given us a wide berth. In the past, the Soviet Union used to put up the slogan “Long live the great socialist community” on May Day and the October Socialist Revolution Day. The socialist community referred to by the Soviet Union means the community of the socialist member states of the CMEA. So socialist countries such as ours which were not members of the CMEA were excluded from the right to give cheers. We once told the Soviet people: “It is not right of you to shout the slogan ‘Long live the great socialist community’. If you want to, you had better hurrah for ‘socialist states’. Even though we did not join the CMEA, we are successfully building socialism.” In the long run, the East European socialist countries that entered the CMEA just to fawn upon the great power all collapsed, but we who have not entered the CMEA from the standpoint of

independence are still living healthily.

Secondly, the ruin of the East European socialist countries is due to the fact that the leaders of these countries exercised bureaucracy in a gross way.

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

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

In these countries where socialism has collapsed and capitalism is restored a great number of working people have become unemployed and many other serious social and economic problems are cropping up one after another. The East Europeans dreamed that they would be better off if they abandoned socialism and entered the European Community or NATO, but their dream has been shattered. Some of them believed that Americans would give them much aid if they

abandoned socialism and revived capitalism, but they are said to have so far received only one hundred million dollars in aid from the US. As they have gone through every bitter experience of the American style of capitalism, the former Soviet Union and other East European peoples are now regretting having abandoned socialism, and expressing their will to restore it.

You have just spoken highly of our great efforts to rebuild and develop the international communist movement; we are doing everything in no other way than ours.

Following the frustration of socialism in the former Soviet Union and other East European countries, the US imperialists have been making every possible attempt to stifle our socialism. They are now vociferating about a “doubt of nuclear development”, putting pressure upon us to bring out nuclear weapons. As we have already made clear on more than one occasion, we have neither the technology nor the money to produce nuclear weapons. We communists mean what we say. The United States, however, unreasonably insisted on nuclear inspection, asserting that they could not believe us. So we demanded that the United States first withdraw its nuclear weapons deployed in south Korea. Afterwards, as the US officials declared that they had withdrawn all their nuclear weapons from south Korea, we allowed the necessary inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency. Several inspections by the IAEA found nothing suspicious. Then the US imperialists made another preposterous claim, namely, that we might have stashed nuclear weapons in other places, continuing their anti-DPRK fuss. They clamoured that we were producing missiles and selling them to other countries, and declared that they would bomb our ship sailing on the high seas because it seemed to be carrying missiles. So we resolutely held out against them, saying that if they wanted to, they might bomb it, but that if they bombed our ship loaded with commercial goods, not missiles, we would not overlook it and that they must never slight us simply because ours is a small country. So they did not dare to bomb our ship even though they talked big that they would. They know us well because they have already fought us once.

So they dare not pounce upon us. The US imperialists are picking one quarrel after another with us, just to isolate and squeeze us to death, though of course they have not given air to this real intention of theirs. Whatever they do, they cannot destroy our socialism.

They may attempt in the future to blockade our country economically, but we are not afraid.

We are now trading with many foreign private traders, and the US imperialists cannot control such a great number of traders. We are selling everything the foreign private businessmen want to buy, such as fertilizer, agricultural chemicals, cement and steel, and expanding the scope of our foreign trade activities. Even American private businessmen are coming to trade with us. This being the situation, even if the US imperialists impose economic sanctions on our country, we are not afraid of them.

Moreover, as we have already laid solid foundations of the independent national economy, we can live on by our own efforts, braving through any attempts by the enemy to impose an economic blockade. From olden times the Koreans have wanted to live on rice and meat soup in tile-roofed houses, wearing silk clothes. In our country the problem of food, clothing and housing was already basically solved long ago. Our people cannot be said to be leading an affluent life now, but every one of them is living happily, free from worry about food, clothing and housing.

Yesterday I met the vice-director of the US Center for Strategic and International Studies and his party on a visit to our country. In my talk with them I said: "The United States, your country, is said to be a developed capitalist, rich country, but ours is not so rich. However, in our country the people are all living equally and happily. In the United States there are homeless people sleeping in the open and vagrant beggars wandering about the streets asking for money, whereas in our country there are no homeless, vagrant beggars nor men in rags anywhere, either in Pyongyang or in other areas." As you have said, for all the people to live an equal and happy life without any worry about food, clothing and housing—herein lies the superiority of our style of socialism.

We are making ceaseless efforts to provide our people with a better life in terms of food, clothing and housing.

At the initiative of Comrade Kim Jong Il, 50,000 housing units have been built as presents to the citizens of Pyongyang on the occasion of my 80th birthday. Please make a trip round Thongil Street, and you will get a better understanding of this.

In the future we plan to build 200,000 modern houses in city and rural areas every year, so as to eliminate the problem of families living in one-room houses.

During my talk with the vice-director of the US Center for Strategic and International Studies yesterday, one of his party raised a question, asking me how Korea would solve the problem of a shortage of foreign currency she may be faced with due to the fall of the Soviet Union and all other East European socialist countries which were her trading partners. So I told him: "In the past we traded with the Soviet Union and the East European socialist countries on a large scale and our trade with these countries accounted for an overwhelming proportion of our total foreign trade. We imported coking coal and crude oil from the Soviet Union and necessary raw materials from the East European socialist countries. With the fall of these countries, our trade relations with them broke up, causing us some difficulties in our foreign trade. However, we are taking measures to surmount them. We have readopted the policy of foreign trade and we are taking the course of developing large-scale trade with India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and especially with Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, Indonesia and other third world countries in southeast Asia." In fact, we have changed the direction of our foreign trade to meet the changed situation. As the southeast Asian countries which are our main trade partners now are mostly agricultural states, they demand large quantities of fertilizer, agricultural chemicals, cement and the like. So we are producing large amounts of the goods demanded by the southeast Asian countries and selling them to these countries. We are also making efforts to open up trade with the developed capitalist countries. We have been making clothes as contracted to export them to some capitalist countries, and the quality of our products is judged by consumers to be

better than that of either Japanese or south Korean products.

You have raised the question of how to break the inequitable order existing in the economic relations between the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries. Your question is very interesting. Relying on the inequitable international economic order the developed capitalist countries are now selling their products to the developing countries at exorbitant prices while plundering the developing countries of their raw materials at rock-bottom prices. In order to break such an inequitable international economic order, the developing countries must maintain independence and develop their economies by exploiting their domestic resources at the same time as developing South-South cooperation on the principle of collective self-reliance. We think there is no other alternative. Therefore, we attach great importance to the upcoming Tenth Summit Conference of the Non-aligned Nations to be held in Indonesia, and hold that such an international conference as this should be convened frequently to strengthen unity and cooperation among the non-aligned countries.

You have asked me whether you should regard the struggle of the developing countries to stop the arbitrary behaviour of the imperialists and maintain their independence as going forward or backward; we think the struggle of the developing countries to maintain independence is still advancing.

It is true that the US imperialists are more and more despotic than ever before in the international arena. They are forcing the developing and third world countries to adopt pluralism, especially multiparty systems, and putting pressure upon them to use the World Bank funds. Quite a few countries that have adopted multiparty systems have been ruined in this way. In a certain African country, as a result of its introducing a multiparty system, an abnormal situation was created in which its progressive president was thrown out of power. The developing countries must therefore actively promote South-South cooperation in all fields of politics, the economy and culture, while uniting to deal a counter-blow to the tyrannic behaviour of the US imperialists. Needless to say, it is not easy for the developing countries

to do so. But the position of the United States as a superpower will not last long. Her situation is getting worse with the passage of time. When I asked the Americans in my talk with them yesterday, they said that their country is now in a severe economic crisis. The economic crisis of the United States is the inevitable outcome of her hegemonism. The developed capitalist countries that are plundering and exploiting other countries are only seven or eight in number, including the United States, Germany, France and Japan. Moreover, the United States, Germany, France and Japan are in conflict with each other in many respects. In Europe, Germany and France want to dominate the whole of Europe, and in Asia, Japan is attempting to be its leading power, while the United States is doing her best to hold them back. If the United States continues to seek hegemony her situation will go from bad to worse.

In the future Nazism might grip Germany again and militarism might revive in Japan. I think we must be vigilant and launch a large-scale international campaign against such things.

It is important for the parties aspiring after socialism to work well with intellectuals, with a correct attitude towards them, so as to expand and strengthen the revolutionary forces.

Intellectuals play an extremely important role in social progress and building a new society. With only the servicemen, workers and peasants, the parties aspiring after socialism cannot build a new society successfully after seizing power. When we liberated our country in 1945, however, there were only twelve graduates of engineering colleges and not a college in our country. Those who waged the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle along with me were good with guns, but they had no knowledge of science and technology. We were badly in need of technical experts for the building of a new society. So we decided to establish Kim Il Sung University in Pyongyang. The problem in the establishment of the university was a shortage of teachers. In order to solve this problem, we sent for many intellectuals from south Korea, and thus inaugurated Kim Il Sung University in 1946. Since then, thanks to our Party's correct policy of training national cadres, a great number of young intellectuals have grown up.

We now have a legion of as many as over 1.6 million intellectuals. The intellectuals we have brought up are now fulfilling their responsibilities and roles in all sectors of socialist construction. In cooperation with the working class they are displaying their creative ability to the full to carry out the technical revolution.

In the emblem of our Party is inscribed a hammer and a sickle symbolizing workers and farmers, as well as a writing-brush representing intellectuals. When we suggested a writing-brush along with hammer and sickle for the emblem of the Party, quite a few people objected. Those who objected to our suggestion were of the opinion that intellectuals could not be defined as a component of the Party for, being the middle class of society, they might serve either the capitalists or the working class, wavering between them. So I told them: "Needless to say, the strength of the workers and farmers is strong, but we cannot build a new society successfully with only the strength of the workers and farmers, excluding the intellectuals. Isn't it good to win the intellectuals over to the side of revolution by inscribing in the Party emblem a writing-brush symbolizing them along with a hammer and a sickle meaning workers and farmers? You assert that the intellectuals are waverers who might side with the capitalists or the working class. In capitalist society they might take sides with the capitalists just to find employment, but in the new society, of which the workers and peasants are the masters, they will not possibly side with nonexistent capitalists, will they? In the new society they have no other quarter than the workers and peasants to side with. We must therefore inscribe a writing-brush as well as the hammer and sickle." Historically speaking, a great number of intellectuals have participated in revolution. Marx was an intellectual, and Lenin was also an intellectual, not a worker. It is very rewarding that I have had a writing-brush along with the hammer and sickle inscribed in the emblem of our Party. Wang Bing-nan, who was a secretary of Mao Ze-dong, once came to see me; he said that the Workers' Party of Korea was the only party that had a writing-brush, the symbol of intellectuals, along with the hammer and sickle symbolizing workers

and farmers, inscribed in its emblem.

You have asked me how we enlisted the men of culture and art in our socialist construction; we are involving them actively in socialist construction through the uninterrupted education and remoulding of them.

Immediately after liberation there were few men of culture and art in Pyongyang. So we dispatched officials to south Korea to bring them from there. When we were producing the first film in our country, many of the actors and actresses from south Korea took part in the film. Though I was not a director, I had a look at our first film. Of the characters in that film, Pak Hak has already passed away and Yu Kyong Ae, Yu Won Jun and Mun Ye Bong are still in the service of art creation. They are now in their 70s. Yu Kyong Ae is good at reading novels using various voices. I have her readings recorded and listen to them from time to time.

Comrade Kim Jong Il, expressing his worry that my excessive reading would impair my sight, is having novels or the like recorded for me. In the early period of his work at the Party Central Committee, Comrade Kim Jong Il guided the work of the art and literary sector, when he had already put out the slogan “Let us create many art and literary works conducive to maintaining the revolutionary traditions and carrying forward and developing them brilliantly.” Upholding this slogan, our writers and artists have produced many pieces of revolutionary art and literature. That many films and novels with the theme of revolutionary traditions have been produced in our country, and that our art and literature serves the people soundly as Juche-orientated and revolutionary art and literature, national in form and socialist in content, is all due to the meticulous guidance of Comrade Kim Jong Il.

The ideological state of our people today is impeccable. The ideological preparedness of the intellectuals and youths and students, not to speak of that of the workers and farmers, is also very good. When Poland was socialist, the students often staged demonstrations against their party and government. Probably for that reason, the leader

of that country once asked me during his visit to our country if it was not dangerous to have Kim Il Sung University near the Kumsusan Assembly Hall. I told him that since in our country excellent young people were selected for universities, the ideological state of the students was as good as that of the soldiers of the People's Army.

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

You have said that for the Party to make its decision accepted by the people as their own is an art; I think you are right. For the Party to do so is an art and, at the same time, the very essence of its activities. We always say that Party work is first and foremost work with people. The mission of Party workers is to work well with people. The Party workers must not be bureaucrats who refrain from working with people and hurl abuses at people in a rough manner. Through work with people, they must explain and propagate Party policies among the masses, and rouse them to implement them.

In order to ensure success in the work with people, the work method of the Party must be steadily improved. We have always paid deep attention to improving our Party's work method. Long ago I gave field guidance to the work of Chongsan-ri, Kangso County and of the Party Committee of Kangso County, South Phyongan Province, for about a fortnight. While talking with the farmers in Chongsan-ri, I grasped the concrete reality of the ri in detail and solved the knotty problems. Then I guided the general meeting of the Chongsan-ri Party Committee and the plenary meeting of Kangso County Party Committee.

As I examined the preparations for the plenary meeting of the county Party committee, I learned that the report to the plenary meeting was not written by the chairman of the county Party committee himself, but by

his subordinates. So I told the chairman to write the report by himself and spent the night with him in his floor-heated house, teaching him how to write the report. When he wrote a draft, I checked it and pointed out the defective parts and how to correct them before letting him rewrite them. In this way, he was able to write the report to the plenary meeting of the county Party committee by himself. The senior officials of the county Party committees must write their reports by themselves; if they just read the reports written by others, it would be meaningless. Probably from that time, senior officials of our county Party committees have started writing their reports by themselves. The chairman of the Kangso County Party Committee when I was guiding its work is still working as a Party worker.

Our Party has termed the spirit and method with which I gave on-the-spot guidance to Chongsan-ri the “Chongsanri spirit” and the “Chongsanri method”. Following the creation of the Chongsanri spirit and method, a great advance has been effected in our Party’s work.

If you wish to know more about the political matters that I have put forward, you had better meet the secretary of our Party Central Committee in charge of the department of international affairs and talk with him again.

I am very grateful for your present of the gavel, which is said to be used only at the time of adopting a decision at an important meeting in your country, to me in honour of my 80th birthday and, out of your wish for my greater service in good health.

Today I have had hours of salutary talks with you. I am very pleased that we understand each other. I hope you visit our country more often in the future. Being old, I may not visit your country, but as you are young you can visit our country frequently. Since there are now flights between Pyongyang and Berlin, if you go to Berlin, you will be able to fly to Pyongyang by our airliner. It will be very good for both of us to meet frequently, talking and having dinner together. I want you to visit our country once every year.

I hope your party will continually extend its active support and encouragement to our people’s struggle.

**LET US REALIZE THE COUNTRY'S
REUNIFICATION INDEPENDENTLY
THROUGH THE UNITED EFFORT
OF THE WHOLE NATION**

**Talk to the Overseas Compatriots Who Attended
the Third Pan-National Rally**

August 19, 1992

I am very pleased to meet you, overseas compatriots who have attended the Third Pan-National Rally for Peace and Reunification of the Country.

I highly praise and warmly congratulate you on the successful Third Pan-National Rally. Although no one from the south has participated in the rally, the Pan-National Rally was a historical event as it set up an important milestone in expanding and developing the national reunification movement to a higher stage.

You wished me and Comrade Kim Jong Il long life in good health, saying that you will reunify the country in the 1990s at any cost and have me and Comrade Kim Jong Il in the square of reunification. I am very grateful for this.

Reunifying the country is the supreme national task of our people, one that brooks no further delay. We must reunify the country as soon as possible and thereby fulfil the ardent desire of the whole nation. If the country is reunified, our people can enjoy a happy life envious of no one. Although its territory is not large, our country is bounded by sea on three sides, it has an abundance of underground resources, and

its population is 70 million. This being the situation, if we develop the economy rapidly in the reunified country, it will immediately rank among the developed countries.

To all intents and purposes, national reunification must be achieved on the basis of the three principles—*independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity*. I advanced these principles in the early 1970s; we can reunify the country only when we rely on these principles.

To win the cause of national reunification, we should, first of all, hold fast to the principle of national independence.

It is impossible to reunify the country if we depend on foreign forces. At the moment some countries support the reunification of our country in words, but in actual fact they do not want our country to be reunified. They can do anything as they please in our country only when it is divided, so they prefer division, though not overtly, to the reunification of our country. Therefore, we should not attempt to reunify the country with the help of others.

As our experience shows, it is very important to solve every problem arising in the revolution and construction independently and in one's own fashion. Over the past years we waged the war against US imperialism in our own way and also carried out socialist construction in our own way.

During the Fatherland Liberation War, those who had returned from the Soviet Union insisted on Soviet tactics of warfare and those from China advocated Chinese tactics. I told them that we must fight the enemy with the Korean-style tactics, not Soviet-style or Chinese-style. The Soviet tactics of retreating, giving up a large territory, and counterattacking—the tactics created during the Second World War—did not suit the conditions in our country, with its small territory. If we had retreated in the wrong way in the condition of our country, we could have lost the whole territory to the enemy. The Chinese style of tactics was a mobile one, fighting always on the move; it did not suit our country, either. So I made up my mind to fight the enemy by drawing on the Juche-orientated tactics suited to the actual

situation of our country and, objecting to the insistence of the great-power worshippers and dogmatists, put forward the slogan “Don’t yield even an inch of land to the enemy.” In those days I told the commanding personnel of the People’s Army to fight as much as possible mountain warfare to suit the terrain of our country, saying that at meals the Soviet people use forks, Chinese people chopsticks and Korean people spoons, and likewise we should fight the enemy in our own fashion. The commanding personnel fully supported my tactics, saying it was quite reasonable.

In the days of the war, dogmatists bought quite a number of direct-firing guns from the Soviet Union, but they were not put into effective use. Howitzers were more necessary than direct-firing guns in our mountainous country. We could annihilate the enemy beyond the mountains only with howitzers.

Our victory won in the war is ascribable to the fact that we thoroughly opposed worship of great powers and dogmatism and fought with Juche-orientated tactics suited to the actual conditions of our country.

In the postwar days, too, we built socialism by our own efforts in accordance with the conditions of our country and without relying on others. At one point modern revisionists brought pressure to bear upon us that we enter the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), but we did not, saying that we would live our own way. We have been quite right to have solved all problems arising in socialist construction by our own efforts with the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude and without entering the CMEA. In recent years socialism has collapsed in the erstwhile Soviet Union and East European countries, but it is winning victory after victory in our country without the slightest vacillation. It is just because we have built socialism in our own way without depending on others. Had it depended on another country like the former socialist countries in Eastern Europe, our country would already have been ruined.

When I met some days ago the south Korean people who were on their visit to Pyongyang, I told them that we always solve all problems

arising in the revolution and construction in our own way as required by the Juche idea.

Foreigners, too, recognize that we were right to have solved these problems by our own efforts as suited to the actual conditions of our country, holding aloft the banner of the Juche idea.

An American, who had been the US ambassador to Japan, once wrote an article on our country. He had studied our country for a long time. He wrote: President Kim Il Sung of north Korea waged a struggle under the banner of independence from his first days of revolution; during the Korean war in the early 1950s he solved all problems independently and in his own way; therefore it is useless to try to infuse any idea into north Korea; the south Korean authorities are clamouring for “reunification through absorbing the north”, but they might possibly be absorbed by the north.

We should thoroughly reject dependence on foreign forces and realize national reunification through our own efforts by maintaining the stand of national independence.

The basic guarantee for the self-determined and peaceful realization of national reunification is to achieve the great unity of the whole nation. Unity is the fundamental factor in all victories. If all Korean people in the north, south and abroad wage struggle, firmly united under the banner of great national unity, they will be able to realize national reunification in the 1990s by overcoming the present difficult situation.

In the course of leading the revolution and construction I have at all times given primary effort to achieving national unity. For nearly 70 years—from the day when I started revolutionary activities after organizing the Down-with-Imperialism Union in Huadian until today—I have done my best to realize the national united front and promoted the revolution and construction successfully by relying on the united effort of the nation.

In the period of revolutionary struggle to defeat Japanese imperialism and liberate the country, I put forward the line of the anti-Japanese national united front and made a positive effort for its realization.

Soon after organizing the anti-Japanese guerrilla army I, in command of its main unit, marched toward southern Manchuria to effect a united front with Ryang Se Bong's unit of the Independence Army. Before leaving for southern Manchuria, I met my mother and told her that it was said Ryang Se Bong was commander of an Independence Army unit and I would go with my unit to southern Manchuria to form a united front with him. She said it was a good idea. To tell the truth, our people, if they were scattered here and there without realizing unity, could not defeat the heavily armed Japanese imperialists. Independence campaigners who were active abroad in those days, however, failed to achieve unity for this or that reason, and were separated from one another. I decided to form a united front first with Ryang Se Bong and on this basis with all the anti-Japanese forces. In Tonghua I met him and he gave us an enthusiastic welcome, an expression of his pleasure at meeting us. He had been on very intimate terms with my father. He had taken part in the funeral ceremony for my father. When I proposed the issue of the united front to him, he was at first interested. But, taken in by his staff officer's plot to create dissension, he refused to join hands with us. The staff officer, a Japanese imperialists' spy infiltrated into his unit, drove a wedge into our united front, telling Ryang Se Bong that the anti-Japanese guerrilla army was planning to win the soldiers of the Independence Army to its side and even one mistake would result in losing the whole unit. From his words and behaviour I saw that he was a spy of Japanese imperialism. But Ryang Se Bong, unaware of his true colour, accepted his words as true. Believing that, though he declined to join hands with us at that time, he would without fail join hands with us some time in the future, I left there and went to eastern Manchuria via Liuhe and Mengjiang.

The foundation of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland (ARF) marked a decisive turn in carrying out the line of the anti-Japanese national united front. I founded the ARF, an organized body of the anti-Japanese national united front, in Dongjiang in May 1936. I personally drafted its programme, rules and inaugural

declaration. Its inaugural declaration was made public under the names of some patriotic figures and mine, and I signed it under the assumed name of Kim Tong Myong. As I was still young and my name was not widely known at that time, it was better for me to sign under an assumed name.

As the ARF was founded and its programme and declaration were circulated, many units of the Independence Army and anti-Japanese campaigners who had been scattered all around came to us. The unit of the Independence Army which had been commanded by Ryang Se Bong also came after the ARF was founded. After Ryang's death, Kim Hwal Sok had been commander of the unit and, worshipping the Kuomintang of Jiang Jie-shi, he tried to establish contact with it. Informed of this, the Japanese imperialists infiltrated their spy into the unit by disguising him as an envoy of Jiang Jie-shi. Kim Hwal Sok took as true the spy's words that Jiang Jie-shi would like to meet him and followed him. On their way they dropped in at a house and slept there. Awakened, he found that it was a police station of the Japanese imperialists. The Japanese imperialists put him to sleep by giving him a drugged drink and arrested him as soon as he woke up next morning. So he died an undeserved death at the hands of the Japanese imperialists. Choe Yun Gu succeeded him as commander of the unit and he came to us with the remaining soldiers.

In the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle I also devoted great efforts to forming a united front with Chondoists. In those days there lived many believers in Chondoism in the areas where the anti-Japanese guerrillas were active. With a view to rallying Chondoists under the banner of anti-Japanese imperialism, I conducted active work with the people in the lower echelon of the Chondoist faith and at the same time promoted the work of educating those in the upper echelon and winning them over. Pak In Jin, head of Chondoism in South Hamgyong Province, was in charge of the Chondoists in Pukchong, Phungsan, Kapsan, Samsu and other counties of the province. We worked with him efficiently and admitted him into the ARF. We then rallied many Chondoists under his influence into an

anti-Japanese force. Not only in South Hamgyong Province, but also in Pyoktong, Changsong and Uiju in North Phyongan Province there were many Chondoist believers. We inspired them to rise up in the anti-Japanese struggle, joining hands with us. Nearly all the believers in the Chondoist faith, except those in Choe Rin's faction, joined hands with us in the days of Japanese imperialist colonial rule. Choe Rin claimed that the independence of Korea should be achieved by gaining autonomy with the assent of Japan. It was preposterous. Pak In Jin and other Chondoists of conscience opposed Choe's "theory of independence", saying that it was absurd, and gave active support to our armed struggle. Pak's wife is still alive and she would be 93 years old this year. I once met the bereaved families of the anti-Japanese revolutionary martyrs; she was among them. She looked healthy for her age.

We could enjoy active support and encouragement from the broad sections of the masses in the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle because we efficiently conducted united front work with people from all walks of life. They sent our guerrilla army food, clothing and many other goods, despite enemy oppression and surveillance. In those days it was not easy to aid the guerrillas. The Japanese imperialists built internment villages in the areas on the Tuman River and other places where the anti-Japanese guerrillas were active so as to prevent the people from aiding guerrillas. They forced peasants to report to them the crop yield every year and even confirmed it themselves, walking around fields carrying swords at their waists. But still the peasants sent provisions to the guerrillas behind their backs. They collected creepers from potato fields in autumn to make it look like they had harvested potatoes and told the guerrillas about it so that they could dig out potatoes. And they picked maize unhulled and kept it in store built in the mountains so that the guerrillas could carry it away. In case we failed to dig all the potatoes in those fields, we would leave them as they were and dig up frozen potatoes the next spring.

We could liberate the country as we rallied all the anti-Japanese patriotic forces under the banner of the national united front and fought

against Japanese imperialism enjoying active support and encouragement from the broad sections of the masses.

After liberation I continued to channel great efforts to realize national unity.

At the speech I made at the rally held to congratulate my triumphal return after liberation, I, illuminating the road for the country to take, called on all people, who love their country, nation and democracy, to unite as one and make an active contribution to the building of the country—those with strength dedicating their strength, those with knowledge contributing their knowledge and those with money donating money. I promoted the building of a new democratic country by relying on the united effort of the people of all strata.

Along with this, I met with many personages, from all walks of life in south Korea, to prevent the country and nation from being divided and to reunify the country. After liberation Ryo Un Hyong, Ho Hon and many other figures visited us from south Korea. Ryo Un Hyong made great efforts to reunify the country before being assassinated by the enemy. He was the first to send me a letter from south Korea immediately after liberation. He visited Pyongyang on several occasions, and on one of those visits he said he would send his children to me and asked me to bring them up if it was not troublesome for me as he did not know what would happen to him on his return to south Korea. I said it would not be burdensome as his children were all grown up and advised him to send them to me. It seemed he predicted that something fateful would happen to him in south Korea. It was fortunate for him to have sent his two daughters to me. It is quite clear what would have happened to them if they had not come to me. Assassinated by the enemy, he failed to participate in the north-south joint conference.

The Joint Conference of the Representatives of the Political Parties and Public Organizations in North and South Korea was held in Pyongyang in April 1948, a pan-national meeting in which the representatives of the north and south gathered in one place for the first time after liberation and discussed measures to save the nation. Thanks

to our active efforts, many representatives from south Korea took part in this conference. Representatives of nearly all political parties and public organizations in south Korea, except the political party of Syngman Rhee, attended this meeting, and among them were Kim Ku and Kim Kyu Sik. You must have learned this on your visit to the Ssuksom Revolutionary Historical Site where the United Front Tower is standing; after the joint conference ended I took Kim Ku and other figures from south Korea to Ssuk Islet and discussed with them the direction of future activities. That day I stressed once again the important matters discussed in the joint conference, including the matter of waging an active struggle to achieve national unity on their return to south Korea and the matter of checking and frustrating the “separate election” of Syngman Rhee. In defiance of objections from the whole nation, Syngman Rhee effected the “separate election” by force at the instigation of the US imperialists.

Although he was elected “president” with backing from foreign forces, he did not enjoy support from the people. During the “presidential” elections held in 1956, Jo Pong Am, leader of the Progressive Party, ran against Syngman Rhee. He obtained a few less votes than his opponent. At the first stage many more people cast their vote for him, but Syngman Rhee garnered a mass vote through deceptive and fraudulent means, thereby beating Jo by a small margin. If the “presidential” elections had been conducted in a fair way, Jo Pong Am would probably have been elected “president”. In view of many people having voted for him, it seems the Progressive Party enjoyed a great influence in south Korea. Jo Pong Am had originally been on intimate terms with Pak Hon Yong; as he broke up with him later, he became “Minister of Agriculture and Forestry” in the puppet government of Syngman Rhee. Because he conducted progressive activities, Syngman Rhee arrested him and executed him on the false charge of maintaining contact with the north. Syngman Rhee arrested and executed all people who looked to be sympathizing with the north or keeping contact with it.

We achieved much success in the work of the national united front

for national reunification until 1948, but afterwards no advance worth mentioning was made in this work. Meanwhile, we have made every possible effort to realize the great unity of the nation. For this purpose I have written many works and made many speeches. You, too, have made positive efforts for it in foreign lands. Nevertheless, the complete unity of our nation has not yet been achieved and the national division is continuing because of the separatist manoeuvres and fascist oppression committed by the US imperialists and their south Korean puppets.

We insist on independence, democracy and national reunification, while the south Korean puppets are following the road of subordination, fascism and division. Antagonism and struggle between the north and south is, in the final analysis, that between patriot and traitor, between the democratic force and the fascist force and between the reunification force and the separatist force.

The south Korean authorities have put south Korea entirely under the subjugation of the United States. The US and south Korean authorities are claiming that south Korea is an “independent state”. But how can one call south Korea, which moves under the baton of the United States without exercising sovereignty and independence, an independent state? The south Korean people, too, are of the opinion that south Korea is a complete colony of the United States and their “president” a puppet. As long as south Korea is under the subjugation of the United States, its next “president” will have no choice but to play a puppet, with the US pulling the strings. How pitiable it is that the south Korean authorities are acting under the baton of the US with no opinion of their own!

The south Korean authorities are opposed to making the society democratic and are attempting to maintain their “power” by resorting to fascist violence. In south Korea, the “National Security Law” and other evil fascist laws still remain in force and the south Korean authorities are oppressing patriotic people, including youth and students, by invoking the “National Security Law”.

Opposed to national reunification, they are actively following the US scheme to create “two Koreas”. In view of their present conduct, it

is clear that they are attempting to divide our country into two for ever. They think that they can crack down on the democratic movement in a fascist fashion and remain in power with the support of the US only when the country is divided.

They are dead set against compatriots from the north, south and abroad meeting together to talk about reunification. That the representatives from the south side failed to attend the Pan-National Rally this time is ascribable to the south Korean authorities' fascist oppression. They mobilized tens of thousands of police and suppressed by force of arms the south-side representatives who were trying to go to the north to participate in this rally.

Nowadays they do not make any positive response to our proposals to hold a north-south joint conference and political consultative conference.

Recently the man in power in south Korea proposed holding "summit talks" to us. I replied: I do not object to such talks; if you want to meet me, bring with you new proposals for reunification; we have already put forward the proposal of reunifying the country through federation and, if you have a proposal better than that, bring it with you; if you have no fresh proposal, you can agree with our proposal of reunifying the country through federation; if the north-south summit talks are held, we should discuss any idea for reunification and it would be meaningless if we only sit face to face, drinking tea or eating noodles before parting. However, he has neither advanced any proposal for reunification nor supported our proposal. I was informed that he holds "summit talks" frequently on his visits to foreign countries, probably not for the benefit of the country and nation but to sell them.

It seems that the south Korean authorities do not agree with our proposal to reunify the country through federation because the US has not permitted them. The United States does not want our country's reunification. It is desperately attempting to divide our country into two and demolish our socialist system by instigating the south Korean puppets. Being aware that their attempt to "reunify the country by absorbing the north" is impossible to be carried out, the enemy is now

resorting to the tactics of isolating and suffocating us. The “policy towards the North” advocated by the south Korean authorities is aimed at creating “two Koreas” and ostracizing us internationally, and the great fuss raised by the United States on the alleged “nuclear issue” is, in the final analysis, aimed at crushing our Republic. Recently the United States picked a quarrel with us on the issue of nuclear inspection; when we insisted on inspecting the US nuclear bases in south Korea simultaneously, it was dumbfounded. To be candid, as we have already been inspected by the International Atomic Energy Agency, the US nuclear bases in south Korea should now be inspected on the basis of impartiality. But, the United States, together with the south Korean authorities, has raised the issue of an “inspection of the same number of sites”. This is quite preposterous.

The United States is attempting to create “two Koreas” and demolish our socialist system, but it is a wild daydream. Ours is a homogeneous nation with a long history and culture, and no one will ever divide it into two for ever. To mention our socialism, it is fundamentally different from that of the erstwhile Soviet Union and East European countries. Our socialism is centred on the masses of the people. No matter how the US imperialists would manoeuvre to stifle us, our socialism will never collapse.

Over the past 50 years we have lived under the pressure and blockade of imperialists. This is why our people do not feel surprised or frightened when the US imperialists threaten and blackmail them with something like “economic sanctions”. Although socialism has collapsed in the former Soviet Union and East European countries, it does not mean we cannot live on.

We have food to eat, clothes to wear and the best socialist system in the world. Our people do not lead a particularly luxurious life when compared to others, but they enjoy a happy life free from worry about food, clothing, housing, medical treatment and education.

Our Party is now making efforts to fulfil our people’s centuries-old desire to live on rice and meat soup and in silk clothing and in tile-roofed houses. We are yet to provide our people with enough meat,

but we are going to solve this problem.

If we carry out the Party's agriculture-first policy and increase grain production, we can solve the meat problem; and if we bring about a revolution in light industry, we can produce commodity goods in adequate amounts. Then our people will be better-off than now and the advantages of our style of socialism will be demonstrated on a higher plane.

Peoples from many countries are now visiting our country, saying that the Korean style of socialism is the best. Last April alone many delegations, delegates and progressive figures from many countries visited our country to celebrate my 80th birthday. After seeing the realities of our country, they said that, if socialism is to be built, it should be built in the Korean style. At that time, scores of parties including communist parties and workers' parties adopted in Pyongyang a declaration for safeguarding and advancing the cause of socialism, and signed it. The Pyongyang Declaration, a common fighting programme of revolutionary parties and progressive peoples of the world that aspire after socialism, is demonstrating its viability and correctness ever more graphically as the days go by. Only a few months have passed since the Pyongyang Declaration was adopted and made public, but the number of parties that signed it has now reached 131. This shows that socialism is still alive in the hearts of the people. Although socialism is experiencing temporary setbacks, it will certainly be revived and advance.

Ever-victorious is our style of socialism which embodies the great Juche idea. No one can provoke our socialism in which the leader, the Party and the masses are united single-heartedly and the whole society move as one. The United States thought that our country would soon go to ruin following the East European socialist countries, but it has apparently changed its mind a little recently on realizing the might of our single-hearted unity.

If all the Korean compatriots in the north, south and abroad unite firmly, they can frustrate the obstructive manoeuvres of separatists at home and abroad and achieve national reunification.

Many people in south Korea wish for the unity and reunification of the nation. Those who pursue national division number only a few. A few years ago, the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan, a democratic figure in south Korea, visited Pyongyang. When I met him, I asked him who numbered more in south Korea—those who want independence, democracy and national reunification or those who pursue subordination, fascism and division. He answered that the former composed the majority and the latter constituted a handful. Composing the latter group are only the small number of those in the ruling circle, a small section of the military authorities and some comprador capitalists. A tiny handful of these separatist forces have seized power in south Korea and are suppressing the progressive forces who aspire for independence, democracy and national reunification. The antagonism between these two sets of forces is growing acuter with the passage of time, and a fierce struggle is taking place between them. In this light it is important before anything else to define clearly those who want the country's reunification and those who pursue national division. As we sort rice, so we should discriminate between the reunification and separatist forces and further expand the reunification forces.

In order to realize the unity of the whole nation, we should actively promote dialogue between compatriots from the north, south and abroad and frequently organize meetings and other activities involving the whole nation.

It would be advisable to hold such meetings either in the form of a north-south joint conference or in the form of a joint conference or political consultative meeting involving all social sectors. As 40 years have passed since the last north-south joint conference, another joint conference, if organized, would bring about an important turn in realizing national unity.

The Pan-National Rally should be held regularly in the future.

If the Pan-National Rally is to be a rally for realizing the great unity of the whole nation, not only representatives from the north and abroad but also those from the south should participate in it. Of course, a Pan-National Rally with only representatives from the north and

abroad would play a certain role in realizing national unity, but unless it is also attended by representatives from the south, it cannot contribute greatly to that end. In the Pan-National Rally held this time a joint resolution was adopted by adding the documents sent by the south-side representatives, but making public a joint resolution agreed upon through documents is of no special significance. A rally conducted in this fashion may make a demonstration before the world but it will not exert a great influence on the people in south Korea. If the south-side representatives fail to attend, the significance and influence of the rally will grow weak. Only when the representatives of the north, south and abroad participate will it become a Pan-National Rally both in name and in reality. Therefore, the Pan-National Rally should be organized on the principle of the representatives from north, south and abroad taking part in it without fail.

If it is difficult to hold in the north a Pan-National Rally attended also by the south-side representatives, it could be held in a country such as Japan. It will be alright if the south-side representatives do not at first participate in the rally in great numbers. It would be good to allow 20 to 50 people from the south to attend at the beginning and then increase their number gradually. I think it would be best to hold the rally in a foreign country with the participation of a small number of representatives from the south and then move the venue of the rally to Pyongyang or Seoul, increasing the number of participants from the south side.

Korean compatriots in the north, south and abroad should firmly unite as one, transcending the differences in their positions, party affiliation, ideas, political views and religious belief.

I believe that you, our overseas compatriots, will wage an unremitting struggle to realize great national unity and so make a positive contribution to the fulfilment of the sacred cause of national reunification.

You have made a determination to fight strenuously to realize great national unity. It is good.

Please visit your homeland frequently in the future.

**ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF THE INDONESIAN
NEWSPAPER *MEDIA INDONESIA***

September 1, 1992

I express my thanks to you for the written questions you addressed to me with regard to the Non-aligned Movement with the 10th Summit Conference of the Non-aligned Nations forthcoming.

You have asked many questions about the Non-alignment. Your questions, put together, amount to asking me how the Non-aligned Movement should be developed in the present situation. I would like to answer your questions in brief for the sake of convenience.

The movement emerged in the arena of history as an independent political force reflecting the aspiration and desire of the progressive people of the world for independence in opposition to domination and subordination, aggression and war, at a time when there was a sharp confrontation between East and West centring around the two superpowers. Ever since its foundation, the Non-aligned Movement has invariably regarded independence in opposition to imperialism and peace in opposition to war as its fundamental ideal and has struggled for sovereignty and peace, independence and progress. During the past 30 years the Non-aligned Movement has travelled a glorious path and has made a great contribution to realizing unity and cooperation among its member states and other developing countries, to defending the independence and sovereignty of these countries and to ensuring peace and security in the world.

The Non-aligned Movement is now entering a new phase. With the end of the cold war which lasted for a long time after World War II, a great change is taking place in the international situation. The cessation of the cold war means the failure of the power politics pursued by the superpowers and proves the indisputable justice of the fundamental ideal of Non-alignment.

The end of the cold war on no account means that the Non-aligned Movement has forfeited its position and role. Although the cold-war structure that was a result of the confrontation between the superpowers has been destroyed, the old forces of imperialism remain and are invariably pursuing their wild ambition of world domination. Taking advantage of the destruction of the balance of forces in the international arena, the modern imperialists, still bent on power politics, are trying to make the world a unipolar world under their domination. A unipolar world can create even greater obstacles and danger for the people's cause of independence than a bipolar world. We cannot overlook the danger of the emergence of new blocs in the international arena, blocs which will pursue dominationism.

Since the imperialist forces of domination remain, and since the ideal of Non-alignment has yet to be realized, the Non-aligned Movement must continue to exist and to strengthen and develop. With regard to the change in the international situation, some people say that Non-alignment has lost the validity for its existence or that the movement should alter its fundamental ideal and shift the direction of its activities from political affairs to economic matters. I consider this to be a mistaken view.

There is no change in the world people's aspiration to build a free, peaceful new world, and advancing towards independence and peace is the fundamental historical tide that cannot be turned back. Non-alignment, which regards independence as its lifeblood, must invariably uphold its fundamental ideal and principles. In order to deal with the changing situation effectively, the Non-aligned Movement must, of course, continually improve the methods of its activity, but it must not stray from its fundamental ideal and principles. However

complex the situation, the non-aligned countries must, without vacillation, remain loyal to the fundamental ideal and principles of Non-alignment and combat all attempts to sway the movement from its original ideal and principles. They must continue to uphold the banner of anti-imperialist independence and peace in opposition to war, and struggle vigorously for the building of a free and peaceful new world which is without domination and subjugation, aggression and war.

The most important matter in strengthening and developing the Non-aligned Movement at the moment is to achieve its unity and cohesion.

Unity is the basic factor in all victories. Today, in view of the blatant moves to undermine the Non-aligned Movement and render it powerless, it is more pressing than ever before to realize its unity and cohesion. The non-aligned countries must counter the divisive manoeuvres of the imperialists through unity and firmly unite on the principles of mutual respect, non-interference, equality and reciprocity. Unity is the only way to strengthen the Non-aligned Movement and to enhance its position and role in the international arena.

The Non-aligned Movement must continue to expand its ranks. I think it is a good thing that many countries of the world now wish to join it. But the expansion of its ranks must not result in the weakening of its unity and cohesion. Nations' eligibility for membership must be assessed by their loyalty to its fundamental ideal and principles.

The non-aligned countries must oppose imperialism, dominationism, colonialism and racism, and, in particular, strive for the realization of disarmament and the abolition of nuclear weapons.

Disarmament and the abolition of nuclear weapons are extremely pressing in guaranteeing peace at present. As long as nuclear weapons exist on the globe, humankind cannot be free from the danger of nuclear war. While clamouring for nuclear weapons reduction, the imperialists are continuing nuclear tests for their modernization. This is a grave challenge to the peace-loving people of the world who demand justice and peace. Nuclear weapons, that threaten the

existence of humanity, must all be abolished. The non-aligned countries must struggle to ban the testing and production of nuclear weapons and for their complete abolition.

The non-aligned countries must take concerted action, guided by a common strategy, at the UN and other international forums.

Although they represent an overwhelming majority at the UN, the non-aligned countries fail to exert due influence there. On the other hand a small number of major powers exercise privileges, contrary to the UN Charter. Such being the case, the UN cannot fulfil its mission. The non-aligned nations must do away with the old order which allows privileges at the UN and make concerted efforts to make the UN democratic so that it can perform its mission and role as an international organization for safeguarding world peace and justice.

The non-aligned nations must cooperate closely with one another in all fields of politics, the economy and culture.

Today's inequitable international order is a product of old colonialism, and under it the developed capitalist countries are stepping up their domination and subjugation, exploitation and plunder of the non-aligned and developing countries and hampering their social and economic development.

The non-aligned countries must smash the old international order and work to establish a new, equitable one. As history shows us, the imperialists will never make a present of independence and prosperity to the poor and dependent countries. The non-aligned countries must discard their illusions about the developed capitalist countries and the tendency to depend on them, and work hard to develop South-South cooperation on the principle of collective self-reliance. The 10th Summit Conference of the Non-aligned Nations to be held in Djakarta, the capital of Indonesia, will discuss important matters in developing the Non-aligned Movement in accordance with the requirements of the current situation. The appraisal of the current political and economic situations, the matter of enhancing the role of the Non-aligned Movement and other items on the summit's agenda reflect the common desire and interests of the non-aligned countries. We are interested in all matters to

be discussed at the summit conference, particularly in those of peace, security and disarmament, because of the specific situation in our country which is in direct confrontation with the imperialists and under the constant threat of war. I hope that the Djakarta summit conference will be an important event in defending the ideal and principles of the Non-aligned Movement, strengthening it and increasing its role in the international arena.

The Government of our Republic attaches great importance to the 10th Summit Conference of the Non-aligned Nations and will make every effort to make it a success.

I am pleased that Indonesia is the home country of the present chairman of the Non-aligned Movement. It is favourable for the development of the movement that Indonesia, which is one of the founders of the movement and has been striving for its development, is the home country of the present chairman. I believe that Indonesia will make an excellent contribution to strengthening the unity and cohesion of the movement and to the efforts to realize its noble ideal and principles.

The Korean and Indonesian peoples long ago established ties of friendship and have been developing exchange and cooperation in many fields. The relations of friendship and cooperation between Korea and Indonesia will develop better thanks to the joint efforts of their two peoples.

I would like to take this opportunity to send warm greetings to the Indonesian people and wish *Media Indonesia* success in its just cause.

ON SOME TASKS FACING THE PARTY COMMITTEE OF NORTH HAMGYONG PROVINCE

**Speech at an Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the North
Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee**

September 4, 1992

At this enlarged plenary meeting of the Party Committee of North Hamgyong Province today, I shall speak about some tasks of the provincial Party committee.

The Party Committee of North Hamgyong Province has done a great deal of work since its new chief secretary was appointed. Under the guidance of the provincial Party committee the agricultural sector has effected a vigorous green revolution, developed many new high-yield strains, and made a great advance in agricultural production, thereby opening up a wide prospect of solving the food problem satisfactorily. I am greatly satisfied with this and extend my thanks to the provincial Party committee, Party organizations at all levels in the province, the chief secretary and members of the provincial Party committee, agricultural scientists and technicians and all the farmers in the province.

In North Hamgyong Province the industrial sector has also done much work. The Songjin Steel Complex has finished the construction of its high-pressure pipe shop and started operation, the Chongjin Steel Plant has modernized its furnaces, the Musan Mining Complex has put iron ore production on a regular basis, and the Kim Chaek Iron and

Steel Complex has made many achievements. I am satisfied with this and offer my thanks to the Party organizations, officials and to all the workers of these factories and enterprises.

The most important task facing the North Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee is to prepare all the Party members and the working masses ideologically through a dynamic ideological revolution.

Our Party's general line of building socialism and communism is to strengthen the people's government and steadily enhance its functions and role while carrying out the ideological, technological and cultural revolutions. A long time ago I defined that the people's government plus the three revolutions equals communism. Socialism and communism can be built when man, nature and society are transformed to meet the requirements of communism by steadily strengthening the people's government and vigorously carrying out the three revolutions.

It is very important in implementing the Party's general line to give definite priority to the ideological revolution and develop it properly. As I always say, giving definite precedence to the ideological revolution is the prerequisite for success in the technological and cultural revolutions and all other work.

North Hamgyong Province in particular is building socialism with the possibility of being more affected by capitalist influence than any other province. The province must, therefore, put great efforts into building a strong ideological defence by giving precedence to the ideological revolution and fully equipping all the Party members and other working people in the province with our Party's Juche idea. The province borders on the country which was building socialism and allowed the revival of capitalism. It also faces Japan across the sea. So it is more exposed to the infiltration of capitalist ideas than any other province.

Since the Rajin-Sonbong area in the province is to be built into a free economic and trade zone, many people from capitalist countries will frequent the province in the future. This also requires that you should give effective ideological education to the Party members and the working people in the province. If they are not thoroughly prepared

ideologically, they may be infected with capitalist ideas in the course of contact with the people from capitalist countries.

The province must pay special attention to the work of ideological education among Party members and working masses in the province in connection with the south Korean puppets' scheme of blowing the wind of "liberalization" into our area through the Yanbian area in China. The south Korean puppets are now trying to infiltrate into the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Region and blow the wind of "liberalization" among the Korean inhabitants and then entice them into demoralizing the people of North Hamgyong Province. I met an old revolutionary and his children who were on a visit to our country from Yanji, China. He said that the south Korean puppets were doing everything to demoralize Korean residents in China. North Hamgyong Province must always remember that the frontier areas may be affected by corrupt capitalist ideas. So the province must pay primary attention to strengthening the ideological revolution.

Unless we give definite priority to the ideological revolution we can neither defend our socialist system nor successfully carry out the cause of building socialism and communism. That is why our Party puts forward the ideological revolution as the primary task and continues to put great emphasis on carrying out the ideological revolution.

The most important task of the ideological revolution is to combat individualism and selfishness.

Individualism and selfishness in socialist society are like viruses which breed capitalism. Breeding of individualism and selfishness will revive capitalism. In some countries people are now being infected with selfishness and degenerating into slaves of money. Even teachers go to the market to earn money after school. Our officials who have been to foreign countries unanimously say that our country is the best and our Party's policies are absolutely correct. If a man relishes the taste of money, he can neither display the revolutionary spirit nor remain loyal to revolutionary obligation and will end up in selling out his country. Party organizations must, therefore, educate the people properly to prevent them from being infected with individualism and selfishness.

The North Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee must channel special efforts into ideological education among the inhabitants in the Rajin-Sonbong area in connection with the area being built into a free economic and trade zone. You must organize their ideological education meticulously so that they are not contaminated with the viruses of capitalism. In addition, you must educate the service workers there to prevent them from being affected by capitalist ideas or becoming ideologically degenerate when dealing with foreigners.

The provincial Party committee must combat the smallest manifestations of individualism and selfishness among the Party members and the working people, before it is too late. If you neglect to combat them and leave them alone, the people will be infected with capitalist viruses and may fall into a terrible abyss.

In addition to combating individualism and selfishness among the Party members and other working people, Party organizations must improve education to equip them with the collectivist spirit.

Collectivism is a noble spirit of communists who help and lead each other forward under the slogan, "One for all and all for one". Party organizations must thoroughly educate the Party members and working people in collectivism so that they work devotedly for their society and collective, for their country and fellow citizens. In order to equip them with the collectivist spirit you must teach them the Juche idea and communism clearly. Only then can people become revolutionaries of the Juche type who oppose individualism and selfishness, work hard to promote the interests of their society and collective and build socialism and communism in which everyone lives a life of freedom and equality.

It is important in carrying out the ideological revolution to work efficiently with intellectuals.

Intellectuals, along with workers and peasants, play an important role in the revolution and construction. Without intellectuals it would be impossible to build a civilized society and work successfully to bring into full play the unfathomable creativity of the masses of the people and harness nature.

Because intellectuals play an important role in the revolution and construction, our Party, at its inception, inscribed in its emblem a writing brush—a symbol of intellectuals—side by side with a hammer and a sickle, and directed great efforts to training a large number of new intellectuals while at the same time revolutionizing old-line intellectuals and assimilating them in the working class so as to prepare them to be true intellectuals of the working class and ardent revolutionaries who serve the people loyally. Our Party is the only party in the world that has a brush, symbolizing intellectuals, in its emblem. It was absolutely correct that we inscribed the brush in its emblem. Foreigners also admit its validity.

In order to build a socialist and communist society, we must intellectualize the whole society. That was why I put forward the intellectualization of the whole society as an important task in the *Theses on Socialist Education*.

We now have a legion of intellectuals which numbers over 1.6 million, but in the days immediately after liberation there were not many intellectuals in our country. In those days there were no instructors and professors for the university we were planning to set up. So we sent for intellectuals from the south. Comrades Kang Yong Chang, Ro Thae Sok, Kim Tu Sam and many other intellectuals came over at that time. I looked after them with all my care. When appointing them to Kim Il Sung University, the first of its kind in our country, I told them to train a great number of young intellectuals. Relying on the intellectuals who were trained after liberation, we have established many universities and colleges. Today we have more than 1.6 million intellectuals.

In view of the great importance of enhancing the role of intellectuals through efficient work with them, we are planning to hold a grand Korean Intellectuals Conference in Pyongyang and encourage them to serve the Party and the leader, their country and fellow people and their society and collective with loyal devotion.

With clear awareness of the importance of work with intellectuals, Party organizations must continue to channel great efforts into the

work of revolutionizing and assimilating them in the working class so that they devote themselves to the building of socialism and communism.

To step up education in the revolutionary traditions among the Party members and working people is a very important matter in carrying out the ideological revolution.

North Hamgyong Province has favourable conditions for this work. It has many historical sites and old revolutionary battle sites associated with the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. I was born in South Phyongan Province but I was engaged in the revolutionary struggle mostly in North Hamgyong Province and northeast China. That is why I know a lot of that province's slang. Since the province is opposite northeast China across the Tuman River, there are traces of the activities of the small units of the anti-Japanese guerrilla army throughout the province. Many small units and operatives from the anti-Japanese guerrilla army were active in the cities of Chongjin, Kim Chaek and other areas, to say nothing of the counties on the Tuman River such as Onsong, Musan, Yonsa, Saeppyol and Sonbong Counties. This has been eloquently proved by the slogans inscribed on trees which have been discovered in the province. I myself came to the Onsong area of the province on several occasions during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. Using the favourable conditions for education in the revolutionary traditions, the province must teach the Party members and working people the revolutionary traditions efficiently, with vivid materials so that they fully acquire the Party's monolithic ideological system and an unbreakable revolutionary spirit which will never be swayed in whatever wind.

In order to carry out the ideological revolution successfully, you must strengthen the Party. Only then can we strengthen the motive force of the revolution by solidly preparing the Party members and working people ideologically and defend to the last socialism, the gains of the revolution which have been achieved at the cost of our blood and accomplish the cause of socialism and communism with credit. Historical experience shows that when the Party is weakened, it

not only fails to strengthen the motive force of the revolution, but also makes a mess of revolution and construction and fails to keep the flag of socialism flying to the last. The Soviet Union, which had been building socialism for 70-odd years, suddenly collapsed and capitalism was restored in several socialist countries in East Europe. That was because their parties had become weak and lost leadership ability due to the renegades from the revolution.

We must further strengthen the Party and enhance its leadership role so as to be able to maintain the revolutionary principle of socialism under whatever circumstances and conditions and accomplish the cause of socialism and communism.

What is most important in strengthening the Party is to strengthen Party cells. It is also important to firmly build up the Party committees at all levels and enhance their role in this work, but it is more important to strengthen Party cells.

A party is an organic body of its organizations and its cells are its lowest organizations. Just as a human body consists of cells, so is the party composed of its cells. A party can be strong when its cells are sound and function perfectly, just as a man is healthy when his cells, which make up his body, are strong and function satisfactorily. We must also strengthen Party cells in order to prevent capitalist viruses from infiltrating the Party. The Party organizations must therefore pay deep attention to the work of strengthening the Party cells.

In addition, you must ensure that Party members and other working people step up activities in their respective organizations. This is a basic guarantee for strengthening the Party. The Party can develop strong fighting efficiency on a solid mass foundation only when Party members who constitute Party cells and the members of the working people's organizations, the Party's peripheral organizations, are ideologically sound and faithfully participate in the lives of their organizations. Party organizations must ensure that Party cells organize and guide the organizational life of the Party members properly and that the working people's organizations at all levels scrupulously organize their members' organizational lives.

The League of Socialist Working Youth, trade unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People and the Women's Union must organize their members' organizational lives meticulously so that all their members unite rock-solidly around the Party and strive to defend and implement Party's lines and policies. The working people's organizations must train their members in the revolutionary line through participation in their organizational lives and thoroughly equip them with the idea of opposing capitalism and defending socialism and communism. In this way they will see that their members resolutely combat capitalism and work hard to build socialism and communism without being affected by any capitalist virus. This is what I mean to emphasize to you today. If we strengthen the Party and prepare all the Party members and the working people to be ideologically strong by improving their organizational lives, we shall have nothing to be afraid of, even if capitalist viruses infiltrate. If they are fully prepared ideologically, we need not hesitate to deal with the people from capitalist countries and dread some countries heading for capitalism. We must pay attention to the infiltration of capitalist viruses, but there is no need to fear them. A man with a strong revolutionary will is immune to capitalist viruses. This is true, as you can see in a scene of the revolutionary film *Star of Korea*, the scene describes my visit to Pak So Sim, who is ill. Pak So Sim was an unforgettable man who initiated me to *The Capital*. He had graduated from a university in Japan and published many articles in newspapers and magazines. I studied Marxism-Leninism, staying in the same house with him for some time and in the course of this I became intimate with him personally. Later he contracted tuberculosis. Nowadays tuberculosis is not regarded as a serious illness because we now have antibiotics, but in those days it was incurable and TB patients died. So people used to dread TB and avoided these patients. When he was ill with TB, we sent him to a place near Kalun for treatment. At the isolated place he treated himself, cooking by himself and fishing. On my way to Changchun for work, I told Comrade Cha Kwang Su to call on him. He said he would, but returned on the way without seeing him because people dissuaded

him from going there. At that time I was very displeased with him. I called on the patient thinking that I should not fear a disease if I was to remain loyal to the comrade and that I would be immune to the disease if I was firmly determined. Although he insisted that I should go back, refusing to shake hands with me, I cooked rice for him and spent one night with him. However, I was not infected with the disease.

Just as a man is not infected with any virus when he is healthy, so a capitalist virus cannot have its way when one has sound ideology. We must, therefore, thoroughly equip our Party members and other working people with the Juche idea, the revolutionary idea of our Party, and firmly build a strong defence against any heterogeneous ideas.

It is advisable for the North Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee to convene its plenary meeting and discuss the task of successfully carrying out the ideological revolution.

The next important task of North Hamgyong Province is to ensure successful farming. In order to meet our people's centuries-old desire, we must, first of all, grow rich farm crops. Since ancient times our people have wished to live on rice and meat soup in tile-roofed houses, and in silk clothes. We must make sure that this desire comes true in our times.

If it grows rich crops, the province can realize this desire earlier than others. The people in North Hamgyong Province participated a lot in the revolutionary struggle during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and the province produced many revolutionaries. So the province must realize the desire earlier than others. There are Mt. Wangjae, Ryuda Islet and many other revolutionary sites and old battle sites in this province. I myself operated on Mt. Wangjae and Ryuda Islet during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. It was in this province that the Korean People's Revolutionary Army, in cooperation with the Soviet army, carried out the historic landing operation during the final offensive to defeat the Japanese imperialists. Comrade Kim Pong Sok, who was my orderly at that time, participated in this battle. He fell under enemy fire on his way back to the unit after performing his liaison mission. He died on the evening of August 14, 1945, one

day before the liberation of the country.

Because it has already laid the foundation, North Hamgyong Province is fully able to grow good crops once it gets down to the task with determination. What gives me the greatest pleasure on my current visit to this province is that the province has laid the foundation for success in agriculture, for achieving self-sufficiency in food supply. In the past I was unable to assign you an exact grain production quota because the basic data of grain output per hectare was vague, but now I can do so with confidence.

The province has many farms which grow good crops. This year the Wangjaesan Cooperative Farm in Onsong County is estimated to produce 8.5 tons of rice per hectare and 11.3 tons of maize, the Nongpho Cooperative Farm in Saeppyo County 8.142 tons of rice and 9.49 tons of maize, the Ingye Cooperative Farm in Hoeryong 8.1 tons of rice and 6 tons of maize and the Sangonpho Cooperative Farm in Kyongsong County 5.1 tons of rice and 8 tons of maize. The estimated output of maize per hectare in the Hothong Cooperative Farm in Kim Chaek is said to be 8 tons.

If the province had supplied sufficient amounts of fertilizer this year, all the farms could have grown good crops. The Undok County Party Committee and the July 7 Complex are to blame for the province's failure to produce and supply sufficient amounts of fertilizer. Had the July 7 Complex produced fertilizer as it should, 800 kilogrammes of fertilizer could have been applied per hectare. If so, 8 tons of grain would have been produced at the ratio of one to ten. Grain production increases in proportion to the amount of fertilizer that has been applied to the crop. This is why we say that fertilizer immediately means rice. If F_1 hybrid strain of maize is planted, and if the crop is sufficiently irrigated and supplied liberally with a balanced assortment of fertilizers, then the maize crop will thrive everywhere. If the three necessities—seed, water and fertilizer—are fully provided for maize farming, the per-hectare yield will be more than ten tons, not eight tons.

North Hamgyong Province must produce 600,000 tons of grain annually.

This is not a difficult task for the province. If ten tons of maize are produced per hectare, the total output will be nearly 600,000 tons. Although per-hectare maize output of ten tons may be impossible, you can produce eight tons. Eight tons of maize output is splendid for the province. The province can produce more than 600,000 tons of maize and rice if it harvests eight tons of maize and rice per hectare respectively. If so, it can consume 500,000 tons as food and the rest can be used for livestock farming to produce meat. Since the province has built solid meat production bases such as chicken farms, duck farms and pig farms, it will be able to produce as much meat as it needs if the province produces at least 600,000 tons of grain and supplies the necessary amounts of animal feed. Then the province can provide the inhabitants with rice and meat soup earlier than other provinces.

The food grain supply system now in force in our country is truly a good system. In our country, the state provides everyone equally with food from birth to death. We must not abolish this system—the best food grain supply system the like of which cannot be found in any other part of the world.

In order for the province to produce 600,000 tons of grain next year, the July 7 Complex must produce and supply 150,000 tons of nitrogenous fertilizer by making every effort.

Another important task of North Hamgyong Province is to ensure steady production in the industrial sector. First of all, great efforts should be channelled into ensuring steady coal production. The most important task of the province in the industrial sector is to increase coal production. Only when it increases coal production can the province operate thermal power stations at full capacity, solve the problem of electricity and put production in the chemical industry and other sectors on a regular basis. Bearing deep in mind that its first and foremost task is to increase coal production, the province must direct great efforts to coal production.

North Hamgyong Province has large coal deposits. The province is suffering a coal shortage while sitting on piles of coal. It must work hard towards the goal of producing 12,000,000 tons of coal annually at

some time in the future, and until 1995 it will have to produce 10,000,000 tons a year.

In order to increase coal production, you will have to face coal pits with concrete. Otherwise it will be impossible to increase coal production, because the coal mines of North Hamgyong Province are under heavy earth pressure. That is why I have long emphasized the need for the concrete facing of the coal pits in the province. However, the province has not carried out the task properly. The Party organizations in the province, those in the coal mines in particular, must go among the miners and do effective organizational and political work for stepping up the concrete facing of their pits while rapidly increasing coal production.

Efforts should also be put into electric power production. The province has many large factories and enterprises, so there is a strain on power supply. The province should operate the existing power stations at full capacity on the one hand and build more power stations on the other.

You must take effective measures to operate the June 16 Thermal Power Station and other existing power stations at full capacity. In order to operate the June 16 Thermal Power Station at full capacity, heavy oil will have to be imported.

If it is to solve the power problem, the province must build more thermal power stations. It is not rich in hydroelectric resources. The Orang is the only river in the province that can be dammed for power production, and that will generate no more than 100,000 kw. So you must construct a 100,000 kw-capacity thermal power station quickly in the Kim Chaek area.

The metal industry also needs continued efforts.

North Hamgyong Province is a large steel production centre in our country. Steel production in this province is vital to the economic development of the whole country. However, the metallurgical works in the province are not producing sufficient steel, considerably retarding the development of the national economy. The province must eliminate fluctuations in production at the metallurgical works and

strive to put their production on a regular basis.

To this end, the Musan Mining Complex must produce and supply iron-ore concentrate in sufficient amounts and coking-coal supplies must not run short. The province must supply the metallurgical works with coking coal even by earning foreign currency on its own.

North Hamgyong Province must also develop the chemical industry. The development of the chemical industry is essential for increasing the production of chemical fibres, paper and other chemical goods to improve people's standard of living.

It is excellent that the Hwasong Chemical Works has succeeded in its research into the method of making paper and rayon pulp from cornhusk. You must introduce the method into production without delay. The province is fully able to supply the cornhusk necessary for the production of paper and rayon pulp, since it plants maize over a large area. The province must hold tight control of the work of producing paper and rayon pulp from cornhusk and push it forward.

Construction work also requires great efforts. Construction work in the province is not going smoothly. The province must strengthen its construction force and give a strong push to construction work. It must build up Chongjin to be second only to Pyongyang. To this end, the construction of the city must be pushed forward in full swing.

You must channel great efforts into the construction of the Rajin-Sonbong area. I am planning to build this area in a modern way. If everything goes well, this work can be done in approximately ten years. Since the project for the development of the area has been made public, you must start construction as soon as possible. Foreigners are keen on seeing how this area is constructed.

Hotels must be built first in the Rajin-Sonbong area, and then a service network should be constructed. There will be nothing very difficult in the construction of the service network. Greenhouses and livestock farms will be about all that should be constructed to ensure things like meat and vegetables are always available to foreign visitors to the area. The UN Development Program is said to be supporting construction of the Rajin-Sonbong area. So construction should be

undertaken according to their requirements. Although the UNDP will support the project with funds, we ourselves should supply labour and technicians and take charge of construction.

In connection with the development of the Rajin-Sonbong area, airports and motorways will also have to be built. Foreigners like travelling by air or by car, not by rail. North Hamgyong Province will be frequented by foreigners in future, so we must build airports and motorways properly.

You must build an airport in the Kwanmo area. The province must supply manpower, and the People's Army must supply cement needed for the construction of the airport. The construction of the airport should start next year.

In connection with the construction of airports in the Kwanmo and Rajin-Sonbong areas, motorways must be constructed, one linking the Kwanmo area and Chongjin and the other connecting the Rajin-Sonbong area and Chongjin. You must first construct the one from Chongjin to the Kwanmo area, and then the one from Chongjin to the Rajin-Sonbong area. This will provide airline passengers with hotel services in the cities of Chongjin and Rajin for their convenience. In the future motorways will be constructed to connect China's Tumen with Rajin, Hoeryong and Chongjin.

Counties must undertake construction properly. In future counties must pull down the houses in the fields and rebuild them neatly at the foot of mountains. This will make a large area of new farmland available. A widespread campaign for housing construction in counties will contribute to realizing our people's wish to live on rice and meat soup, in silk clothing and tile-roofed housing.

If we build up urban and rural communities neatly and construct things like good motorways, we shall be able to win the competition with capitalism. A capitalist society is a society where the rich get ever richer and the poor get ever poorer. We shall be perfectly able to win the competition with capitalism, because there are neither rich nor poor in our country, because everyone leads an equitable life.

On the occasion of my 80th birthday, many party delegations from

various countries visited us. Several party delegations from the European countries and the Commonwealth of Independent States were among the visitors. At that time they got together and adopted the Pyongyang Declaration, which has been signed by 131 parties up to the present. The principal idea of the Pyongyang Declaration is to fight staunchly to rebuild the socialist movement and hold fast to the principles of socialism. We must be unfailingly loyal to the socialist principles and win the competition with capitalism, come what may.

In order to successfully carry out the enormous construction task, North Hamgyong Province must build up its construction force.

Because the province's building workers now engaged in the construction of Pyongyang will have to be kept working there until October next year, the province must organize three new construction companies. You will have to reinforce the building workers just for the construction of Chongjin, airports and motorways. A separate construction company is needed to undertake the construction of two airports and motorways. Their construction is not a simple job.

In my opinion you should organize a construction company for the Rajin-Sonbong area as soon as possible and get it to start working. You must supply sufficient equipment and labour to the new construction companies. Discharged soldiers will be sent to the new companies, but further requirements should be recruited from among able-bodied people in the province.

In conclusion, I shall touch on how the province should earn much foreign currency.

To do so, the province must make good use of mountains and sea. Doing this is important for the mountainous and coastal province. There is an old saying, handed down from our ancestors, that people in mountainous regions should make the best use of mountains and that those in coastal regions should make the best use of the sea. The province can earn a large sum of foreign currency if they make the best use of mountains and sea.

To earn a lot of foreign currency from mountains, you must cultivate industrial crops on mountains. Now that the province has

started this work, it must cultivate industrial crops on all the mountains where this work is possible.

Another important matter in making use of mountains is to plant many fast-growing trees on mountains. If fast-growing broad-leave trees are planted on mountains, they can be used as the raw material for pulp and in making furniture and in construction. You must launch a mass movement to plant many useful trees on mountains.

You must also develop a widespread campaign to raise mountain goats.

North Hamgyong Province must plant a large number of white apricot trees and pear trees. These trees will be lucrative because they thrive in the province. If large quantities of white apricots are produced, they can be processed into jam for the market.

In order for the province to earn much foreign currency, it must make good use of the sea. It must develop the fishing industry and catch fish in large quantities and develop marine aquaculture. You can earn a sizable amount of foreign currency if you produce seafood in large quantities by catching much fish and developing aquaculture on a large scale. Seafood and tinned seafood can be exported to the Yanbian area in China in exchange for soy beans or maize. The officials concerned should get together and further discuss the matter of earning foreign currency by producing seafood.

North Hamgyong Province must develop trade with Russia. Then you can import timber, coking coal and crude oil from that country. The province has a crude oil-processing factory, so you must think of processing crude oil by importing it through trade with Russia.

North Hamgyong Province is faced with enormous tasks. I firmly believe that all the officials, Party members and other working people in the province will work hard, under the guidance of the provincial Party committee, to successfully implement the tasks I have assigned today.

**LET THE WOMEN IN THE NORTH
AND THE SOUTH HASTEN THE
REUNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY
THROUGH UNITED EFFORTS**

**Talk to the Members of the Delegation from the South
and Overseas Korean Women Who Participated
in the Third Pyongyang Seminar
on “Peace in Asia and the Role of Women”**

September 6, 1992

I express my thanks for your coming all the way to visit us. I am very glad to meet you.

I congratulate you on the great success you achieved in the Third Pyongyang Seminar on “Peace in Asia and the Role of Women”.

In order to reunify the country, all Koreans in the north, south and abroad must realize great unity before anything else.

I have emphasized on many an occasion that our nation must achieve great unity to reunify the country. When I met delegates from south Korea, I said that national reunification must be achieved through great national unity above all else. I am sure that the country will be reunified if the entire Korean nation achieved great national unity irrespective of differences in ideology, social system, political view and religious belief.

For great national unity, it is necessary to hold frequent meetings of various types. The fact that the women’s delegation from south Korea has participated in the current Third Pyongyang Seminar on “Peace in

Asia and the Role of Women” alone shows that the women in the north and the south, half the population of Korea, are uniting in their efforts to push one of the two wheels of reunification. This is quite laudable. It can be said to be a great success made by women on the way to national reunification that you have come to Pyongyang this time. If women in the north and the south hold frequent meetings—women in the south visiting the north and women in the north visiting the south—they will get acquainted with each other and feel close to each other. This will contribute to national unity and hastening national reunification.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I would like to ask you to convey my warm greetings to women of all social levels in south Korea.

You say that on your current visit to Pyongyang you were impressed by its magnificent construction and its being free from pollution. From olden times it has been called one of Korea’s eight beautiful places for its beautiful scenery. However, everything in the city was destroyed during the Fatherland Liberation War. Our people have rebuilt it more beautifully than before. Now its citizens are living happily in their beautiful city.

Pyongyang is free from pollution. When building the city we built no factories which would pollute the air. We built only textile mills or machine-building factories that would not cause air pollution and built chemical and metal factories which would pollute the air away from the city. The purpose of construction is to make the people well-off and in good health, so why should we build factories and harm their health? We always saw to it that large factories, particularly the factories which would cause air pollution, were not built in areas which are densely populated. We also pay deep attention to prevent air from being polluted by the exhaust fumes from vehicles. We refrain individuals from having their own cars as far as possible. The exhaust from many vehicles in the city would pollute the air. Therefore, we do not encourage private cars; instead, we encourage people to widely use trolley buses, buses and underground electric trains. We also encourage them to ride bicycles.

You say it is quite good that the air is clear and the water is clean in

Pyongyang, and you are right. Foreigners visiting our country also say that Pyongyang is excellent because it is free from pollution.

You say you have visited Mt. Kumgang this time; what you have enjoyed are only some parts of Mt. Kumgang, including Outer-Kumgang and Lagoon Samil. You must not have seen Sea-Kumgang and some other beautiful sights on Mt. Kumgang. You can tour Sea-Kumgang only by boat. Chongsokjong and other strange rocks and unique scenery in Sea-Kumgang are so peculiar and beautiful that a person viewing the scenery feels as if he were a supernatural being portrayed in the old legends. Lagoon Samil is also beautiful. It is a freshwater lake. It is rare to find such a large freshwater lake by the sea. The water in Mt. Kumgang is clear and clean. It is free from pollution and bacteria, so it is alright even if one drinks it as it is.

We are planning to draw up a wonderful plan for Mt. Kumgang. Many foreigners who have visited the mountain say they would invest in this. South Korean industrialists who have been to the mountain are of the same opinion. There is no need to build anything large on the mountain, except for a few more hotels for visitors. There is no cable car on the mountain and, if one is built, it will be good for helping old people who are over sixty enjoy the scenery. People under that age can enjoy it while climbing the mountain on foot, but those who are over that age will find it difficult to do this. I was told that one of you who is nearly 80 climbed as far as the Kuryong Falls on foot; it is admirable. Our young people go to Mt. Kumgang by forming mountaineering groups and see its sights while camping on the mountain. Building a cable car on the mountain would be convenient for visitors, but at the same time it would damage the natural environment. We are doing our best to preserve the beautiful natural scenery in the country. We are going to define how to lay out Mt. Kumgang after discussing the matter widely with people. I advise you to visit Mt. Myohyang and Mt. Paektu on your next visit. On Mt. Myohyang there is a place where Tangun is said to have exercised archery and it has many legendary tales. The mountain is famous as Abbot Sosan formed the volunteer army there with monks and roused them to the fight to repulse the

Japanese aggressors when they invaded our country. Relics and legends that reflect the wisdom of our people are a valuable cultural heritage of our nation.

I think there is no mountain in Korea more magnificent than Mt. Paektu. If anyone visits Mt. Paektu, he will feel before anything else that it is magnificent and our country is great.

Afraid that its natural environment would be damaged, I saw to it that the Asian Winter Games to be held in Samjiyon were cancelled. A large sum of money would be needed to host the games, but a greater problem is that the natural environment of Mt. Paektu would be damaged. Lake Samji is the number one scenic spot in our country, and if ski-runs and the like were built there to host the games, the scenery of Mt. Paektu would be damaged. The games would end after this skiing, but it would be difficult to rehabilitate the natural environment once it is damaged.

It is better to visit Mt. Paektu in summer. Even in autumn the weather on that mountain becomes very changeable and in winter it is hard to climb as the temperature drops to more than 40 degrees below zero and it snows much. I was told that a Japanese woman mountaineer climbed the mountain, and with much difficulty, on her visit to our country in the winter of 1987.

You say that you want to link Mt. Paektu and Mt. Halla through the efforts of women by holding the women's meetings on these mountains in turn. This is a good idea; I agree with you.

You say that the women in the northern half of Korea enjoy a many benefits from the state; you are right.

We have built kindergartens and nurseries everywhere—in factories and in the countryside—at the state expense so as to enable women to work to their heart's content in workplaces. So women with children bring them up without feeling any inconvenience and work happily at their workplaces. Women feel very happy because many kindergartens and nurseries have been built.

We also have weekly nurseries and kindergartens which take care of the children whose parents are at work. In most cases the parents who travel a lot on business leave their children to their care. Women

journalists, artistes, scientists and other women who make frequent business trips send their children there as it is difficult for them to leave their children to the care of nurseries and kindergartens and bring them back every day. However, most women leave their children to the care of day nurseries in daytime and bring them back in the evening as it is interesting to raise them by themselves.

You say that you have visited the Pyongyang Maternity Hospital. Our women are very pleased with its construction. It is because, when they are admitted to the hospital and give birth with the help of doctors, they can have an easy delivery and no accident takes place during the delivery. The Pyongyang Maternity Hospital is now working well.

You, the head of the delegation from the south, say you met the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan before leaving for Pyongyang and he asked you to convey his greetings to me; I am grateful for this.

I instructed our Premier to ask the “prime minister” of the south for the release of the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan from prison whenever the high-level talks are held between the north and the south. However, the south Korean authorities have not yet set him free. Is there any need to imprison him, saying that his visit to Pyongyang at the age of 70 was an “act benefitting the enemy”? Even if the charge were true, it is too much to imprison the old man for years, I think. If he was to be imprisoned on charges of violating the law, he could be detained in his house as he is an old man. I wish him to be released soon.

I met at a banquet the girl student Rim Su Gyong who participated in the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students which was held in Pyongyang as a delegate of Jondaehyop. When she was returning to the south, I asked our officials to persuade her not to go back immediately but when the situation permitted, as she would surely be arrested by the south Korean authorities if she returned soon. Even though our officials tried to persuade her, she said that she would surely return even if it meant sacrificing her life. At that time, Father Mun Kyu Hyon came here and proposed that he would take her, saying that nothing would happen if he went to south Korea because he believed in Catholicism. Before entering the south Rim Su Gyong and

Father Mun Kyu Hyon read their letter to the Pope and prayed; then they crossed the Demarcation Line in Panmunjom. As soon as they crossed the line, they were arrested. Therefore, neither the Pope nor Catholicism was helpful to them. Rim Su Gyong is now behind bars, being sentenced to five years, on the charge of visiting Pyongyang to take part in the WFYS. It is too much to inflict a punishment of five years on a young girl student on the charge of visiting Pyongyang.

The south Korean “president” said good words for example in the “July 7 Declaration”, but he has imprisoned a 70-year-old reverend and a young girl student on the unjustifiable charge of visiting Pyongyang and is arresting and imprisoning at random a large number of youths and students and men of conscience. How can we think well of him? If the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan and the girl student Rim Su Gyong visited Pyongyang without being allowed by the “government”, they could imprison them for a few months or a year as a token punishment, but it is too much that they have imprisoned them for several years. Today I am not saying this to vilify the south Korean authorities in front of you, but because they went too far.

You express your thanks that you are returning after achieving greater success than you expected; I am grateful for your saying so.

The head of our delegation to the seminar asked me to meet the delegation from the south and have a souvenir photograph taken with them as they wanted to meet me. I said to her: It is the first time for a south Korean women’s delegation to visit the north; if I meet them and say good-bye to them after exchanging with them a few words of greetings, they will feel sorry; it will be a courtesy and ethical to have lunch with them. So I have arranged a luncheon party for you.

I propose a toast to national reunification, to the unity of the whole nation, to the successful holding of the Pyongyang Seminar on “Peace in Asia and the Role of Women”, and to your health.

This party has been arranged for you, so please help yourselves.

Frozen-potato noodles are a speciality of Ryanggang Province. Mostly the people in Hyesan in Ryanggang Province and the areas around Mt. Paektu enjoy this food. When the Korean compatriots

resident in the United States came to the motherland, I once had them served with these noodles. At that time they wrote in their notebooks how to make it. On their next visit I asked them if they had made and eaten the noodles; they answered that they made them with potatoes frozen in the refrigerator and the food was not so enjoyable. The noodles made with potatoes frozen in the refrigerator are not palatable. Luise Rinser, a German woman writer, visits our country every year. When she was served the noodles, I asked her if German people knew how to make such noodles and she answered they did not. The noodles taste good when they are made with potatoes frozen in the earth.

When we were waging armed struggle against Japan to liberate the country, the Japanese imperialists tightened their control over grain to prevent people from sending it to the guerrillas. However, in order to send grain to the guerrillas our peasants removed only creepers from potato fields to make it look as if they had harvested potatoes; then they informed the guerrillas about it. Guerrillas in turn went to the fields and dug out potatoes and the next spring they dug out the potatoes they had failed to dig out the year before. The potatoes dug out in the spring were soft and soggy. We dried them and ground them to powder before making noodles with them. The people in Ryanggang Province know well how to make noodles with frozen potatoes.

I was told that Son In Sil in the south planned to come to the north with you, but she failed; I wish you to convey my greetings to her on your return.

Present in this party are women from the north and the south, and I cannot distinguish who is from the south and who is from the north. It is because all of you are Koreans.

Those who have divided our country are foreigners. Even now they are obstructing our country from being reunified and attempting to divide our nation into two for ever. It is because they can rule our nation as they want only when it is divided into two.

We must reunify the country through the united efforts of the whole nation.

I believe that you will make great efforts for national reunification.

TALK TO THE DELEGATION OF THE EDUCATORS OF CHONGRYON

October 17, 1992

I am very happy to see you, the Chongryon educators, who are on a visit to your homeland.

National education is very important in the work of Chongryon. The work of national education in Chongryon is, in short, the work of teaching our compatriots in Japan to be Koreans. To be Koreans they must not only have the same blood as ours, they must also have the soul of our nation. Even though they are of the same blood, they cannot be true Koreans unless they keep the soul of our nation. National education in Chongryon is a noble patriotic work in that it teaches our compatriots in Japan our spoken and written language, time-honoured history and brilliant culture so that they live with the soul of our nation.

The Chongryon educators are professional revolutionaries who are engaged in the important work of teaching our compatriots in Japan to be Koreans. Whenever we hear news that the Chongryon educators are successfully rearing the heirs to the work of Chongryon with infinite loyalty to the socialist motherland, even under the difficult conditions of a foreign land, we are deeply impressed. They have rendered distinguished services in training numerous patriots who will shoulder Chongryon.

Speaking highly of the Chongryon educators who, true to our Party's Juche-orientated national education policy, have trained the Korean students to be patriots who are fighting for their homeland and

the nation and national reunification by teaching them our spoken and written language and deeply inculcating the idea of our Party in them, I, on behalf of our Party, the Government of the Republic and on my own, offer warm thanks to them.

Intellectuals play a very important role in the revolutionary struggle and in the building of a new society. It would be impossible to build a new society successfully with the efforts of workers and peasants alone, still less is it possible to build with success socialism which transforms nature, society and people to meet the masses' desire for independence. However, other parties, to say nothing of the preceding theories of the working class, defined the intellectuals as the object of the revolution, regarding them as an intermediary stratum of society who can serve both the capitalist and working classes. On the contrary, we did not define them as the object of the revolution as was done by other parties, but as the motive force of the revolution. From the first period of the anti-Japanese revolution, we defined the intellectuals as the motive force of our revolution along with the working class and peasantry. When founding the Party after liberation, we put a writing brush, which symbolizes the intellectuals, in the emblem of our Party side by side with the hammer and sickle symbolic of the workers and peasants. Our Party is the only party that defined the intellectuals as the motive force of the revolution in the history of the revolutionary movement.

In the past the Japanese imperialists occupied our country and enforced the policy of keeping our people in ignorance. Therefore, there were not many intellectuals who graduated from universities before and immediately after liberation. During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, there were only a few university graduates among the guerrillas. At that time Ri Tong Baek, nicknamed old man "Tobacco Pipe", had been more or less educated. He did not fully understand us as he was related to many factions before joining the anti-Japanese guerrilla army. However, he understood through practical experience that communists of the new generation were the true revolutionaries and patriots of Korea and did a lot of work after joining the

anti-Japanese guerrilla army. He was the editor of the *Monthly Samil*, an organ of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland.

When we started building a new society after liberation, we needed many people with a knowledge of technology and economic management, for at that time there were only a dozen intellectuals who had received higher technical education. So we set national cadre training as the primary task for building a new society and set up Kim Il Sung University. The most difficult problem in building the university was that of instructors. To solve this problem we sent for intellectuals from south Korea. Many of the old and renowned professors at Kim Il Sung University were from south Korea at that time.

Because we have exerted great efforts to train national cadres even under the difficult conditions of the past, we now have 1.6 million intellectuals. Socialism collapsed in the former Soviet Union and East European countries, but socialism in our country is advancing triumphantly. This is mainly because our Party has trained many working intellectuals firmly armed with the Juche idea.

Korea University in Chongryon is also said to have trained nearly ten thousand intellectuals. That is a great result. I am sure that the graduates of that university are now playing important roles in the Chongryon organizations at all levels. As Chongryon has trained them in the past, overcoming many hardships and difficulties, the patriotic cause is being carried on reliably and the movement of Koreans in Japan will continue to advance vigorously along the road of Juche.

Chongryon must continue to channel much energy into the work of national education to raise the younger generation as true sons and daughters of Juche Korea and reliable heirs to its patriotic cause.

In order to train the new generation as heirs to the patriotic cause of Chongryon, you must constantly improve the quality of education to meet the requirements of developing reality. You say that Korean students in Japan took first place in the national oratorical contest which was held in Japan. That is very commendable. By nature

Koreans are talented. Their pronunciation is clear and they speak foreign languages well. As our language is rich in the sounds of speech, they speak foreign languages fluently. Korea University and the other schools of all levels of Chongryon must educate our students to be well qualified patriots who are firmly armed with the Juche idea and ardently love their socialist homeland.

The present international situation is very complicated, but the future of our revolution is bright.

The imperialists and reactionaries are claiming that socialism has come to an end; they say this because of the collapse of socialism and the revival of capitalism in the former Soviet Union and East European countries due to the perfidy of the opportunists. However, revolutionary parties and people do not believe what they say; progressive intellectuals in south Korea are saying that false socialism has collapsed but that genuine socialism is ever victorious.

Numerous delegations and delegates of political parties throughout the world which aspire after socialism visited our country last April. Of course, the purpose of their visit to our country was to congratulate me on my 80th birthday, but they also came to see how socialism is winning victory after victory only in Korea, whereas socialism in the former Soviet Union and the East European countries has gone to ruin. Until now other parties have had an incorrect understanding of our unique people-centred socialist system, so it seems to me that they thought that Korea had built socialism as the Soviet Union did. However, they were surprised at the fact that Korea was advancing as ever under the banner of socialism, whereas socialism collapsed and capitalism revived in the former Soviet Union and East European countries.

Seeing the reality of our socialist system, seventy delegations and delegates of political parties that came here to celebrate my 80th birthday became convinced that they could emerge victorious only by building Korean-style socialism and adopted the Pyongyang Declaration on safeguarding and advancing the socialist cause. The declaration is meeting with a big response in numerous communist and

workers' parties throughout the world. Only a few months have passed since its adoption and publication, but more than 140 parties have already signed it.

Since its publication, the number of parties to learn from our experience has increased remarkably as compared with the past. Recently, the chairman of the national executive committee of the Communist Party of Ireland also visited our country. He, 75 years old, is a veteran revolutionary. He saw the reality of our country and admired the socialism of our own style and said that he would give wide publicity to Korean socialism when back in Europe.

Our compatriots living in Japan know more clearly than anyone else how precious their homeland is and have intense love for their homeland because they suffered all sorts of maltreatment and humiliation and lived in poverty due to the policy of national discrimination of the Japanese reactionaries. If they visit their homeland, they would know more clearly how superior and fine our socialist system is. Now the younger generation who have grown up in the homeland do not well know how good the socialist system where they are living is because they have not suffered exploitation and oppression and undergone hardships under capitalism. However, the people who have returned from Japan are deeply impressed by the superiority of the socialist system of our own style and are proud and happy that they are living in the embrace of a thankful socialist motherland. I think that is why the people who have returned from Japan work hard. Officials who have travelled to other countries on business, capitalist countries in particular, also say proudly that socialism of our own style is best and our people are the happiest. Socialism has crumbled in some countries, but our people-centred socialism will continue to advance triumphantly.

You asked me how many volumes I will write for my reminiscences, *With the Century*. It will probably take more than 30 volumes to deal with all my experiences from the period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle to the present. I have already written volume 3 and sent it for publication and have almost written volume 4.

Foreigners who have read my memoirs are deeply impressed by them, I was told.

I hope that the Chongryon educators, with a firm confidence in the victory of the revolution, will continuously contribute greatly to the prosperity of the country and the cause of national reunification by strengthening and developing the democratic nationalist educational work and training more Juche-type revolutionaries and patriotic intellectuals in Japan.

