



A GRAND BIRTH

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PREFACE

President Kim Il Sung said:

“With the birth of the DPRK our people became the genuine masters of the state and society and a mighty and dignified people whom no one would dare touch. The foundation of the Republic provided our people with a powerful weapon for the revolution and construction and enabled them to stand proudly in the international arena under the banner of an independent and sovereign state. Indeed, the establishment of the DPRK marked the emergence of an independent people and signified the solemn declaration of the birth of Juche Korea.”

Kim Il Sung created valuable experiences in the building of people’s power in the flames of the anti-Japanese revolution and laid a firm foundation for the construction of an independent sovereign state after liberation, and, based on it, proclaimed to the whole world the founding of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea on September 9, Juche 37 (1948).

The founding of the DPRK constituted the birth of a new form of the people’s government, the first of its kind in history, and a national event that brought about a radical turn in shaping the people’s destiny and building a rich and powerful nation.

With its founding, the country became capable of putting an end to the sorrow of being a colonial weak country and standing proudly in the international arena as a completely independent and sovereign state, and its people became able to hew out their destiny independently and creatively with a powerful political weapon for the revolution and construction.

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1. IN THE FLAMES OF THE ANTI-JAPANESE REVOLUTION

During the arduous days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle Kim Il Sung advanced the line of building people's political power and established genuine people's governments in guerrilla bases, thus laying a basic foundation for the establishment of a republic and ushering in the era of building a powerful socialist country. In this way, he created the priceless experience in the building of people's political power, as well as the revolutionary tradition, the eternal wealth of the country and revolution.

To look back on the history of government building by the working class, each country had its specific features. In a country, the bourgeois government was overthrown through the socialist revolution, and a government of proletarian dictatorship established. In another country, a worker-peasant government was established in certain liberated areas during the struggle against the imperialists and national reactionaries, and the question of building a nationwide government was settled after the triumph of the revolution. Some countries established interim governments with the help of the liberation army after the Second World War, and then developed them into legitimate ones.

However, Korea created a prototype of government to be set up in future in the liberated country by establishing a new type of people's governments in the guerrilla bases of the form of liberated areas while conducting an armed struggle against the

foreign aggressors in a foreign country without any home front and support of a regular army, and finally settled the question of power with it as the roots; this example cannot be found elsewhere in the world.

Kim Il Sung set up people's revolutionary government and developed it into revolutionary power by brilliantly embodying the Juche-oriented line of building a power in the flames of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, thus providing the historical roots of genuine people's political power, a glorious revolutionary tradition, before the triumph of the revolution.

The line of building people's revolutionary government advanced by him was the line of building political power that would serve as a genuine prototype of the government to be set up in the liberated country.

When advancing this line, he planned to build it not only into a government that would realize the immediate demands of the Korean revolution—liberation of the country—but also into one that would meet the prospective requirements of the revolution that would have to implement the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution after the liberation of the country and then switch over to building socialism.

Advancement of this line was a historic event that paved a way for brilliantly accomplishing the cause of building people's government in the liberated country.

Kim Il Sung not only put forward the line of building people's revolutionary government but also carried it out successfully by establishing people's revolutionary governments in the guerrilla zones of the form of liberated areas and creating a prototype of genuine people's political power.

With a deep insight into the given subjective and objective

situations, the environment and conditions in the earliest days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and the preparedness of the armed forces, he put forward the policy of setting up guerrilla zones, bases of the form of liberated areas, at the historic Mingyuegou Meeting in December Juche 20 (1931).

What was most important in the struggle to establish guerrilla zones was to properly settle the question of political power. It was because only when there was genuine people's political power in the newly-emerging guerrilla zones was it possible to take care of the people's living in a responsible manner, mobilize them to struggle, protect these zones from the enemy's "punitive" operations, and settle the question of logistical base for the guerrilla unit.

On May 15, Juche 21 (1932), immediately after organizing the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army, Kim Il Sung convened a meeting of commanding officers of the guerrilla army and leading party and Young Communist League cadres in Xiaoshahe, Antu County, and advanced the line of setting up people's revolutionary governments in the guerrilla zones of the form of liberated areas.

He said that in these guerrilla zones party and various other revolutionary organizations should be formed, the system of organizational guidance for them readjusted and people's revolutionary governments set up to provide guidance to the overall work in the guerrilla zones.

The line of building people's democratic power, a Juche-oriented line for building people's power organs of a new type that suited the actual situations in the colonial, semi-colonial countries like Korea for the first time in history, was an epoch-making discovery that shed light on the right path

to resolving the question of power at the stage of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

Kim Il Sung led the efforts for building a prototype people's power organ by applying this line.

The work of establishing people's revolutionary governments in the guerrilla zones faced twists and turns from the beginning owing to the schemes of the factionalist sycophants and "Leftist" opportunists who had wormed their way into the revolutionary ranks.

They committed ultra-Leftist mistakes in building power organs, availing themselves of the opportunity created by Kim Il Sung-led unit's expeditions to south and north Manchuria to form an allied front with the Chinese anti-Japanese units. They set out to establish power organs according to their "soviet line" by mechanically adopting the experience of another country.

In 1932, on the occasion of commemorating the October Socialist Revolution, a mass rally for setting up a soviet government was held in Gayahe, Wangqing County, followed by similar governments in other guerrilla zones. However, the line of building soviets ran counter to the character of the Korean revolution that was on the stage of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and its socio-class relations. It also harmed the solidarity of the revolutionary forces. However, they enforced one ultra-Leftist policy after another under such showy slogans as "proletarian revolution" and "immediate realization of socialism." They proclaimed the abolishment of private property, communizing all movable and immovable property owned by individuals; not satisfied with expropriating land owned by landlords and rich farmers with anti-Japanese

tendencies, and even middle peasants, they committed such a rash act as indiscriminately plundering their beasts of burden and grains. After forcibly effecting communization of property, they coerced all inhabitants, irrespective of age and gender, into moving under a “new order” of communal life, communal labour and communal distribution. They drew artificial lines between the liberated areas and enemy-controlled areas, labelling the latter “stooges’ villages,” while giving a wide berth to the people in the intermediate areas, calling them “two-faced” members of the masses.

Such ultra-Leftist soviet policies caused irreparable vacillation and chaos in the guerrilla zones and brought about grave consequences in achieving the cohesion and solidarity of the revolutionary ranks.

Discontent with the soviet policies many people left for the enemy-controlled areas, and the patriotic religious believers who had so far supported and sympathized with the revolution and landlords with high anti-Japanese consciousness took the attitude of neglecting or opposing the revolution.

As most of the liquidated landlords were Chinese, relations between the Korean and Chinese peoples deteriorated and the Chinese anti-Japanese armed units became hostile towards the Korean revolutionaries.

Without putting to rights such sycophantic, dogmatic and “Left” opportunist tendencies, it was impossible to achieve the growth and strengthening of the revolutionary ranks, the triumphant advance of the revolution and the solidarity between the Korean and Chinese peoples.

Kim Il Sung, who returned to the guerrilla base after concluding the expeditions to north and south Manchuria, had

the Headquarters situated in the Wangqing area, where he conducted an overall review of the “Leftist” tendencies revealed in building power organs and led the struggle to overcome them.

In February Juche 22 (1933) he convened a meeting in Macun.

At the meeting he exposed and criticized the unreasonableness of the “soviet line,” and clarified once again the validity of the line of building people’s revolutionary governments, stressing that all the soviet governments established in the guerilla zones should be reorganized into people’s revolutionary governments.

Noting that the guerrilla zones could not be developed into strategic bases of the Korean revolution and the broad sections of the masses could not be won over to the side of revolution through the “soviet line,” he said that the soviets built in the guerrilla zones should be reformed as soon as possible into people’s power organs, people’s revolutionary governments, that would represent the interests of the broad sections of the anti-Japanese masses including youth and students, intellectuals, conscientious national capitalists and religious believers as well as of the workers, peasants and soldier masses, in consonance with the concrete realities of the Korean revolution.

After the meeting, he dispatched leading party and YCL cadres to different counties in east Manchuria. He himself met a “Left” opportunist who was imposing the “soviet line,” and proved with historical facts that the form of power cannot be defined by preceding classical works but by the demands of the people and the reality. He added that the name of the power

organ would not pose any problem if it conformed to the character of the revolution and enjoyed support from the masses.

He then took measures for setting up people's revolutionary governments by embracing excellent officials, and personally attended rallies to give on-the-spot guidance to the work of setting up people's revolutionary governments.

On March 18, Juche 22 (1933), he delivered a speech, titled, *The People's Revolutionary Government Is the Genuine People's Power*, at the rally for establishing the people's revolutionary government in the Fifth District, Wangqing.

Noting that the basic aspect of the revolution was the question of power, he said that the Korean people had long shed much blood in the fight to achieve national independence and seize power, but their struggle had been put on the right track now thanks solely to the revolutionaries of a new generation.

He exposed and criticized the aftereffects and seriousness of the "Leftist" soviet policy, and stressed that a new type of power, a people's revolutionary government, capable of uniting the broad sections of the anti-Japanese forces into one body, should be established as soon as possible, in order to lead the Korean revolution to victory, before elucidating the character of the new government and tasks facing it. He continued: The people's revolutionary government differs in essence not only from a government that defends only the interests of the handful of members of the exploiting classes, but also from a soviet government that represents only the interests of the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers; it is the most people-oriented, democratic government of a new type which involves and represents the interests of young people and

students, intellectuals, capitalists with a conscience, religious believers and other broad sections of the anti-Japanese forces, not to mention the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers; the birth of the people's revolutionary government is of truly great significance in the history of the Korean nation and the development of Korean revolution; the establishment of this most people-oriented and revolutionary government of a new type provided the Korean people with a revolutionary weapon for carrying the Korean revolution to triumph by rallying closely behind it the broad sections of the anti-Japanese forces.

Calling on all the participants to turn out as one in the struggle to establish a people's revolutionary government in every guerrilla zone, adhering strictly to the line of forming this government, he clarified the ways and means of setting up and strengthening people's revolutionary governments and giving full play to their advantages.

His speech instilled in the participants confidence in and expectation for the government and the pride and self-confidence in being masters of power.

The assembly elected those, who had played the vanguard role in setting up the guerrilla base, to the district committee of the people's revolutionary government.

The establishment of the people's revolutionary government in the Fifth District in Wangqing was a brilliant victory of the line of building people's revolutionary government advanced by Kim Il Sung, marking the birth of a new type of revolutionary government, the first of its kind in the history of building working-class power, and ushering in a new era of the struggle for building genuine people's power organs under the banner of the Juche idea.

While going among the people to conduct political work, Kim Il Sung dispatched to different guerrilla zones officials who would guide the work of carrying out the line of building people's revolutionary government.

The officials conducted an energetic political information work in various forms in keeping with the characteristics of the broad sections of the masses and specific conditions, explaining in depth the originality and validity of the line.

As a result, the work of establishing people's revolutionary governments in the guerrilla zones went on without deviation amid soaring political enthusiasm of the masses.

Rights to elect and to be elected were granted to the masses from all walks of life above 16 years of age, including the workers, peasants and guerrillas, irrespective of gender, nationality, property status, education and religious belief. The people, who came to enjoy genuine rights for the first time in their life, turned out as one in the elections with high political enthusiasm.

The elections were held in a short span of time, giving birth to people's revolutionary governments in nearly all guerrilla zones.

In the guerrilla zone in Wangqing County the setting up of the people's revolutionary government in the Fifth District was followed by similar district governments in Xiaowangqing, Yaoyinggou and Dahuangwai, and district governments were set up respectively in Wangyugou, Sandaowan and Cangcaicun in the guerrilla zone in Yanji County and in Huanggou, Yantonglazi and Lishu in the guerrilla zone in Hunchun County.

And a well-knit structure was established in these governments; each district people's revolutionary government

had its own chairman and vice-chairman and nine to eleven executive committee members, of whom five to seven were standing committee members. The departmental executive bodies included land, military, economic, food, edification, communication and medical service departments. Some of them had more departments or merged some of them into one when necessary.

The work of setting up people's revolutionary governments was completed successfully within one to two months.

After setting up the prototypes of genuine people's power organ in the guerrilla zones on the Tuman River, Kim Il Sung saw that they enforced democratic reforms, powerfully demonstrating their viability.

Reform was conducted in the area of socio-political life.

The people's revolutionary governments guaranteed equal rights for all the anti-Japanese masses above 16 years of age, including the workers, peasants, officers and men of the guerrilla army, students and merchants in the guerrilla zones, irrespective of gender, nationality, property status and education, and granted them rights to elect and to be elected, thus making them real masters of power.

They also ensured freedom of all kinds of socio-political activities including speech, press, assembly and association, allowing everybody in the guerrilla zones to join mass organizations including the Young Communist League, Anti-Japanese Women's Association, Anti-Japanese Association and Children's Corps and conduct socio-political activities, and enlightened the masses through revolutionary publications.

These measures put an end to the long-standing absence of political rights and national and class oppression and allowed

the people to enjoy political freedom and democratic rights as genuine masters of power.

The people's revolutionary governments also enforced reform in the socio-economic field.

For the land reform, Kim Il Sung advanced the revolutionary principle of expropriating the land of the Japanese, their stooges and pro-Japanese landlords free of charge and distributing it free of charge among peasants without land or with a small area.

The people's revolutionary governments carried on the land reform strictly in accordance with this principle. They ensured that the land between the guerrilla zones and enemy-controlled areas were cultivated collectively by production shock brigades, and declared null and void the ownership by the Japanese and their lackeys of the forest resources within the guerrilla zones, placing them under their jurisdiction as property of the people. They put a strict ban on selling or mortgaging of the distributed land, abolished the miscellaneous taxes and levies and declared null and void the peasants' debts.

Kim Il Sung ensured that the people's revolutionary government undertook a series of democratic reforms in the area of industry as well.

For the democratic reform in the industrial sector, the people's revolutionary governments strictly banned business management by the Japanese and comprador capitalists, and encouraged business activities by handicraftsmen and medium and small-scale native capitalists with a conscience. They guaranteed the people rights to work and rest, and established an eight-hour working system, labour protection system and minimum wage system.

The people's revolutionary governments made detailed arrangements for providing a stable life for the people in the guerrilla zones.

To ensure stabilized livelihoods for the people, they organized individual and collective sidelines on a large scale, and encouraged hunting, honey production, wild and medicinal herb gathering, mushroom farming, mat production, tanning animal hides and fishing. They also built schools for the Children's Corps members through a massive movement in each guerrilla district and village, and enforced universal free education.

In step with the steady enhancement of the role of the people's revolutionary governments in educating, organizing and enlisting the masses, the revolutionary and democratic reforms and people-oriented policies were successfully effected in all the sectors of politics, the economy and culture, the guerrilla bases were turned into a new world pulsating with revolutionary optimism and militant spirit, and the people realized through their life experience that people's revolutionary governments were people's power organs they had longed for.

By setting up people's revolutionary governments, genuine people's power organs, the first of their kinds in the history of power building, in the flames of the rigorous anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, Kim Il Sung performed the immortal exploits of creating a prototype of the Juche-oriented people's power organs, the parent body for people's power organs to be set up after the liberation of the country.

In this way, he also gave an answer to the question of power in colonial and semi-colonial countries.

2. IN THE LIBERATED COUNTRY

After the liberation of the country, establishing a genuine people's power organ at an early date posed a pressing demand of the developing revolution. This would make it possible to defend national independence won at the cost of blood through the arduous anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, achieve the independent development of the country, secure national sovereignty on a nationwide scale and demonstrate the dignity of the country and nation throughout the world.

However, the situation in Korea after liberation was complicated as ever, and a host of difficulties and hardships cropped up on the way of setting up people's power organ.

The Korean people were jubilant over the liberation, but they were at a loss for what to do to establish their genuine power organ.

In his several works including a speech delivered to military and political cadres on August 20, Juche 34 (1945), titled, *On Building the Party, State and Armed Forces in the Liberated Homeland*, and a lecture given to the students of the Pyongyang Worker-Peasant Political School on October 3, Juche 34 (1945), titled, *On Progressive Democracy*, Kim Il Sung set forth the task of laying a firm foundation for building a democratic and independent sovereign state by forming the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, genuine people's power organ, as soon as possible in the liberated country.

As part of preparatory work for establishing the PPCNK, he laid rock-firm socio-political foundations for establishing the

central power organ by guiding the work of rallying the broad masses of the people around the unified front on the basis of the valuable experiences he had accumulated during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.

He saw to it that an energetic work was conducted to form a democratic national united front that could bring together the masses from all walks of life in keeping with the prevailing situation.

In several of his works including the speech to senior officials of the provincial Party committees on October 13, Juche 34 (1945), titled, *On the Building of a New Korea and the National United Front*, and lecture at a political forum sponsored by the democratic youth organizations on December 22 the same year, titled, *On the Question of the National United Front*, he elucidated in an all-round way the line of the democratic national united front, the principle to be adhered to in the united front movement, its form and ways for implementing it.

On November 5, Juche 34 (1945), he met personages who had participated in the nationalist movement at home and abroad in the past. Speaking highly of the feats they had performed in conducting the anti-Japanese movement, he said if the Korean people were to build a democratic, independent and sovereign state through their own efforts now that their country had been liberated, they must all unite closely under the banner of democracy. He added that if nationalists were really concerned about the fate of the country and the people, they should join hands with the socialists and work together with them.

The nationalists, regretting that they had turned a blind eye to the great cause because of ignorance, vowed to actively turn

out in the worthwhile struggle of building a democratic, independent and sovereign state, upholding his leadership.

Under his energetic guidance, different political parties and groups which had been at odds with one another out of differences in their erstwhile political ideals and doctrines achieved alliance under the banner of democracy, making it possible to lay firm socio-political foundations for establishing a central power organ in north Korea.

In order to successfully push ahead with the preparatory work for establishing a central power organ, Kim Il Sung led the masses of the people to organize local power organs with their own hands on the basis of liquidating the old colonial ruling machinery, and thus created the grass roots of the central power organ.

In several works including the speech, titled, *Let Us Work to Form a National United Front*, delivered at the consultative meeting of political workers and officials of Communist Party organizations in South Phyongan Province on September 29, Juche 34 (1945), he advanced the policy of setting up local power organs before the establishment of the central power organ, and made sure that people's committees were formed in all areas.

First of all, he enlisted the masses in overthrowing the old colonial ruling machinery of Japanese imperialism and detecting and purging the remnant forces of imperialism, including pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and reactionary bureaucrats who had wormed their way into power organs, pretending to be patriots. He visited the Pyongyang Municipal People's Committee, South Phyongan Provincial People's Political Committee and Ryongchon County People's

Autonomous Committee in North Phyongan Province, and took concrete measures to this end.

The post of chairman of the Yangdok County People's Committee in South Phyongan Province was occupied by a man who had been chairman of the Iljin Association, a pro-Japanese organization in the county; similar phenomena could be found in some other parts of the country. In some areas "self-governing committees" made up of the so-called influential personages had been organized attempting to exercise power in their areas.

If the local people's committees were to fulfil their tasks properly as genuine people's power organs, it was essential to detect and purge pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation lurking in them.

A purge campaign was conducted, and the local people's committees were consolidated and their functions and role gradually enhanced.

Immediately after liberation people in different areas seized executive power, and organized committees as organs of self-government with an aim to maintain social order and defend and run public institutions and industrial and transportation facilities.

After acquainting himself with the actual state of the formation of regional people's committees, Kim Il Sung dispatched political workers to local areas to ensure that the work of establishing local power organs was turned into a concern of the masses themselves, and, to this end, the masses directly organized the people's committees in the way of electing members of the committees.

People in different areas held general meetings or meetings

of representatives, and elected by secret ballot or by a show of hands the members of the people's committees they had recommended.

As a result, the South Phyongan Provincial People's Political Committee was set up on August 27, Juche 34 (1945), followed by the South Hamgyong Provincial People's Committee on September 1, the Hwanghae Provincial People's Committee on September 2, the Kangwon Provincial People's Committee on September 15 and the North Hamgyong Provincial People's Committee on October 26; by the end of November that year people's committees were set up and began their activities in cities, counties, sub-counties and ri of six provinces.

Thanks to the successful completion of the work of establishing local power organs in all parts of north Korea in two to three months after liberation, a solid foundation was laid for establishing a genuine central people's power organ.

With the formation of local power organs and improvement of their functions and role, a great advance was made in the struggle to rehabilitate the destroyed economy and stabilize the people's livelihoods, but their activities as local power organs had some limitations. There was no central organ of state power that could provide unified guidance over them.

In Pyongyang on November 19, Juche 34 (1945), Kim Il Sung convoked a joint conference of people's committees at different levels, and organized Ten Administrative Bureaus of North Korea in charge of ten realms—industry, transport, posts and telecommunications, agro-forestry, trade, finance, education, public health, judiciary and security. The Ten Administrative Bureaus were the central departmental administrative body for providing unified

guidance over the activities of local power organs and establishing economic ties among provinces.

Referring to the functions and role of the bureaus, the newspaper *Jongno*, dated December 5, 1945, wrote as follows:

“The administrative bureaus are a leadership organ for the work related to them. Their orders and directives are obligatory for the administrative and economic institutions and inhabitants in the whole of north Korea. Measures for improving people’s livelihoods and establishing economic liaison among provinces, institutions and individuals in north Korea shall be settled and realized only through them.

“The administrative bureaus shall orient their work to building a new Korea, developing the national economy and culture and improving people’s livelihoods.

“Therefore, different provincial and other local organs, social organizations and co-operatives and all citizens of north Korea are in duty bound to fulfil their instructions, directives and orders in time or in earnest.”

Formation of the Ten Administrative Bureaus was a measure for successfully fulfilling the tasks arising in the building of a new society and in social life on a nationwide scale and for laying administrative foundations for establishing a central organ of state power.

The structure, method of activities and work experience of sector-specific administrative bureaus constituted the framework and assets for the establishment of the central organ of state power.

On the basis of this, Kim Il Sung organized and led the struggle to establish the Provisional People’s Committee of North Korea.

Organized first was the initiators commission, embracing leaders of democratic political parties and public organizations in north Korea, in early February Juche 35 (1946). It was entrusted with the work of establishing the provisional people's committee.

The preliminary meeting of representatives of democratic political parties and public organizations held on February 7, Juche 35 (1946) discussed the report to be submitted to a consultative conference of representatives of democratic political parties, public organizations, administrative bureaus and people's committees in north Korea and the immediate tasks of the provisional people's committee, and decided on whom to be elected at the consultative conference to the committee.

On the basis of full preparations, a consultative conference of representatives of democratic political parties, public organizations, administrative bureaus and people's committees was held in Pyongyang on February 8, Juche 35 (1946).

At the conference Kim Il Sung delivered a report, titled, ***On the Present Political Situation in Korea and the Organizing of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea.***

In the report, he outlined the achievements made in all spheres of politics, the economy and culture during the past five months after the liberation of the country, and stressed the need to establish a central organ of state power in north Korea.

His report won absolute support and approval from the participants of the conference.

The conference organized the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea with representatives of the workers, peasants and other people of different social strata and its

standing committee composed of 23 persons.

As for the sector-specific departments, it had information, personnel and general affairs departments in addition to the existing ten bureaus.

The PPCNK had to perform the power and executive functions as there was no independent organ of people's representatives established through nationwide elections.

In accordance with the unanimous will and desire of all the people, the conference acclaimed Kim Il Sung as Chairman of the PPCNK.

In congratulation of the establishment of the PPCNK headed by Kim Il Sung, a mass rally and demonstration, participated by over 100 000 people, took place in Pyongyang on February 10, Juche 35 (1946), and other colourful celebration events were held in other parts of the country.

The people from various walks of life sent Kim Il Sung letters, in which they pledged to faithfully implement all the policies and decisions advanced by the people's power organ.

With the organizing of the PPCNK, a new form of people's power organ based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class and relied on the united front of the broad masses of the people, the Korean people could have their genuine power organ for the first time in their 5 000-year-long history.

3. ESTABLISHMENT OF PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE OF NORTH KOREA

As soon as the tasks of the democratic revolution were fulfilled successfully, Kim Il Sung enlisted the people in executing the tasks of the period of the transition to socialism.

To this end, an appropriate power organ was needed. It had so far been a fait accompli that a socialist revolution overthrows bourgeois government and gives rise to a socialist government.

Without being bound by the existing formula, Kim Il Sung set forth a Juche-oriented task of establishing a socialist government by further consolidating the people's government through democratic elections in consonance with the realities of the country.

The successful enforcement of democratic reforms including the land reform by the PPCNK created socio-economic conditions favourable for a switchover to the socialist revolution.

The people absolutely supported and trusted the people's committee, their power organ, that provided and guaranteed happy life for them. Such being the case, there was no need to overthrow the existing government and build a new socialist one.

Kim Il Sung regarded that strengthening and developing the people's committee of a provisional character into a socialist government by law was the most realistic and reasonable method, and this could be achieved through democratic elections.

When the power organs were established through democratic elections, it was possible to lead the people to build power organs by themselves by choosing their genuine representatives and further consolidate the socio-class basis of the power organs by purging impure elements and chance elements who had wormed their way into the power organs, pretending to be patriots and revolutionaries, by capitalizing on the complicated situation that had prevailed immediately after liberation and building up the ranks of officials of these organs with those who are capable of faithfully serving the people.

In the report, titled, *On Elections to the People's Committees*, at the Second Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea, held on September 25, Juche 35 (1946), Kim Il Sung explained the historic significance of the democratic elections, the progressive content of the Korean style of election system and problems on conducting election campaign.

He then made sure that all democratic political parties and public organizations jointly nominated candidates to stand as people's committee members and jointly elected, and election committees were formed in the capital and local areas to provide unified guidance over elections to the people's committees at all levels as a whole.

As a result, by the end of September Juche 35 (1946) 15 824 election committees were organized at different levels, comprising 80 470 persons, representatives from all walks of life, making up a well-knit system for the constituencies at all levels.

To ensure participation by the entire electorate in the elections with high political enthusiasm, information halls were laid out as bases of information work for the elections in all

constituencies and sub-constituencies according to a decision of the PPCNK, dated September 21, Juche 35 (1946), and the people's committees at different levels actively mobilized different political parties and public organizations to strengthen the information work.

Kim Il Sung went to different areas to guide in detail the work of preparing for the elections.

In October Juche 35 (1946), just over 20 days before the elections, he visited Uiju, Sakju, Kusong, Jongju, Taegwan and other areas in North Phyongan Province. He convened consultative meetings of officials and attended mass rallies and general meetings of voters; he also visited factories and rural communities, holding talks with the workers and peasants and meeting people in his lodging and even on the station platform. In this way, he inspired them to achieve victory in the forthcoming democratic elections.

In those days information work for the elections was satisfactory and the preparations were being made successfully as demanded by the Party in most of the regions, but it was not the same case in some regions.

Some people still lacked the awareness of being the masters of the country and were not deeply aware of the significance of the first democratic elections. What was serious was the fact that the reactionaries persisted in committing acts of sabotage against the elections. Saying, "The election method has changed. If you approve, put the ballot into the black box; if you oppose, put it into the white one," they attempted to lead the illiterates, women and old men against the elections. Some of them bribed shamans and fortune-tellers to say to the superstitious people, "If you put the ballot into the black box,

you have no need to hold rituals against misfortune for three years.” Those in the regions with many Christians incited vicious clergymen into saying, “November 3 is Sunday. Sunday is the Sabbath day, so no religious believer can do a thing against the Holy Scriptures. The Bible mentions nothing about going to polling station.”

With a deep knowledge of this actual situation, Kim Il Sung, while giving field guidance to the work in North Phyongan Province, put deviations to rights, and ensured that the election preparations were made correctly on a nationwide scale.

When he arrived in Sinuiju, officials of the Provincial People’s Committee were discussing the state of election preparations. Senior officials of friendly parties were also present there.

After learning the situation in the conference hall of the Provincial People’s Committee, he asked how candidates were being nominated.

Chairman of the Provincial People’s Committee answered that they were nominated separately by different political parties and public organizations. Sensing that it was against the PPCNK’s stipulations on jointly nominating candidates by the Democratic National United Front, Kim Il Sung said:

You are wrong. That means the candidates were selected by pooling the opinions of a few persons. They were not recommended according to the unanimous will of the masses. They should go among the people and see that they are recommended by them.

Kim Il Sung pointed out that nominating candidates in this way ran counter to the decision of the PPCNK, making the masses confused.

In fact, reactionaries were resorting to all kinds of slander and calumny with regard to the nomination of candidates; they claimed that nomination of joint candidates by the Democratic National United Front was undemocratic, saying that nomination of their own candidates by political parties was democratic. This meant they were advocating free competition, a mode of election in capitalist society.

A senior official of a friendly party in the province, who was listening to what Kim Il Sung had to say, rose up and said to him what he had felt in the work of the DNUF, the tendency of some officials to give the cold shoulder to friendly parties. He added that some localities were not willing to enrol representatives of friendly parties in the election committees.

Affirming his opinion, Kim Il Sung said: Through the current elections we should further strengthen the DNUF, unite all members of political parties and social organizations and consolidate the people's power as solid as a rock by dint of unity.

When visiting the Chongsu Carbide Factory, he said to its employees: If we are to be well-off, we should quickly restore this factory and turn out carbide in larger quantities; the task facing the working class today is to quickly restore the destroyed factories at an early date with the attitude that they are masters of the country and increase production for the prosperity of the country and the improvement of the people's livelihoods; increasing production with a high degree of zeal for nation building must be the attitude of the working class that turned out for victory in the forthcoming elections.

His instructions reflected the realities of that time, in which lack of awareness of being masters of country was being

revealed among the voters despite the uninterrupted information work for the elections.

In the Sakju area the locals cut down cherry trees, saying the Japanese liked it, and caught fish in a lotus pond at random, saying they had been reared in the days of Japanese rule, and removed even the lotus flowers there.

Kim Il Sung said to the local officials: If people are allowed to go this way, they may destroy even the factories, mines and other facilities built before liberation; though the Japanese enforced colonial rule in our country, all the wealth created on the soil of our country was created at the cost of the blood and sweat of our workers and peasants; destroying it means destroying the fruition of our people's labour; in the lead-up to the elections we should educate the people so that they may take good care of all the wealth which have become the property of their country and of their own and expedite more dynamically the restoration of factories and their production; only then can we say we have achieved the goal of the elections.

In Jongju he emphasized that county-level officials should ensure that the election campaign among religious believers was conducted by religious organizations which were acquainted with their living and internal conditions, and that the campaign among women should be done by the women's union organizations. He added that the county people's committee should intensify its work with different political parties and social organizations, thus leading them to step up the election campaign and putting to rights the mistakes revealed.

He continued: Before liberation when electing a "sub-county council," a so-called consultative body of Japanese imperialism,

only the landlords, capitalists and pro-Japanese elements who donated certain amounts of money could enjoy the right to elect and to be elected while the poor including women could never imagine it; the information work for the forthcoming elections should be done in such a way as comparing the reactionary and anti-people nature of the election system of the old society with our current democratic election system.

One day, still on a field guidance tour in North Phyongan Province, Kim Il Sung said to officials that the “black box movement” should be frustrated decisively, adding that the schemes of reactionaries in Sonchon, Ryongchon and some other areas were more serious than those already reported. He continued: We should inform the voters of the election procedure in detail and lay out the polling stations well so that all voters can visit and see it before casting ballot; to cope with the moves of reactionaries, we should strengthen the information work among women, and make the rounds of houses with something like a model ballot box for the elderly and illiterates.

The course of his field guidance in North Phyongan Province, which began in Sinuiju on October 7, 1946, continued to Jongju on October 12 via several counties, and at last it ended there.

With the whole country overflowing with joy and delight for the first democratic elections, the people in Samdung Sub-county, Kangdong County, South Phyongan Province, nominated Kim Il Sung as their candidate to the People’s Committee of South Phyongan Province.

He accepted their nomination and went to the sub-county in mid-October to meet the voters.

The local people spread a roll of cotton cloth on the way leading to the venue of mass rally, regretting their failure to spread carpet for the national hero, who had liberated their country.

Saying how he could step on the cotton which should be used for making clothes for the people, he had it rolled up, and then entered the venue.

At the mass rally, he expressed his thanks to them for having nominated him as a candidate to the People's Committee of South Phyongan Province, and clarified the significance of the first democratic elections and urgent tasks in nation building. He called on all voters to take an active part in the historic democratic elections to consolidate the people's power organs rock-solid.

In order to smash the moves of reactionaries against the elections and inspire the people with a higher degree of political enthusiasm, the 18th Session of the PPCNK, held on October 29, Juche 35 (1946), took revolutionary measures for holding mass rallies in celebration of the elections on November 2 simultaneously in all parts of north Korea and holding a similar rally in Pyongyang on November 1.

At the Pyongyang celebration of the democratic elections, Kim Il Sung delivered a speech, titled, *On the Eve of the Historic Democratic Elections*. In the speech he noted the brilliant achievements and popular character of the PPCNK, and clarified the important tasks facing the people's committee to be elected and the great significance the democratic elections would have in the people's political life.

November 3, Juche 35 (1946) witnessed the elections for the provincial, city and county people's committees, the first

of their kind in the history of Korea.

At 10 o'clock on the morning of this day Kim Il Sung went to the building of the General Electricity Bureau of North Korea (the present Kangan-dong, Songyo District), the polling station of Sub-constituency No. 52 of Constituency No. 6, Pyongyang Municipality, and cast a ballot. He then visited several polling stations in Pyongyang and Kangso County, South Phyongan Province, inspiring the voters.

That day people across the country, regardless of gender and age, thronged to the polling stations from early morning.

In particular, the joy and excitement of people in Samdung Sub-county, Kangdong County, South Phyongan Province, who had nominated Kim Il Sung as their candidate, ran high.

An old woman, Hong Song Nyo, 64, expressed her feeling as follows: "I experience this feeling for the first time in my over-sixty-year life. An old country woman who lived only with surname, I was worse than a grass in my garden as I was maltreated by the Japanese and the landlord. This once-despised granny nominated our General with my own hands and has come to attend the work of building the country. When can I feel happier than this? I will have nothing to regret, even if I die right now..."

This was an expression of the unanimous feeling of the Korean people who became able to exercise their political right to the full as genuine masters of state power. Through the democratic elections, they fully realized the true meaning of people-oriented politics and the pride, self-confidence and high awareness of being masters of state power.

Though it had been only one year after the country's liberation and moreover the enemy resorted to tenacious and

vicious obstructive moves, the first democratic elections came to a successful conclusion.

Among the elected was a woman coal miner in North Hamgyong Province. At the lowest echelon of society before the liberation of the country, she had to attend her wedding in her working clothes and give birth to her child while pushing the coal cart. Now she became a member of the first provincial people's committee.

Indeed, the establishment of the genuine people's power brought about a sea change in the destiny of the Korean people and their socio-political life.

99.6% of the voters went to the polls, and the ratio of ballots was 97% for the provincial people's committees, 95.4% for the city people's committees and 96.9% for the county people's committees. The breakdown of the total of 3 459 persons elected showed 510 workers (14.7%), 1 256 peasants (36.4%), 1 056 officers (30.5%), 311 men of culture (9.0%), 145 merchants (4.2%), 73 entrepreneurs (2.1%), 94 religious believers (2.7%) and 14 others (0.4%).

The provincial, city and county people's committees, which had been strengthened and developed through the elections, were local power organs simultaneously performing the power and executive functions of people's government as power and administrative organs in their respective areas.

The 10th Meeting of the Central Committee of the Democratic National United Front of North Korea, held on February 3, Juche 36 (1947), decided on convening a conference of provincial, city and county people's committees of north Korea and setting up the central power organ of north Korea at the conference. And the 24th Meeting of PPCNK, held

on February 4, Juche 36 (1947), discussed the problems of calling the conference of provincial, city and county people's committees, electing representatives to the conference and organizing a preparatory committee in order to ensure the conference a success. The meeting adopted the Resolution on the Convocation of the Conference of Provincial, City and County People's Committees of North Korea as its decision No. 176 of the PPCNK and the Regulations on the Elections of Delegates to the Conference of Provincial, City and County People's Committees of North Korea as its decision No. 177.

According to these decisions, local power organs, political parties and social organizations were to send their delegates to the conference after selecting them by secret ballot.

As a result, delegates, numbering 1 186—one from every three members of a provincial, city and county people's committee and five from the Workers' Party of North Korea, the Democratic Party, the Chondoist Chongu Party, the General Federation of Trade Unions, the Democratic Youth League and the General Federation of Democratic Women, respectively, were selected. 1 159 of those attending the Conference of Provincial, City and County People's Committees of North Korea, held grandly in Pyongyang from February 17 to 20, Juche 36 (1947), were persons from all walks of life, including workers, peasants, office employees, intellectuals, merchants, entrepreneurs and religionists.

According to the Regulations on the Elections of Deputies to the People's Assembly of North Korea, an election of deputies for establishing the PANK was conducted in the method of secret ballot at the ratio of one to five representatives of provincial, city and county people's committees on the basis of

the democratic principle; as a result, 237 persons (among them were 34 women) including 86 from the Workers' Party, 30 from the Democratic Party, 30 from the Condoist Chongu Party and 91 independents were elected as deputies to the PANK. Among them were 52 workers (22%), 62 peasants (26%), 56 office employees (24%), 36 intellectuals (15%), 7 entrepreneurs (3%), 10 merchants (4%), 4 handicraftsmen (2%) and 10 clergymen (4%).

The conference approved all the laws promulgated by the PPCNK, voted for the National Economic Development Plan for 1947, established the People's Assembly of North Korea, the supreme power organ of north Korea, adopted the Resolution of the Conference of the North Korean Provincial, City and County People's Committees on the Establishment of the People's Assembly of North Korea, Regulations on the People's Assembly of North Korea and Regulations on the Procedures for the Election of Deputies to the People's Assembly of North Korea, and elected the Presidium of the PANK.

In this way, the PANK, a new supreme organ of power of the form of legally consolidated people's government, was founded by election for the first time in Korea, and thus the problem of establishing a powerful democratic power organ in north Korea was solved successfully.

4. FOUNDING OF THE DPRK

April North-South Joint Conference

Ignoring the Korean people's unanimous will and demand on establishing a unified democratic government, imperialists illegally brought the Korean question to the UN in September 1947 to set up the so-called UN Temporary Commission on Korea by using its voting machinery. And it schemed to bring the UNTCK into south Korea and enforce separate elections under its supervision for the establishment of a government there.

Given the grave situation, Kim Il Sung, at a meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Democratic National United Front of North Korea held in early October Juche 36 (1947), advanced a proposal for holding north-south negotiations in the form of consultative meeting or joint conference of representatives of political parties and public organizations of the north and south.

Many political parties, public organizations and individual personages in south Korea supported the proposal.

In his New Year Address for Juche 37 (1948), Kim Il Sung called on all the fellow countrymen to strive for establishing a unified democratic people's republic at the earliest date with greater national pride and with the confidence that they were fully capable of building a prosperous, independent and sovereign state.

At a meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of

the Democratic National United Front of North Korea, held on January 9, he said: For now, it is difficult for the leaders of political parties and public organizations in the north and south of Korea to get together for negotiations, owing to the obstructive moves of the enemy; such being the case, the leaders of political parties and public organizations in north Korea can send a letter to their south Korean counterparts, informing them of our patriotic and principled stand and intention to surmount the current difficulties facing the country and urging them to come to the table for north-south negotiations.

In connection with the adoption of a resolution by the UN Little Assembly under the coercion of the foreign forces on holding separate elections in south Korea, he called on all the patriotic and democratic forces, at the 25th Meeting of the Central Committee of the Democratic National United Front of North Korea held on March 9, Juche 37 (1948), to oppose the resolution and unite firmly to achieve reunification and independence of Korea.

In the report to the Second Congress of the Workers' Party of North Korea he put forward the policy of establishing a unified, democratic government through general elections in the north and south of Korea by the Korean people themselves, emphasizing that the Party had approached the democratic political parties and social organizations in the north and south of Korea to hold a joint conference in Pyongyang on April 14. At the First Session of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea, held in late March, he gave instructions on quickly forming a preparatory committee for the joint conference, electing the north Korean representatives to it,

preparing the documents to be submitted to the conference and making scrupulous arrangements for providing every convenience for the south Korean representatives during their stay for the conference.

The preparatory committee for the joint conference was organized, and preparations made headway.

Kim Il Sung said to officials concerned: We should give wide publicity to the successes we in north Korea have achieved in the field of politics, the economy and culture over the past two and a half years, from right after liberation to the present; in this way, we can make all those attending the joint conference and other people clearly understand that Koreans are a resourceful nation who are capable of carving out the destiny of their country by their own effort according to their will.

As to the problem of preparing invitation cards to be sent to the south Korean representatives, he said: We must prepare them, not regarding the work as just writing down names on pieces of paper, but as important political work; in this way, we can make anyone who has received the invitation card, moved by our sincerity, feel an impulse to visit the north at the earliest date.

And he sent in his name letters to representatives of several Rightist and middle-of-the-road parties and public organizations in south Korea, including Hong Myong Hui, Kim Ku and Kim Kyu Sik. Not bound by the convention of writing a letter on paper, he wrote the letters on silk. To take the letter to Hong Myong Hui as an example, it read that Mr Hong Myong Hui, Chairman of the Democratic Independence Party of South Korea, was invited to the Joint Conference of Representatives of Political Parties and Public Organizations in North and South

Korea to be held in Pyongyang, and at the bottom of it were the date of writing, his name and his square seal.

He also paid great attention to the selection of the venue of the joint conference.

At that time there were nearly ten theatres, meeting halls attached to organs and clubs in Pyongyang. The focus of discussion was which would be suitable for the venue of the joint conference.

Designating the Moranbong Theatre, Kim Il Sung said: Every Korean knows Moran Hill in Pyongyang and if he or she hears its name, he or she is reminded of Pyongyang; if the north-south joint conference is held in the Moranbong Theatre, a people's theatre built by our own efforts, delegates from south Korea will take an active part in the conference with the pride and dignity of our nation who has never yielded to foreign aggressors and a feeling of love for this beautiful land.

After selecting the venue of the joint conference, Kim Il Sung led the work of furnishing the interior of the venue so that it can exert a great ideological effect on the delegates.

The knotty problem was the background of the platform.

Officials and creative workers racked their brains. As it was a conference to be attended by representatives of the north and south of Korea, who had different ideologies, political views and religious beliefs, the background had to be so depicted that it could be accepted by all and exert a positive ideological impact on them. At the consultative meeting held several times some proposed drawing the flower of rose of sharon and some others proposed drawing Mt Kumgang. Still others, who had insisted on "prudence," saying that the Right-wingers attending the conference should be treated with care, went so far as to say

that it would be better to draw nothing on the background in order to show that the north was not willing to force its assertions on the middle-of-the-road politicians and Right-wingers from the south. Anti-Party factionalists, pretending that they were interested in laying out the venue of the conference, said: A political meeting can achieve its result only when the portrait of a leader or a red flag is hung on the platform; if a portrait or a red flag poses a problem because of the composition of the participants, only the name of the conference can be hung.

On learning that there existed different views on the decoration of the background of the platform, Kim Il Sung called officials and gave his opinion, saying: This conference is meaningful in that representatives of the north and south will get together for the first time after the country's liberation and discuss serious problems that have a bearing on the future destiny of their country and nation; the background of the platform should be decorated in line with this; it would be a good idea to hang a map of Korea; it will give a visual image to the participants that ours is a territory that can never be cut into two parts; the map should not be drawn simply in lines depicting the territory and borders; it should show the major features like the main mountain ranges which are as good as the backbone of the Korean peninsula, as well as large rivers and plains.

A few days before the opening of the conference, he came to the Moranbong Theatre and looked round the venue of the conference.

Finding that a chilly draft was blowing from the platform down to the auditorium, he instructed that electric heaters

should be installed before the opening ceremony of the conference to make the platform warm, adding that making the platform and auditorium warm was important as many aged persons were to participate in the conference.

Looking at the marks on seats for representatives, he said the seats for those from south Korea should be arranged in such a way that they may not feel any inconvenience.

He dispatched many officials to the areas along the 38th Parallel to guide the south Korean delegates coming to the north through the strict cordon placed by the enemy. As the scheduled date for the conference approached and most of the representatives of the south arrived, the officials took them to Pyongyang, and reported the result to Kim Il Sung.

On learning that some were yet to arrive, he saw to it that opening of the conference was postponed five days so that even one more delegate could attend the conference.

The Joint Conference of Representatives of the Political Parties and Public Organizations in South and North Korea was held at the Moranbong Theatre in Pyongyang from April 19 to 23, Juche 37 (1948).

Well before the opening of the conference, delegates arrived at the theatre one after another.

In particular, those from south Korea were filled with deep emotion as they moved their steps to the theatre. The unforgettable Moran Hill in verdure with pine trees bearing the spirit of the sagacious Korean nation and the Taedong River meandering under the Chongnyu Cliff were still instilling in them national pride and self-respect. Some were whispering to one another that if they went up a little farther they could see the famous Ulmil and Choesung pavilions, and a man shouted,

pointing his finger at the beautiful Rungna Island. Some others felt the columns, walls and handrails of the theatre with their hands, expressing admiration at the fact that Koreans had built the wonderful structure after liberation.

They said in unison that they could feel the dynamic pulse of democratic construction in the north by seeing the theatre.

Entering the theatre, they were moved more greatly. The moment they saw a large map of Korea in the background of the platform, they keenly realized once again that the Korean nation is one, and that their country is a land of 3 000 *ri* which can never be divided.

Attending the conference were 695 representatives of 56 political parties and public organizations, embracing over 10 million members in the north and south of Korea. This was the first national event of its kind, in which personages of all social standings sat together to achieve the cause of national reunification transcending differences in political views and religious beliefs.

In the report, *On the Political Situation in North Korea*, Kim Il Sung emphasized that it was the greatest political task facing the Korean nation to reject and frustrate the treacherous elections to be enforced in south Korea by the enemy. And he continued: We must understand that if we fail to fight in unity and take measures for national salvation to repulse the foreign aggression at this grave, critical moment of national division, we shall be indelibly guilty in the eyes of the nation and posterity; we should exert all our efforts and wage a nationwide struggle to build a unified, independent sovereign state and set up a unified government on democratic principle.

The participants expressed their support to the report.

The conference made public a decision and an appeal on rejecting the separate elections in south Korea and establishing a unified government. It also organized a committee for fighting against the “separate elections and separate government” in south Korea, and adopted letters to the governments of the USSR and the US, demanding an immediate withdrawal of their troops from Korea.

The April north-south joint conference was of great significance in the history of united front of the Workers’ Party of Korea. It demonstrated that even though they may advocate different ideologies, ideals, political views and religious beliefs, the different political forces and the people of all social strata, including communists and nationalists, can unite in the struggle for the realization of the cause common to the nation and that if the whole nation is united the cause for national reunification can be realized.

At the Consultative Meeting of Leaders of Political Parties and Public Organizations in North and South Korea held at the end of April, following the joint conference, Kim Il Sung saw to it that a joint statement of political parties and public organizations in north and south Korea was adopted, elucidating the immediate measures such as the withdrawal of foreign troops and the establishment of a unified central government.

In the days when the joint conference was being held, he met delegates and individual figures from south Korea, and led them to the road of patriotism for national reunification.

Among them was Kim Ku. Before the country’s liberation, he had been occupying an important post in the Shanghai Provisional Government, and had communists murdered. In those days communists had shuddered at the very mention of

the name of this dyed-in-the-wool anti-communist. When he had received invitation to the north-south joint conference, he wavered as he was reminded of his sinful past. He sent his secretary to Pyongyang to inquire into how the north would treat people of the same career as his if they participated in the conference.

Kim Il Sung met his secretary, and said he would give a clean slate to the old man. And on hearing that he had crossed the 38th Parallel, Kim Il Sung got the conference recessed and continued after his arrival in Pyongyang.

Kim Il Sung had talks with him on several occasions.

Saying that while General Kim Il Sung was fighting with arms to achieve the country's independence, he and his men were engrossed in empty talk in Shanghai, China, in the past, he asked Kim Il Sung to forgive him for having been opposed to communists out of misunderstanding. He added that he could join hands with the communists in the north for national reunification, stressing that they were different from the communists whom he had met in the past. He also delivered a laudable speech at the joint conference.

During his last meeting with Kim Il Sung, Kim Ku said: I would like to remain in north Korea, but will return to south Korea because, if I remain the enemy might spread the misleading rumour that I am being detained by the north; I will fight back in south Korea and come to the north again if things are too hard; at that time please give me an orchard with which I can spend the rest of my life in peace.

He asked for a gift of paper and writing brushes needed for literature to arouse the people to the struggle against enemy moves for "separate elections and separate government" and for

the resumption of the supply of irrigation water to peasants in Yonbaek Plain in south Korea.

Kim Il Sung readily complied with his requests.

When Kim Ku offered him the seal of the Provisional Government in Shanghai, the latter asked him to keep it with him, adding that a deep trust of the masses of the people was all that he needed.

Saying that following General Kim Il Sung was the only road for the Korean nation, Kim Ku pledged to devote his all to the sacred cause for national unity and reunification in support of his leadership.

Kim Il Sung ensured that visits to different places were organized for representatives from south Korea so that they could see with their own eyes the heroic fighting spirit of the people in the north, who turned out in building a new, democratic Korea, as well as their happy life.

He said: As they have only heard the misleading propaganda by the enemy, they may not believe the explanation of the achievements made in the northern half; it would be a good idea to show them the Hwanghae Iron Works first.

One clear and bright day of April, the delegates from the south left Pyongyang for Songnim by a special train.

On the train a delegate from the south asked their guide the origin of the Hwanghae Iron Works.

The guide explained: The Japanese built the works on the Taedong River right after their occupation of Korea to produce pig iron and steel with the iron ore richly deposited in the area on the west coast; at that time a Japanese tycoon, called Kenji Hayashi (Rimgyomi in Korean) named the place Kyomiphong and the works Kyomiphong Iron Works; after the defeat of Japan

Kim Il Sung gave it the name of Hwanghae Iron Works in place of the disgraceful Japanese name, and also saw that the name of the place was changed to Songnim.

After listening to him, delegates from the south said that everything General Kim Il Sung was doing was for the country and the people.

A journalist from a newspaper company in Seoul told what he had witnessed while covering the iron works in the days of Japanese rule: The Japanese were working the Korean workers like beasts of burden and the Koreans were living in houses no better than dugouts; there were no sanitary facilities or welfare service amenities for workers in the compound of the works; many of the workers had been drafted from various parts of the country, including Jolla and Kyongsang provinces, in the name of “compulsory labour” or “Patriotic Corps;” many Japanese soldiers were on the watch lest the Korean workers run away; I had been to a restaurant for the use exclusively by the Japanese, and found that they were taking beer, spirits and meat which the Korean workers dared not to eat.

In the meantime the train arrived in Songnim.

While looking round the coke, furnace, steel, ceramics and construction workshops for two hours, the visitors expressed their admiration.

In particular, they were deeply moved as they heard from an old-time worker in the furnace workshop how they had reconstructed furnace 3.

When the defeated Japanese were taking flight, they put out the fire with molten iron inside the furnace. The furnace, molten iron and slag became one, spoiling the furnace itself. The Japanese claimed that it would be impossible to

reconstruct the furnace even in dozens of years.

The workers began to reconstruct it by their own efforts.

The first stage was to remove the slag mixed with iron. Though difficult, they managed to do it. Next was to rebuild the furnace. The Japanese had shipped and used fire bricks made in their country. But the workers manufactured fire bricks. The workers and technicians rebuilt with these bricks the furnace, which had been said to be done only by the Japanese technicians.

The first tapping ceremony took place on December 3, Juche 36 (1947), in the presence of Kim Il Sung.

Now time had come for the south Korean delegates to witness a tapping operation.

Seeing glowing molten iron flowing down, they all raised a cheer.

A delegate from the Democratic Independence Party of Korea took a smelter by his hands and said:

“We have become encouraged to see you working with vigour. Today we have witnessed a great reality. What does this reality tell? It tells that ours is a nation fully capable of achieving complete sovereignty and independence, that the road along which we can win independence is only this one, the one north Korea is now following. I have keenly realized that everything I witnessed today completely belongs to our nation, and think that you, workers and technicians, here have worked with such consciousness. I firmly believe that this great reality will crush all the false rumours spread in south Korea and demonstrate to the full the excellence of our nation.”

On his return to Seoul, a journalist, who looked round the Hwanghae Iron Works, wrote in his travel notes as follows:

I looked round all the facilities of this works in detail for two hours.

The Japanese imperialists, at the time of their defeat, fled without removing the molten iron from the three blast furnaces. Consequently, the blast furnaces became unable to be used again.

However, after liberation they were restored thanks to the sincere efforts of the workers.

...At present the works is turning out rails, which was impossible in the days of Japanese imperialism, steel materials to be used for building bridges, steel plates, zinc sheets, steel pipes, pig iron, coking coal and even chemical goods such as ammonium sulfate and naphthalene. Thus, the works, one of the biggest in the East, is under operation by our nation, not under foreigners' supervision nor by their efforts.

...At around 2 o'clock in the afternoon we were guided to a mess hall in the compound. Attached to this restaurant were a table tennis hall, library and lounge for workers. This building was used by the Japanese only. A rich meal, beer and spirits were on the tables for us. On the stage a brassband of workers welcomed us. In spite of myself, I shed tears: The works where the Japanese exploited our workers has become property of our nation, and in the mess hall where the Japanese ate to their fill, our workers are taking meals; they have organized their own music band and enjoy themselves.

The happy workers in north Korea have their own workplaces and are building the country free from any exploitation.

...At around 4 o'clock in the afternoon we left Songnim Railway Station. Houses in the vicinity of the station had

formerly been occupied by Japanese cadres in the days of Japanese imperialism. Now grandfathers, grandmothers, mothers and children—families of the workers—saw off our party, waving their hands through the windows and on the doors of these houses and on the streets.

They were shouting, “North-South Reunification” and “Sovereignty and Independence” and an old woman in her seventies was dancing. Along the railways the passers-by waved their hands, boy students shook the caps, a farmer ploughing the field waved his towel and a wagoner driving a carriage raised his hands aloft.

A man was beating a gong.

The train ran, carrying our deep emotion.

Who are hampering the north-south reunification? We made up our mind to fight against them.

On hearing the result of the visit to the Hwanghae Iron Works, Kim Il Sung said: Now that they witnessed the industrial development in the north, they should be given an opportunity to visit the rural community, a cornstarch factory, the Nampho Refinery renowned in the East as a plant with a chimney about 180m high, the school for the bereaved children of revolutionaries, and the newly-built film studio.

So the delegates from south Korea visited Chongsan-ri, a village with over 100 houses standing in row at the foot of a hill filled with peach trees. Many of the houses, formerly with straw-thatched roofs, had been rebuilt into tile-roofed houses after liberation.

They began to look round the houses.

When some of them dropped in a house, they found its grain storage full of rice sacks.

It was already past mid-April. Before liberation, the spring famine had been at its height in this period, so they thought their eyes were deceiving them.

A representative of the National Confucian Federation asked the host how he had managed to keep that amount of rice.

The host answered his family were cultivating about 2.7 hectares of paddy and dry fields distributed free of charge by the country, and of the harvested crops, the tax in kind had been paid and the remainder belonged to his family.

Some others, visiting another house, saw a wardrobe, quilts and a sewing machine in the living room; the kitchen was equipped with all necessary utensils. One of them switched on the lamp in the room, and another copied a farming plan hanging on the wall.

Reading a chart hanging on the wall of the democracy information hall, they learned that there were over 40 middle school students and 6 college students in this village.

One day Kim Ku and his party visited the school for the bereaved children of revolutionaries. In the school they were guided by the headmaster. The visitors were surprised to see him in the school, for they knew him too well.

The man had lived in exile, and once worked on the Provisional Government in Shanghai.

They were more surprised when they saw the son of Ryang Se Bong, who had been the commander of a unit of the nationalist Independence Army in south Manchuria.

Kim Ku made a clean breast of his excitement, saying:

“I shunned communists for no reason in the past. However, General Kim Il Sung accords preferential treatment to all the offsprings of the people who had been killed in the struggle

against the Japanese imperialists, irrespective of isms and doctrines, as children of patriotic martyrs, and brings them up to be pillars of the nation. The more I think of it, the more deeply I am moved by his affection and virtue which is as high as the sky and as deep as the sea. I've got it all: It is quite natural that his soldiers fought at the risk of their lives as there is a man who would bring up their flesh and blood left behind in the rough storms of the times to be masters of the future, taking care of them as one's own kinsfolk."

A great change also took place in the ideological viewpoint and attitude of Kim Kyu Sik, another prominent nationalist.

He had arrived in Pyongyang late for some reasons. For several days, he did not express his feelings willingly.

While seeing an artistic performance, visiting various places and participating in the Pyongyang mass rally held in support of the joint conference, he felt a lot, and at a banquet arranged by Kim Il Sung, he said:

"From now I'll dance to our tune....Dancing to our tune, not to the tune of others, is the best. As you have seen in the north, north Korea has laid a foundation for self-sufficiency. In the south, factories are shut down, producing nothing and looking for help from others; but as we see factories operating, the south looks like a family on the fall and the north, a family on the rise.

"Delegates from south Korea,

From now, let us fight more energetically along the line of national independence elucidated by General Kim Il Sung, the line along which the north is making brilliant achievements in democratic construction true to the instructions of our outstanding leader General Kim Il Sung."

On learning the great ideas and leadership of Kim Il Sung

and seeing the eye-opening reality of their embodiment while staying in north Korea, south Korean representatives said unanimously: “A distinguished leader brings about great realities.”

Following the joint conference, Kim Il Sung arranged another consultative meeting of leaders of the south Korean political parties and public organizations, who had participated in the north-south joint conference, on Ssuk Islet on the Taedong River in early May Juche 37 (1948).

The joint conference and the consultative meeting held in April took measures for saving the nation by frustrating enemy moves for “separate elections and separate government” and for preventing the division of the country, but did not discuss concrete practical measures for making a response if the enemy cobbled together a puppet government by all means in south Korea.

Many representatives were waiting for a solution to it.

Kim Il Sung thought that giving a solution to the question of establishing a unified government after foiling the enemy moves would consolidate the achievements of the joint conference and make the save-the-nation measures perfect, and arranged the meeting on Ssuk Islet.

That day he got on a boat first and helped south Korean representatives board it.

On the boat were Kim Ku, former president of the Provisional Government in Shanghai and now leader of the Independence Party of Korea, Kim Kyu Sik, former vice-president of the Provisional Government and now chairman of the Interim Legislative Assembly in south Korea and president of the National Independence League, Jo So Ang, Om Hang Sop, Jo

Wan Gu and Choe Tong O, who had each occupied important posts in the Provisional Government, and Hong Myong Hui, leader of the middle-of-the-road forces and the leader of the Democratic Independence Party, from the south side and Kim Chaek and other officials from the north side.

A delegate from south Korea, who was seeing figures from all walks of life with different political views on the same boat, exclaimed, “How dramatic it is! Those people who were standing in the vanguard of the anti-communist front up to yesterday are so pleased to be on the boat *Communism*.”

Until they crossed the river and landed on the islet, the south Korean representatives thought that Kim Il Sung was going to have a break in a quiet place to relieve them from the accumulated fatigue, both mental and physical. None of them imagined that the islet would become a historic place where concrete measures were discussed to carry out the decisions of the joint conference.

Among the south Korean representatives, there were some who wondered if it was out of sincerity without prejudice that the communists in the north advocated alliance and hosted the joint conference for reunification and national salvation.

Seeing through their minds, Kim Il Sung called on them to have a frank discussion about the future work, noting that their activities during their stay in Pyongyang were praiseworthy and patriotic.

Those from south Korea regretted their narrow-mindedness, and asked him what they wanted to know and expressed their innermost thoughts.

After listening carefully to them, Kim Il Sung said that all those who truly loved their motherland should rise up to

completely destroy the traitorous “separate elections.” If a “separate government” was established, a nationwide democratic election should be held and a central government established, he stressed, and clarified the concrete ways to this end.

All those present at the consultative meeting expressed their whole-hearted support to the strategy for the struggle to achieve the cause of national reunification and firmly pledged to carry it out.

The meeting on Ssuk Islet was a de facto all-Korea political consultative meeting, where an agreement was reached on founding a democratic people’s republic, and a historic gathering that marked a brilliant chapter in the history of the formation of a central unified government in the country.

After the north-south joint conference, all patriotic and democratic forces in the north and south turned out more vigorously in the struggle against the “separate elections” in south Korea.

Now that the enemy viciously moved to cobble together an illegal puppet government by forcibly holding “separate elections” in south Korea, a consultative meeting of leaders of political parties and public organizations in the north and south held in April Juche 37 (1948) adopted the Joint Statement of Political Parties and Public Organizations in North and South Korea, which clarified the immediate tasks for establishing a supreme power organ and unified central government.

The united front was formed, embracing all patriotic and democratic forces in the north and south of Korea, and a committee for fighting against the “separate elections and separate government” was formed.

Under the wise leadership of Kim Il Sung, the unity of the whole nation was achieved, and all the people in the north and south turned out as one in the struggle to build an all-Korea, central government, frustrating enemy moves; thus a rock-firm socio-political foundation was laid for the establishment of a supreme power organ and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The First Draft Constitution of the DPRK

In November Juche 36 (1947) Kim Il Sung set forth the task for drafting the first constitution, and accordingly a constitution drafting committee was formed.

A few days before the opening of the Third Session of the People's Assembly of North Korea, he met relevant officials. Analyzing the political situation prevailing in the north and the south of the country, he said that the forthcoming Third Session of the People's Assembly of North Korea would discuss the question of making preparations for drafting the constitution of Korea, and continued:

In these circumstances, our people should step up more forcefully the struggle for building a democratic and independent sovereign state on this land by founding a democratic people's republic as soon as possible in accordance with the political line of our Party, holding aloft the banner of independence; the question of making preparations for drafting the constitution of Korea that would be discussed at the upcoming Third Session of the People's Assembly of North Korea is a link in the whole chain of the struggle for establishment of the DPRK, the only lawful state for all the

Korean people; you should be fully aware of the significance of this work, and carry out the decision of the People's Assembly.

At the Third Session of the People's Assembly of North Korea held later, a serious discussion was conducted over the preparations for drafting the constitution, and decided that the constitution drafting committee set up by the session draft the constitution and the next session of the People's Assembly of North Korea deliberate and adopt it.

After the meeting Kim Il Sung paid close attention to drafting the constitution.

The work of drafting the first constitution was not all plain sailing.

At the time, senior officials of the departments and bureaus of the People's Committee of North Korea took active part in the work of the committee under the instructions of Kim Il Sung. However, all of them lacked the knowledge of what a constitution was and had not a correct view on the direction of drafting the first constitution of the country.

On acquainting himself with the fact that the work of drafting the constitution was making a slow progress, Kim Il Sung called some officials in late November. Stressing that in order to draft a good constitution, they themselves should be well aware of the purpose of drafting the constitution now and push ahead with the work, he said: Drafting the constitution is necessary above all else for consolidating by law the successes we achieved in democratic reforms in north Korea; the democratic socio-economic reforms which our people had only dreamed of in the past and for which the communists had long fought, shedding blood, was carried out successfully in north Korea, and their validity is being

demonstrated in reality although less than two years has elapsed since their enforcement; drafting the constitution is also necessary for bringing home to the people across the country what a constitution for a new Korea should be like, the principal law of a democratic, independent and sovereign state that would be founded through a nationwide struggle; the constitution should clarify the important, fundamental problems arising in state building, ranging from the form of a people-oriented and democratic state we are going to establish, the form of its power, the democratic rights and basic duties of citizens, to the national emblem and flag.

He continued that the Conference of Activists of Political Parties and Public Organizations under the Democratic National United Front of North Korea held in June elucidated what kind of government the future democratic and unified central government should be, and it would be conducive to drafting the constitution.

His instructions awakened the officials.

In the report, titled, ***What Should All Political Parties and Public Organizations Demand in Connection with the Building of a Democratic Provisional Government of Korea?*** he delivered at the Conference of Activists of Political Parties and Public Organizations under the Democratic National United Front of North Korea, Kim Il Sung had clarified in an all-round way the problems on the composition of a democratic, unified government and local power organs and its principle, on political freedom of the people, on the rights and duties of citizens, on liquidating the evil consequences of Japanese imperialist rule, on democratization of judicial organs, on the question of education and national culture and on the economic policy.

As problems that had already been translated into reality in north Korea, all these were fundamental problems that ought to be contained in the constitution, the principal law of the DPRK that would emerge in the near future.

However, some officials who lacked a firm independent stand until then were studying the constitutions of socialist and other people's democratic states, instead of starting from the proud, substantial achievements the Party and people of their country had made.

The officials pushed ahead energetically with the drafting of the constitution in the way of codifying the contents of the speech Kim Il Sung made on June 14, Juche 36 (1947).

Afterwards, Kim Il Sung met the officials on several occasions, acquainting himself with the progress of their work and giving his opinions on knotty problems.

The constitution was drafted in less than two months. What remained now was to hold the Fourth Session of the People's Assembly of North Korea and to discuss and adopt it there.

One day in early February Juche 37 (1948), prior to the session, Kim Il Sung met officials. He said that the People's Assembly of North Korea would meet soon, and that after the session was over, information work related with the session should be conducted in a flexible way, adding that the forthcoming session would not adopt the draft constitution but decide on putting the draft constitution on a nationwide discussion.

The officials were surprised, for an all-people discussion of a constitution was beyond imagination in bygone days.

Kim Il Sung continued: Bringing the draft constitution under an all-people discussion is possible only in a genuine people's country like ours, where the working masses are

masters of the power, masters of society; it will demonstrate to the whole world the people-oriented and democratic character of our power, our social system and our constitution; it will provide a wonderful opportunity for our people to take an active part in the political work of the country and for our constitution to reflect more fully the desires and will of the people; it will also constitute an important information and educational undertaking for fully explaining the constitution to the masses to make it their own by actively participating in the nationwide discussion.

As for the forms and methods of the discussion, he said: The discussion of the draft constitution could be held in different ways; what is essential here is to ensure that meetings for explaining the draft constitution are held in institutions, enterprises, schools, urban residential quarters and rural villages; those who take the floor should explain the draft constitution article by article and answer the questions raised; suggestions can be made collectively or individually; at the meetings the participants should make speeches in support of the constitution and make a determination to turn out in the building of a new democratic Korea, upholding this constitution; political parties and public organizations should make sure that information workers attached to them go among the members of their subordinate organizations to explain the constitution to them by different forms and in different ways, like a lecture, explanation, panel discussion, reading session and house-to-house visit.

At last an all-people discussion over the draft constitution was held.

Officials made scrupulous arrangements so that every

institution, enterprise, school, urban residential quarters and rural village held a meeting for explaining the draft constitution. Many people including officials of political parties, public organizations and people's committees went to these units and explained to the masses the constitution article by article.

People participated in the discussion of the draft constitution with extraordinary revolutionary enthusiasm, the number reaching over 7 460 000. They extended their whole-hearted support and approval to the draft constitution.

Letter of thanks, numbering over 6 680, were sent to Kim Il Sung, and over 58 000 resolutions were adopted in support of the draft constitution.

In the face of the suppression by the enemy, the discussion in south Korea was held in a clandestine way.

In a resolution, a public organization in south Korea expressed its full determination to fight to the last to enforce this draft constitution on a nationwide scale.

A special meeting of the People's Assembly of North Korea held in April 1948 decided to adopt the draft constitution as the Constitution of the DPRK to be founded in future.

In the Fifth Session of the People's Assembly of North Korea held on July 9, Juche 37 (1948), Kim Il Sung delivered a report, titled, *On the Adoption of the Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea*. And the session adopted a resolution on enforcing the Constitution.

On July 11, Juche 37 (1948), a grand mass rally was held in Pyongyang in the presence of Kim Il Sung in support of the decision of the Fifth Session of the People's Assembly of North Korea on adopting the DPRK Constitution.

Expressed at the rally were pledges to launch a nationwide

campaign to carry out the resolution of the Fifth Session of the People's Assembly of North Korea on adopting the DPRK Constitution, electing the Supreme People's Assembly, the supreme power organ for the whole of Korea, and establishing a unified central government.

The Meaningful Name of the Republic

One day in early July Juche 37 (1948), Kim Il Sung called some officials.

Noting that he had heard there were some who were complaining about the name of the republic, he said we need to find out who they were, and emphasized that the *Democratic People's Republic of Korea* was the name that had won absolute support and approval by all the people during the discussion of the constitution.

He continued: When founding the Party, we set forth founding a democratic people's republic as a task of the political line of the Party and have made steady efforts to realize it; however, there are some people who claims that "The name of the republic is too long," "Others have not named their republics in that way," and "It would be alright to call it either people's republic or a democratic republic by removing the word *people*;" the point is that they have said nothing about it while the constitution was being drafted, discussed and adopted; I asked them what criterion they had in mind when they were complaining that the name is too long, and they answered that they had no particular criterion in mind, but compared it to the names of other republics; they could say no more; this is an expression of shameful servility to big countries; there is no

need to look upon others when we can name our republic as masters and as suited to the specific situation of our country and the demands of our people; we should name our republic as desired by our people on the basis of our own principles; the name of a country is its official name, and it reflects the class nature of the state power and the form of the state; therefore, in order to name our republic properly it is essential to take into account both the fundamental purpose and immediate tasks of our revolution, and we should name it to suit the specific conditions of our country; the name *Democratic People's Republic of Korea* clearly reflects the independent, democratic and people-oriented character of our Republic.

He recounted the complicated situation that had prevailed immediately after the country's liberation.

When the Party's political line of founding a democratic people's republic was advanced, the people turned out vigorously with confidence in building a rich and powerful, independent and sovereign state.

However, the reactionary forces and factionalist elements of all shades manoeuvred to block the building of a people's power and a democratic, independent and sovereign state. Some of them insisted on naming the country *Empire of East Jin* or *Empire of Korea*, out of the wish to revive a feudal system and build a feudal state in liberated Korea. *Jin* was the name of a dynasty that had existed in the area south of the middle part of Korea in the period before and after Christ. At the time foreigners called Korea East Jin in the sense that it was the state of Jin in the east. The proposal for calling the country *Empire of Korea* was aimed at reviving the name of our country at the close of the feudal Josen dynasty.

The Rightist and “Leftist” assertions and moves of factionalist elements were another obstacle to the settlement of the question.

The factionalists came up with *Republic of Workers and Poor and Hired Peasants*, advancing a sophistry that socialist society had to be constructed at once in the favourable circumstances in which the international forces led by the working class had won the Second World War. It was a move designed to imitate others’ without any consideration of the present requirements and detailed situations of the development of the Korean revolution.

Some others advocated *people’s republic*, in step with the reactionary forces who were trying to establish a reactionary bourgeois government. *People* in *people’s republic* they were advocating was identical to *nation* touted by the reactionaries; they were attempting to include even the enemies of the people such as pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation in the definition of the word *people*.

Meanwhile, those in south Korea, with the backing of the foreign forces, moved to establish a bourgeois republic so as to steer the country along the road of anti-democracy.

Those, who had returned to Seoul after wandering about in Zhongqing and other places, carrying the plate of the “provisional government” they had put up in a foreign concession in Shanghai, argued that it should be the name of the government.

These people were raising their heads again now, when the drafting of the constitution was under way.

Kim Il Sung said: See how tenacious the moves of the people obsessed with factionalism are; those who have a

different opinion on the name of the republic are the factionalists as well as the reactionaries; they are saying the name is too long today, when the constitution is in the stage of being enforced first in all parts of north Korea; the name *Democratic People's Republic* is unique to our country; if it suits the specific reality of our country and is loved by our people, it is good whatever others may say; it is the most correct name that suits the character and duties of our revolution and the actual realities of our country.

Later, one day in early August, a meeting of the Party Central Committee discussed some problems in connection with the imminent work of founding the republic through general elections in the north and south. The factionalists raised the issue of removing the word *people* or *democratic* from the name of the republic. Their assertion was rejected by the absolute majority of the participants.

The meeting adopted *Democratic People's Republic of Korea* as the name of the state.

Dignified Three-Colour Flag

It was at the Third Session of the People's Assembly of North Korea held in November Juche 36 (1947) that the question of formulating the national flag of Korea was presented formally.

Presenting at the meeting the question of adopting a constitution, Kim Il Sung gave officials the task of designing the national flag and emblem of the Republic to be founded in future.

They soon began drawing up a design for the national flag,

but they found it much more difficult than they had expected. They referred to the flags of other countries, but they were not of much help because those were the ones of countries with different social systems. They were at a loss from the start for what form the flag should take and what ideological contents it should convey.

Kim Il Sung acquainted himself with the situation, and gave his opinions.

Our national flag should be absolutely a new one, a Korean one that is different from that of any other country in both form and content. It would be a good idea to use three colours—red, white and blue—for the flag, the red symbolizing the blood shed by the genuine revolutionaries of Korea, including the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters, for the country's freedom and independence, and our revolutionary forces that are rallied firmly around our Party, the white indicating that Korea is a state of a homogeneous nation with a time-honoured, glorious national culture, and the blue representing the brave stamina of the Korean people, who are struggling to achieve socialism and communism, and the sovereignty of our Republic. The design for the national flag is different from ordinary pictures, so proportions should be taken into account in designing to bring its lawfulness into bold relief.

Kim Il Sung's opinions shed a light to the creation of the design of the national flag.

The creative workers and officials reflected his opinions on the lines and colours of the design.

One day in January Juche 37 (1948), Kim Il Sung called officials again and acquainted himself with the details of the process of designing the national flag.

He learned that they chose the three colours for the flag, but they were yet to decide on their proportion.

Telling them to study the question of completing the design together with him, he said that as a whole the red, white and blue colours looked inharmonious, the white and blue colours holding a greater proportion as compared to the red. He added that the overwhelming colour should be the red colour, symbolic of the blood shed by the anti-Japanese revolutionary forerunners and other genuine revolutionaries of Korea who fought for the freedom and independence of their country and our revolutionary forces that were rallied firmly around the Party. He said the principle of ensuring the harmony and proportion between the lengths and widths and between colours as a whole should be established, instructing that it would be a good idea to draw the design by making the red panel the central axis and ensuring a symmetrical proportion of the size of white and blue stripes bordering it both above and below.

He spread out on his table three or four sheets of paper, on each of which a design of the flag was drawn with a pencil and coloured with colour pencils. Drawing one of them a little forward, he said that the proportion shown on it would be most reasonable and best to look at and continued: The ratio of the length to the width should be two to one, each of the blue stripes lying both above and below in symmetry be about one-sixth of its breadth and the rest be the red panel, lined with white stripes both above and below it in symmetry; it would be desirable to make the white stripes thinner yet more conspicuous than the present one and to set the ratio of the white to blue stripes as one to six.

Pointing to the white circle in the centre of the design, he said a five-pointed red star should be drawn in it, adding: A five-pointed star symbolizes the bravery and heroic spirit of our people who always emerge victorious and advance forward; some people insist drawing a plough in it; it is a silly remark; a plough is nothing but represents the bygone days; if it were a flag of a feudal state, it wouldn't matter, but it is never tolerable to draw a plough in the flag of our country, which aspires to become a prosperous and developing, democratic, sovereign and independent state; Mt Paektu and the sun in your design have a certain degree of meaning, but are not conspicuous in view of the composition; a five-pointed star is the best in every aspect; let's draw a red star in the white circle; the white circle is now placed at the centre; it would be a good idea to move it towards the hoist until the centre of the circle reaches one-third of the length of the flag; when the red star is placed near the hoist, it is possible to clearly demonstrate the mettle and spirit of our people who make advance, winning one victory after another.

The officials saw a vivid image of the completed version of the flag design, the flag of Korea that arouses a beautiful and sublime feeling with a five-pointed star, red panel and the symmetrical blue and white stripes forming a clear contrast to one another, the dignified flag symbolizing the bright future of the DPRK which would be prosperous under the leadership of Kim Il Sung.

In accordance with the decision on enforcing the Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the first national flag raising ceremony was held on July 10, Juche 37 (1948).

For the Completion of the Design for the National Emblem

Designing the national emblem underwent a course more complicated than during the designing of the national flag.

It had something to do with the schemes of the anti-Party factionalists, who were occupying important posts in the Presidium of the People's Assembly of North Korea.

In the early days of drafting the constitution, the creative workers were already making every effort to work out a design for the national emblem true to Kim Il Sung's instructions on designing so that it could demonstrate the unity and cohesion of the masses of the people based on the worker-peasant alliance and the prospects of development of the country with powerful modern industry and advanced agriculture.

They made a draft design of the emblem featuring a blast furnace and rimmed with ears of rice.

At that time, the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of North Korea, an anti-Party factionalist, availing himself of the opportunity of taking charge of the Constitution Drafting Committee, forced them to replace the blast furnace with the Kyongbok Palace. He then dwelt on all sorts of sophistry.

Kim Il Sung called an official, and asked him if he knew this fact.

When the official said he did not, Kim Il Sung said: That man urged them to make the shape and rim of the emblem to be round like that of Japan, not to decorate it with ears of rice at the rim, and, in particular, to draw nothing but the Kyongbok

Palace at its centre, adding that only then could it represent the Korean characteristics and enjoy support from the masses.

He continued: We must not draw the Kyongbok Palace in the design of our national emblem; it is preposterous to force to draw the royal palace of the feudal Joseon dynasty in the sacred national emblem symbolic of our Republic, a democratic, sovereign and independent state; the Kyongbok Palace had been built by the sweat of people's brow in the end of the 14th century when Ri Song Kye set up his dynasty and moved the capital to Seoul; after it had been burned down during a war the Regent Prince Taewon rebuilt it in the middle of the previous century by enlisting the confiscatory, heavy taxes, citizens of Seoul and even local peasants, numbering tens of thousands; it still bears people's grudge and curse.

On return, the official said to the designers emphatically that they should design the national emblem as indicated by Kim Il Sung without wavering in the least whatever others may say.

The draft design of the national emblem was completed in early February Juche 37 (1948), when the draft constitution was about to be put to public discussion. It featured a blast furnace and Mt Paektu of roughly the same size, with ears of rice at the rim and a five-pointed star at the top.

Looking at the design, Kim Il Sung said that he could feel the endeavour the creative workers had made to represent developed modern industry and agriculture in the emblem, adding that it looked modern and powerful as there was a blast furnace in it instead of the Kyongbok Palace that smelt of feudalism, and that it was a good and meaningful idea to add Mt Paektu and a five-pointed star to it. He said that although the

furnace represented the prospects of industrial development, it reflected only part of the industry, and therefore, further study was needed to find something that could comprehensively represent the prospects of development of industry and other sectors of the country as a whole. Pointing out that as the nationwide discussion of the draft constitution would soon be launched, he said it would not be bad to present the draft design for people's discussion while continuing the study.

Thus, the draft design of the national emblem featuring a furnace was made public by mass media. People absolutely supported the draft national flag, but many of them raised opinions about the national emblem. The opinions varied—the design looks complicated, dark and dull; as Mt Paektu and the blast furnace was drawn in the same size, it is not clear which highlights the main idea of the emblem; why should a furnace of all things be in the emblem when modern industry can also be represented by factories in the Hungnam area like the fertilizer factory; even railways or a big vessel can indicate a modern state.

On hearing the opinions of the people, Kim Il Sung said that the design bearing a blast furnace surely looked one-sided, and continued: As I said before, the blast furnace cannot show the orientation of the overall development of our country; this is why the masses raised their opinions; the eyes of the people are always full of wisdom; we should create a good national emblem which could be fully supported and welcomed by the people; in order to show the brilliant prospects of our country to be turned into a developed, prosperous and civilized one, it would be a good idea to reflect electrification in the national emblem; we have the world-class Suphung Power Station; if it

is drawn properly in the emblem, it will show the prospects of electrification in our country.

Later, newspapers introduced the design featuring the Suphung Power Station instead of a blast furnace.

Numerous people sent letters, in which they supported the new design as it was much better than the previous one presented at the time of discussion of the draft constitution.

Pleased with the people's opinion, Kim Il Sung said that everything the people favoured was good, and designing of the national emblem should be completed on the basis of the drawing made public through mass media.

A few days later he called officials to discuss how to complete the designing. Pointing to the defects of the draft design, he said: Although it reflects electrification, this design does not look concise and it is not well composed as a whole; a design is a kind of drawing, so the design of the national emblem should embody the aesthetic principle and requirements so that it looks beautiful, sublime, clear and concise; for this, the power station, symbolic of electrification, should not be placed in the lower part as it is now, but drawn to be bigger at the centre and a transmission tower should be drawn on the left against the background of water cascading from the dam; Mt Paektu should not be of the same size as the hydroelectric power station but be drawn to be a bit smaller in the background with beaming light of the five-pointed star; more grains of rice should be added to make the ears look richer; if a ribbon binds them in the lower part of the emblem and the name of our republic is inscribed on the ribbon in two rows, it will make its composition look more closely-knit and give more weight to it.

When the creative workers completed the design of the

national emblem, Kim Il Sung highly appreciated it, saying:

The national emblem is bright and beautiful as the name of the country implies; it fully reflects the characteristics of our country; the symbolic meaning of the class character of our state based on the worker-peasant alliance centring around the working class and the firm unity of our people is reflected well; it also represents the direction of the country's future development well; with more ears and grains of rice in it, it looks better; its ideological content is expressed harmoniously because of the well-knit composition, bright colours and beautiful ornament; with a beaming five-pointed star at the top and the inscription of the name of the republic at the centre of the lower part, it looks weighty and dignified; we can be proud of the national emblem in front of the eyes of the world.

Early in August Juche 37 (1948), in the lead-up to the elections of the Supreme People's Assembly and the founding of the DPRK, a meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea was held. Kim Il Sung reviewed the work of drafting the national flag and emblem. At the venue of the meeting the draft national emblem, along with the national flag, was on display.

Sharply criticizing the groundless assertions of the anti-Party factionalists, Kim Il Sung declared that the national emblem on display would be the one for the DPRK to be founded in future.

National Anthem

On August 16, Juche 35 (1946), the day after the first anniversary of country's liberation had been celebrated, Kim Il Sung told officials: It seems it was only a few days ago

that the cheers of liberation reverberated throughout this land and all the people were astir with deep emotion and delight, but one year has already passed; after I attended the national meeting that opened without the playing of our national anthem, I thought a lot; the national anthem ought to be sung or played at such political events; during the days of Japanese imperialist rule our people had to sing the Japanese national anthem at meetings; now that we have seized power in our hands and are building a new country, we must have our own national anthem that could be sung by our people; a national anthem can be called the song of a country, a song singing the praises of one's motherland; all nation-states have their own national anthems which praise their countries and sing the eternity of their systems; a national anthem can be defined as a song that the class in power institutes for the political purpose of consolidating their class rule, so it assumes an acute class character; as seen by the Japanese national anthem, national anthems of capitalist countries, those of imperialist countries in particular, are characterized by exclusive nationalism and aggressive ideas, while the national anthems of countries where the working people have seized power, without exception, are run through with boundless love for their countries; the national anthem to be sung by our people, who are liberated from colonial slavery and became the masters of their country, should be a people-oriented song full of their ardent admiration and noble love for their country.

Instituting such meaningful national anthem is a far more difficult and responsible undertaking than creating and propagating other songs; we need to organize a competent creative force and push ahead with this undertaking in real

earnest; it is important, above all else, to fully express that ours is a country of a beautiful silk-embroidered land of three thousand *ri* and with time-honoured history and culture; it should also portray the pride of our people in being a resourceful people who fought long with arms against the Japanese imperialist aggressors and at last liberated their country; it is also necessary to reflect the dignity and self-respect of the people in being the masters of their country and their ardent desire to build a rich and powerful, civilized country and as masters of the building of a new democratic Korea lead a happy life generation after generation and inspire them to love their country; *Patriotic Song*, the song to be the national anthem of a new democratic Korea should be composed so that it speaks volumes and feels solemn; its melody should be composed well so that it sustains the Korean-style melody and sublimates the ideological emotion of the people for the love of their country; it should describe the spirit of our resourceful people, the mettle of Korea, and express their firm and solemn determination to bring glory to the genuine people's country from generation to generation.

He repeatedly said that the text and music of the song should be created in this way.

Later, he called the creative workers again, and gave detailed instructions on the text of the song.

The creative workers arranged Kim Il Sung's instructions of that day for the lyrics of *Patriotic Song*, and creation of *Patriotic Song* reached the stage of completion.

One day in late June Juche 36 (1947), Kim Il Sung attended the audition of *Patriotic Song*. It was extremely hot, so an official brought an electric fan and switched it on. Looking at its

blades turning gently, Kim Il Sung asked others if it would be better to turn it off for the newly-composed *Patriotic Song* though it was hot.

The fan was turned off, and a solemn silence fell over the audience.

After listening to the solemn melody carefully, ruminating on the words line by line, Kim Il Sung said that it would be a good idea to repeat the lines from *Our people ever were renowned and sage* to the end.

He added: As our country has a long history and splendid national culture, how can those lines be sung only once, it is too monotonous; repeating the lines once again would add more not only to the effectiveness of the melody and the musical harmony but also to the solemnity of the song, instilling national pride and dignity into the people singing it.

Born thus was *Patriotic Song*, the national anthem of the DPRK.

Patriotic Song began to be sung at the same time with the proclamation of the Constitution of the DPRK and the unified central government for all Korea, and the start of the use of the national flag and emblem.

North-South General Elections

The “separate elections” held in south Korea on May 10, Juche 37 (1948), were frustrated by the unyielding struggle of all the people, but the enemy cobbled together a south Korean government by fabricating the results of the “elections.”

The south Korean government set up illegally under the protection of the bayonet of the foreign forces was a treacherous

“government” made up of vicious traitors to the nation, a puppet “government” wirepulled by the foreign forces and, an anti-popular, reactionary “government” that represented the interests of only a handful of landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats. As regards the “National Assembly,” it was composed of 84 landlords, 32 capitalists, 23 former pro-Japanese bureaucrats, and extremely Rightist reactionary elements and political careerists. There was no one who hailed from the workers and peasants, who made up the overwhelming majority of the south Korean population.

Establishment of the government in south Korea was a direct product of the policy of the foreign forces on aggression and division of the Korean nation.

The prevailing situation urgently demanded that the Korean people take more positive and decisive save-the-nation measures to prevent the territorial partition and national division and achieve their independent national reunification. This pressing demand could be met only by the establishment of the government of the DPRK, the central government for all Korea. Only then was it possible to lay bare the unlawfulness of the government in south Korea, establish a lawful central government representing the interests and opinions of all the people in the north and south of Korea, wage a more energetic struggle for the independent reunification of the country by firmly rallying all the people under the banner of the republic, and consolidate the solidarity with the international revolutionary forces.

The founding of the DPRK also posed as a matured demand of utmost urgency of the revolutionary development.

During the three years after liberation the socio-economic

foundations of the people's power was consolidated thanks to the successes achieved in the revolution and construction, and its political foundation was further cemented as the political and moral unity between the worker-peasant alliance, led by the working class, and the masses of the people was hardened. In the course of this, a large number of hard-core, revolutionary elements were trained and the broad sections of the masses were awakened, resulting in the revolutionary forces growing as a whole. With the development of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army into modern regular revolutionary armed forces, a firm military foundation was laid for building an independent and sovereign state.

As great socio-economic changes were brought about and solid foundations for building a prosperous independent state were laid in the northern half during the three years, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people were faced with the historic task for developing the revolution onto a new high and win the nationwide victory of the revolution.

This task urgently demanded establishment of a unified central government in the country.

On the basis of an analysis of the prevailing political situation and matured demand of the revolutionary development, Kim Il Sung took decisive measures for implementing the Party's political line of organizing a supreme legislative body and founding a democratic people's republic through general elections in the north and south of Korea.

At the conference of leaders of political parties and public organizations of north and south Korea held on June 29, Juche 37 (1948), Kim Il Sung set forth the policy of establishing an all-Korea unified central government without delay. He

expounded the detailed methods and means for holding general elections in the north and south of Korea as required by the different situations prevailing in the north and south.

The conference recognized that this policy was the only correct one for overcoming the crisis prevailing in the country, declared that the “separate elections” in south Korea was illegal, and adopted with a unanimous approval the decision on holding general elections in the north and south as early as possible and founding a unified democratic people’s republic. And to ensure the general elections a success, the conference took detailed measures for holding free elections by secret ballot based on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage in the northern half and in the southern half electing representatives to the people’s representative conference by means of obtaining the voters’ signatures before electing deputies to the Supreme People’s Assembly by secret ballot at the conference.

The general elections were held across the country.

The elections in the northern half were held in the circumstances in which democratic freedom and rights were ensured completely.

To organize and mobilize all the patriotic and democratic forces to the struggle for victory in the elections, the Workers’ Party of Korea and the people’s government strengthened unity in action with other political parties and social organizations, and ensured that all political parties and social organizations under the Democratic National Unified Front nominated joint candidates.

Voters in the Sungho Constituency of Kangdong County, South Phyongan Province, nominated Kim Il Sung as a candidate for deputy to the Supreme People’s Assembly on July

24. This constituted an important occasion in boosting the political zeal of all the people for smooth nomination of other candidates and in ensuring victory in the elections.

Kim Il Sung visited the Sungho Constituency on August 23, Juche 37 (1948), and made a speech, titled, *On the Eve of the Elections to the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea*, before the voters.

In the speech he expounded the significance of the elections to the highest organ of state power representing and defending the interests of all the people in the north and south of Korea in the severe situation, which was created owing to the colonial enslavement policy and manoeuvres for national division pursued by the enemy. He also clarified the tasks and duties facing the Supreme People's Assembly to be elected and its people-oriented and democratic character.

The general elections in south Korea started with electing representatives for the election to the Supreme People's Assembly in the way of obtaining signatures first.

The election of representatives was conducted amid terrorism and repression by the enemy.

A representative of worker origin, who had participated in the people's representative conference of south Korea, recounted workers taking part in the election in this way:

“We workers participated in this election more bravely than anyone else because we are well aware how important the establishment of a unified legislative body and unified government is in building a reunified Korea. When the election started, activists in the Inchon dock went to workshops and conducted an election campaign with ardent zeal. Consequently, all the dockers, numbering over 4 000, went to the poll.

Workers of major factories organized information squads and held the election competitively.”

The general elections to the Supreme People’s Assembly conducted in the whole area of north and south Korea on August 25 ended with success.

In north Korea 99.97% of the entire electorate participated in the election to the Supreme People’s Assembly. In south Korea 77.52% of the entire electorate participated in the election of the representatives in defiance of the severe repression and terrorism of the enemy. The elected representatives gathered in Haeju and held the people’s representative conference, and elected deputies to the Supreme People’s Assembly by secret ballot.

On the basis of this, the Supreme People’s Assembly was established.

To see the social composition of the deputies by percentage, it was 20.9 for workers, 34 for peasants, 26.7 for office employees, 5.8 for men of culture, 5.1 for entrepreneurs, 3.84 for merchants, 1.24 for handicraftsmen and 2.4 for clergymen.

The Supreme People’s Assembly was a genuine people’s representative body and the supreme legislative body, which reflected and championed the unanimous will of all the Korean people.

Its establishment was an important political event in further expediting democracy construction in north Korea, further strengthening the struggle against the enemy and arousing all the Korean people to the nationwide struggle for the country’s reunification, independence and democratization in the political situation in which a grave crisis of national division was created, and further in building a democratic, sovereign and independent state.

September 9, 1948

The First Session of the Supreme People's Assembly for founding the DPRK was held in a grand way in Pyongyang from September 2 to September 10, Juche 37 (1948).

On September 8, Kim Il Sung made public *Statement on the Transfer of Power*, in which he transferred the power and rights of the People's Committee of North Korea to the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK.

In the statement he reviewed the brilliant successes and achievements scored in north Korea during the three years after liberation emphasizing that the People's Committee of North Korea had faithfully carried out its duties, and said that the exploits of the Korean people in the struggle to build a new country under the leadership of the People's Committee of North Korea would shine for ever in the history of their nation building.

The Supreme People's Assembly fully supported and approved his statement, and declared the founding of the DPRK on September 9.

It elected Kim Il Sung, the sun of the nation and legendary hero, Premier of the Cabinet of the DPRK, head of state, reflecting the unanimous will and desire of all the Korean people.

All the Korean people welcomed it enthusiastically, regarding holding high the great leader, who had devoted his all to the freedom and emancipation of the people and the prosperity of the country and nation, as the greatest happiness and the highest honour.

On the authorization of the Supreme People's Assembly, Kim Il Sung formed the government of the DPRK, a unified

central government of the Korean people.

The Cabinet of the type of coalition embraced representatives of major political parties and social organizations in the north and south of Korea. It was the highest executive organ of state power that would directly carry out the policies of the Workers' Party of Korea. The departmental executive body of the Cabinet consisted of the State Planning Commission, Ministry of National Defence, Ministry of State Inspection, Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Industry, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, Ministry of Commerce, Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, Ministry of Judiciary, Ministry of Culture and Information, Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Public Health and Ministry of Urban Management.

The Supreme People's Assembly also adopted the Constitution of the DPRK with unanimous approval.

The constitution consisted of 10 chapters and 104 articles—fundamental principles, basic rights and duties of citizens, the highest organ of state power, the central executive organs, the local organs of power, the court and public prosecutors office, state budget, national defence, national emblem, national flag and capital.

The constitution reflected the achievements of democratic reforms of historic significance in north Korea representing the future of a reunified Korea, and consolidated them legally.

It confirmed legally the great political victory achieved by the Korean people under the wise leadership of Kim Il Sung and the economic reforms including the land reform and the nationalization of industries. It also proclaimed that all citizens

enjoy equal rights in all domains of the political, economic and social life, irrespective of differences in gender, nationality, ideology and religious belief, property status and educational qualifications.

At the session the Political Programme of the DPRK Government was announced.

The DPRK Government is guided by the immortal Juche idea, the revolutionary ideology authored by Kim Il Sung, and regards it as its principle to maintain the revolutionary line of independence, self-sufficiency and self-reliance in defence in all fields of the activities of the state. As a government which inherited the brilliant revolutionary traditions of the glorious anti-Japanese struggle, it is a precious asset the Korean people, under the wise leadership of Kim Il Sung, gained through an arduous struggle against the internal and external enemies. It is the most democratic government that relies on the unified forces of all the people, based on the worker-peasant alliance guided by the working class, and an independent government that applies the thoroughgoing principles of independence, self-sufficiency and self-reliance in defence in its foreign and domestic policies, and is established in the interests and by will of all the Korean people. It is a patriotic and anti-imperialist government which is faithful to the genuine interests of the people in the north and south of Korea and to the international revolution, and a genuine people's government that represents and champions the interests of the working people including the workers and peasants.

The DPRK government enjoys the unanimous support and love from all the Korean people, and the DPRK is the one and only legitimate state of the homogeneous Korean nation.

The Korean people celebrated the founding of the DPRK in all parts of the country.

On September 12, Pyongyang, the capital city, witnessed a mass rally held in the presence of Kim Il Sung to celebrate the establishment of the DPRK government.

In the speech, titled, *Let Us All Unite Firmly around the Government of the Republic and March Forward to Build a Democratic Korea*, Kim Il Sung emphasized that the founding of the DPRK and the establishment of the Central Government were the fruits and great victory of the united struggle of the people across Korea for their country's reunification, freedom and independence, and clarified again the tasks facing the DPRK government and the Korean people.

With a firm belief that the Government of the Republic would faithfully perform its sacred and honourable national tasks, he called on all the people to march forward towards the triumphant building of a democratic Korea, united firmly around the Government of the Republic.

That day mass rallies and demonstrations were held in various parts of the country, and 5 351 500 working people participated in them. Representatives of workers, peasants, youth, women and people of other social strata expressed their support to the establishment of the government headed by Kim Il Sung, calling it a great event that would shine for ever in the history of the Korean nation.

After the declaration of the founding of the DPRK, democratic political parties and social organizations in south Korea, in reflection of the will and desire of the south Korean people, released statements one after another, in which they welcomed the national event.

CONCLUSION

The 70-year history of the DPRK is the history of great struggle and victory, the history of great creation and transformation, in which the Korean people have defended the sovereignty and honour of their country and built a prospering socialist power, breaking through the storms of revolution.

The whole period, from the earliest days of laying the foundations for nation building to the present of building a socialist power, was beset with unprecedented difficulties and hardships and a fierce stand-off with the imperialist aggressive forces, but under the seasoned leadership of President Kim Il Sung and Chairman Kim Jong Il, Korea opened up a new path of accomplishing the cause of independence against imperialism, socialist cause, and achieved undying exploits, creating historic miracles on this road.

Kim Il Sung put forward an original line of establishing a genuine people's government in colonies and semi-colonies for the first time in history, and wisely organized and led the struggle for its realization. He also founded the DPRK in the liberated country and strengthened and developed it, thereby establishing the socialist system centred on the masses, which is the most advantageous in the world.

Chairman Kim Jong Il glorified it as a Juche-oriented socialist power by firmly defending the DPRK, which President Kim Il Sung founded and developed, from the imperialist

moves to isolate and stifle it, and further developing it.

Today the 70-year history of the DPRK resplendent with victory and glory is being carried forward by Supreme Leader Kim Jong Un, demonstrating its majestic appearance as a fortress of independence, the bulwark of socialism, to the whole world.

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Author: Choe Yong Thae

Editor: Kim Jun Hyok

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