# HISTORY OF REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES OF PRESIDENT KIM IL SUNG

PYONGYANG, KOREA
JUCHE 101 (2012)

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# PREFACE

Kim Il Sung, the great leader of the Korean people, was the author of the Juche idea and Songun idea, pioneer of the revolutionary cause of Juche, founder of socialist Korea and eternal President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Devoting his life to the cause of the independence of the masses for 70 years since he embarked on the road of the Korean revolution in his early teens, he piled up outstanding imperishable exploits.

He pioneered the revolutionary cause of Juche by force of arms; he defeated Japanese imperialism in his thirties to liberate Korea and the self-styled "mightiest" US imperialism in his forties to defend the security of his country and sovereignty of his nation.

He led the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, socialist revolution and socialist construction to victory, thus establishing a socialist system, in which the masses of the people have become the masters of everything and everything serves them, and a powerful socialist country, independent, self-supporting and self-reliant in national defence. By frustrating at every step the imperialists' and other hostile forces' schemes to isolate and stifle the DPRK, he staunchly defended the Korean style of socialism centred on the masses and demonstrated its might across the world.

He brought the problem of succession to the revolutionary cause of Juche to a brilliant solution, and rendered outstanding contributions to expediting the independent reunification of his country and the cause of the independence of other peoples all over the world.

Regarding **"The people are my God"** as his motto during the whole period of his revolutionary career, he always shared good times and bad with his people, did everything for their benefit, and devoted his all to the prosperity of his country and the well-being of his people till the last moment of his life.

For the imperishable achievements he made for his country and fellow people and for the times and history, Kim Il Sung will always live in the hearts of mankind as the sun of Juche.

The Editorial Board, greeting the centenary of his birth this year (2012), publishes the English version of the *History of Revolutionary Activities of President Kim Il Sung* which was published in Korean in April 2011.

Editorial Board

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# CHAPTER 1. BIRTH OF KIM IL SUNG AND OPENING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE OF JUCHE

(April 1912–December 1931)

## 1. Birth and Growth of Kim Il Sung

Kim Il Sung, founder of socialist Korea, was born at Mangyongdae, Pyongyang, on April 15, 1912.

His family was a patriotic and revolutionary one, which made it the family tradition to imbue its children with the spirit of loving the country, the nation and the people from generation to generation.

All the members of the family–his great-grandfather, grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, uncle, younger brother, and his maternal grandfather and uncle–fought bravely in the van of the struggle against foreign aggressors for the independence of the country and the freedom and well-being of its people. They were all ardent patriots and revolutionaries.

His great-grandfather, Kim Ung U, was a patriot who led the struggle to sink the US aggressors' ship *General Sherman* and to repel the US warship *Shenandoah* which sailed into the Taedong River, the gateway to Pyongyang, in the latter half of the 19th century.

His grandfather, Kim Po Hyon, and grandmother, Ri Po Ik, were also patriots who put their children on the road of revolution and gave active assistance to their revolutionary struggle, themselves fighting against the Japanese imperialists.

His father, Kim Hyong Jik, was a leader of the anti-Japanese national liberation movement of Korea who devoted his whole life to the struggle for the independence of the country and the freedom and liberation of its people.

Having embarked on the road of revolution in his early days with the idea of *Jiwon* (Aim High–Tr.) as his life motto, Kim Hyong Jik on March 23, 1917 formed the Korean National Association, an anti-Japanese underground

revolutionary organization which was most steadfast in the anti-imperialist, independent stand and the largest of its kind in and outside the country at the time, and had a solid mass foundation. In line with the requirements of the new situation which emerged after the March First Popular Uprising in 1919, he played the role of pioneer in changing the course of the anti-Japanese national liberation movement of the Korean people from the nationalist to a proletarian one, put forward a policy on armed struggle and exerted devoted efforts to the very last moment of his life to unite the armed units and achieve the unity and cohesion of the anti-Japanese patriotic forces.

Kim Il Sung's mother, Kang Pan Sok, was a leader of the women's movement in Korea, who dedicated her all to the struggle for the victory of the Korean revolution and the social emancipation of women. She organized the anti-Japanese Women's Association, the first revolutionary women's mass organization in Korea, and waged a relentless struggle for the country's liberation and women's social emancipation. Despite dire poverty and ceaseless persecution by the Japanese police, she assisted with all her might and devotion the revolutionary activities of her husband Kim Hyong Jik and her son Kim Il Sung.

Kim Il Sung's uncle Kim Hyong Gwon and younger brother Kim Chol Ju were also resolute revolutionary fighters who joined the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle early in life.

Kim Il Sung's maternal grandfather Kang Ton Uk and uncle Kang Jin Sok were anti-Japanese patriotic fighters, too.

Kim Il Sung's family was a popular one whose members were diligent and frugal, and set great store by humanitarianism.

Engaged in tenant farming for generations, this family was very poor. But they earned a living by honest and diligent work, and valued noble character and humanitarianism, regarding it as their family philosophy that a man can live without money, but not without humanitarianism. The family was warm-hearted and always ready to help one another and its neighbours.

Kim Il Sung's home was the soil where his revolutionary ideas and traits as a great man sprouted, and the cradle of revolution where the Juche bloodline struck root.

When he was born as the eldest son of his family, his father Kim Hyong Jik named him Song Ju (*Song* means to become, and *Ju*, pillar–Tr.), aspiring for him to become a pillar of the country.

Under the revolutionary influence of his parents, through hard study and experience of contemporary social phenomena full of contradictions and

through the revolutionary struggle against the Japanese imperialists, Kim Il Sung grew up to be a great revolutionary.

He said:

**"I was educated in patriotism by my parents and was under their revolutionary influence from my early years. In the course of seeking for truth, with such an education and influence, and of witnessing social phenomena full of injustice and conflict, I came to sympathize with humiliated people and to hate imperialists, landowners and the capitalist class who oppressed and exploited the people, and determined to devote my life to the struggle to liberate the people."**

His parents told him about their country with its beautiful mountains and limpid rivers, about the resourceful and brave Korean nation with its 5 000-year-long history, about the people and patriotic generals who had bravely fought against the feudal rulers and foreign aggressors, about the brilliant traditional culture which had enriched the treasure-house of world culture, about the brutal colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists in Korea and their national discrimination, and about the ruthless exploitation by the landlords and capitalists. This nurtured in young Kim Il Sung the spirit of loving his country and nation, and hating the enemy.

His father's injunction that Koreans should always cherish the soul of Korea, and liberate their country and build a new society for themselves by their own efforts imbued Kim Il Sung with a thoroughgoing consciousness of national independence. His father's stories about Lenin and the October Socialist Revolution, and the Soviet Union, where socialist ideals had been realized, gave him a yearning for a new society where the people would be the masters. He witnessed the dignified attitude of his father who awed the Japanese imperialists even when he was being arrested for the incident of the Korean National Association; he saw the fortitude of his mother who fearlessly resisted the Japanese policemen who brutally raided and searched the house after his father's arrest; he was also impressed by the unyielding fighting spirit of his father in Pyongyang Prison, who did not abandon his principles despite his sufferings in the prison. All this further hardened his hatred against the Japanese imperialists. His father never stopped fighting for a moment, even when he was ill in bed, saying that one must never give up the lofty aim one set at the beginning, and must liberate the country without fail, even if one's flesh were torn to shreds and ground to pieces; his boundless loyalty to the revolution, revolutionary faith and strong willpower exerted a great influence on his young son.

Kim Il Sung experienced a bitter life, and witnessed the sufferings and miseries of his country and people under Japanese imperialist colonial rule. In the course of this, he fostered anti-Japanese patriotic ideas and class consciousness, and cherished the lofty aim of taking the road of revolution.

The 1910s was the darkest period of Korea's national tragedy, during which its people were reduced to colonial slaves, deprived of their country by the Japanese imperialists. Korea was turned into a sanguinary prison, into a hell of death.

Kim Il Sung's family, like others, worked hard on the farm, but their lives were poverty-stricken and miserable. This enabled Kim Il Sung to keenly perceive the reactionary nature of Japanese imperialist colonial rule and the contradictions inherent in a society subjected to exploitation.

The March First Popular Uprising in 1919 was an important turning point in Kim Il Sung's development. He walked scores of kilometres alongside the resistance marchers from Mangyongdae to the Pothong Gate. The people's brave, unyielding struggle against the Japanese aggressors and the heinous brutalities of the Japanese policemen killing recklessly the bare-handed masses with bayonets made him cherish the spirit of resistance against the Japanese imperialists, and the self-sacrificing fighting spirit and heroic mettle of his nation sank deeply into his mind.

As he moved to Junggang in northern Korea and then Linjiang, Badaogou and Fusong in Manchuria with his parents, who were engaged in revolutionary activities, he felt bitterly the sorrow and pain of the ruined Korean people.

On March 16, 1923, in compliance with his father's intention, he left Badaogou and reached Mangyongdae on March 29, after a 14-day journey on foot of 400 km. On this trek, he got acquainted with the fact that the Korean people are really kind-hearted and have a high moral sense.

In his homeland, he attended the Changdok School at Chilgol. While studying the history, geography and culture of Korea, he gained the valuable insight that the Korean people are simple, diligent and yet brave and stout-hearted, unyielding in the face of difficulties and ordeals of any description, polite and tender-hearted, and are resolute and uncompromising with regard to injustice. While witnessing the bloody resistance offered by workers, peasants, youth and other broad sections of the masses against the Japanese imperialists, he learned about his people's national dignity and will to achieve their country's independence, which could not be broken by any means, and he affirmed that the country could be liberated by Koreans themselves if they were properly organized and enlisted.

Witnessing the atrocities committed by the Japanese aggressors under the signboard of "civil government," he clearly realized that the Japanese imperialists were the most heinous stranglers of the freedom and dignity of the Korean nation, and vicious exploiters and plunderers who subjected the Korean people to poverty and hunger, and was convinced that the Korean nation could drive out the Japanese imperialists only by means of struggle and lead a happy life in an independent country.

Informed that his father had been arrested by the Japanese police, he left Mangyongdae on January 22, 1925 and trekked 400 km. He crossed the Amnok River on February 3. This was a historic turning point, marking his embarkation on the road of revolution.

He recalled later:

**"I crossed the Amnok River when I was 13, firmly determined not to return before Korea became independent. Young as I was, I could not repress my sorrow as I sang the *Song of the Amnok River* written by someone and wondered when I would be able to tread this land again, when I would return to this land where I had grown up and where there were our forefathers' graves."**

He acquired the qualities and traits of a revolutionary through hard study and revolutionary practice.

He read many books in his early years while studying hard his school subjects. He read the *Biography of Lenin*, *The Fundamentals of Socialism*, *The Revolutionary History of Russia and Lenin*, *Great Men of Korea*, *Biographies of Korean Heroes* and other biographies of famous patriotic generals of Korea and famous men of other parts of the world, as well as revolutionary novels. In this process, he developed a discerning eye and an independent view on social phenomena and revolutionary struggle. Particularly, in compliance with his father's intention, he mastered the Chinese language at an early age.

He carried out difficult revolutionary assignments given to him by his father at the same time as disseminating anti-Japanese patriotic ideas among the students and the broad sections of the masses and educating them. This practical struggle enabled him to foster his firm revolutionary will.

On June 5, 1926 his father died. To Kim Il Sung, Kim Hyong Jik was not merely a father but at the same time a teacher and leader who had led him along the path of the revolution, and the relationship between them was one between revolutionary comrades, transcending blood ties. This bereavement left him with great pain incomparable to anything.

However, he drew strength from the extraordinary heritage his father had

left him–the idea of "Aim High," preparedness for three contingencies (death from hunger, from a beating and from the cold), the idea of gaining comrades and two pistols–and he firmly resolved to devote his all to the sacred struggle for the country's liberation true to his father's instructions.

## 2. Beginning of Revolutionary Activities and the Down-with-Imperialism Union

In mid-June 1926, Kim Il Sung moved from Fusong to Huadian to attend Hwasong Uisuk School in compliance with his mother's desire for him to continue his studies whatever the cost, to be faithful to her husband's last request that their son be sent to a secondary school and on recommendation of his father's friends who had made efforts to realize his own hope to go to a higher school.

Koreans can defeat the Japanese imperialists only through military confrontation, and I can stand in the front rank of the independence movement only when I have military knowledge–such was the view Kim Il Sung cherished when he was entering Hwasong Uisuk School, a military and political school.

Kim Il Sung analyzed and judged the education provided by Hwasong Uisuk School from a unique point of view and a critical approach.

Hwasong Uisuk School gave education in nationalist ideas and outmoded military training reminiscent of old Korea, and what disappointed Kim Il Sung most was the ideological backwardness of the school. The school authorities clung to nationalist ideas, rejecting advanced ones for no good reason. The limitations of Hwasong Uisuk School revealed the limitations of the nationalist movement itself. Kim Il Sung could see the whole picture of the nationalist movement through the school, and the expectations he had entertained of Hwasong Uisuk School gradually crumbled.

Realizing that the country's independence could not be achieved by the outdated methods of the nationalist campaigners, he made energetic efforts to find a new way for the liberation of the country. He avidly read *The Communist Manifesto* and other books on Marxism-Leninism, and studied the revolutionary principles expounded in these classics in connection with the actual situation in Korea. In the course of this, he was convinced that the way

for the Korean revolution lay in overthrowing Japanese imperialism, liberating the country and building a new society where the masses of the working people, including workers and peasants, would be well-off.

Further, he considered it necessary to train faithful revolutionaries of a new generation, unaffected by sycophancy and factionalism, in order to pave a new way for the Korean revolution, and started this work among the students of Hwasong Uisuk School.

He explained to them the socialist idea in connection with the practical issues arising in the Korean revolution, and brought them to a correct view and attitude towards the Korean revolution. As a result, the tendency of yearning for a new trend of thought increased day by day among the students, and the majority of them adopted this advanced idea.

Kim Il Sung personally met the students who were sensitive to the new trend of thought and yearned for the socialist idea one by one to exert a revolutionary influence on them, and rallied many revolutionary comrades with whom he would share ideas and life.

In the course of this, a way of independent development for the Korean revolution was explored and a hard core of a revolutionary vanguard organization was prepared.

Late in September 1926 he called a meeting of the core elements by the Huifa River, where he clarified the necessity of forming an organization that would undertake the Korean revolution, and emphasized pushing forward the preparations for its formation. On October 10 he convened a preparatory meeting. At the meeting he submitted for discussion the name, character, fighting programme and rules of conduct for this new organization.

On this basis he formed the Down-with-Imperialism Union (DIU) on October 17, 1926 in Huadian.

At the inaugural meeting, he delivered a speech, titled, ***Let Us Overthrow Imperialism***. In the speech, he said that as it assumed, in name and in fact, the mission of overthrowing imperialism, the organization must set as its immediate task the destruction of Japanese imperialism, the sworn enemy of the Korean people, and achievement of Korea's liberation and independence, with the ultimate aim of building socialism and communism in Korea and, further, destroying all imperialists and building communism throughout the world. He stressed that in order to carry out this fighting programme it was imperative to unite the members of the union ideologically and volitionally, and at the same time reinforce the organization with reliable young people who were determined to devote themselves wholeheartedly to the struggle against

Japanese imperialism. He also said that the members should observe the rules of organizational life.

The printed Rules of the DIU were distributed among the attendants.

According to the unanimous opinion and desire of all the members, Kim Il Sung was elected head of the DIU.

The DIU was a genuine communist revolutionary organization of a new type, and the first of its kind in Korea.

Thanks to the formation of the DIU, the Korean revolution was able to advance along the road of independent development, based on a clear-cut fighting objective and a correct strategy. Moreover, it enabled the Korean people to carve out their own destiny on their own responsibility as the motive force of history. The formation of the DIU served as the starting point of the struggle to found a party in Korea and a declaration of a life-and-death struggle to overthrow Japanese imperialism by force of arms. This was the root of the Workers' Party of Korea.

## 3. Training Communists of the New Generation and Awakening and Organizing the Masses

After embarking on the road of revolution, Kim Il Sung pushed ahead with the training of communists of the new generation, with Jilin as the centre of his revolutionary activities.

As the capital of China's Jilin Province, Jilin was one of the political, economic and cultural hubs of Northeast China, as well as a centre of political activities for the anti-Japanese independence champions and communists of Korea active in Manchuria.

Early in December 1926, after the DIU members had arranged to meet in Jilin later, Kim Il Sung left Huadian to promote the revolutionary movement to a higher stage under the banner of the DIU. His leaving Hwasong Uisuk School after only six months was his first great decision in his life.

On his way to Jilin he stopped at Fusong, where he conducted energetic organizational and political activities to bring the programme of the DIU to fruition. He formed the Saenal Children's Union, the first children's revolutionary organization in Korea, on December 15, and helped his mother

Kang Pan Sok in her revolutionary activities to form the anti-Japanese Women's Association, the first women's mass organization in Korea, on December 26.

He arrived in Jilin on January 14, 1927 and enrolled in Jilin Yuwen Middle School on January 17. There he further intensified his pursuit of progressive thought while unfolding an active youth and student movement.

The social and political atmosphere in Jilin, where progressive books were available in large numbers and young people and students seeking eagerly for the new and for truth were gathering, provided him with favourable conditions for deeper study of the progressive thought he had started in Huadian.

While studying his school subjects, he read many works of Marx and Lenin, including *The Communist Manifesto, Capital, The State and Revolution* and *Wage Labour and Capital* in the context of the actual situation in Korea. In this course, he came to approach Marxism-Leninism not as a dogma but as a practical weapon, and searched therein for a theory of the Korean revolution and its strategy and tactics.

He also read many progressive literary works which dealt with the real life of those days. Among them were *Mother, The Iron Flood, Blessing, On the Amnok River* and *An Authorized Life of Ah-Q*.

His study and experience in Jilin served as a momentum for him to harden his revolutionary world outlook, and work out the essentials of a revolutionary idea of independence.

Fully aware of the characteristics of the youth and students, and their position and role in the revolutionary struggle, he worked to disseminate progressive thought among them so as to bring them up into communists of the new generation.

He first of all organized a secret reading circle in Yuwen Middle School, and expanded its network to many other schools in Jilin. He frequently organized book sessions, seminars, public lectures and oratorical contests to raise the level of their revolutionary consciousness.

While awakening their revolutionary consciousness, he actively pushed ahead with the work of rallying them organizationally.

To this end, he saw to it that the principle was observed of rearing the hard core in the first place, enhancing their independent role, closely combining the activities of legal and illegal organizations, and admitting those trained and tempered in legal organizations into illegal organizations. He also ensured that the organizations which existed only in name and were not active were given a

wide berth, and the organizations whose activities were lagging were reformed.

On April 10, 1927 he formed the Korean Children's Association in Jilin, a legal organization of Korean boys and girls, and on May 8 reorganized the Ryoji Association of Korean Students in Jilin, a friendship organization of Korean students which had been under the influence of the nationalists, into the Ryuji Association of Korean Students in Jilin, a revolutionary students' organization. He led these organizations to arrange public lectures, seminars, study sessions, oratorical contests, book sessions, dissemination of songs, street marches while singing, sports contests, art performances and other extracurricular activities to suit the tastes and aptitudes of their members so as to educate and temper them in a revolutionary way.

Under his energetic guidance, a revolutionary force of the new generation rapidly grew up in the Jilin area with the members of the DIU as its hard core, forming a new camp in the revolutionary struggle in this period. The news that a new movement had been launched in Jilin, as well as Kim Il Sung's name, spread widely, and many young people came to Jilin from Korea, Japan, the Maritime Territory of Russia and other parts of Manchuria, to get guidance from Kim Il Sung.

He educated them in a revolutionary way and admitted them to the DIU, while expanding the organization to various schools in the city.

As the DIU expanded, embracing more and more young people, he reformed the DIU into the Anti-Imperialist Youth League (AIYL) on August 27, 1927, and expanded its subordinate organizations to Wenguang Middle School, Jilin Middle School No. 1, Jilin Middle School No. 5, Jilin Normal School, Jilin Girls' Middle School, Jilin Law College, and other schools in Jilin, and the rural areas in the suburbs of Jilin and Liuhe County, Huadian County and Xingjing County.

Determined to form a vanguard organization capable of leading these mass organizations in a unified manner, he formed the Young Communist League (YCL) of Korea on August 28, 1927.

At the YCL founding meeting he delivered a report in which he clarified the character and tasks of the league.

At the time when a new generation was emerging in the Korean communist movement, the YCL was not merely a youth organization, but a revolutionary vanguard organization providing leadership for organizations of the masses from all walks of life; it was the vanguard of the Korean communists shouldering the mission to pioneer the Korean revolution.

The major tasks facing the league were to build itself into a militant body,

strengthen its guidance over other revolutionary organizations, firmly rally the broad sections of young people under the banner of anti-Japanese struggle, and enlist them in various forms of anti-Japanese struggle.

At the inaugural meeting Kim Il Sung was unanimously elected head of the league.

After the formation of the YCL, he paid deep attention to expanding and strengthening the organization, and enhancing its fighting efficiency. As a result, its network expanded not only in Jilin and its outskirts but in the vast areas of Manchuria and the northern region of Korea.

The YCL played a pivotal role in promoting the organizational rallying of young people, steeling the driving force of the Korean revolution and lending a great impetus to the work of the young communists of the new generation to form a new-type party organization. At that time, the league, while fulfilling its role as a vanguard of the Korean revolution, gave guidance not only to its subordinate organizations but to other organizations of workers, peasants and women.

Consolidating the success gained in rallying the youth and students, Kim Il Sung devoted his attention to going among the broad sections of the people so as to awaken them politically and organize them.

He held high the slogan **"Go among the people!"** with the Juche-oriented view that the people were his teachers and the main force of the revolution.

It was in the winter holidays of 1927 when he first went among the people in real earnest.

He vigorously conducted the work of awakening the broad sections of the masses in various forms and by various methods.

On January 15, 1928 he had *Saenal*, the first revolutionary newspaper in Korea, inaugurated in Fusong, and ensured that it served as a powerful ideological weapon in educating the broad sections of the youth and other masses in anti-Japanese patriotic thought and arousing them to the struggle against the Japanese imperialists.

He also conducted brisk motivational activities among the masses by means of art performances.

While reading many artistic and literary works in Yuwen Middle School, Kim Il Sung acquired the theory of revolutionary art and literature and creative qualities. He personally created dramas, like ***An Jung Gun Shoots Ito Hirobumi, Blood at an International Conference*** and ***A Letter from a Daughter***, and other artistic and literary works, like the songs and dances ***Pride of the Thirteen Provinces*** and ***Unity Pole***. He organized an art performance

group and arranged tour performances so as to awaken the masses to revolutionary consciousness. In particular, the ***Song of Korea*** he created early in 1928 in Fusong deeply implanted patriotism and national self-respect in the fellow countrymen.

He was arrested by the reactionary Chinese warlord authorities during a tour performance in Fusong, but released thanks to the struggle the local people waged under the guidance of his mother Kang Pan Sok.

He ensured that night schools were built in many places, and built up Jinmyong School in Kalun, Samgwang School in Guyushu and several other schools as bases for mass education. He pushed ahead with the work of awakening the masses in various forms and by various methods, like public lectures, explanations and storytelling.

He saw to it that organizations representing the masses of various social strata were formed and expanded.

With deep attention to the work with the youth, he organized the Paeksan Youth League, an anti-Japanese youth organization, with progressive young people in the area of Fusong on December 20, 1927. This league, involving young people living in the Mt. Paektu area, was a disguised form of the AIYL.

He also reformed the youth organizations which were under the influence of nationalists and factionalist communists into revolutionary ones.

In a talk in Jilin with the representative of the Ryosin Youth Association in May 1928, he clarified the orientation and ways for gradually reforming such organizations into revolutionary ones. He then went to the Jiaohe area to organize the Jiaohe branch of the AIYL with the progressive core members of the Ryosin Youth Association under the influence of nationalists and, by increasing its role, reformed the Ryosin Youth Association and Lafa Youth Association in a revolutionary way. Meanwhile, he dispatched the communists of the new generation to Kalun, Guyushu, Lingjia, Sanyuanpu and other parts of Manchuria, and to Uiju, Phihyon, Changsong, Pyoktong, Wonsan, Haeju, Nampho and other parts of Korea to transform the youth organizations under nationalist influence in a revolutionary way. He also ensured that a revolutionary organization was set up with the progressive young people associated with the General Federation of Korean Youth in East Manchuria, and many anti-Japanese young people were detached from factionalist influence and enrolled in this revolutionary organization.

Regarding the winning over of the peasants, who made up the absolute

majority of the population, as a matter of key importance on which the victory of the revolution depended, he went among them and improved the rural enlightenment campaign. This had been confined to wiping out illiteracy and improving the living environment in a hygienic and cultured way in the rural areas until then, but he raised it into a form of active political struggle by closely combining it with the work of organizing and revolutionizing the peasant masses.

He went to Xinantun and other rural areas around Jilin, and educated the peasants in a revolutionary way while working and talking with them. On this basis, he formed a peasants union, the first revolutionary organization of peasants in Korea, on March 10, 1928.

He also went among the working class in Jilin and awakened their class consciousness. On this basis, he formed an anti-Japanese trade union, a revolutionary organization of a new type of the working class and the first of its kind in Korea, on August 25, 1928.

He expanded these organizations to the northern border area of Korea and such Chinese areas as Fusong, Antu, Changbai, Kalun and Guyushu.

Thanks to his energetic activities among the people, communists of the new generation grew up on a large scale, and broad sections of the masses of all walks of life were awakened to revolutionary consciousness and organized. As a result, the core force of the Korean revolution was prepared and the mass foundation of the revolution was built up.

Indeed, Kim Il Sung's days at Yuwen Middle School were golden days for his youth movement activities.

## 4. Struggle against the Japanese Imperialists and the Chinese Reactionary Warlords and for the Unity of the Anti-Japanese Forces

While training communists of the new generation, awakening the broad sections of the masses in a revolutionary way and rallying them organizationally, Kim Il Sung led them in the struggle against the Japanese imperialists and the Chinese reactionary warlords.

In the latter half of the 1920s Japan dispatched troops to China's Shandong peninsula in order to conquer Manchuria, and this expedition

heightened the anti-Japanese sentiments among the Korean and Chinese peoples in Northeast China. Panic-stricken at the mounting anti-Japanese sentiments and the intensified youth and students' movement in the vast area with Jilin as the centre under the guidance of Kim Il Sung, the Japanese imperialists mobilized all their consulate police while instigating the Chinese reactionary warlords to suppress the anti-Japanese independence champions of Korea.

In mid-February 1927 the Chinese reactionary warlords, at the instigation of the Japanese imperialists, raided a hall in Jilin where An Chang Ho, a Korean nationalist movement leader, was giving a political lecture, and arrested more than 300 of the audience. Kim Il Sung, regarding this as a counterrevolutionary act aimed at crushing the Korean people's anti-Japanese struggle, enlisted the members of revolutionary organizations and broad sections of the masses in a campaign for their release. At a meeting of the members of the DIU he put forward measures for winning their release, and stirred public opinion by public lectures and other methods. Moreover, a mass rally was held, with the result that the reactionary warlords were compelled to free all the detainees. This struggle dealt a heavy blow to the Chinese reactionary warlords and their instigators, the Japanese imperialists, awakened the masses politically and opened a favourable phase for developing the revolutionary struggle.

As revolutionary organizations were built up and expanded, he launched the struggle against the Japanese imperialists and Chinese reactionary warlords more vigorously.

Kim Il Sung instructed that, in order to ensure victory in this struggle, correct strategy and tactics should be formulated on the basis of a scientific analysis of the prevailing situation and balance of forces between friends and foes, struggles of various forms organized to suit the level of preparedness of the revolutionary forces, legal struggles combined with illegal ones and from small-scale struggles to large-scale ones. He also stressed that it was imperative to mobilize all classes, social strata and social forces that were opposed to Japanese imperialism and the Chinese reactionary warlords.

As the beginning of the practical struggle, in the summer of 1928 he led a student strike at Yuwen Middle School against the Chinese reactionary warlords who were colluding with the Japanese imperialists.

As the school was getting revolutionized, the Chinese reactionary warlords, in collusion with the Japanese imperialists, manipulated reactionary teachers and right-wing students to put pressure on progressive teachers and restrain the

activities of progressive students while violating the democratic system established in the school. Unless this scheme was crushed in time, it would be impossible for the students to continue their academic pursuits and promote the youth movement freely.

In mid-July 1928 Kim Il Sung called a meeting of cadres of the YCL and AIYL organizations, and put forward a detailed plan related to the student strike. He said that the strikers should demand the improved treatment of students, the teaching of subjects required by students, and an end to pressure upon progressive teachers, including the headmaster. At the same time as conducting motivational work among students, he led boycotts of lessons, demonstrations and dissemination of leaflets, appeals and protests. He also ensured that other schools in Jilin made preparations to join the strike if necessary.

Sensing that the strike might spread across the city, the warlord authorities could not but accept the demands of the students.

The student strike dealt a great blow to the Chinese reactionary warlords, who were in league with the Japanese imperialists, while inspiring the students with a new fighting spirit and a firm conviction that they would surely emerge victorious in a struggle if they fought in unity, and tempering the members of the organizations further through practical struggle.

Based on the victory and experience gained in the student strike, Kim Il Sung organized and led a larger-scale struggle against the Jilin-Hoeryong railway project of the Japanese imperialists and a boycott of Japanese goods from October to November 1928.

The Japanese imperialists schemed to seize political, economic and military control of Northeast China and to transport their goods to it en masse so as to gain enormous profits by completing the Jilin-Hoeryong railway project they had been promoting for a long time.

With a keen insight into the political significance of the struggle against the Jilin-Hoeryong railway project and the boycott of Japanese goods, and the maturing demands of mass struggle, he called a meeting of cadres of the YCL and AIYL organizations early in October 1928 in the cellar of the Yaowang Shrine at Beishan Park in Jilin, at which he proposed the organizing and unfolding of a mass demonstration to frustrate the project and boycott the Japanese goods. He explained the aggressive nature of the railway project and the sale of Japanese goods, and the objective and significance of the struggle, and put forward the slogans, direction and methods of the struggle.

Not only that, he formed demonstration squads, appointed their leaders, and led them to make thorough preparations.

When he was making preparations for the demonstration, he was informed that the enemy was intending to hold the inauguration ceremony of the railway section between Jilin and Dunhua on November 1, 1928. He ensured that students at all the schools in Jilin held meetings simultaneously at their campuses late in October, a few days ahead of schedule, issued letters of protest and marched in the streets. He personally led the demonstration.

Addressing the masses gathered in the plaza of the provincial assembly hall, he appealed to them to unite and fight staunchly against the railway project. In response to his appeal, thousands of youth and students, with pickets involving members of revolutionary organizations in the van and holding placards reading "Down with the Japanese imperialist aggressors!" and "Fight against Japan's Jilin-Hoeryong railway project!" marched forward through the bayonets of the army and police who were checking their advance. The marchers were joined by broad sections of the people.

As a result, the enemy had to indefinitely postpone the inauguration ceremony of the Jilin-Dunhua line.

The demonstrations mounted as the days passed, spreading all over Manchuria. In fact, their revolutionary influence reached as deep as the homeland, where the people were also instigated to take part in the anti-Japanese struggle.

Availing himself of the mounting anti-Japanese sentiments, Kim Il Sung led the masses to boycott Japanese goods. The masses, raising the slogan "Stop selling Japanese goods!" sought out goods with Japanese trademarks and burned them or dumped them into the Songhua River.

Alarmed, the Japanese imperialists instigated the Chinese reactionary warlords to suppress the struggle with ferocity.

Kim Il Sung ensured that the demonstrations developed without delay into a wider scale coinciding with a funeral ceremony for victims of these harsh measures under the slogan "Down with the reactionary warlords aligned with the Japanese imperialists!"

These struggles, which lasted about 40 days, delivered great blows to the Japanese aggressors who were scheming to invade Manchuria, as well as to the Chinese reactionary warlords aligned with them.

The struggles to oppose the Jilin-Hoeryong railway project and to boycott Japanese goods were large-scale mass struggles against Japanese imperialism,

in which the Korean people won a brilliant victory for the first time under the guidance of Kim Il Sung. They also put an end to the hitherto inglorious history of the Korean people's fruitless anti-Japanese national liberation struggle, and provided an opportunity for the anti-Japanese struggle of the Koreans to develop onto a new stage, at which it was unfolded successfully under the guidance of a leader.

Through the mass struggle, the ranks of communists of the new generation were further tempered, and the youth, students and other people came to be convinced that they could win victory if they fought in unity.

Kim Il Sung led the struggle to expose the absurd arguments and theories of the bourgeois nationalists and factionalist communists, smash their separatist manoeuvres and realize the unity of the broad anti-Japanese forces.

The self-styled leaders of the nationalist movement, preaching that the "shortcut to independence" was the "movement for cultivating national strength through education and industrial development" under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, spread the idea of depending on foreign forces and national nihilism. They asserted that "cultivation of strength" should be realized with the "aid" of capitalist powers. Meanwhile, factionalist communists styled themselves as "theoreticians" and "leaders," and advocated such Rightist and "Leftist" theories as "proletarian revolution" and "bourgeois democratic revolution," which were irrelevant to the Korean revolution, simply parroting preceding theories.

When An Chang Ho, a leader of the nationalist movement, was delivering a political lecture, Kim Il Sung submitted a written questionnaire to him, which made the latter give up the lecture halfway. He met the leaders of the Tuesday Group, M-L Group and Seoul-Shanghai Group, and criticized their erroneous doctrines and theories. In order to prevent the influence of the noxious ideas spread by nationalists and factionalist communists, he conducted active information work among the youth, students and other people by means of public lectures, art performances, seminars and publications, thus exposing in depth the reactionary nature of all sorts of "isms" and "doctrines" and the serious aftereffects and great harm to developing the Korean revolutionary movement that had resulted.

He exerted a revolutionary influence on the organizations of the nationalist movement to overcome division and realize their merger.

As he witnessed leaders of the Jongui-bu, Sinmin-bu and Chamui-bu, nationalist independence movement organizations, idling away their time,

scrambling for higher positions after their merger, Kim Il Sung appealed to them to achieve the merger by pooling their efforts and striving for unity. At this time he created the ***Three Pretenders***, a satirical drama dealing with a scramble for power, and had it performed in front of them. This made them feel the pangs of conscience, and they then merged the three organizations under the name of Kukmin-bu.

Kim Il Sung launched a struggle against machinations to disrupt the youth movement.

When factionalists called the Conference of Participants in the Korean Youth Movement in the summer of 1928 and attempted to form the General Federation of Korean Youth in China in order to get hold of the "leadership" of the youth movement, Kim Il Sung dispatched a cadre of the Ryosin Youth Association, a member of the AIYL, to wage a principled struggle against their factionalist scheme. In the autumn of the following year, the Kukmin-bu held the Conference of the General Federation of Korean Youth in South Manchuria in Wangqingmen, Xingjing County, with the aim of bringing all the Korean youth organizations in Manchuria under its control. Kim Il Sung participated in the conference as a representative of the Paeksan Youth League, and foiled the separatist scheme of the leaders of the Kukmin-bu. He also personally wrote a letter of protest denouncing the Kukmin-bu for oppressing progressive youth. This led the masses to denounce the Kukmin-bu terrorists, and heighten their expectations for the communists of the new generation. At the same time, the anti-Japanese patriotic forces began to achieve genuine unity and cohesion.

The victory achieved in the mass struggle and the struggle to realize the unity of the anti-Japanese forces drastically heightened the masses' trust in and reverence for Kim Il Sung.

The members of the revolutionary organizations and other people had absolute trust in and respect for Kim Il Sung, holding him in high esteem. Kim Hyok, Cha Kwang Su and other young communists whom he knew during his days in Jilin looked up to him as a great leader who would save the destiny of the country and the nation, a genuine lodestar who would lead the Korean revolution to victory, and the centre of unity and leadership. Reflecting their wish that he would become the morning star in the dark sky of Korea which was groaning as a ruined nation and shine all over the three-thousand-*ri* land, they called him Kim Il Sung or Hanbyol meaning "One Star." They also composed the song *Star of Korea*, praising him as the morning star, and disseminated it among the people.

## 5. Creation of the Juche Idea and Songun Idea and the Kalun Meeting

Having realized the requirements of the times and the importance of revolutionary practice while blazing the trail of the Korean revolution, Kim Il Sung conducted energetic ideological and theoretical activities to formulate a new guiding idea for the revolution.

It was owing to the peculiarities of the development of Korean history, characterized by worship of great powers which had hampered the development of the country for a long time, that Korea had been reduced to a colony of Japanese imperialism.

The Korean revolution was a complicated and difficult one, involving solutions to complex national and class contradictions in the socio-economic conditions of a colonial and semi-feudal society, and which the Korean people had to carry out independently and creatively. This was an unprecedentedly arduous struggle which had to be waged against the Japanese imperialists without any state backing or support of a regular army.

Such an unusual environment demanded a new guiding idea of the revolution.

Regarding the idea of "Aim High" bequeathed by his father Kim Hyong Jik as his spiritual and moral principle and his own idea that **"The people are my God"** as his life motto, Kim Il Sung deepened his thought and study for creating a new guiding idea of the revolution demanded by the times and revolutionary practice. "Aim High" involves placing absolute trust in the strength of the people, liberating the country, to all intents and purposes, by one's own efforts and making the revolution unyieldingly in the face of all difficulties and ordeals. The idea of **"The people are my God"** is the spirit of approaching everything with the masses of the people at the centre and boundlessly treasuring them, and of regarding the independence of one's country and nation as one's lifeblood, adding lustre to their dignity and honour, and fighting for the sovereignty and prosperity of one's country.

While studying the preceding revolutionary ideas and theories of the working class in connection with the revolutionary practice of Korea and, in particular, while comprehensively analyzing the lessons drawn from the

nationalist movement and early communist movement, Kim Il Sung discovered the truth of revolution, which would serve as a starting-point of the Juche idea, a new guiding idea.

Recalling those days, he said:

**"I analyzed the situations of the nationalist and early communist movements in our country and decided that the revolution should not be conducted in that way. I believed that the revolution in our country would emerge victorious only when it was undertaken on our own responsibility and by the efforts of our own people, and that all the problems arising in the revolution must be solved independently and creatively. This was the starting-point of the Juche idea, as it is known nowadays."**

From his early days he embarked on the road of revolution and, especially when he was incarcerated in Jilin Prison by the Chinese police in the autumn of 1929, he analyzed the situations of the nationalist and early communist movements in Korea. He detected two essential defects in the way of thinking and activity of the fighters in these movements.

One of the essential defects was that they were divorced from the masses of the people because they did not put their trust in them nor paid attention to them. They failed to go among the masses to educate and organize them and arouse them to the revolutionary struggle; they were engrossed only in empty talk and scrambles for hegemony, divorced from the masses and dividing the masses.

With a keen insight into this essential defect, Kim Il Sung paved the true way for the revolution in which he trusted the strength of the masses and fought by going among and relying on them. In this process he discovered the truth that the masses are the masters of the revolution and that one can emerge victorious in the revolutionary struggle only when one goes among them and educates and mobilizes them. This was one of the starting-points of the Juche idea.

Another defect was that the activists of the nationalist and early communist movements engaged in factional strife, and harboured a strong worship of great powers and dogmatism. They engaged only in factional strife and tried to realize the country's independence by relying on others instead of undertaking the revolution by their own efforts. Some people in the higher echelons of the independence movement attempted to win the country's independence with the backing of big countries, and others even hoped that the United States would bestow on them their country's independence. People engaged in the communist movement formed different factional groups, each of which sought

to gain recognition from the Comintern. These groups also tried to mechanically imitate the established theory and experience of others, separate from the historical conditions and specific reality of Korea, which was a colonial and semi-feudal society.

Kim Il Sung drew a serious lesson from such defects, and took a road of independence and creation, in which one decides all problems arising in the Korean revolution based on one's will and judgement, and solves them in keeping with the specific reality and situation of the Korean revolution. In this course, he discovered the truth that the revolution must be undertaken not by winning the recognition or receiving the orders of someone but according to one's own conviction and on one's own responsibility. Moreover, all problems arising in the revolution should be solved independently and creatively. This was the other starting-point of the Juche idea.

The discovery by Kim Il Sung of the truth of the Juche idea laid the ideological and theoretical foundations for finding brilliant solutions to the historical tasks of the new era in which the masses of the people became the masters of their own destiny.

On the basis of this, he conducted energetic ideological and theoretical activities for setting up the framework of the Juche idea, and finally created the Juche idea, a new guiding idea of the revolution.

The Juche idea means, in a nutshell, that the masters of the revolution and construction are the masses of the people and that they are the motive force of the revolution and construction.

Thanks to the creation of the Juche idea, the Korean people became a dignified people with their own guiding idea for the first time in their history, and the Korean revolution was able to advance under a firm guiding idea.

Kim Il Sung also conducted ideological and theoretical activities to create the Songun idea.

The cause of the independence of the masses is an arduous struggle accompanied by a duel of strength with imperialism and other counterrevolutionary forces of every description, and arms are a key factor on which the destiny of the revolution depends.

In order for the masses to carve out their destiny independently and creatively as the masters of the world and of their own destiny, they have to take arms in their hands. One can by no means defeat the imperialist aggressors, who are armed with rifles and cannons, by force of hammers or sickles or through demonstrations or lobbyist movements. Arms are the destiny of a country and nation, and armed imperialist aggressive forces should be countered with arms.

The Korean revolution was a fierce showdown with counterrevolutionary violence from its very first day.

It is an inherent mode of existence for imperialism to mercilessly put down the masses' revolutionary struggles by relying on the most barbarous violence. The Japanese imperialists occupying Korea surpassed the preceding imperialist aggressive forces in history in terms of cunning, shamelessness, ruthlessness and viciousness.

As the Japanese imperialists repressed the anti-Japanese national liberation movement of Korea by force of bayonets, the revolutionary struggle could not but have recourse to violence. Revolutionary violence was the most powerful means with which to defeat the counterrevolutionary violence of the Japanese imperialists, who were armed to the teeth.

The Korean revolution cried out for arms, and urgently demanded a guideline that could lead the 20 million Korean people along the road of victory in the revolution, a most perfect revolutionary idea that would be able to arouse them to an organized armed struggle.

Up to that time, however, no preceding theories of the working class had given a scientific answer related to this issue.

Around the latter half of the 1920s and the early 1930s Kim Il Sung created the idea of giving priority to arms, the Songun idea, which regards arms as a key factor in the revolution and advocates that the revolution should be started and advanced by force of arms. In this way, he successfully satisfied the urgent requirement raised by the times and revolutionary practice.

He advanced the programme of the DIU in the first days of his revolutionary activities on the basis of his deep analysis of the position and role of arms in the revolutionary struggle and the actual situation of the anti-Japanese national liberation movement of Korea and the lessons drawn from it. The programme of the DIU was the origin of the Songun idea.

He had inherited from his father the idea of "Aim High," preparedness for the three contingencies, gaining comrades, and two pistols. The two pistols reflected his father's belief that Japanese imperialism armed to the teeth could be defeated and the independence of the country achieved only through armed struggle. The two pistols symbolized Kim Il Sung's firm determination to realize the independence of the country and the freedom and liberation of the people without fail through armed struggle, which had been the general intention of his father.

While systematizing the experience of the revolutionary struggle he had accumulated in the course of carving out the path of the original Songun

revolution with two pistols and based on the programme of the DIU, Kim Il Sung discovered the truth that the revolution is arms and the army bears the destiny of the people. Taking this truth as his ideological and theoretical basis, he created the revolutionary idea of giving priority to arms, to military affairs, the Songun idea in other words.

The Songun idea, in a nutshell, is an idea which demands that precedence be given to military affairs, and the revolutionary movement as a whole be pushed ahead with the revolutionary army as the main force.

While the Juche idea regards independence as a lifeline of social man and of a country and nation, and illuminates the way for its realization, the Songun idea gives precedence and attaches importance to arms in keeping with the characteristics of the struggle for independence, which is waged as a confrontation of strength with imperialism.

After his release from Jilin Prison in May 1930, Kim Il Sung left Jilin Yuwen Middle School halfway through the course, and became a career revolutionary, devoting great efforts to defining the Juche-oriented line, strategy and tactics for the Korean revolution which he had conceived in the prison.

The general strike of dockers in Wonsan, the strike of the miners at the Sinhung Coal Mine, the Tanchon peasant uprising, the students' incident in Kwangju and other anti-Japanese mass struggles of the Korean people staged in this period developed rapidly and assumed a violent character, but to no avail.

Observing these developments, Kim Il Sung became convinced that if there were a correct line and guidance suited to the trend of the times, Koreans could defeat any enemy no matter how formidable, and felt more keenly the need to imbue the people with scientific fighting methods and tactics, and illumine the path ahead for the nation.

While staying in Sidaohuanggou, Dunhua County, for about 20 days after leaving Jilin, Kim Il Sung, in spite of his weakened health due to his sufferings in jail, strove to restore and put in order the organizations destroyed in the wake of the "Left" adventurist May 30 Uprising. Meanwhile, he formulated the Juche-oriented line, strategy and tactics of the Korean revolution bit by bit.

Afterwards he went to Kalun, where he pondered deeply over the line of the Korean revolution and, particularly, the line of armed struggle and the founding of an army of a new type. At this time he prepared a report to be delivered at a meeting by putting in order and systematizing the ideological and theoretical clues which he had thought of, elaborated and perfected. He took the draft report for discussion to leading cadres of the YCL and AIYL. They expressed their unreserved support.

Based on these preparations, Kim Il Sung convened a meeting of leading cadres of the YCL and AIYL at Kalun from June 30 to July 2, 1930.

The meeting was attended by Cha Kwang Su, Kim Hyok, Choe Chang Gol, Choe Hyo Il, Kye Yong Chun, Kim Won U and many other leading cadres of the YCL and AIYL from various places.

At the meeting he delivered the historic report ***The Path of the Korean Revolution***.

In this report, he explained the principles of the Juche and Songun ideas, and threw light on the attitude and stand to be held fast to in the revolution.

He said:

**"The masters of the revolutionary struggle are the masses of the people, and only when they are organized and mobilized can they win the revolutionary struggle."**

He continued that in order to lead the revolution to victory one must go among the masses of the people and organize them, and solve all problems arising in the revolutionary struggle independently and creatively on one's own responsibility in accordance with the actual conditions. He stressed that it was important to take the firm standpoint and attitude that the masters of the Korean revolution are the Korean people, and that the Korean revolution should by all means be carried out by the Korean people themselves in a way suited to the actual conditions of their country.

Saying that, owing to its aggressive and predatory nature, imperialism would never withdraw from its colonies of its own accord, and would always resort to brutal violence to maintain its colonial rule, he clarified the principle that the imperialist forces of aggression must be smashed by revolutionary armed forces.

In the report, he also elucidated, in a comprehensive way, the strategic and tactical issues concerning the Korean revolution by applying the principles of the Juche and Songun ideas.

He first of all defined the main task and character of the Korean revolution, its motive force and targets, and its strategic tasks.

On the basis of a scientific analysis of the character of Korean society at that time, he defined the Korean revolution as an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, a social revolution of a new type quite different from both the socialist and bourgeois revolutions. He said that broad sections of the anti-imperialist forces, comprising workers, peasants, the youth and students, intellectuals, the petty bourgeoisie, conscientious non-comprador capitalists and

religious people, could participate in this revolution, and that the targets of the revolution were the Japanese imperialists and their accomplices–landlords, capitalists, pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation.

He also said that in order to lead the revolution to victory it was necessary to overthrow the Japanese imperialists and their accomplices, the reactionary forces, win national liberation and independence, then establish a government that would defend the interests of workers, peasants and other broad sections of the masses of the people, and, by relying on the government, carry out the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. Following this revolution, he said, the Korean people had to press on with the revolution to build a socialist and communist society and, further, carry out the world revolution.

Kim Il Sung put forward the Juche-oriented lines and policies for the successful implementation of the Korean revolution.

First, he put forward the line of armed struggle against the Japanese imperialists.

He stated that, as the historical lessons of anti-Japanese struggle showed, no one would bring the Korean people independence on a tray and they could never win it by peaceful means, emphasizing waging an organized armed struggle to win national independence. Saying that it was necessary to make good preparations for organizing and waging an armed struggle, he clarified concrete ways and means–organizing the Korean Revolutionary Army as a revolutionary armed force and accumulating the necessary all-round experience for armed struggle.

He then put forward the line of forming an anti-Japanese national united front.

Saying that it was imperative to awaken all the anti-Japanese patriotic forces and marshal them for the struggle against Japanese imperialism, he stressed that all the forces with anti-Japanese tendencies, including religious people and conscientious non-comprador capitalists, to say nothing of the workers and peasants, should be rallied under the anti-Japanese banner.

Next, he presented the policy for founding a revolutionary party.

He said to the following effect: We must derive serious lessons from the dissolution of the Korean Communist Party, and make an effort to found a party on a sound basis. To do this, we must not try to proclaim the founding of a party right away without any preparation or to gain the approval of the Comintern, as the factionalists did. We must by all means build a new revolutionary party on our own. We must form the party not by proclaiming the

party centre first but by setting up the fully prepared basic party organizations and steadily expanding them, and closely link preparations for forming a party with the armed struggle against the Japanese imperialists.

As Kim Il Sung put forward the line of armed struggle, the line of the anti-Japanese national united front and the policy for founding a party with the line of armed struggle as the first and foremost one, a new method of Songun revolution in which the work of rallying the anti-Japanese patriotic forces and making preparations for founding a party was to be undertaken on the principle of giving priority to military affairs, to the building of the armed forces, came to be elucidated.

With the Kalun Meeting as a momentum, the Korean revolution, which had declared its fresh start with the formation of the DIU, was firmly put on the independent road under the banner of Juche and the banner of Songun with its own revolutionary line, strategy and tactics.

## 6. First Party Organization–the Society for Rallying Comrades–and Its Expansion

Kim Il Sung directed primary attention to forming party organizations in his effort to implement the policy put forward at the Kalun Meeting.

Formation of revolutionary party organizations was an urgent demand for providing correct leadership for the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle in Korea. By the early 1930s the anti-Japanese national liberation movement had developed to a level incomparably higher than the previous struggles in terms of width and depth. Such being the situation, leadership for the anti-Japanese national liberation movement as a whole could not properly be guaranteed under the name of the YCL. Only when party organizations were formed would it be possible to guide the YCL and other mass organizations, lead the anti-Japanese national liberation movement as a whole and actively push ahead with preparations for an all-out anti-Japanese armed struggle.

Forming party organizations was essential to the successful promotion of the cause of founding a party.

The serious lessons left in the wake of the dissolution of the Korean Communist Party in 1928 and the factionalists' attempt to rebuild the party showed that it was indispensable to steadily conduct the work of laying the

organizational and ideological basis for founding a party instead of hurrying to found the party centre without any preparation; to this end, basic party organizations had to be formed and solidly built up; only then would it be possible to steadily carry on the work of building the organizational and ideological basis for the founding of the party, such as training the hard core by relying on them, achieving the unity of the revolutionary ranks and laying a mass foundation. This was also necessary for establishing relations with the Chinese party and for working properly with the Comintern.

Since the guiding idea of the revolution, the revolutionary line and the policy for founding a party had already been presented and the leadership core of the revolution and a broad mass foundation prepared, the formation of a party organization was the next logical requirement, and so Kim Il Sung called a meeting on July 3, 1930 at Kalun to form the first party organization.

Cha Kwang Su, Kim Hyok, Choe Chang Gol, Kye Yong Chun, Kim Won U, Choe Hyo Il–leading cadres of the YCL and AIYL–and other communists of the new generation became members of the first party organization. Although not present at the meeting, Kim Hyong Gwon, Kim Ri Gap, Pak Kun Won and Ri Je U also became members.

In his speech ***On the Occasion of Forming a Party Organization*** delivered at the meeting, Kim Il Sung said with regard to the position and mission of the first party organization:

**"The revolutionary party organization formed today will be the origin of our party which is to be founded later and so it can be called an organization with the importance of a parent body in forming and expanding the basic party organizations for the building of our party."**

He elucidated the tasks facing the members of the party organization and the ways of their implementation.

He said that it was necessary to rapidly expand the basic party organizations to as wide an area as possible, establish a system of unified guidance over them and realize party guidance over the mass movement. He set the tasks of utter devotion to the achievement of unity and cohesion in the revolutionary ranks under the slogan of **"Let us unite with one ideology and will!"** and the laying of a solid mass foundation for the revolution. He emphasized the need for the party organization to hold fast to the stand of independence in all its activities, and closely combine the work of building up party organizations with the revolutionary struggle against Japanese imperialism.

The meeting did not adopt separate Programme and Rules of the party organization, as the Programme and Rules of the DIU clarified the ultimate

goal and immediate fighting tasks for the Korean communists, and the revolutionary lines and strategic policies adopted at the Kalun Meeting provided details of the path they should follow as well as the rules of conduct.

Reflecting his high aim and revolutionary will to advance and fulfil the Korean revolution by discovering and rallying comrades who would share their destiny with him, Kim Il Sung ensured that the first party organization was named the Society for Rallying Comrades.

On July 10, 1930 he inaugurated the magazine *Bolshevik*, a publication which would play the role of the society's ideological voice.

After the formation of the first party organization, Kim Il Sung rapidly expanded it.

He called a meeting of members of the first party organization in Yitonghe in Guyushu, Yitong County in July, where he put forward specific tasks arising in the course of expanding the party organization.

He said that in order to continuously expand and strengthen the party organization it was important to admit into it those tested in the revolutionary organizational life and practical struggle, especially progressive young people tempered and tested in the YCL and AIYL, and to organize at an early date party cells in the northern part of Korea along the Tuman River and in the Jiandao area of Manchuria where a great number of Koreans were living. He emphasized enhancing the role of the members of the first party organization in this work.

He dispatched members of the organization to the northern part of Korea along the Tuman River and to several counties and major cities in Manchuria, and guided their work of expanding the basic party organizations.

Paying close attention to the expansion of the party organizations in the homeland, he went to the Onsong area in the north of Korea at the end of September 1930, and made detailed preparations for forming a party organization there. On the basis of this, he held a meeting for the formation of a party organization on Turu Hill in Onsong County on October 1, and delivered a speech titled, ***On the Immediate Tasks of the Homeland Party Organization***. In the speech he advanced the tasks of developing the homeland party organization into a militant one, rallying the masses of all walks of life behind various revolutionary organizations, mobilizing them to the anti-Japanese struggle, and other tasks facing the homeland party organization.

He then proclaimed the formation of the party organization in Onsong, involving the core members of revolutionary organizations in the Onsong area.

Following this, he actively pushed ahead with the work of expanding the party organization to various regions in the homeland, with the result that party

cells were established in six towns, including Onsong, and other parts of northern Korea.

Party organizations also proliferated in the Korean settlements in eastern Manchuria along the Tuman River, including Wangqing, Yanji, Helong, Hunchun and Antu.

He went to Dalazi in Helong County and the Shixian area in Wangqing County in the autumn of 1930 and ensured that basic party organizations were formed with members of the YCL and core workers and peasants who had been tempered and tested in the struggle.

Communists of the new generation whom he had dispatched to eastern Manchuria along the Tuman River formed such basic party organizations as cells and sub-cells in the coal and ore mines and mountainous and rural villages, where workers and peasants were concentrated. The work to form basic party organizations was also waged vigorously in the Korean settlements in the areas of southern Manchuria, such as Hailong, Qingyuan, Liuhe, Xingjing, Tieling, Gongzhuling and Kaiyuan. As basic party organizations were formed in the homeland and many Korean settlements in Manchuria, a foundation was laid for pushing ahead with the organizational building of a revolutionary party.

In keeping with the expansion of basic party organizations in various places, Kim Il Sung directed the establishment of a system for guiding them.

In a talk to party and YCL cadres held in Chaoyangchuan, Yanji County, on October 11, 1930 and at a workshop held in Dunhua in the following spring, he put forward in a comprehensive way a policy on establishing a regular system of guiding party organizations. At the workshop, he emphasized the importance of forming districts for the sphere of activity of the party and other revolutionary organizations, and organizing party committees in the districts and counties, at the same time as shedding light on the principles for guaranteeing unified guidance over the basic party organizations. Paying close attention to establishing a system of guiding the party organization in the Antu area, which is situated in a geographically important place, he organized the district party committee of Xiaoshahe, Antu County, in mid-June 1931.

As a result, districts for the operations of revolutionary organizations were set up in various parts of eastern Manchuria along the Tuman River. District party committees, the lowest units for directly giving guidance to the activities of basic party organizations, were formed and activated, and county party committees, the intermediary units for guiding the activities of district party

committees and party cells directly under the county party committees, were built.

Kim Il Sung promoted the work of independent building of party organizations with active support from the Comintern.

In this period, he met officials and liaison officers of the Comintern in Harbin and Wujiazi, and gave clear explanations to them of the principle of independence, the principle of creativity and the Juche-oriented line, which would serve as the lifeline of the Korean revolution.

Late in August 1930 he went to Harbin to establish contact with the Comintern. As the atmosphere was so electric there, he stayed in a luxurious hotel, which was run by white Russians and which was not frequented by the police, but having no money, he went out to the street to eat one or two cheap maize pancakes for a meal.

He informed the officials of the Comintern there of the situation in eastern Manchuria in the wake of the "Left" adventurist uprising caused by factionalists, and explained to them the Juche-oriented line and policy, in particular the independent policy of founding a party adopted at the Kalun Meeting.

The officials of the liaison office of the Comintern in Harbin expressed unreserved support for the Juche-oriented line and the strategic and tactical policies of the Korean revolution as explained by Kim Il Sung, and said that his creative attitude towards Marxism-Leninism was encouraging. They added that his policy of founding a new party and the forming of the Society for Rallying Comrades, parent body of the party and the first party organization, were not in conflict with the principle of one party in one country.

They advised him to study in Moscow. A man of the liaison office of the Comintern who had been to Wujiazi had also recommended him to study at its communist college in Moscow, saying that the Comintern expected a great deal from him. Cha Kwang Su and his other comrades prepared the daily necessities needed for his study abroad, and insisted that he accept the recommendation.

Kim Il Sung, however, begged to differ. He said: Koreans know well about the Korean revolution. To discover the strategies, tactics and methodology for the Korean revolution, I need to go among them. I will learn the theories and methods of the Korean revolution only by going among them, not by going to the Soviet Union.

Afterwards he went to eastern Manchuria with some comrades, and vigorously pushed ahead with the work of building party organizations and making preparations for the anti-Japanese armed struggle, sharing weal and woe with his compatriots.

## 7. Korean Revolutionary Army and Preparations for the Anti-Japanese Armed Struggle

While expediting preparations for launching the anti-Japanese armed struggle after the Kalun Meeting, Kim Il Sung concentrated on making military preparations, and as the first step, paid close attention to forming the Korean Revolutionary Army (KRA).

He made these preparations with the main stress on recruiting young people and obtaining weapons.

While building the armed ranks with the genuine communists of the new generation, he ensured that the soldiers of the Independence Army, who were sympathetic to progressive ideas, were educated and won over, so as to be admitted into the KRA according to their ideological preparedness. In addition, he made other preparations for the armed unit, like obtaining arms in various forms and by various methods, and formulating the fighting programme of the KRA and its Rules.

Following the completion of these preparations, he called a meeting of the party and YCL cadres on July 6, 1930, in Guyushu of Yitong County, where he declared the formation of the KRA.

The KRA was guided by the Juche idea and the Songun idea based on it. It was a political and semi-military organization which conducted both political work among the people and military activities.

Kim Il Sung commented as follows on its mission and basic tasks:

**"The KRA must bring up a hard-core backbone for the armed struggle through its energetic political and military activities, obtain weapons necessary for the armed struggle, accumulate military experience and rally broad masses of the people firmly to be thoroughly prepared for the organized armed struggle against Japanese imperialism, as are its mission and basic tasks."**

He formed many units under the KRA, and appointed their officers. He conferred on the soldiers weapons and red belts stamped with the words Korean Revolutionary Army.

After the formation of the KRA, he devoted himself to the work of training it politically and militarily.

Attaching primary importance to building up the hard core of the armed ranks, he organized a short course for the soldiers of the KRA in Guyushu in mid-July 1930, aimed at training the backbone of the revolutionary armed force. At the same time, he instituted a two-year advanced course at Samgwang School in Guyushu to train in a systematic way commanding officers of the KRA fully prepared politically and militarily.

In this way, a reliable core grew up for the revolutionary armed force that would be formed in the future.

Kim Il Sung dispatched armed groups to many areas of Manchuria and Korea for energetic military and political activities.

To spread the armed struggle into the depths of the homeland in the future, he dispatched an armed group headed by Kim Hyong Gwon to the homeland. The armed group raided a police sub-station in Phabal-ri, Phungsan County, on August 14, 1930, and executed the sub-station head. After conducting political work in the area of Riwon County, the group advanced as far as Pukchong and Hongwon, and fought battles on Mt. Taedok and Jolbu Rock.

Other groups of the KRA advanced to Uiju and other places to launch military and political activities. The armed groups in Manchuria fought battles at Jinjiang Restaurant in Changchun, at Daoli in Harbin, and at Daomugou in Yanji County, killing Japanese soldiers, policemen, secret agents and traitors, obtaining weapons and rallying the broad sections of the masses behind revolutionary organizations by educating them.

While organizing and guiding the military and political activities of the KRA, Kim Il Sung energetically pushed ahead with the work of laying a mass foundation for the armed struggle in central Manchuria.

In order to wipe out the aftereffects of the “Leftist” May 30 Uprising and August 1 Uprising, he went to Jilin, Hailong, Qingyuan, Jiaohe, Harbin, Dunhua, Onsong and other areas in Manchuria and the homeland from May to October 1930. His aim was to restore and put in order the damaged revolutionary organizations and increase them.

Travelling in disguise, he risked his life on many occasions as the enemy’s police agents doggedly pursued him. However, his revolutionary comrades and ordinary people self-sacrificingly helped him. On a train bound for Hailong he safely escaped from the tenacious pursuit of the policemen of the Japanese consulate with the help of Zhang Weihua, son of a rich Chinese man and his classmate at a primary school in Fusong. At Jiaohe a local woman protected him from the police. From these incidents he deeply felt that the pure and sound obligation on which revolutionaries can

unhesitatingly trust even their lives can be found among the working people.

Regarding the revolutionization of the rural communities as the main link in the whole chain of laying the mass foundation for the armed struggle, he went to Wujiazi, Huaide County, in central Manchuria in October 1930. He was determined to transform it into a model of revolutionization of the rural communities.

Nationalists had attempted to build Wujiazi into an "ideal village." If Wujiazi could be transformed in a revolutionary way, it would exert a great influence on the efforts to revolutionize the rural communities in central Manchuria. On this basis, the revolutionizing of the rural villages in the whole area of Manchuria and in the northern border area of Korea could be stepped up.

Paying primary attention to the work with influential people in the village, he corrected their old way of thinking by means of steady explanation and by influencing them with his personal example. On the basis of this, the mass organizations under nationalist influence were reformed into the Peasants Union, Anti-Japanese Youth League, Women's Association and Children's Expeditionary Corps, and as many villagers as possible were enlisted in those organizations so that they could engage in political activities. The village council, a regional autonomous administrative organ, was restructured into a revolutionary and democratic self-governing committee. In line with the policy of enlightening and educating the villagers, the contents of education provided by Samsong School there were improved in a revolutionary manner and tuition fees abolished, so that the children of poor families could study free of charge. A night school was set up so that the adults, including women, many of whom were illiterate, could receive education.

Kim Il Sung composed the libretto of the immortal classic work ***The Flower Girl***, and had it staged. He awakened the masses to their class consciousness and aroused them to the anti-Japanese struggle by disseminating revolutionary songs such as *Song of the Red Flag* and *Revolutionary Song.* He launched *Nong-u* as the organ of the Peasants Union in Wujiazi. This magazine was circulated as far as Jiandao, playing a great role in enlightening the peasants.

Thanks to his energetic activities, Wujiazi was transformed into a revolutionary village, and this experience was spread widely, thereby contributing to promoting the work of revolutionizing the rural communities in a vast area. As a result, the rural area of Liaohe centring on Wujiazi and various other areas in central Manchuria were turned into reliable bases for the

activities of the KRA, and the mass foundation for the armed struggle became expanded.

In those days revolutionaries and the influential people in Wujiazi, including Pyon Tae U, saying that they could not compare such a great man as Kim Il Sung merely to the morning star, changed his name–Hanbyol–to Kim Il Sung, reflecting the desire and will of the Korean people that he become the sun that would save the nation.

Late in December 1930 Kim Il Sung called a meeting of leading personnel of the KRA and chiefs of revolutionary organizations in Wujiazi, at which he reviewed the activities in central Manchuria, and put forward the task of further pushing ahead with preparations for the anti-Japanese armed struggle by advancing to eastern Manchuria.

At the Wujiazi Meeting he reaffirmed his firm determination to liberate the country by force of arms by switching over from the youth and student movement and the underground movement in the rural areas to an armed struggle.

Following the meeting, he moved the centre of his revolutionary activities to eastern Manchuria and expedited preparations for the armed struggle.

Eastern Manchuria was favourable for unfolding an armed struggle as it adjoined Korea geographically, Koreans made up the overwhelming majority of its population, and their class composition was good.

When he was going to eastern Manchuria, Kim Il Sung set himself two tasks: One was to conduct a review of the aftereffects of the “Left” adventurist May 30 Uprising, and the other was to put forward a correct line for organizing the broad sections of the masses into a single political force and to equip the new generation of communists with this line.

On his way to Changchun after giving guidance to the work of the revolutionary organizations in Guyushu, he was arrested by the Chinese reactionary warlord authorities for the third time and thrown into Changchun Prison. He was set free thanks to the good offices of pro-communist figures.

Arriving in eastern Manchuria in the spring of 1931, he organized a short training course in Dunhua for the men of the KRA and hardcore members of revolutionary organizations. In the course he set the tasks and ways for aggressively pushing ahead with preparations for the anti-Japanese armed struggle and also the principled issues arising in guaranteeing unified guidance over basic party organizations. He then dispatched underground workers to various urban and rural areas in eastern Manchuria.

Exerting efforts to prepare the revolutionary forces after the Dunhua short course, he gave guidance to the work of revolutionary organizations to eliminate the aftereffects of the "Leftist" uprisings in the Antu, Yanji, Helong and Wangqing areas. He went as far as Jongsong and Onsong, in the northern border area of Korea, to improve the work of revolutionary organizations there. On May 14, 1931 he convened a meeting of political workers and chiefs of underground revolutionary organizations at Kongsudok, Phunggye-dong, Phunggok Sub-county, Jongsong County, at which he set forth detailed tasks arising in the effort to thoroughly eliminate the aftereffects of the "Left" adventurist acts of factionalists and sycophants, and fully prepare revolutionary forces for organizing and launching the armed struggle.

After the Kongsudok Meeting, Kim Il Sung paid close attention to overcoming the "Left" adventurist line of factionalists and sycophants and to following the revolutionary organizational line, for the proper building up of the revolutionary forces. On May 20, 1931 he called a meeting of party and YCL cadres in Mingyuegou, Yanji County, and delivered a speech, titled, ***Let Us Repudiate the "Left" Adventurist Line and Follow the Revolutionary Organizational Line***, in which he clarified the erroneousness and calamitous aftereffects of the "Left" adventurist line, and set the tasks for the implementation of the revolutionary organizational line.

In his speech he stressed that the most important task for the Korean communists at that time was to follow the revolutionary organizational line, which would make it possible to unite the basic sections of the masses of the revolution firmly and, around them, the anti-Japanese forces from all walks of life, thereby building up the whole nation into a political force.

Following the Mingyuegou Meeting, Kim Il Sung made efforts to follow the revolutionary organizational line. He dispatched leading party and YCL cadres and members of the KRA to every part of Jiandao as well as to the northern border areas of Korea, including Onsong, Jongsong and Kyongwon. From the summer of the year he stayed in the Antu area guiding the revolutionary work in Jiandao and the homeland. Late in June 1931 he advanced to the Hoeryong and Jongsong areas to give guidance to the political workers and revolutionary organizations there.

As a result, revolutionary organizations took deep root in the Antu area, with Xinglongcun as the centre, the revolutionary leadership core became able to work independently, and a struggle to follow the revolutionary organizational line was waged in various parts of Manchuria and the northern border areas of Korea, including six towns, with the revolutionary forces there built up firmly.

Based on the success achieved in the struggle for the implementation of the revolutionary organizational line, Kim Il Sung roused the broad sections of the masses in the whole area of Jiandao to a large-scale struggle around harvest time.

He put forward a policy of rousing the peasants in Jiandao to the harvest struggle at a meeting of leading cadres of the party and YCL held late in August 1931 in Taipingou, Yanji County, and took measures for expanding this struggle to the whole areas of eastern Manchuria at a meeting of chiefs of the revolutionary organizations in the Songjiang area in Antu held late in September. Early in October he called a meeting of chiefs of the party and revolutionary organizations in Wangyugou, Yanji County, and advanced a new policy of developing the struggle to a violent political struggle against Japanese imperialism.

The struggle developed into a large-scale and organized violent struggle involving 100 000 peasants in Jiandao, and won victory, dealing a heavy blow to the Japanese invaders and reactionary landlords. The struggle served as an important opportunity for awakening and tempering the people.

While accelerating preparations for the armed struggle, Kim Il Sung directed close attention to defining its form.

In connection with the Japanese imperialist invasion of Manchuria, he called a meeting of political workers and chiefs of underground organizations in the homeland in Kwangmyong Village, Jongsong County, in mid-October 1931, at which he said that launching an organized armed struggle was an urgent demand, and set the task of accelerating the full-scale preparations for the armed struggle. The meeting was a preparatory order and a prior signal for an armed struggle sent to the people and revolutionaries in the homeland.

With a deep interest in guerrilla warfare, he read the Chinese classics *Sun-tzu's Art of War* and *Three Warring Kingdoms* as well as Korean books on military science such as *Military Books of the Eastern Country* and *Instructions on Military Science*, and studied the struggles of guerrillas in foreign countries, various war tactics employed by famous Korean generals who emerged from among volunteers, and the Imjin Patriotic War. In the course of this he was convinced that in order to win the struggle against the Japanese invaders, who were superior in number and technology, it was necessary to employ the method of flexible guerrilla warfare.

Thanks to the leadership of Kim Il Sung, political and military preparations were made for a full-scale anti-Japanese armed struggle, and the Korean anti-Japanese national liberation movement developed to the stage of an organized armed struggle under the banner of Songun.

# CHAPTER 2. TO DEVELOP THE ANTI-JAPANESE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT TO A NEW HEIGHT

(December 1931–February 1936)

## 1. Mingyuegou Meeting and the Strategic Policy of Waging Armed Struggle Mainly in the Form of Guerrilla Warfare

The new situation created in the wake of the occupation of Manchuria by the Japanese imperialists urgently demanded an anti-Japanese armed struggle.

The Japanese imperialists staged the September 18 Incident of 1931, and launched an armed invasion of Manchuria. They intensified their reactionary offensive against the Korean people on a full scale to ensure the "security of the rear." Their repressive outrages were particularly severe in the Korean settlements in Manchuria. The struggle of the Korean people against this suppression rapidly mounted, and gradually developed into a violent struggle.

Around this time, there emerged a good opportunity for waging a massive armed struggle.

The Japanese imperialists' invasion of Manchuria and general retreat of the Chinese nationalist Northeast Army undermined Kuomintang rule, and the ruling machinery of Japanese imperialism had not yet been established, leaving the whole of Manchuria in a state of anarchy. The Chinese people, too, rose in a mass struggle in various places against the Japanese occupation of Manchuria.

On the basis of his scientific analysis of the urgent situation and the favourable conditions, Kim Il Sung decided that an anti-Japanese armed struggle should be waged immediately, and called a meeting of party and YCL cadres at Mingyuegou, Yanji County, from December 16 to 25, 1931.

Present at the meeting were 40 Korean revolutionary vanguard fighters who had been tempered in revolutionary organizations and practical struggle. Some Chinese communists also attended the meeting.

At the meeting Kim Il Sung delivered a speech titled, ***On Organizing and Waging Armed Struggle against Japanese Imperialism***, in which he called upon the entire Korean nation to turn out in the sacred struggle for national liberation.

Saying that the time had come for all the Korean people to join the sacred struggle for national liberation with arms, he stressed that all the patriotic forces opposed to Japanese imperialism should engage in the armed struggle, irrespective of property status, social position, party affiliation or religious belief, those with weapons offering weapons, those with money donating money and those with strength contributing strength.

He said:

**"We must organize and wage an armed struggle with guerrilla warfare as our major tactic.**

**"Guerrilla warfare is a method of armed struggle which will enable us to deal heavy political and military blows at the enemy while preserving our own forces, and to defeat the numerically and technically superior enemy even with small forces."**

The policy received the unanimous approval of those attending the meeting.

Kim Il Sung also clarified the tasks and ways for waging the armed struggle mainly in the form of guerrilla warfare.

He pointed out the need to organize an anti-Japanese people's guerrilla army as a standing revolutionary armed force.

He said: The anti-Japanese people's guerrilla army must be fundamentally different from the Righteous Volunteers' Army or the Independence Army (early resistance fighters against the Japanese invaders of Korea). It must become a genuine people's army, working-class army and revolutionary army. If we are to organize the anti-Japanese people's guerrilla army we have to form an armed force with a core of fine young communists seasoned and tested in the crucible of the hard-fought underground revolutionary struggle, admit to it progressive workers and peasants, as well as patriotic youth tested in the practical revolutionary struggle, to reinforce its ranks continuously, and fully ensure the communists' leadership of it.

Saying that obtaining arms, one of the two mainstays of the armed force, was a basic factor that would ensure success in the armed struggle, he advanced the slogan **"Weapons are our life and soul! Oppose armed force with armed**

**force!”** and set forth the task of making weapons as well as capturing them from the enemy.

He continued: We have to begin by organizing small guerrilla units in different areas, and then gradually expand them into revolutionary armed forces of large units.

Next, he put forward the task of establishing guerrilla bases.

He said it was necessary to establish guerrilla zones, bases in the form of liberated areas, in the mountain regions along the Tuman River and the revolutionized rural areas where favourable conditions for their establishment were created, and make the areas adjacent to the guerrilla zones as good as guerrilla zones by transforming them in a revolutionary way.

Kim Il Sung also advanced the task of laying a mass foundation for the armed struggle.

In this respect, he said that it was of great importance to rally the broad sections of the masses from all walks of life behind various revolutionary organizations and intensify their education, and train and expand the revolutionary forces in a militant manner through practice.

He stressed the need to form an anti-Japanese united front of the Korean and Chinese peoples.

Pointing out that the most urgent task in organizing the anti-Japanese united front of the Korean and Chinese peoples was to form an allied front with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese armed units, he said that what was important here was to maintain the principle of putting the main emphasis on forming a united front among the rank and file and, firmly relying on this, the united front at the top level. He went on to say that, as an organizational step for actively winning over the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units, it was necessary to organize special detachments in Wangqing and Antu where such units were already gathered.

Finally, he put forth the task of intensifying the work of party and YCL organizations.

He stressed that in order to establish the leadership elite of the guerrilla army and the organizational backbone of the party to be founded it was necessary to strengthen party organizational life and work efficiently to expand the YCL ranks.

The winter Mingyuegou meeting marked the start of the anti-Japanese armed struggle. It was a historic meeting that brought about a fresh turn in the anti-Japanese national liberation and communist movements in Korea.

## 2. Founding of the AJPGA, Commencement of Songun-Based Revolutionary Leadership and Advance of the AJPGA to Northern and Southern Manchuria

After the winter Mingyuegou meeting, Kim Il Sung pushed ahead with making preparations for founding the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army (AJPGA), which would be the leading force of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

It was by no means easy to build a standing revolutionary army capable of countering the Japanese imperialist aggressor army when the Japanese imperialists were expanding their networks of repressive agencies. The efforts to found the AJPGA faced many knotty military and political problems, involving personnel, weapons and relations with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese armed units.

Kim Il Sung set out on the road of realizing the cause of army building with the two pistols bequeathed to him by his father and on the basis of the Juche-oriented Songun idea.

While dispatching many hardcore revolutionaries to Wangqing, Yanji, Hunchun, Ningan, Jilin and various other places in Manchuria, he himself moved the theatre of his activities to the Antu area, which was particularly favourable for waging guerrilla warfare, and concentrated on founding the guerrilla army there. At the meetings of the Xiaoshahe district party committee and of the chiefs of party and YCL organizations held in Xiaoshahe, Antu County, in January 1932 he took positive measures to solve the problems arising in the founding of the AJPGA.

He paid primary attention to forming the armed ranks.

While training the members of the KRA and party and YCL organizations to be the backbone of the armed ranks, he saw to it that armed units were formed with young people prepared politically and militarily, having been members of the Red Guards, Workers' Pickets, Children's Vanguard and other militias in Antu and its surrounding areas, and those seasoned and tested through the harvest struggle in various counties along the Tuman River.

With the backbone prepared, he organized early in March 1932 in Xiaoshahe, Antu County, a small guerrilla unit with 18 young communists,

including Cha Kwang Su, Kim Il Ryong, Pak Hun, Kim Chol (Kim Chol Hui) and Ri Yong Bae. Later, similar units were organized in Wangqing, Yanji, Helong, Hunchun and various other areas.

Upholding the slogan **"Weapons are our life and soul! Oppose armed force with armed force!"** advanced by Kim Il Sung, the soldiers of the guerrilla groups and members of revolutionary organizations wrested weapons from the Japanese imperialist aggressor army, Japanese and puppet Manchukuo police, pro-Japanese elements and reactionary bureaucrats everywhere they could, even at the risk of their lives. At the same time, members of revolutionary organizations and revolutionary individuals made swords and spears at smithies at first and then hand-grenades at arsenals. This was a prelude to an all-people resistance and a preliminary war.

Kim Il Sung also channelled great efforts into laying a mass foundation for the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

During the period from February to March 1932, disguised as a farm hand, he went to the village of Fuerhe to transform it in a revolutionary way, as it was located in a region which was strategically important for waging guerrilla warfare. He saw to it that the experience he had gained in this work was spread to various other places. As a result, a mass foundation for armed struggle was laid in many rural areas along the Tuman River in a short span of time.

Basing himself on this success, he roused the peasant masses in different parts of eastern Manchuria to a large-scale "spring dearth" struggle in the spring of 1932. This struggle, involving over 100 000 peasants, dealt a heavy blow to the Japanese imperialists and reactionary landlords, tempered the small guerrilla units and revolutionary organizations, and roused numerous workers, peasants and young patriots to revolutionary awareness.

Meanwhile, Kim Il Sung paid close attention to forming an allied front with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese armed units.

Regarding the formation of the allied front as an urgent problem to be solved in the course of the preparations for founding the guerrilla army, he called a meeting of the chiefs of revolutionary organizations early in April 1932 in Xiaoshahe, Antu County. At the meeting he proposed holding face-to-face negotiations with the leaders of the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese armed units. He succeeded in his negotiations with Commander Wu of the Chinese nationalist armed unit in Antu County Town, persuading the latter to join the allied anti-Japanese struggle. In order to further strengthen the allied front, he formed a special detachment and the Committee of Anti-Japanese Soldiers within the Chinese unit. This laid a basis for the Korean communists' guerrilla army to conduct legal operations.

Kim Il Sung resolved such problems as the composition, command structure and uniform of the guerrilla army in an original way in conformity with the requirements and characteristics of guerrilla warfare, although in disregard of established formulas.

He convened a meeting to finalize the preparations for founding the AJPGA, where he examined the volunteers, and fixed the date and place of the founding of the guerrilla army and the area of its immediate activities.

Then he organized the AJPGA with the company as the basic combat unit, and became its commander and political commissar.

The founding ceremony of the guerrilla army was held on the tableland of Tuqidian, Xiaoshahe, Antu County, on April 25, 1932.

At the ceremony, he proclaimed the founding of the AJPGA before delivering a speech titled, ***On the Occasion of the Founding of the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army***. In the speech he clarified the character and mission of the AJPGA as follows:

**"The AJPGA is made up of the workers, peasants and young patriots who oppose the Japanese imperialists and their stooges and love their country and people; it is a revolutionary armed force which will dedicate itself to protecting the interests of the people.**

**"The aim and mission of the people's guerrilla army is to overthrow the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism in Korea and bring national independence and social emancipation to the Korean people."**

In his speech he set out the tasks for waging the anti-Japanese armed struggle in real earnest–reinforcing the AJPGA, stepping up the work of building guerrilla bases and strengthening ties with the people.

The AJPGA founded by Kim Il Sung in Antu was under his direct command. It was made up of progressive people from eastern and southern Manchuria as well as Korea. Its mission was to operate in the wide areas around Mt. Paektu and along the Amnok and Tuman rivers. The Antu guerrilla army was the core unit and main-force unit for realizing Kim Il Sung's Songun-based revolutionary leadership. After the founding of the AJPGA, Kim Il Sung dispatched hardcore elements to Wangqing, Yanji, Helong, Hunchun and other areas in eastern Manchuria to organize guerrilla units there. Other staunch revolutionaries, such as Kim Chaek, Choe Yong Gon, Ri Hong Gwang and Ri Tong Gwang, formed guerrilla units in northern and southern Manchuria.

The founding of the AJPGA represented a historic milestone in the revolutionary struggle and army building of the Korean people. It marked the

birth of a genuine people's revolutionary army, the most powerful core force of the Songun revolution. It also made it possible to push forward the Korean revolution as a whole on the principle of Songun, signifying the beginning of Kim Il Sung's Songun-based revolutionary leadership.

Following the founding of the AJPGA, Kim Il Sung organized expeditions to southern and northern Manchuria.

A meeting of the AJPGA commanding officers and party and YCL cadres was held in Xiaoshahe, Antu County, in mid-May 1932.

At the meeting Kim Il Sung said that the purpose of the expedition was not only to realize a united front with the Korean Independence Army units there and lay a mass foundation for armed struggle but also to develop the AJPGA into a revolutionary armed force fully prepared politically and militarily.

In May 1932 Kim Il Sung successfully led an ambush of an enemy convoy in Xiaoyingziling in Antu County, which was the first battle after the founding of the AJPGA. Through the battle the guerrillas earned confidence in victory and obtained enough military materials for the expedition to southern Manchuria.

Before leaving for southern Manchuria, Kim Il Sung called on his mother, who was ill. Early in June that year the main force of the AJPGA set out on the march to southern Manchuria.

On the border between Antu and Fusong, the unit was attacked by an enemy company. It switched over to a counterattack, and annihilated the enemy troops. Thus the myth of the Japanese army's "overwhelming might" was shattered, and the guerrillas and the people were inspired with confidence in victory. The unit stayed in Fusong for some days, working to expand revolutionary organizations there. Late in June it reached Tonghua. Kim Il Sung appealed to Ryang Se Bong and his soldiers of the Independence Army to help achieve national unity to liberate the country. Young people in particular, he stressed, should stand in the van of this sacred fight. He encouraged Ryang Se Bong and his men to fight to the end against Japanese imperialism. The unit then went to Sanyuanpu, Gushanzi, Liuhe, Hailong and Mengjiang, where it roused the local people to revolutionary awareness, restored the disrupted revolutionary organizations, enrolled recruits and procured weapons for them. Kim Il Sung directed his effort to the work with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese armed units there so as to consolidate the anti-Japanese allied front.

Having achieved the aim of the expedition to southern Manchuria, the reinforced main force of the AJPGA returned to Liangjiangkou, Antu County, late in August 1932.

At the end of the month Kim Il Sung called two meetings of the Committee of Anti-Japanese Soldiers in Liangjiangkou, at which he took concrete measures to strengthen the work with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese armed units.

In September the AJPGA launched an attack on Dunhua and Emu county towns in collaboration with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese armed units. The assault on Dunhua County Town was the first battle in which the AJPGA defeated Japanese troops in joint operations with Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese armed units.

Late in September 1932 Kim Il Sung called a meeting of the officers of the AJPGA and political workers in Liangjiangkou. At the meeting he reviewed the work of the guerrilla army in the six months since its founding. In order to develop the guerrilla struggle to a new stage, he set the following tasks: to move the base of the activities of the AJPGA to the area of Wangqing; to conduct in greater depth the work with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese armed units; to give correct guidance to the guerrilla struggle which was expanding rapidly in eastern Manchuria; and to hasten the sound establishment of the revolutionary bases.

His comrades urged him to visit his ailing mother, despite his busy schedule. So he left for his home in Xiaoshahe, only to find his two brothers orphaned. He went to his mother's grave with a sorrowful heart, remembering her last words to him, and solemnly vowed that he would win back the country at all costs by force of arms.

To cope with the critical situation created by the imminent invasion of Antu by the Japanese army, he again called a meeting of the Committee of Anti-Japanese Soldiers in Liangjiangkou. He stressed at the meeting that the AJPGA should move to Luozigou in northern Manchuria, where Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese armed units in retreat were gathered. Early in October 1932 the main force of the AJPGA set out for northern Manchuria.

Marching through Fuerhe, Toudaoliangzi, Guandi and Nanhutou, the unit conducted active political and military activities, exerting a revolutionary influence on the people there. Late in October Kim Il Sung guided the work of party and YCL organizations and other mass organizations in Wangqing County while making preparations for setting up a base for the main force of the AJPGA in the county.

At the end of December 1932 he called a meeting of the Committee of Anti-Japanese Soldiers in Luozigou, Wangqing County. At the meeting he adopted steps to prevent the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese armed units from fleeing

to China proper through the Soviet Union, and to consolidate the allied front with them. Early in January the following year he went to Laoheishan and held talks with the commanding officers of the Chinese units there, urging them to persist in the struggle to defend their country.

The way back to Wangqing was arduous, as the enemy was closing in on the guerrillas, who eventually found themselves under siege on the Luozigou heights. The guerrillas finally managed to break through the besieging enemy's trap with the help of an elderly man named Ma. They found shelter in Ma's cottage for 20 days, during which they conducted political and military studies.

Through the marches to southern and northern Manchuria, and military and political studies on the way, the guerrillas made themselves into staunch fighters. In February 1933 the guerrilla unit reached Macun, Xiaowangqing, via Yaoyinggou. Macun became the seat of the Headquarters of the AJPGA, where Kim Il Sung gave strategic leadership to the overall Korean revolution centred on armed struggle.

## 3. Establishing Guerrilla Bases along the Tuman River, Setting Up the People's Revolutionary Government and Introducing Democratic Reforms

While expanding the ranks of the AJPGA, Kim Il Sung showed great concern for the establishment of guerrilla bases in the areas along the Tuman River.

Establishing guerrilla bases was a prerequisite for the successful implementation of the Songun-based revolutionary leadership. The prevailing situation after the founding of the AJPGA urgently called for the establishment of guerrilla bases.

Upset by the rapid development of the armed resistance and revolutionization of the vast areas along the Tuman River, the Japanese imperialists launched frenzied "punitive" operations against Koreans living in the Jiandao area. They raided the revolutionized villages almost every day, launching "scorched-earth operations"–to kill all, burn all and loot all–in a frantic attempt to sever the ties between the guerrillas and the people, and smash the guerrilla army, the main force of the Songun revolution, in its

budding stage. In order to protect the young guerrilla army and the revolutionary masses from the reactionary offensive of the Japanese imperialists and further develop the Korean revolution, it was urgent to set up guerrilla bases.

At the time, conditions were ripe for establishing guerrilla bases. With the rapid revolutionization of the rural areas along the Tuman River, revolutionary organizations sprang up, and firm mass foundations for building guerrilla bases were laid there. In addition, armed ranks had already been prepared.

With keen insight into the prevailing situation and the urgent demand of the developing armed struggle, Kim Il Sung directed great efforts to establishing guerrilla bases in the areas along the Tuman River, as he had proposed at the winter Mingyuegou meeting in 1931 and the Xiaoshahe meeting in May 1932.

His primary intention was to set up guerrilla zones in the form of liberated areas.

A guerrilla zone in the form of a liberated area meant a zone beyond the enemy's reach and under the full control of the guerrillas. In other words, it meant a base which was free from Japanese reactionary rule, was administered by a revolutionary government and had the capability of self-defence.

As the first step, he dispatched competent party and YCL workers to different areas along the Tuman River to accelerate the revolutionary transformation of the rural villages there. Later, those villages were used as temporary strongholds of the AJPGA until guerrilla zones were set up. They also served as a foundation for establishing such zones.

The AJPGA fought many battles to neutralize the enemy's military attacks and secure areas for establishing guerrilla zones, and moved revolutionary supporters there. Power organs were set up, and party, YCL and other revolutionary organizations, and the Red Guards, Children's Vanguard and other militias were formed. A series of necessary steps were taken for stabilizing the livelihood of the people, and establishing a revolutionary order and system there.

Back in late May 1932, prior to the expedition to southern Manchuria, a guerrilla zone was set up in Xiaoshahe, Antu County, on an experimental basis. Afterwards, similar zones appeared in various counties of eastern Manchuria.

In October 1932 Kim Il Sung visited Dabeigou, Xiaobeigou and Xiaowangqing in Wangqing County, and other areas to direct the work of establishing guerrilla zones there.

In the period between the summer of 1932 and early 1933, many guerrilla zones were set up in the mountainous rural areas along the Tuman River,

including the area centring on Xiaoshahe and Dajinjiang, both in Antu County, the area centring on Xiaowangqing, Gayahe and Yaoyinggou, in Wangqing County, the area centring on Wangougou, Hailangou, Shirengou, Sandaowan and Weizigou in Yanji County, the area centring on Yulangcun and Niufudong in Helong County, and the area centring on Dahuanggou, Yantonglazi and Lishugou in Hunchun County. Later, according to a policy Kim Il Sung advanced on moving some of the guerrilla zones to more favourable areas, new guerrilla zones were established in the area centring on Chechangzi and Naitoushan in Antu County, the area centring on Dahuangwai and Jinchang in Wangqing County, and Xinchengdong in Yanji County.

In parallel with the establishment of guerrilla zones, Kim Il Sung stepped up the creation of semi-guerrilla zones in the areas adjacent to the guerrilla zones.

Semi-guerrilla zones were places which were nominally under the enemy's rule, but, in fact, were controlled and led by the guerrillas and other revolutionary organizations.

Guerrilla warfare had to be fought in all places where the Japanese troops were stationed. So, only when semi-guerrilla zones were established in the vast areas around the guerrilla zones was it possible to firmly defend the guerrilla zones and expand guerrilla warfare.

However, "Leftist" opportunists and factionalist sycophants opposed the establishment of semi-guerrilla zones, advocating only the setting up of guerrilla bases in the form of liberated areas. They even demarcated the guerrilla zones and the enemy-ruled areas in an artificial manner by calling the former "Red territory" and the latter "White territory." They labelled the inhabitants of the enemy-held areas "reactionaries" and those in the intermediate zones "dubious elements," and suspected or rejected both of them for no reason. Consequently, many people, who had turned out in the struggle against Japanese imperialism, were driven over to the enemy side.

Despite these obstructive moves, Kim Il Sung made strenuous efforts to establish semi-guerrilla zones from the spring of 1933. Political workers were sent to the areas surrounding the guerrilla zones to form revolutionary organizations and rally the masses behind them. They infiltrated the lowest administrative units of the enemy's ruling machinery, and won over many junior officials of those organs.

Semi-guerrilla zones appeared in many areas–in Luozigou, Dahuangwai, Zhuanjiaolou and Liangshuiquanzi in Wangqing County, in the vast areas of Yanji, Helong, Hunchun and Antu counties and in some parts of Dongning and

Dunhua counties, as well as in the areas of the six towns of northern Korea. Some of the guerrilla zones, which were located in areas unfavourable for defence, were turned into semi-guerrilla zones.

Kim Il Sung took steps to establish strongpoints for guerrilla activities in the enemy-ruled areas. These strongpoints supported the military actions and political activities of the guerrillas in the enemy-ruled areas, providing liaison links. Composed of underground revolutionary organizations and liaison points, they were temporary and mobile bases.

Meanwhile, political workers formed underground revolutionary organizations and set up liaison points in a short span of time in big cities and areas of military importance, such as Longjing, Hunchun, Tumen, Laotougou and Baicaogou, as well as along railway lines.

Kim Il Sung led the efforts to set up people's revolutionary governments and introduce democratic reforms in the guerrilla zones.

He had already advanced an original idea on the building of political power at the Kalun and winter Mingyuegou meetings. On this basis, he had set forth the line of establishing a people's revolutionary government at a meeting held in Xiaoshahe in May 1932. He then strove to rectify the "Leftist" mistake of the line of building the soviet governments, and instead set up people's revolutionary governments in the guerrilla zones.

Establishing a soviet government according to the line advocated by the Comintern was a trend in the then international communist movement. The "Leftist" opportunists and factionalist sycophants followed this line blindly, building soviet governments in eastern Manchuria, which were unsuitable to the conditions of the guerrilla zones. They reiterated the ultra-Leftist slogan of the immediate introduction of socialism, proclaiming the abolition of all private ownership, and enforcing communal life, communal labour and communal distribution. These practices caused great unrest and confusion in the guerrilla zones, and forced many people, disillusioned by the soviet policy, to desert those zones.

To cope with this situation, Kim Il Sung called a meeting of party and YCL cadres in Macun, Xiaowangqing, Wangqing County, late in February 1933. At the meeting he clarified the immediate tasks and ways for correcting the "Leftist" practices in the development of the guerrilla zones and implementing the Juche-oriented line of the Korean revolution. He then set forth a policy of reshaping the soviets in some guerrilla zones along the Tuman River into people's revolutionary governments. The Macun meeting was a turning point in implementing the Juche-oriented line of establishing people's revolutionary governments.

After the meeting he sent party and YCL cadres to many areas to help implement the new line. While guiding their work, he himself corrected, through patient explanations, the misguided view of those who were trying to force the soviet line on their subordinate units and those who were toeing the line.

On March 18, 1933 he presided over a rally for setting up a people's revolutionary government in District No. 5, Wangqing, held at Sishuiping in the Gayahe guerrilla zone.

In his speech ***The People's Revolutionary Government Is Genuine People's Power*** delivered at the rally, Kim Il Sung defined the character of the people's revolutionary government as follows:

**"The people's revolutionary government we are going to establish today will be genuine people's power which is based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class and relying on the united front of the broad sections of the anti-Japanese masses."**

He also explained ways for establishing the people's revolutionary governments at the earliest possible moment, and clarified the policies to be adopted by it.

The rally elected deputies to the district government according to the free will of the attendants, and Kim Il Sung proclaimed the establishment of the people's revolutionary government for District No. 5, Wangqing. This people's revolutionary government of a new type was the first of its kind in the history of building the political power of the working class.

In April 1933 Kim Il Sung held talks with a man from the Comintern in Macun and Shiliping, Xiaowangqing. He explained to the latter the unsuitability of the "Leftist" soviet line and the validity of the line of building people's revolutionary governments. In summer that year he called a meeting to discuss the change of the line of power building, where he reaffirmed the line of building people's revolutionary governments and the policies to be enforced by those governments. The meeting adopted a resolution on reorganizing all the soviets established in guerrilla zones into people's revolutionary governments, in accordance with the new line and putting right the "Leftist" deviation of the soviet line.

By the summer of 1933 district people's revolutionary governments had been set up in all the guerrilla zones along the Tuman River and village governments in all villages in these zones. Where this was impossible, peasant committees were formed temporarily, to be reshaped into government bodies later.

The people's revolutionary government was a people-oriented and democratic government of a new type which represented all the anti-Japanese forces, including the workers, peasants, guerrillas, youth and students, and intellectuals, as well as conscientious capitalists and religious people, and stoutly defended their interests.

Kim Il Sung took measures to introduce democratic reforms in the guerrilla zones. The democratic reforms would make it possible to free the revolutionary masses in the guerrilla zones from colonial and feudal exploitation and oppression, provide them with genuine political rights and stable living conditions, and turn the guerrilla zones into reliable strategic points and logistics bases for the armed struggle.

The democratic reforms included providing genuine political freedom and democratic rights to the people in the guerrilla zones, exercising strict dictatorship over pro-Japanese landlords, comprador capitalists and traitors to the nation, confiscating the lands of the Japanese imperialists, pro-Japanese landlords and traitors to the nation and distributing them free to peasants, confiscating all the industrial property of the Japanese imperialists and comprador capitalists and encouraging the enterprises of conscientious national capitalists, and introducing an eight-hour work day and a minimum wage system as measures to provide people with stable living conditions.

The people's revolutionary government proclaimed the equality of the sexes and guaranteed women equal rights with men. Besides, it introduced free education in Children's Corps schools and free medical care for all people in the guerrilla zones.

As a result, the guerrilla zones along the Tuman River assumed the appearance of liberated areas.

## 4. Expanding the Anti-Japanese Armed Struggle to the Homeland

While building up the guerrilla bases along the Tuman River as a strategic launching pad for the Korean revolution, Kim Il Sung led the van in expanding the anti-Japanese armed struggle to the homeland.

This had been a strategic objective he had pursued since the early days of the armed struggle, and his unshakable determination. However, the national

chauvinists and factionalist sycophants opposed any advance into the homeland by armed forces, claiming that for Korean revolutionaries in China to fight for the Korean revolution was an expression of "extension of nationalism" and contradicted the principle of one party in one country, set by the Comintern.

Meanwhile, the Japanese imperialists, upset by the establishment of guerrilla bases in the wide areas along the Tuman River and the expansion of the armed struggle with these bases as strongholds, made desperate attempts to stifle the burgeoning guerrilla army and guerrilla bases. Furthermore, in an attempt to cut off the influence of the armed struggle on the people inside Korea, they mobilized huge forces to ensure watertight security on the border between Korea and China.

Despite these unfavourable circumstances, Kim Il Sung expanded the armed struggle to the homeland, as he was convinced that Korean revolutionaries had an inviolable right to fight for the liberation of Korea.

Early in March 1933 a guerrilla unit led by Commander Kim Il Sung left Macun, Xiaowangqing, crossed the Tuman River safely despite the enemy's strict watch, and arrived at Onsong in Korea.

On March 11, 1933 he called a meeting on Mt. Wangjae of chiefs of underground revolutionary organizations and political workers in the Onsong area, and delivered a speech titled, ***On Spreading and Developing the Armed Struggle into the Homeland***.

In the speech he said:

**"We must expand and develop our anti-Japanese armed struggle to the homeland, however vicious the enemy's moves and however difficult the situation."**

He first of all pointed to the need to establish more semi-guerrilla zones over a wide area in the homeland and consolidate them. He continued that, to this end, guerrillas must conduct combat activities briskly in the areas along the Tuman River, and, at the same time, the underground revolutionary organizations at home must work actively to rally broad sections of the masses around revolutionary organizations and educate them along revolutionary lines. He stressed that secret liaison points and various other centres for revolutionary activities should be set up by taking advantage of the favourable natural conditions of the local forests.

As for rallying the whole nation as a single political force for the expansion of the armed struggle to the homeland, he pointed out that it was necessary to rally all the people under the banner of the anti-Japanese national united front by enlisting all those who hated the Japanese imperialists and truly wanted the

country's liberation, irrespective of property status, education, residence or sex. To this end, he said, many legal and illegal mass organizations of different types should be formed to embrace broad sections of the masses and educate them along revolutionary lines.

He stressed that, in order to expand the armed struggle to the homeland, this struggle should be closely linked with the mass movement. He added that the revolutionaries and people at home should organize anti-Japanese struggles of different kinds, and aid the guerrillas and people in the guerrilla bases.

He concluded that, in order to successfully carry out the difficult and complex revolutionary tasks, there must be a party, the General Staff of the revolution, and that, to this end, it was essential to train hardcore communists who were armed with progressive ideas and tested in practical struggle.

After this meeting, he visited Ryuda Islet in Kyongwon County late in March 1933, Kumsan Hill, Sinhung in Jongsong County late in May, Paksokgol in Kyongwon County late in August, and many other places in the homeland, where he called meetings of chiefs of revolutionary organizations and political workers, and gave short courses for them, explaining the concrete steps needed to carry out the policy advanced at the Wangjaesan meeting.

The people in the northern regions of Korea were transformed in a revolutionary way, and many secret camps, including those on Mt. Wangjae, and secret liaison points were set up in rural villages, major cities and areas along railway lines.

Political workers dispatched by Kim Il Sung set up a network of semi-guerrilla zones in the six towns in the northernmost part of Korea–Onsong, Hoeryong, Jongsong, Kyongwon, Kyonghung and Puryong.

They also laid out bases in Onsong, Chongjin, Sinhung, Wonsan, Nampho, Seoul and other major regions, and educated the inhabitants politically. They explained to the people at home the Juche-oriented revolutionary line advanced by Kim Il Sung, and distributed various publications issued in the guerrilla zones. Besides, they formed the Association for Aiding the Anti-Japanese Revolution, the Anti-Imperialist League, the Peasant Mutual Aid Society, the Women's Association, the Children's Corps and other organizations, and united broad sections of the people in them. They also exerted a revolutionary influence on labour and peasant unions.

Kim Il Sung took steps to escalate military operations into the homeland. Leading a unit, he moved to Liangshuiquanzi and other border areas along the Tuman River, where he conducted military and political activities and directed the work of expanding the armed struggle to the homeland.

Small units and groups of the AJPGA were very active in Onsong, Jongsong, Hoeryong, Kyongwon, Musan and other northern parts of Korea, raiding enemy's military barracks, police stations, sub-county offices, ferries and customs houses, and killing Japanese soldiers, policemen and their stooges there. In January 1935 alone, there were many battles in Onsong County, including those at Namsan-dong in Onsong Sub-county, Wolpha-dong and Misan-dong in Mipho Sub-county, and Seson-dong in Yupho Sub-county. The local people were greatly encouraged by the guerrillas' victory in these battles and their political work.

The numerous military operations and political activities conducted in the homeland by the units of the AJPGA dealt severe blows to the Japanese aggressors, and inspired the local people with confidence in victory, giving a strong impetus to their anti-Japanese struggles of various kinds.

Kim Il Sung ensured that the mass struggle against Japanese imperialism was intensified in the homeland.

Underground revolutionary organizations and political workers inspired the people to render active support to the anti-Japanese armed struggle. Workers, peasants and other people of different social strata, in spite of severe suppression by the enemy, turned out to support the guerrillas and guerrilla zones under such slogans as "Support the anti-Japanese armed struggle!" and "Aid the anti-Japanese guerrilla army!" People in Onsong, Hoeryong, Kyongwon, Musan, Chongjin, Wonsan, Hamhung and other parts of the country held various meetings for this purpose, and expressed support for the anti-Japanese armed struggle by spreading appeals and leaflets as well as other publications.

Patriotic young people came to the guerrilla bases to apply for service in the guerrilla army. Patriotic people collected information about the enemy's movements for the guerrillas, and volunteered to act as guides and provide them with board and lodging.

They also sent aid goods to the guerrilla army and the people in the guerrilla zones. Involved in this campaign were broad sections of the anti-Japanese masses–workers, peasants, youth and students, intellectuals, and patriotic religious people and tradesmen.

Their active support gave the guerrillas and the people in the guerrilla bases great encouragement, bringing the armed struggle and the civilian struggle closer.

The struggle of the people in the homeland against Japanese imperialism mounted under the guidance of Kim Il Sung.

Political workers and members of underground revolutionary organizations roused the people to different types of mass struggle.

The workers in Sinuiju, Hungnam, Nampho and other industrial areas fought for the freedom of organization and association, collective bargaining, an eight-hour work day, and improvements in pay and conditions. Over 900 strikes of workers took place between 1931 and 1935, exceeding the total number for the preceding ten years. Most of these strikes took on the form of political struggle, emerging from the bounds of economic struggle, and mainly directed against the colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists.

The peasants' struggle, too, gained momentum. Over 350 mass tenancy disputes took place between 1931 and 1935. Almost all of them developed into violent struggles, like attacking Japanese imperialist ruling bodies and exploiting agencies, and punishing vicious landlords.

Meanwhile, anti-Japanese school strike "incidents," reading circle "incidents" and handbill "incidents" took place one after another among the youth and students. Patriotic-minded intellectuals and people of culture and art struggled against the Japanese imperialists' schemes to obliterate the traditional culture of the Korean nation.

## 5. Building Party Organizations and Expanding Mass Organizations

While developing the anti-Japanese armed struggle by relying on the guerrilla bases in the areas along the Tuman River, Kim Il Sung pushed forward the work of building party organizations.

He said:

**"On the basis of the successes achieved so far, we must expand party organizations steadily everywhere, starting in places where revolutionary organizations are operating, make sure the organizational guidance system is functioning well, expand the communist hardcore ranks by admitting to party organizations progressive elements trained and tested in struggle, and build up a strong organizational backbone for party founding.**

**"Further, the ideological and volitional unity of the revolutionary ranks and their purity must be maintained."**

He directed great efforts to expanding basic party organizations and

establishing an organizational guidance system for these organizations.

First of all, he paid primary attention to forming party organizations of different levels within the AJPGA, the leading force of the Songun revolution, and setting up a unified guidance system for party organizations. He ensured that a party cell was formed in the company, the main combat unit of the guerrilla army, and under it party groups. After battalions were organized with the rapid expansion of the guerrilla ranks, battalion party committees were formed to guide the party cells in a unified way. As battalions were reorganized into regiments, a party committee was formed in each regiment as a collective guidance body with the mission of giving unified guidance to the overall affairs of the regiment.

From then on, the work of building party organizations, which had been conducted with limited areas as units, gained in scope under the general direction of the guerrilla army.

He also paid attention to readjusting and increasing the number of party organizations in the guerrilla zones and the enemy-held areas, and setting up a well-regulated system for guiding these organizations.

Accordingly, the following measures were taken in the guerrilla zones: screening the party members and re-registering them; admitting to party organizations those who had been tested in other revolutionary organizations; forming one cell in each village as a unit, and party groups under them; restructuring district party committees so that they could correctly direct the activities of party organizations in the guerrilla zones and the enemy-held areas; and creating a mechanism that would be charged exclusively with party work in the enemy-held areas.

Kim Il Sung took steps to expand party organizations in the homeland, particularly in the northern areas along the Tuman River, and establish an organizational guidance system for them. And on the basis of the experiences he gained in building a party organization in the Onsong area, Korea, he directed the work of increasing basic party organizations in the homeland. To this end he regularly dispatched to different parts of the country party officials and political workers who had been trained in the guerrilla zones. Their activities bore fruit: From June 1932 to April 1933 alone, party cells multiplied in Seson, Wolpha, Jangdok and Ryongnam in the Onsong area, Unggi and Phungsan Lumber Station in the Musan area and other extensive areas in the northern part of Korea.

Kim Il Sung himself crossed the border several times to guide the work of building party organizations in the homeland, especially in the northernmost part.

He visited Paksokgol in Kyongwon County to conduct a short course for the political workers and chiefs of underground revolutionary organizations in the homeland on the theme of building underground party organizations. In February the following year, he called in Phungin-dong, Onsong County, a meeting of representatives of party organizations and other revolutionary organizations in the homeland, at which he set forth tasks to be tackled in expanding party organizations in the wide areas of the homeland and establishing regional guidance organs such as district party committees. The meeting marked a turning point in expanding party organizations in the homeland in the first half of the 1930s.

Early in February 1934 he formed the Onsong District Party Committee, which was responsible for guiding the basic party organizations in the Onsong area. This committee also played a pivotal role in rapidly expanding party organizations not only in the Onsong area but deep in the homeland.

Soon afterwards, basic party organizations proliferated in the northern areas, in places such as Onsong, Jongsong, Hoeryong, Kyongwon, Musan, Yonsa, Unggi, Rajin, Chongjin and Puryong, and in various other areas of the homeland. At the same time, a guidance system for these organizations was established.

Kim Il Sung made strenuous efforts to train the organizational backbone for founding a party.

He recruited young people of worker and peasant origin to the AJPGA, and trained them to be revolutionaries in the flames of the armed struggle.

He set up training schools for guerrillas and members of party and other revolutionary organizations in Yaoyinggou, Huoshaopu, Nengzhiying and other districts, to provide regular political, ideological and professional education. These schools were permanent centres for training reserve cadres and providing refresher courses for the officers of the guerrilla army and the officials of the regional party and other mass organizations. They gave intensive courses in political and military subjects, including Kim Il Sung's works, strategic and tactical issues arising in the implementation of the Juche-oriented line of the Korean revolution, political work among the masses, the international situation and guerrilla tactics.

He made sure that party and YCL organizations were formed in these schools, so as to temper the trainees through intensive organizational and ideological life to become competent military and political cadres who would be the organizational backbone for founding a party.

Kim Il Sung directed great efforts to ensuring the unity and purity of the

revolutionary ranks by overcoming factionalism and worship of big powers. In those days those infected with these ideological maladies were obstructing in many ways the implementation of the Juche-oriented revolutionary line by party and other revolutionary organizations in the guerrilla zones, doing great harm to the unity and cohesion of the revolutionary ranks. Therefore, liquidation of these maladies was a prerequisite for consolidating the unity and cohesion of the ranks, and laying an organizational and ideological basis for founding a party.

With a view to rousing the guerrillas and other members of party and revolutionary organizations to join the struggle against factionalism, he published a work titled, ***Let Us Wipe Out Factionalism and Strengthen the Unity and Cohesion of the Revolutionary Ranks*** on May 10, 1933.

He first elucidated the ideological origin of factionalism and its crimes and methods, and then set out the tasks for eliminating it and consolidating the unity and cohesion of the revolutionary ranks.

He said that all the guerrillas and members of the YCL and other revolutionary organizations should firmly establish a revolutionary world outlook, actively mobilize broad sections of the masses for the struggle against factionalism, and carry on this struggle in close combination with the work of strengthening the revolutionary ranks. They should also guard against Rightist and “Leftist” deviations in the struggle against factionalism, and conduct this struggle in a principled way in the interests of the revolution. He stressed that as the struggle for eradicating factionalism was a complicated and serious one, it was necessary to wage it persistently and perseveringly.

He made sure that ideological education was intensified among the members of party and other revolutionary organizations to give them a correct understanding of the nature and harmfulness of factionalism and the methods employed by the factionalists, and firmly equip them with the Juche-oriented line of the Korean revolution and the strategy and tactics for its implementation. He also saw to it that mass meetings for eradicating the harmful aftereffects of factionalism were held to awaken the broad masses of the people ideologically. Especially, he maintained that the anti-factionalist struggle was carried on in close combination with the struggle to oppose worship of big powers and defend the Juche-oriented revolutionary line, as the factionalists were all obsessed with worship of big powers.

He pushed ahead with the work of expanding and strengthening mass organizations.

This was a principled requirement for laying a firm mass foundation for the new

party and enlisting the broad sections of the masses to the anti-Japanese struggle.

He put particular emphasis on expanding and strengthening YCL organizations. On March 27, 1933 he called a meeting of YCL workers in Wangqing, and delivered a speech titled, ***On the Tasks for Improving the Work of the Young Communist League***.

In his speech he expounded on the tasks and ways for expanding and strengthening YCL organizations: guarding against Rightist and "Leftist" deviations; preventing undesirable and Rightist elements from infiltrating the ranks; encouraging YCL organizations at different levels to undertake ideological education in diverse forms and ways, in close connection with the practical struggle; and guiding the work of the Children's Corps and the Children's Vanguard in a responsible manner. He stressed the need for the YCL officials to adopt the revolutionary view of the masses, as well as a revolutionary work method and attitude.

After the meeting the YCL organizations in the guerrilla army and the guerrilla zones were developed into lively organizations, the work of these organizations was brought close to the masses of the youth, and YCL officials were dispatched to eastern Manchuria and the homeland to form organizations by recruiting local young people tempered in the struggle. Particularly, the political workers who were sent to Antu, Dunhua, Fusong, Changbai, Linjiang and other areas formed the YCL Committee of Major Counties on the Border between Liaoning and Jilin Provinces, and improved the work with young people in the enemy-held areas.

Kim Il Sung showed great concern for improving the work of the Children's Corps, seeing it as one of the three major organizations, along with the party and the YCL.

At a talk to the chiefs of CC organizations in Xiaobeigou, Wangqing County, in mid-June 1933 he pointed out that some officials had neglected the work of the CC and even regarded the work as a burden. He stressed that they should work hard to train CC members to be true revolutionaries and reliable successors to the Korean revolution.

He paid constant attention to providing their schools with food and other necessities for their living and study, even under the difficult conditions of that time.

Under his energetic guidance and warm care, the CC members prepared themselves to be pillars of the Korean revolution in the forthcoming bloody struggle. Kim Kum Sun and many other juvenile revolutionaries and heroes emerged in the course of this endeavour.

Kim Il Sung also paid attention to forming and expanding other types of mass organizations.

He personally guided the work of the anti-Japanese Women's Association organization in District No. 2 of Wangqing County and other mass organizations in Dawangqing, Xiaowangqing and Sishuiping districts. He sent many political workers to different places to form and expand labour unions, peasant associations and women's associations over wide areas. He saw to it that mass organizations of the united front type, such as the Anti-Japanese Association, the Anti-Imperialist League and the Revolutionary Mutual Aid Society, were formed in the guerrilla zones and the enemy-held areas to embrace the broad sections of the anti-Japanese masses.

Kim Il Sung also directed efforts at issuing revolutionary publications, and creating and distributing works of art and literature for the ideological education of the masses.

Many publications, such as *Taejung Sinmun*, *Nongmin Thujaeng* and *Chongnyon Thujaeng*, suited to the specific features and intellectual levels of various sections of the masses, were issued, and a great many literary and artistic works as well as performances of high ideological and artistic value were produced and popularized.

Thanks to his measures for expanding anti-Japanese mass organizations and rallying broad sections of the people behind them, the driving force of the Korean revolution was strengthened, and a mass foundation for armed struggle laid.

## 6. All-People Defence System in the Guerrilla Zones and the Battles in Their Defence

Kim Il Sung pushed forward the work of establishing an all-people defence system in the guerrilla zones along the Tuman River.

He said:

**"In each guerrilla zone, we must not only train the guerrilla army politically and militarily; we must also expand and reinforce paramilitary organizations, such as the Red Guards and the Children's Vanguard, and arm everyone in defence of the guerrilla base."**

Kim Il Sung paid particular attention to building up the AJPGA.

At a meeting held in Macun late in February 1933 he set forth the tasks for

rapidly expanding the ranks of the guerrilla army and developing it politically and militarily. He personally guided the work of strengthening several guerrilla units, including the 2nd Company in Wangqing. He also admitted to the AJPGA large numbers of core elements trained and tempered in militias and other revolutionary organizations in the guerrilla zones, and young people in the enemy-held areas who had been tested in the actual struggle. He also ensured that the political and ideological education and organizational life of the guerrillas were intensified, so that they would be prepared politically and ideologically and trained in military techniques.

As part of an effort to this end, he published pamphlets titled, ***Guerrilla Actions*** and ***Guerrilla Manual*** on April 25 and November 15, 1933, respectively. The former dealt with fundamental matters, ranging from the guerrillas' spiritual and moral qualities to the general principles of guerrilla warfare. It also stipulated the principles and methods of guerrilla actions, ranging from the organizing of combat actions such as raids, ambushes, defensive battles, marches and bivouacs, to guerrilla skills such as firing, handling weapons and discipline. The latter pamphlet explained the character, mission and duty of the guerrilla army, the nature of guerrilla warfare, indispensable combat methods, and the rules of guerrilla life. The two pamphlets served as basic works for the establishment and development of the revolutionary armed forces and Juche-oriented tactics of warfare, guidelines for all military activities and manuals of strategy of the guerrilla army.

Kim Il Sung showed great concern for overcoming ultra-democracy which had cropped up in the command and administration of the guerrilla army in the initial period of the armed struggle and establishing a well-regulated discipline and order within the army.

Those steeped in ultra-democracy advocated absolute equality for every soldier, irrespective of rank, in the command and administration of the army. In other words, they advocated excessive equalitarianism in all aspects of military activity. If this pernicious trend were not eliminated from the guerrilla army before it was too late, ultra-democracy might paralyze the command system in the administration of guerrilla units, and cause unexpected damage to the process of building up the guerrilla army and its military operations and the development of the revolutionary movement as a whole.

In October 1933 Kim Il Sung called a meeting of commanders and political commissars of the guerrilla units in eastern Manchuria, in Shiliping, Wangqing County, at which he put forward ways of overcoming ultra-democracy in the command and administration of units.

He said that the main factor in the command of a guerrilla unit was the determination of its commander and the establishment of a rigid centralist discipline, and that the method of command should give priority to political work. He then stressed the following points: The distinctions between the superior and the subordinate in a unit should be clear and absolute; a commander should be steadfast and positive in executing the orders issued by his superior and unswervingly carry out any decision he himself made; he should command and manage his unit in accordance with the principle of individual responsibility on the basis of democracy; he should also establish an iron discipline in his unit by maintaining a well-regulated system of command within it.

Thereafter, the trend towards ultra-democracy was soon eliminated in the AJPGA, and the guerrilla army developed in a short span of time into a revolutionary armed force, firmly prepared politically and militarily, and a core force for all-people resistance in the guerrilla zones.

Kim Il Sung stepped up the work of arming all the people in the guerrilla zones and fortifying the zones.

He ensured that the young people and children in the guerrilla zones joined various militias such as the Anti-Japanese Self-Defence Corps, the Children's Vanguard and the Young Volunteers and received intensive military training through them.

He organized battles to wrest weapons from the enemy with which to arm the people in the guerrilla zones while inspiring them to make weapons by themselves in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. The people of Jiandao once asked the Soviet Union for help in building a hand-grenade factory in their guerrilla zone, but the Soviet Union sent no reply to this request. This confirmed Kim Il Sung in his belief that self-reliance was the only way for survival, that the decisive factor in promoting the revolution was to enlist one's own forces to the maximum and that assistance from others was merely an auxiliary factor. He therefore paid special attention to the work of the arsenals. The workers of the arsenals, although their tools were as simple as those of a blacksmith, repaired or made pistols, rifles and cartridges. They even produced gunpowder for wooden guns and Yongil bombs.

Kim Il Sung paid due attention to making the guerrilla zones impregnable. In order to set an example for other guerrilla zones, he personally guided the work of fortifying the Xiaowangqing guerrilla zone. He had trenches and foxholes dug at vantage points along the defence lines and in the interior, observation, relay and reception posts arranged, heaps of stones piled up and

traps and barricades built. He also established a well-knit emergency communications system and made meticulous evacuation arrangements to cope with any emergency situation swiftly.

By relying on the all-people defence system set up in the guerrilla zones, he successfully led the struggle to defend them from the enemy's attacks.

He stressed such tactics as harassing the enemy behind his lines, together with continued efforts to destroy him within the defensive area, and rousing the inhabitants of the guerrilla zones to all-people resistance.

He made sure that the guerrilla army, in order to frustrate the enemy's "punitive" operations, adhered to the tactical principles of attacking and destroying dispersed enemy forces by a concentrated force and of dispersing and harassing the enemy behind his lines when he attacked with a concentrated force. He then called on all the local inhabitants, together with the guerrillas, to turn out in the struggle to defend the guerrilla zones.

Right from the beginning of the enemy's "punitive" operations, Kim Il Sung, as commander, took the initiative in battles, frustrating the attacks by employing diverse tactics.

In mid-February 1933 a guerrilla unit under his command ambushed a Japanese column advancing into Yaoyinggou, Wangqing County. The following day the enemy launched an all-out attack on Yaoyinggou again, only to suffer heavy casualties.

In mid-April the same year, more than 1 500 Japanese troops attacked the Xiaowangqing guerrilla zone, which was the seat of the Headquarters of the AJPGA. They besieged the zone, repeatedly attacking it under cover of aircraft and artillery, but were driven on the defensive by Kim Il Sung's elusive tactics–ambush, allurement and surprise attack. The guerrillas and civilians in the guerrilla zone, relying on their completed defensive positions, defeated the enemy's attacks by displaying bravery and mass heroism.

Having been severely defeated by the guerrilla army and civilians in these guerrilla zones, the Japanese imperialists mobilized more than 10 000 troops to launch large-scale winter "punitive" operations for crushing the guerrilla zones in Wangqing, Yanji, Helong and Hunchun. As a result, a critical situation prevailed in the guerrilla zones along the Tuman River.

To cope with this situation, Kim Il Sung took positive measures to frustrate the enemy's operations, at a meeting held in Shiliping in October 1933. He personally commanded the battle in defence of the Xiaowangqing guerrilla zone (later called Operation Macun).

The Japanese army directed the spearhead of its attack at the Xiaowangqing

guerrilla zone, committing 5 000 elite troops and aircraft to the operation. There were only two companies of the guerrilla army in this zone at that time.

In order to fend off the numerically superior enemy, Kim Il Sung inspired all the inhabitants of Xiaowangqing to an all-people resistance. Guerrillas and civilians, young and old, men and women, turned out for this decisive fight.

Under his command, they maintained an all-out defensive, killing hordes of the "punitive" troops crawling in waves by firing bullets and bombs in volleys and showering them with rocks from outpost positions. As the enemy brought in reinforcements, the defenders switched over to a war of attrition, employing flexible manoeuvres in combination with positive defensive actions. They lured the enemy deep into the defensive zone and crushed him with constantly switching tactics such as ambushes, sniper fire, raiding the enemy's campsites and burying bombs in his bonfires.

The fierce battle lasted for dozens of days, but the guerrillas and civilians heroically defended the guerrilla zone in unbreakable unity and with unyielding spirit and mettle.

Despite these repeated defeats, the enemy kept attacking this guerrilla zone, by relying on his numerical and technical superiority.

At this juncture, Kim Il Sung drew up a bold operational plan to turn the tide, which involved harassing the enemy behind his lines while maintaining the defensive positions.

The "Leftist" opportunists were opposed to this plan, trying to restrict operations to the defence of the guerrilla zone. But the commander, leading a detachment, advanced deep into the enemy-held area in mid-February 1934. The guerrillas struck at the enemy first in Liangshuiquanzi, destroying the local Japanese police contingent, a puppet Manchukuo army unit and the puppet self-defence corps. Then they raided the enemy posts at Xinnangou, Beifengwudong and Sidongdonggou. The final battle was fought at Daduchuan, a site of strategic importance for the enemy's "punitive" operations.

After this battle the enemy began to lift the siege of the guerrilla zones and retreated to his former positions.

At long last, the 90-day-long battle in defence of the Xiaowangqing guerrilla zone ended in a victory for the guerrillas and the local people.

Through this battle the heroic spirit of the guerrilla zone was created, a spirit that would become the root of the indomitable revolutionary spirit of the Korean people. This spirit was manifested in defending the headquarters of the revolution at the risk of their lives, waging an unyielding struggle in defence of the new system and the new life established in the guerrilla zone, keeping

single-hearted unity between the guerrillas and the civilians, and overcoming trials and difficulties by their own efforts.

Operation Macun not only ensured the successful defence of Xiaowangqing, it also helped towards resolving the critical situation in the guerrilla zones in the neighbouring counties of eastern Manchuria. Greatly encouraged by this success, the guerrillas and civilians in Yanji, Helong and Hunchun displayed mass heroism in defending their guerrilla zones.

This proved to be a brilliant military, political and moral victory for the AJPGA over the Japanese aggressors, enhancing its political and military authority. In these battles a variety of new guerrilla tactics were created, and the strategic and tactical foundations laid for the switch to large-force actions in the subsequent years. Furthermore, in this way the guerrilla army acquired rich experience with which it could repulse any attack of the enemy from any quarter.

## 7. Reorganizing the AJPGA into the Korean People's Revolutionary Army, Setting Up the Party Committee of the KPRA and Conducting Vigorous Political and Military Activities

Kim Il Sung led the reorganization of the AJPGA into the Korean People's Revolutionary Army (KPRA).

By the autumn of 1933 each unit of the AJPGA in eastern Manchuria grew rapidly to become a force of regimental strength, and a large number of competent commanders and political cadres were trained. Along with the expansion of the AJPGA, the sphere and realm of activity of its units increased. So it was impossible under the new circumstances to provide a unified command efficiently to all the guerrilla units through the military departments of the county party committees.

On March 9, 1934 Kim Il Sung called a meeting of military and political cadres of the AJPGA at Macun, Wangqing County, at which he advanced the policy of reorganizing the AJPGA into the KPRA.

Taking into consideration the characteristics of the anti-Japanese armed struggle which was being waged against a regular armed force by means of guerrilla warfare, he underlined the need to establish the system of a regular

armed force for the KPRA in such a way that it could follow the principles of guerrilla warfare, and to organize the units in such a way as to ensure the unified command of the Headquarters of the KPRA.

He expedited the reorganization of the guerrilla army into divisions, regiments, companies, platoons and squads in a tripartite pyramidal way, and set up a unified command system for all these units. He defined the company as the basic combat unit, and formed units on the principles of strengthening companies to the maximum and ensuring the unified command of the Headquarters.

The work of reorganizing the AJPGA into the KPRA was successfully carried out from March to May 1934. Two divisions and one independent regiment were organized under the KPRA.

If circumstances required, the KPRA operated in the name of the Northeast People's Revolutionary Army. The word "Northeast" did not suggest the name of a country, but, to all intents and purposes, was suggestive of a region. After all, the Northeast People's Revolutionary Army performed its mission as the KPRA and, at the same time, as a revolutionary armed force rendering services to the anti-Japanese cause in Northeast China.

While reorganizing the AJPGA into the KPRA, Kim Il Sung pushed forward the work of establishing the Party Committee of the KPRA as the body to provide unified guidance to the overall party organizations.

At the Macun Meeting he set forth the policy of setting up the Party Committee of the KPRA.

He said:

**"With the AJPGA reorganized into the KPRA, a new, corresponding organizational system of the party should be established.**

**"For this purpose, we must set up a Party Committee of the KPRA and enhance its role."**

He pointed out that as the mainstream of the Korean revolution was the armed struggle and the army was playing a pivotal role in the building of the party organizations, a body providing unified guidance to party organizations should be formed within the army, and named it the Party Committee of the KPRA. He stressed that the Party Committee, as the supreme leadership body, should provide unified guidance to the party committees in the KPRA and to other party organizations in general.

The party organizations at different levels in the guerrilla zones and within the AJPGA discussed this policy and took measures to reform the party organizational system accordingly.

As the next step, party committees headed by political commissars were set up in the divisions and regiment. Below each divisional party committee, a political department with several sections was organized to assist the commissar in his work. In a regiment, the political commissar was responsible for guiding all the affairs of the regimental party committee. A party cell was organized in each company, and a party group in each platoon.

The units of the KPRA and the party organizations in local areas elected delegates to be sent to the meeting for the formation of the Party Committee of the KPRA.

This meeting was held at Dahuangwai on May 31, 1934, and there the formation of the Party Committee of the KPRA was proclaimed.

The Party Committee of the KPRA set the Juche idea and the Songun idea as its guidelines, and declared its dedication to their implementation. Working on the principle of democratic centralism, the committee provided unified guidance to the party organizations at all levels of the KPRA, as well as the party organizations in local areas. At the same time, it was the General Staff of the Songun revolution, exercising leadership over the overall Korean revolution–the armed struggle, the work of making preparations for founding a party, the movement for forming an anti-Japanese national united front, and the anti-Japanese mass struggle.

The supreme leadership body of the new party organizational system was the party congress. A presidium organized within the Party Committee of the KPRA was to discuss and decide on such important issues as personnel, party discipline, immediate military and political activities, regulation of units and underground work, and to direct the implementation of such decisions.

The Party Committee of the KPRA directed all affairs when the party congress was not in session, discussed and adopted the strategic and tactical policies for the Korean revolution at each period, and inspired party organizations at all levels, revolutionary organizations and the units of the KPRA to turn out in the struggle for their implementation. It also established a strict discipline in the revolutionary ranks, developed the units of the KPRA, party organizations at all levels and other revolutionary organizations politically and ideologically, and particularly placed stress on ensuring the unity of the party members and other revolutionaries in ideas, purpose and action. At the same time it roused the people to different types of anti-Japanese struggle while intensifying party guidance in this respect.

After reorganizing the AJPGA into the KPRA, Kim Il Sung launched active military and political actions to undermine the efforts of the enemy to strangle the guerrilla zones.

At the beginning of the year 1934 the Japanese imperialists again massed huge armed forces around the guerrilla zones with the aim of wiping them out for good by employing the tactics of "step-by-step occupation," building internment villages and imposing political and economic blockades through collective watch system.

To cope with this threatening situation, Kim Il Sung ensured that the KPRA units forestalled the enemy's attempts by assaulting his military and political strongholds one after another in large-scale operations, while fighting in defence of the guerrilla zones, and at the same time he took steps to expand the guerrilla zones to favourable areas.

In March 1934 Kim Il Sung moved the Headquarters to the Yaoyinggou guerrilla zone to command the spring operations of the KPRA. He organized raids on military strongholds and internment villages under construction around the guerrilla zone, including Xiaobaicaogou, Daduchuan, Shitouhezi and Nanhamatang in Wangqing County, Yilangou and Chatiaogou in Yanji County, Niuxincun in Helong County, and at a gold mine in Laotougou, Hunchun County. These battles dealt constant heavy blows to the enemy's operations.

In order to consolidate the success achieved by the spring operations, maintain the initiative and frustrate the enemy's attempted siege, Kim Il Sung started summer operations in June 1934.

He judged that defending a few fixed guerrilla zones while the enemy surrounded them would mean falling into the trap laid by the enemy, and set it as the main purpose of the summer operations to expand the guerrilla zones to the northwestern area of Antu County and northeastern area of Wangqing County.

He ordered the 1st Division and the Independent Regiment of the KPRA to attack the Dadianzi-Fuerhe area in Antu County first, so as to draw the enemy's attention there. Then, leading part of the 4th and 5th regiments of the 2nd Division of the KPRA and the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese armed units, he advanced in the direction of Luozigou. These units engaged in many battles, including at Luozigou, Daxinggou and Zaomiaotai, dealing severe blows to the enemy.

Late in August 1934 Kim Il Sung called a meeting of military and political cadres of the KPRA at Yaoyinggou, Wangqing County. At the meeting he

proposed a plan for frustrating the enemy's siege attempts once and for all, involving an expedition to northern Manchuria.

The objective of the expedition was to assist the anti-Japanese armed units active in northern Manchuria and consolidate the allied front with them and, at the same time, harass the enemy in his rear to make a breach in his encirclement.

Late in October that year he led the expeditionary unit to northern Manchuria. The expeditionary unit fought many battles against the Japanese army units and the Jingan army units stationed in Ningan County, particularly in Hengdaohezi, Shitouhe near Lake Jingbo in Nanhutou, Fangshengou, Xinanzhen, Laozhuanjia and near the Dahailanghe River. The enemy suffered heavy losses in these battles, and the morale of the Chinese units soared. Meanwhile, the expeditionary unit conducted diverse political activities, including performances by a mouth organ ensemble, to awaken to revolutionary consciousness the inhabitants of Ningan, who were cool towards the revolution, and rally them behind the revolutionary organizations.

Kim Il Sung sent the majority of his soldiers back to eastern Manchuria to defend the guerrilla zones there. Late in January 1935, after fulfilling the military and political tasks of the expedition, he set out on a return journey with the remaining soldiers. The enemy was close behind them all the way. By the time the unit reached Tianqiaoling, Kim Il Sung had caught a chill and lapsed into a coma. When he recovered consciousness, his temperature soared over 40 degrees C. But to encourage his soldiers he made an impromptu song, known nowadays as ***Song of the Anti-Japanese War***.

Company Commander Han Hung Gwon and other guerrillas, with the help of an aged man named Kim of the Tianqiaoling timber mill, at the risk of their lives, broke through the enemy's encirclement, and took Kim Il Sung to the house of Jo Thaek Ju in Dawaizi. There, Kim Il Sung's health was restored.

In mid-February 1935 Kim Il Sung arrived back at Yaoyinggou from the expedition.

This first expedition to northern Manchuria contributed to promoting the ties of friendship and solidarity between the armies and peoples of Korea and China, frustrating the enemy's "punitive" operations against the guerrilla zones in eastern Manchuria through harassment behind the enemy's lines and dealing a decisive blow at the enemy's siege operation.

In March that year the KPRA defeated the enemy in battles of Tianqiaoling in Wangqing County, Tangshuihezi and other areas, finally undermining the enemy's siege attempts.

## 8. Defending the Juche-Oriented Stand of the Korean Revolution, Relinquishing Guerrilla Zones and Spreading the Armed Struggle over Wide Areas

The most serious obstacle to the expansion of the anti-Japanese armed struggle in the first half of the 1930s was the separatist schemes of the national chauvinists and factionalist sycophants, together with the subversive machinations of the Japanese imperialists against the revolutionary forces.

Failing in their attempt to suppress the anti-Japanese struggle of the Korean people either with guns or in the guise of a "civil government," the Japanese imperialists set up an organization called the Minsaengdan in Yanji in February 1932. The Minsaengdan, a spy organization involving anti-communist and pro-Japanese elements, schemed to paralyze the anti-Japanese spirit of the Korean people, isolate the Korean revolutionaries from the masses by discrediting them through trickery and disrupt the revolutionary ranks from within by driving a wedge between the Korean and Chinese peoples.

The Minsaengdan was dissolved soon after its inauguration as it was repudiated for its counterrevolutionary nature by the revolutionaries and other people.

In September 1934 the Japanese imperialists organized the Jiandao Cooperative Association as the successor to the Minsaengdan, and pursued even more vicious schemes to disrupt the revolutionary ranks.

By taking advantage of the anti-Minsaengdan struggle waged within the revolutionary ranks, the Jiandao Cooperative Association resorted to all manner of deceit. It spread the rumour that a large number of Minsaengdan members had wormed their way into the guerrilla zones, in an attempt to slander all stalwart revolutionaries, and make them suspect and guard against one another.

Taken in by the stratagem of the Japanese imperialists, the "Leftist" chauvinists and factionalist sycophants used the anti-Minsaengdan struggle to achieve their sinister political aims. The anti-Minsaengdan struggle developed in an ultra-Leftist way, especially in the guerrilla bases in eastern Manchuria, where there were in fact no Minsaengdan members, and stalwart Korean revolutionaries were killed on false charges of being involved with the Minsaengdan.

Whether to overcome the “Leftist” deviations in the anti-Minsaengdan campaign or not emerged as a serious issue determining whether the Korean revolution would revive and rise again or be crushed halfway.

Kim Il Sung determined to tide over the crisis.

From the outset of the anti-Minsaengdan campaign, Kim Il Sung maintained the principle of conducting this campaign in such a way as to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the revolutionary ranks. He said that the campaign should be carried out on the basis of ample proof and scientific facts. He also underlined the need to treat prudently every case of a Minsaengdan suspect after fully examining such details as the background of the person concerned, the motives for his or her involvement in the organization and the purposes. He ensured that the tiny fraction of pernicious Minsaengdan agents were wiped out and those who had been cheated into joining the organization because they had not yet been fully awakened were educated and drawn over to the side of the revolution. He also made sure that this campaign was carried out in close combination with the practical struggle, as he saw that revolutionary practice was the sole criterion for judging one’s ideology and preparedness.

Thanks to his principled stand, the falsity of the anti-Minsaengdan struggle was disclosed, as was the counterrevolutionary nature of the “Leftist” chauvinists and factionalist sycophants.

After Kim Il Sung left for the expedition to northern Manchuria in October 1934, the “Leftist” chauvinists and factionalist sycophants led in a “Leftist” manner the anti-Minsaengdan campaign. Many people were stigmatized as “counterrevolutionaries” or “lackeys of the enemy” before being cruelly executed. An atmosphere of unrest and terror prevailed again in the guerrilla zones.

In February 1935 Kim Il Sung returned to the Yaoyinggou guerrilla zone from the expedition to northern Manchuria. At a meeting at Dahuangwai from February 24 to March 3 he strongly criticized the “Leftist” chauvinists and factionalist sycophants, and firmly defended the Juche-oriented stand of the Korean revolution.

At the meeting the “Leftist” chauvinists claimed that most of the Korean people in eastern Manchuria were members or suspected members of the Minsaengdan, and that such people could neither be promoted to cadres nor raise the slogan of national liberation. There was a heated controversy over this topic.

At the meeting Kim Il Sung made a speech titled, ***Fighting for the Korean Revolution Is an Independent Right of Korean Communists***.

In the speech he refuted, based on scientific materials, the fraudulent claim that 70 per cent of the Koreans and 80 to 90 per cent of the Korean revolutionaries in eastern Manchuria were Minsaengdan members or suspected members, and that the guerrilla zones were training schools for the Minsaengdan. He reasoned that it was a self-evident fact that if heterogeneous elements occupied more than 80 per cent of something, that thing would change into something else, denouncing the "Leftist" chauvinists for their attempt to use the anti-Minsaengdan struggle to realize their narrow chauvinistic objectives and their foul factionalist ambition.

He also condemned their chauvinistic approach to personnel administration. He said that it was a chauvinistic and unscientific argument that Koreans, as a minority nation, could not lead the majority nation and the Korean revolutionaries could not be promoted to cadres because they were given to factional strife, were vacillating and liable to turn reactionary. He stressed that the nationality or political affiliation or the size of the population should not be the criterion for selection of cadres and that whether a person belonged to a minority or to a majority nation, he could be a cadre if he was loyal to the revolution and otherwise qualified.

He also rejected the chauvinistic contention that the Korean communists fighting in China should not raise the slogan of national liberation.

He said:

**"Fighting for the victory of the Korean revolution, for the realization of the liberation of the Korean nation, is an independent right and sacred duty of the Korean communists and Korean people that no one can ever check or take over."**

He added that the Korean communists, who had assumed the noble duty of winning back their motherland stolen by the Japanese imperialists and of delivering their nation from misery, could never abandon the slogan of the liberation of Korea whenever and wherever they fought.

The meeting expressed its support for and sympathy with this principled and rational speech.

The Dahuangwai meeting was an important occasion for rescuing the Korean revolution from a critical situation and pushing forward the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle under the banner of Juche, as well as for saving many Korean revolutionaries and preserving the unity and cohesion of the revolutionary ranks. A large number of people were cleared of the false charge of involvement in the Minsaengdan, and those who had been executed after being stigmatized as members of that organization were rehabilitated.

Antagonism, mistrust and fear, which once prevailed among the revolutionary ranks, evaporated, and unity began to be achieved once more.

Following the Dahuangwai meeting, Kim Il Sung was held in even higher esteem as the sun of the nation both by the Korean revolutionaries and ordinary people.

At a meeting held at Yaoyinggou late in March that year he once again exposed the "Leftist" deviations of the anti-Minsaengdan struggle, and proposed specific measures to put them to rights. The meeting decided to take a number of key points made at the Dahuangwai and Yaoyinggou meetings to the Comintern.

After these meetings Kim Il Sung endeavoured to extinguish the consequences of the "Leftist" deviations revealed in the anti-Minsaengdan struggle.

He saw to it that all the commanders and political workers had a correct understanding of the reactionary nature of the Minsaengdan, the cause of the ultra-Leftist development of the anti-Minsaengdan campaign, and the tasks and ways for rectifying the "Leftist" mistakes. Under his guidance they pushed ahead with the work of correcting those mistakes and eliminating the aftereffects of the deviations within the KPRA units and the guerrilla zones.

Kim Il Sung himself made the rounds of several guerrilla zones to guide this work.

In March 1935 he presided over a meeting of officials of the secretariat in Nengzhiying, Sandaowan guerrilla zone, Yanji County, at which he reaffirmed the principles to be maintained in the anti-Minsaengdan struggle, and stressed that issues relating to persons should be dealt with in a prudent manner. He then moved to Lishugou, Wangqing County, and gave orders that all those who had been imprisoned on false charges be released.

Thanks to his principled and devoted efforts, the consequences of the "Leftist" deviations of the anti-Minsaengdan campaign were eliminated, the Juche character and national identity of the Korean revolution defended, and the unity and cohesion of the revolutionary ranks based on the Juche idea consolidated.

Kim Il Sung directed the efforts to relinquish the guerrilla zones and spread the armed struggle over wide areas.

The maximum tasks defined at the time of the creation of guerrilla zones in the areas along the Tuman River were to preserve and increase the revolutionary forces, and lay the political, military, material and technical

foundations for the further development of the anti-Japanese armed struggle. These tasks had been fulfilled by the middle of the 1930s.

However, the Japanese imperialists were stepping up their offensive against the guerrilla zones. Having encircled the guerrilla zones in double and triple rings with huge numbers of crack troops, they were launching "punitive" operations against them, and enforcing the medieval collective watch system by establishing internment villages. They also resorted to the weapons of starvation, siege and calls to surrender.

In these circumstances, preoccupation with the defence of the fixed guerrilla zones in the form of liberated areas would leave the KPRA passive in the fight against the enemy and lead to the wearing down of the revolutionary forces trained over several years.

With a deep insight into the changed situation and the requirements of the developing revolution, Kim Il Sung called a meeting of military and political cadres of the KPRA at Yaoyinggou, Wangqing County, from March 21 to 27, 1935. At the meeting he presented the strategic policy of dissolving the guerrilla zones and advancing over wide areas.

He said:

**"We should not vacillate in the least in the new strategic task of dismantling the guerrilla zones and launching into wide areas to cope with the prevailing situation and the tasks of the revolution, and should carry it out with success."**

He criticized the reckless military adventurist view of some people, who insisted on defending the guerrilla zones at all costs in disregard of the changed situation and requirements of the developing revolution, and presented specific ways for implementing the new strategic policy.

The Yaoyinggou meeting marked a turning point for the KPRA to switch over from defence of the guerrilla zones to a new stage of strategic offensive.

After the meeting Kim Il Sung pushed forward the work of dissolving the guerrilla zones.

Many obstacles lay in the way: The enemy tightened the siege of the guerrilla zones, and his ideological offensive was intensified. Worse still, most of the inhabitants were unwilling to leave their home bases.

In order to ensure the successful implementation of the new strategic policy he called a consultative meeting of senior officials of the Party Committee of the KPRA and other local party organizations late in March at Yaoyinggou, at which he stressed the need for the political organs of each unit and local party organizations to give correct political guidance to the work of dissolving the

guerrilla zones under the leadership of the Party Committee of the KPRA. And at a joint meeting of soldiers and civilians held at Yaoyinggou in mid-April 1935 he stressed again the urgency and correctness of abandoning the guerrilla zones, and explained how civilians should move to the enemy-held areas and how to fight there. He then dispatched special envoys to various counties and districts in eastern Manchuria to give the local people a correct understanding of the new measure. Meanwhile, he organized many battles to break the enemy's siege and obtain supplies for the people who were to leave.

At the same time he recruited into the guerrilla army many young people, including officials of party and YCL organizations and the people's revolutionary governments, as well as from the Young Volunteers, the Anti-Japanese Self-Defence Corps and other militias.

The dissolution of the guerrilla zones, which started in May 1935, ended early in November, when the Chechangzi guerrilla zone was evacuated.

The voluntary abandonment of the guerrilla zones was significant in that it contributed to thwarting the enemy's large-scale operations for besieging and attacking them and enabled the KPRA to launch operations into wide areas and in large units.

After relinquishing the guerrilla zones, Kim Il Sung organized positive military and political activities of the KPRA over wide areas.

Late in April 1935 he called a meeting of commanding personnel of the KPRA at Yaoyinggou, at which he defined the areas of activities of the outgoing units, the formation of these units and their missions, and ordered the main-force unit's advance to northern Manchuria (the second expedition to northern Manchuria).

The principal aim of the second expedition to northern Manchuria was to promote solidarity with the Korean revolutionaries active in that region and pave the way for full-scale cooperation with them. It was also hoped to strengthen the military ties with the Chinese communists there which had been formed during the first expedition, and the joint struggle with them.

Before setting out, Kim Il Sung organized battles at Laoheishan and Taipinggou, and obtained enough supplies for the expedition from the enemy there. These victorious battles demonstrated the might of the KPRA and boosted the morale of its soldiers.

On June 25, 1935, at a meeting of officers and men of the expeditionary force held at Taipinggou, Wangqing County, he raised the task of sowing the seeds of the revolution over a vast area.

Leading the expeditionary force, Kim Il Sung left Taipinggou, reached

Barengou via Shitouhezi and Sidaohezi, and then scaled the Laoyeling Mountains. Late in July he made contacts with the commanders of the Chinese units in northern Manchuria, and took measures to step up joint actions with them. His unit won many battles, such as those at Shandongtun in Ningan County, Qinggouzi and Nantianmen in Emu County, and Liucaigou near Guandi, thus inspiring the local people with confidence in sure victory and striking terror into the hearts of the enemy.

Kim Il Sung made sure that his soldiers conducted political work in diverse ways among the broad sections of the masses to awaken them to revolutionary awareness and rouse them to the anti-Japanese struggle. He sent some excellent officers and men of his unit to the armed units in northern Manchuria to help the latter increase their combat efficiency.

Meanwhile, other units of the KPRA conducted active military and political activities in the northern part of Korea, along the Tuman River and in southern Manchuria, dealing telling blows to the enemy there.

## 9. Solidarity with the International Revolutionary Forces and an Anti-Imperialist Allied Front

Kim Il Sung said:

**"We must also pay close attention to strengthening international solidarity with the world revolutionary forces.**

**"Our revolution is closely linked with the world revolution since it is carried on as part of the whole national liberation struggle in colonies. If our revolution is carried out successfully it means it contributes just as much to the world revolution, and if the world revolution is promoted successfully it creates all the more favourable conditions for our revolution."**

Kim Il Sung, convinced that communists of every country should be faithful to the revolution of their own country, affirmed that Korean revolutionaries should always maintain the awareness and principled attitude that they themselves were the masters of the Korean revolution and fulfil their revolutionary duty in strengthening international solidarity with the working class of the whole world, as well as in establishing contacts with the Comintern. He also stressed that communists of every country should give

active support to the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of other countries.

He directed great efforts to forming an anti-Japanese allied front with the Chinese people. This was an urgent demand in the light of the similar situation the peoples of the two countries found themselves in and the common mission they assumed for the times.

He regarded the formation of the anti-Japanese allied front with the Chinese people as a consistent strategic task. He paid primary attention to consolidating unity with the Chinese communists and their armed units, and maintaining close ties with the Communist Party of China (CPC).

Without establishing close ties with the Chinese communists, it would have been impossible for the Korean communists active in China to push forward the anti-Japanese armed struggle. To strengthen ties with the CPC was also important in view of the fact that there were many Koreans affiliated to the party organizations under the Manchurian Provincial Committee of the CPC.

Kim Il Sung began to make contact with the CPC around the time of the winter Mingyuegou meeting, and promoted cooperation with the Chinese communists after he established the Headquarters of his army at Xiaowangqing. Their joint actions brought the Korean revolution and the Chinese revolution into close combination.

While working hard to build up the KPRA and enhance its role, he took every possible measure to reinforce and assist the armed units led by the Chinese communists.

At the request of the latter, he sent many of his outstanding personnel, such as Han Hung Gwon, Kim Kyong Sok, Pak Kil Song and Pak Rak Kwon, to their units.

Especially, his first expedition to northern Manchuria in October 1934 was mainly aimed at helping the Chinese armed units at a critical time for them. During his days in northern Manchuria he contacted Zhou Baozhong and other Chinese communists, and discussed with them how to develop the revolutionary struggle. He assigned the majority of his expeditionary force to Chinese armed units as a measure to enhance their combat efficiency and fought battles near Lake Jingbo and in other areas in coordination with the Chinese communists.

Later, the small armed units in northern Manchuria merged with the Ningan guerrilla unit to form the 5$^{th}$ Corps of the Northeast People's Revolutionary Army.

Kim Il Sung's second expedition to northern Manchuria was significant for consolidating the militant alliance with the Chinese communists and stepping

up joint actions with them to meet the requirements of the new situation.

During this period his unit, together with the Chinese armed units, won battles at Shandongtun and many other places, thus strengthening the ties and solidarity between the armies of the two countries. These joint operations, conducted in close cooperation between the 2nd Corps and 5th Corps, were of special importance in furthering the solidarity between the communists of Korea and China.

Kim Il Sung set examples for the politically awakening of the Chinese people in order to fan the flames of the anti-Japanese armed struggle in northern Manchuria. He worked to transform the Chinese people in Emu and other areas in a revolutionary way, personally playing a foot organ and singing *Song of Su Wu*, a folk song of Han nationality, and making speeches in fluent Chinese before the Chinese audience to rouse them to the anti-Japanese struggle. In response to his call, the Chinese inhabitants of northern Manchuria went all out to support the KPRA, calling it a truly patriotic revolutionary army, and, joining such revolutionary organizations as party and YCL organizations, Women's Association and the Children's Corps, worked hard for the revolution.

Kim Il Sung also conducted brisk activities to realize a united front with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese armed units.

After Japan's occupation of Manchuria, a number of Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese armed units sprang into action in the northeastern region of China. These units were collectively known as the National Salvation Army.

Kim Il Sung, in forming an allied front with these units, put the main emphasis on the rank-and-file united front and, firmly relying on it, formed the top-level united front, achieved unity while fighting, realized a partial alliance and developing it into a full-scale alliance, and switched from low-level joint actions to high-level ones.

In June 1933, risking his own life, he volunteered to negotiate with Wu Yicheng, the forward area commander of the National Salvation Army which was operating in the Luozigou area. His success in the negotiations opened a new phase in forming a full-scale anti-Japanese allied front.

In order to consolidate the allied front with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese armed units through practical struggle, and encourage them to uphold the anti-Japanese banner unwaveringly, Kim Il Sung, after founding the AJPGA, organized combined operations with these units, which included attacks on Dunhua, Emu and Dongning county towns. At the time of the assault on Dongning county town in September 1933, the guerrillas of the AJPGA, true

to Kim Il Sung's order, risked their lives to save wounded Chinese Brigade Commander Shi Zhongheng.

The attack on Dongning county town resulted in the all-round development of the allied front with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese armed units.

Later, Kim Il Sung organized combined operations for attacking the enemy's important strongholds, including Dadianzi, Luozigou and Laotougou, thereby consolidating the allied front with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese armed units.

In the meantime, Kim Il Sung maintained close relations with the Comintern so as to promote international solidarity with the revolutionary peoples of the world.

He had already met and had talks with representatives of the Comintern in Harbin, Wujiazi, Macun in Xiaowangqing, Badaohezi in Ningan County and other places. After being informed of the Korean revolutionaries' Juche-oriented stand concerning the arguments at the Dahuangwai and Yaoyinggou meetings and the measures they had taken on their own initiative after those meetings, the Comintern expressed through its representatives its full support for their principles of independence and creativity, which represented the lifeline of the Korean revolution, and their Juche-oriented revolutionary line and policies. It also expressed great interest in and high expectations of Kim Il Sung's efforts to push forward the Korean revolution in an independent manner in accordance with the Juche-oriented revolutionary line.

Kim Il Sung waged a vigorous struggle to defend the Soviet Union, the first socialist state in the world.

Defending the Soviet Union was an immediate task for the Comintern, as the Japanese imperialists massed huge forces in the Soviet-Manchurian border areas and engaged in armed provocations against the socialist state. In order to foil the enemy's attempt to invade the Soviet Union, Kim Il Sung organized many battles to harass the enemy in the rear, including assaults on Hunchun, Dongning county town and other military strongholds from the autumn of 1932 to the autumn of 1933, as well as ambushes and attacks on railway train on Xinjing (Changchun)-Tumen line on the Soviet-Manchurian border from the spring of 1934 until the end of 1935. These battles dealt serious blows to the Japanese imperialist schemes to invade the Soviet Union.

# CHAPTER 3. TO BRING ABOUT A GREAT UPSWING IN THE ANTI-JAPANESE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE CENTRING ON THE ARMED STRUGGLE ON A NATIONWIDE SCALE

(February 1936–August 1940)

## 1. Nanhutou Meeting and the Strategic Policy of Developing on a Nationwide Scale the Anti-Japanese National Liberation Movement Centring on the Armed Struggle

In the mid-1930s, bringing about a great upswing in the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle centring on the armed struggle emerged as an urgent requirement of the Korean revolution.

The motive force of the revolution, whose leading force was the KPRA, gained strength in the crucible of struggle under Kim Il Sung's leadership, the unity and cohesion of the revolutionary ranks was consolidated, and the mass foundation for armed struggle was made firmer. In particular, through the struggle against "Leftist" chauvinists and factionalist sycophants, the independent character of the Korean revolution became more apparent.

In the international arena, the anti-fascist and fascist forces were engaged in a life-and-death struggle with each other, in the course of which fascism was gradually repulsed by the world's people, and the anti-fascist, democratic forces and national liberation forces were gaining momentum with each passing day.

Meanwhile, the Japanese imperialists resorted to unprecedented fascist suppression and plunder in Korea as part of their preparations for the invasion of the Asian continent, the Korean people's consciousness of independence and national hatred for their enemy reached extreme lengths, and the anti-Japanese struggle came to be conducted on an ever-wider scale.

All these things meant that objective and subjective conditions had been

created for leading the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle to a fresh upswing on a nationwide scale.

With a keen insight into the prevailing situation and the requirements of the developing revolution, Kim Il Sung convened a meeting of military and political cadres of the KPRA at Nanhutou, Ningan County, from February 27 to March 3, 1936.

The meeting was attended also by the officials who had been sent to the Comintern after the Yaoyinggou meeting. The latter conveyed the opinions of the Comintern to the meeting that it was the inalienable and inviolable right of the Korean communists to be solely responsible for the Korean revolution, and that the principled stand taken by Kim Il Sung in relation to the "Leftist" errors in the struggle against the Minsaengdan was justifiable.

At the meeting Kim Il Sung gave a report titled, ***The Tasks of Communists in the Strengthening and Development of the Anti-Japanese National Liberation Struggle***.

With regard to the strategic task facing the Korean communists, he had this to say in his report:

**"In this favourable situation the Korean communists are faced with the important task of further developing the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle by building up the revolutionary forces of our people and mobilizing all their efforts."**

He then set forth the policies for successfully carrying out this strategic task.

In order to bring about a great upswing in the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle at that particular stage, he put forward the policy of moving the main-force unit of the KPRA to the border areas, and of gradually extending the theatre of the struggle into the homeland.

He pointed out that if the KPRA was to shift to the border areas and the homeland and organize and wage the anti-Japanese struggle there, it would have to set up new guerrilla bases in the border areas centring on Mt. Paektu, which had favourable conditions for such a move, and that a network of secret camps would have to be formed in the vast forests around Mt. Paektu for the KPRA to depend on. Moreover, guerrilla bases of a semi-guerrilla-zone type would have to be built by rallying the people in the adjoining areas behind the revolutionary organizations.

He explained that, for the KPRA to move to the border areas and the homeland and develop the anti-Japanese struggle, it would have to wage an

active armed struggle. The immediate task, he said, was to further expand and build up the anti-Japanese armed forces, the main-force unit of the KPRA in particular.

Stating that the KPRA should avoid weakening the joint action with the anti-Japanese armed units of the Chinese people simply because of a move to the border areas, Kim Il Sung stressed that it should continue to wage the armed struggle in cooperation with the Chinese communists in the name of the Anti-Japanese Allied Army (AJAA).

Furthermore, he set forth the policy of further expanding and developing the anti-Japanese national united front movement on a nationwide scale.

He made it clear that a permanent united front organization should be formed to develop the anti-Japanese national united front movement to a new stage, that the new organization should be a mass revolutionary organization capable of mobilizing the entire nation for the national liberation front, with the exception of a handful of reactionaries, and that its name and programme should necessarily reflect the common desire of the people of different strata and the major tasks to be tackled at the stage of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. He continued that the work of forming a united front organization should be conducted in close coordination with the armed struggle, and that the YCL be dissolved in conformity with the developing situation and the Anti-Japanese Youth League (AJYL), a revolutionary mass organization embracing broad sections of young patriots, be formed.

Kim Il Sung urged the stepping up of preparations for founding a party on a nationwide scale.

He pointed out that the steady expansion of party organizations and the establishment of a thorough system of guidance for them were important in making preparations to build a party, that party organizations should be expanded in the KPRA units, in Korean settlements, and particularly in the homeland, and that a unified organizational guidance system should be established from the Party Committee of the KPRA down to local party organizations. In addition, he clarified that the other tasks were to train a strong organizational backbone for founding the party, to achieve unity of thought and action based on the Juche-oriented revolutionary line, to establish steel-like organizational discipline and to intensify the struggle to lay a solid mass foundation for the founding of the party.

Kim Il Sung recalled later that the Nanhutou meeting could be called a watershed in the Korean revolution, marking off the two halves of the 1930s. Thanks to the decisions adopted at that meeting, he said, the Korean

communists were able to raise the overall Korean revolution to a higher plane, centring on the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

He organized a short course and a meeting of party and political workers for implementing the policies set forth at the Nanhutou meeting. He advanced the slogan **"Let us advance into the homeland and raise the battle cry!"** in reflection of the basic spirit of the meeting, and embarked on the advance to the Mt. Paektu area, to the homeland.

## 2. Consolidating the Main-Force Unit of the KPRA and Founding the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland

After the Nanhutou meeting and on his way to the Mt. Paektu area, Kim Il Sung pushed ahead with the work of organizing a new division for consolidating the main-force unit of the KPRA.

He said:

**"Our first task in the expansion of the anti-Japanese armed ranks is to consolidate the main-force unit of the KPRA.**

**"Only when we do this can we train continuously excellent military and political cadres through this force and send them to other units, just as we have done, and strengthen the anti-Japanese armed force as a whole.**

**"We must quickly recruit Korean youth in the areas of southern and eastern Manchuria and fine young people from the homeland to form a new division and strive to increase its political and military capabilities."**

Late in March 1936, as a practical measure to implement the policies set forth at the Nanhutou meeting, he called a meeting of military and political cadres of the KPRA at Mihunzhen, Antu County. The meeting discussed the reorganization of the units of the KPRA.

At the meeting he saw to it that the KPRA, which had two divisions, was reorganized into three divisions and one independent brigade, and that their areas of activity were clearly identified. He also stressed that the main-force division of the KPRA which was to be newly formed should be active in the border areas along the Amnok River centring on Mt. Paektu.

Also discussed at the meeting was the organization of the preparatory committee for the founding of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland.

With the intention of organizing a new division as the main force which could lead the overall Korean revolution by engaging not only in military activities but also in political work, Kim Il Sung pushed doggedly ahead with its formation.

The new division was formed amid a fierce struggle for crushing the enemy's vicious "punitive" operations and, at the same time, for eliminating the aftermath of the "Leftist" anti-Minsaengdan struggle.

When he left Mihunzhen and arrived at Maanshan to form the new division, the 2nd Regiment that would serve as the backbone of the new division had moved to Jiaohe. It had only 100 or so members, and they had been removed from the fighting ranks on the charge of being Minsaengdan members.

He interviewed all of them, and dismissed the charges against them. He then took a bold measure of burning all the documents asserting their connections with the Minsaengdan. Then in April 1936 he organized the new division with these people as the backbone. On hearing the news that these Minsaengdan suspects had been cleared of the stigma, others flocked to him, followed by small armed units and patriotic youth, all volunteering to join the KPRA. Kim Il Sung was then able to organize new regiments and companies.

He sent the men who had been falsely accused of being Minsaengdan members to the enemy area to each capture a weapon from the enemy within a month before coming back. They fought the enemy bare-handed and came back within a fortnight, not a month, carrying with them new rifles, bullets and even machine guns. He organized several battles, including the battle of Xigang, and reinforced the weaponry of the main-force unit.

At the same time, he organized a women's company, the first of its kind in the history of army building in Korea, and later a children's company with the members of the Children's Corps at Maanshan and the children who had come to the KPRA from the Mt. Paektu area.

While forming and building up the new division, Kim Il Sung pushed ahead with the work of founding the ARF, a permanent anti-Japanese national united front organization.

At Mihunzhen he organized the preparatory committee for the founding of the ARF with the commanding personnel of the KPRA and representatives of the well-known patriotic organizations late in March 1936, and dispatched small units and political workers of the KPRA to various areas in the homeland and Manchuria, to conduct organizational and political work for the founding of the ARF. And in the difficult and complicated days of the march from Nanhutou to Donggang, when battles were fought incessantly, he elaborated the

Programme, Rules and Inaugural Declaration of the ARF by the campfire while bivouacking at the end of each day.

Kim Il Sung convened a meeting of military and political cadres of the KPRA for the founding of the ARF at Donggang, Fusong County, on May 1, 1936. The meeting lasted till May 15.

The meeting was also attended by delegates of Chondoists, peasants, teachers and workers.

At the meeting he gave a report titled, ***Let Us Further Develop the Anti-Japanese National United Front Movement and Lead the Overall Korean Revolution to a Fresh Upsurge***.

In this report he referred to the necessity and significance of the founding of the ARF, its character and functions, and the main content of its Programme. He set out the tasks for rallying the entire nation as one political force under the banner of national liberation and for making the KPRA conduct the anti-Japanese national united front movement dynamically by advancing into the border areas and the homeland. He also said that the work with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese armed units and the work of sabotaging the enemy armed forces from within should be conducted efficiently, and that bases of a new type should be set up in the border areas.

At this meeting he also made public the **Ten-Point Programme, Rules** and **Inaugural Declaration**.

To reach the goal of realizing national sovereignty, the **Ten-Point Programme** set its political tasks as follows: To establish a genuine people's government in Korea, organize a revolutionary army, provide the people with democratic freedom and rights, and defend the national rights of overseas Koreans. The programme raised economic tasks for the independent development of Korea, such as enforcing agrarian reform, nationalizing major industries, improving the working and living conditions of the working masses, and building an independent national economy. It defined the socio-cultural tasks as liquidation of the colonial ruling system of Japanese imperialism and the feudal remnants in all domains of social life, and development of democratic national education and national culture. Lastly, it laid down the basic principle of independent foreign policy: To maintain friendly relations with all the countries that treated the Korean nation without discrimination and expressed goodwill and neutrality with regard to the Korean national liberation movement.

The **Inaugural Declaration** made public the founding of the ARF at home and abroad, and called upon the entire nation to form ARF organizations at all

places in towns and in the countryside immediately, and to wage an energetic struggle for the country's liberation firmly united under the banner of the **Ten-Point Programme**.

The meeting then discussed the issue of under whose name the **Inaugural Declaration** should be published. All the participants suggested that it should be published under the name of Kim Il Sung, as he had been the first to propose the establishment of the ARF and had been in charge of the work of the preparatory committee for its formation, and also as he had worked out its **Programme and Inaugural Declaration**. Kim Il Sung, however, proposed as sponsor a well-known elderly patriot who had taken an active part in the Korean independence movement since the Righteous Volunteers movement and the March First Movement. After heated discussion, it was agreed to publish it in the names of three people–Kim Tong Myong, Ri Tong Baek and Ryo Un Hyong–on the condition that the alias Kim Tong Myong was used for Kim Il Sung.

Kim Il Sung saw to it that the **Inaugural Declaration** was issued as befitted the actual conditions of given areas. After it was sent to various places at home and abroad, the **Inaugural Declaration** was reprinted and made public, with the names of the original co-sponsors replaced by those of influential figures and famous people in the respective areas, and the organization named the Association of Koreans in Eastern Manchuria for the Restoration of the Fatherland or the Association of Koreans in Manchuria for the Restoration of the Fatherland, depending on the situation in the regions.

The **Rules** of the ARF defined the name of the united front organization and stipulated in a comprehensive way the mode of its overall activities, as well as regulations such as the fighting objective, the requirements for membership, organizational form and structure, duties and rights of members, organizational discipline, and the procedures of admission and tasks of special members.

The meeting unanimously adopted the **Ten-Point Programme, Rules and Inaugural Declaration** of the ARF.

The participants, representing the unanimous will and desire of all the Korean people, elected Kim Il Sung Chairman of the ARF.

On May 5, 1936 Kim Il Sung announced to the world the founding of the ARF.

The meeting decided to publish the *Samil Wolgan* as its organ.

The ARF was the first permanent anti-Japanese national united front organization of Korea which conducted its activities in accordance with its single Programme, Rules and organizational structure based on the principle of

democratic centralism. At the same time, it was a mass organization and a powerful underground revolutionary organization that fully ensured the leadership of the leader and the party over the national patriotic forces as a whole.

### 3. Building Paektusan Base with Paektusan Secret Camp at the Centre and Expanding Secret Bases Deep into the Homeland

After the Nanhutou meeting, Kim Il Sung channelled great efforts into the building of the Paektusan Base.

He said:

**"Following the Nanhutou meeting we have redoubled our efforts to secure a strategic area which is to play an important role in developing and expanding the armed struggle into the homeland and in bringing about great progress in our revolutionary movement."**

The Mt. Paektu area was advantageous to the military activities of the KPRA in view of its natural and geographical conditions, and because the local inhabitants were fiercely anti-Japanese. Mt. Paektu, the ancestral mountain of Korea, was a symbol of Korea and the cradle of the history of its nation. If this was secured as a strategic area for bringing about an upsurge in the overall Korean revolution, it would be possible to enlist all the national forces to the anti-Japanese struggle and thus achieve victory in an all-people resistance.

Kim Il Sung organized the military and political activities of the main-force unit of the KPRA so as to create favourable conditions for the establishment of the Paektusan Base.

During the advance to the border areas he organized and led the battles of Laoling, Xinancha and Xigang in June and July 1936 and the battle of the Fusong county town in August, thus securing complete military supremacy over the enemy in Fusong. The KPRA transformed Manjiang in a revolutionary way by staging the revolutionary drama ***The Sea of Blood*** late in August 1936, and conducting political work in an overall way. Thus, in Manjiang alone many people volunteered to join the KPRA and the village became a reliable supply base for the KPRA.

Meanwhile, the KPRA conducted political work as well as military activities wherever it went, particularly as it advanced towards the Amnok River.

Following the battle at Dadeshui, Changbai County, it defeated early in September 1936 the "punitive" forces of the enemy in the forest of Madengchang by making them fight each other as they were chasing it from different directions–from Erdaojiang and Shiwudaogou. From that time, a legendary tale came into being that Kim Il Sung's army would "rise to heaven and disappear under the earth by transforming itself" and "appear from and disappear to God knows where." It then fought large and small battles, like those at Donggang in Shiwudaogou, Longchuanli in Shisandaogou and Erzhongdian in Ershidaogou, dealing heavy military and political blows to the enemy and instilling in the people confidence in victory.

While securing military supremacy over the enemy through fierce military and political activities and revolutionizing the local people, Kim Il Sung directed the work of setting up a network of secret camps in the vast areas around Mt. Paektu to support the KPRA.

As he advanced the building of secret camps as the primary task, he ensured that the secret camp for the Headquarters, the central leadership base for the overall Korean revolutionary movement, would be set up.

Immediately after the Donggang meeting he dispatched such competent military and political officials as Kim Ju Hyon, Ri Tong Hak and Kim Un Sin to the area of Mt. Paektu on the Korean side to select the site for the secret camp that could serve as the central leadership base. On September 20, 1936 he himself advanced to the Sobaeksu Valley across the Amnok River with the main-force unit, and led the work of building the secret camp for the Headquarters.

He convened a meeting of commanding officers of the main-force unit of the KPRA in the Sobaeksu Valley at which he stressed that secret camps should be built solidly in the dense forests around Mt. Paektu so that it would be hard for the enemy to penetrate this area. The secret camps would perform the mission of being the central leadership base ensuring unified guidance over the overall revolutionary movement. He specified the site and size, mission and role not only of the secret camp for the Headquarters but also of each of the other secret camps.

Thus, the Paektusan Secret Camp for the Headquarters was built in a short span of time in the Sobaeksu Valley, and many satellite secret camps were built around it. The Paektusan Secret Camp served as the main base, the central leadership base, of the Korean revolution.

Auxiliary secret camps with different missions were built in the homeland around Mt. Paektu. The Sajabong Secret Camp was to receive and accommodate people coming to the Headquarters. It would also be a base for

meetings, training and the printing of publications. The Komsan Secret Camp served for expanding the work of building the party organizations to the homeland, and ensuring contact with the revolutionaries and political workers in the homeland. The Sonosan Secret Camp was to serve as intermediate liaison point for the KPRA units active in the homeland. Other secret camps were those on Mt. Kanbaek and Soyonji, Mudu, Ssangdu and Taegak peaks, and by the Amnok River. These camps built in the homeland around Mt. Paektu would be used for the operations and support of the KPRA as well as strong points for developing the anti-Japanese armed struggle to the border areas and deep into the homeland, and for revolutionizing the local people and controlling the surrounding areas.

Numerous satellite secret camps were set up in the western Jiandao area, like those at Heixiazigou, Hongtoushan, Diyangxi, Erdaogang, Hengshan, Limingshui, Fuhoushui, Qingfeng and Fusong.

At the same time as the setting up of a network of secret camps, Kim Il Sung led the work of forming underground revolutionary organizations in the areas around Mt. Paektu, and transforming the local people in a revolutionary fashion.

He went to villages like Dadeshui to conduct mass political work, and, at the same time, dispatched many political workers such as Kwon Yong Byok, Ji Thae Hwan and Pak Rok Gum to revolutionize the people living around Mt. Paektu. The political workers formed revolutionary organizations, including party and ARF organizations, to revolutionize the people, and paralyzed the enemy's ruling machinery by infiltrating core members of such organizations into the lowest ruling bodies of the enemy as sub-county heads, district heads, village heads and ten-household heads. As a result, the residential areas around Mt. Paektu were transformed in a revolutionary way, where the enemy's administrative power was exercised only in form and which were in fact controlled by the KPRA.

Thus, a new type of base, the Paektusan Base, was formed in the wide areas of the homeland and western Jiandao centring on the Paektusan Secret Camp.

Following the establishment of the Paektusan Base, Kim Il Sung expanded the secret bases deep into the homeland.

He instructed that secret bases should be expanded to the Rangnim Mountains, and defined the sites, where they were to be established, as well as their sizes. He dispatched small units and political workers of the KPRA to several places in the homeland, so as to build secret bases comprised of secret camps and liaison points in the forests suitable for military and political activities.

Leading the members of the main-force unit of the KPRA, he personally went

to various areas in the homeland on scores of occasions–Huchang, Phungsan, Rangnim, Pujon, Sinhung and Yangdok–specifying the concrete tasks arising in building secret bases and conscientiously directing their construction.

Thus, secret bases were built in the most important areas, including Changphyong, Phungsan, Huchang, Huchiryong, Rangnim, Pujon, Sinhung, Wiwon, Changsong and the Mt. Oga area in the northern region; Tokchon, Yangdok, Anju, Phyongsong, Mt. Kuwol, Sinphyong, Koksan, Thosan, Phangyo and the Mt. Thaebaek area in the central region; and the Mt. Jiri area in the southern region.

The secret bases built in various parts of Korea performed the role of local leadership centres that ensured, under the unified guidance of the Headquarters situated in the Paektusan Secret Camp, the success of the armed struggle, work of building party organizations, anti-Japanese mass struggle centred on the ARF movement and preparations for an all-people resistance, all waged in the given areas.

## 4. Expanding the Party and ARF Organizations on a Nationwide Scale

Kim Il Sung pushed ahead with the work of making preparations for founding a party on a nationwide scale by relying on the Paektusan Base.

He said:

**"We must hasten the building of party organizations at the KPRA units and in all Korean settlements. In particular, we should rally the communists scattered in the homeland and at the same time actively admit progressive elements tested in struggle into the party so as to steadily expand its organizations."**

He made great efforts to strengthen the party organizations in the units of the KPRA, the main force of the anti-Japanese revolution.

With the formation and development of the new main-force division of the KPRA, he paid primary attention to adjusting and expanding party organizations in the division, and formed party cells in the newly organized or reformed companies with elected cell-guiding bodies, and organized regimental party committees and the division party committee.

He ensured that their counterparts in the independent brigade and 4$^{th}$ and 5$^{th}$

divisions of the KPRA were formed and brought under the well-regulated system of the leadership of the KPRA Party Committee.

He ensured that the party organizations were expanded in the vast areas of the homeland and a well-regulated system of leadership over them was organized.

A leadership body of the party was essential for rallying the patriots and revolutionaries who were conducting activities individually in the homeland, for establishing a direct relationship with them and for strengthening party leadership over the anti-Japanese national liberation movement to be waged on a nationwide scale.

At the Donggang meeting held in May 1936, he proposed the setting up of the Homeland Party Working Committee (HPWC) so as to expand party organizations to the vast areas of the homeland and ensure unified guidance over the work in the homeland of making preparations for party founding. He stressed that the work of building party organizations should not be confined to the guerrilla units and that the northeastern region of China should not be regarded as the only theatre of such work, for the organizational and ideological foundations of the party should be laid deep in the homeland.

In December that year he sent a letter to the communists active in the homeland. He called Pak Tal to the Heixiazigou Secret Camp, and told him that an independent stand should be adhered to in building party organizations, adding that approval or ratification by others was out of the question in building party organizations in the homeland, a matter which was within the sovereignty of the Korean communists alone. He instructed that a party organization could be formed first where eligible persons were available, and that a mass organization could be formed first if conditions were not mature enough for forming a party organization, as a place where communists could be trained to form a party organization later.

He convened a meeting of the KPRA Party Committee on December 31, 1936, at which he expounded on the necessity and significance of setting up the HPWC, its mission and duty, its organizational rules, and the principles of its activities.

At the meeting the HPWC was set up. The HPWC was a local party leadership body, which, under the guidance of the KPRA Party Committee, would lead the revolutionary struggle in the homeland and the work of building party organizations in the homeland in a unified way.

After setting up the HPWC he pushed ahead with the work of expanding party organizations on a nationwide scale.

In May 1937, as an important step to this end, he formed a party group in

the homeland headed by Pak Tal, as the parent organization for the building of more party organizations in the homeland.

In a speech titled, ***On Expanding and Strengthening the Homeland Party Organizations***, delivered at the second meeting of the HPWC at the Komsan Secret Camp on May 26, 1937, Kim Il Sung reviewed the work of building party organizations in the homeland after the formation of the HPWC, and specified the tasks and ways to this end.

He saw to it that the areas of Kapsan and Samsu were turned into a "seedbed" for building party organizations in the homeland, with the purpose of expanding them on a nationwide scale. Core elements fostered in those areas were dispatched to other areas for the expansion of party organizations. In the summer and autumn of 1937 the Pukson political workers' group, entrusted with the mission of helping the work of party organizations in the homeland, was sent to various areas of northern Korea. The group directly helped the work of building party organizations in the homeland by transforming the various areas of northern Korea in a revolutionary way.

The group, composed of excellent political workers of the KPRA, worked positively to build party organizations and expand the network of ARF organizations throughout the country, and went deep into labour and peasant unions and other existing organizations, as well as communist groups, to promote the building of party organizations.

Kim Il Sung dispatched Kim Jong Suk to the Sinpha area to form party organizations in such places as Phungsan, Rangnim, Pujon, Sinhung, Pukchong, Riwon and Tanchon.

Thanks to the energetic activities of the political workers and HPWC, party organizations grew rapidly in wide areas of the homeland–coal and ore mines, factories, rural areas, fishermen's settlements, and towns like Kapsan, Sinpha and Phungsan in South and North Hamgyong provinces, and Yangdok, Pyongyang and Pyoksong.

Kim Il Sung propelled the work of building party organizations in the southwestern and northeastern areas of the Mt. Paektu region, with Changbai as the centre.

Late in March 1936 he organized the Eastern Manchuria Party Working Committee as a local party leadership body which, under the guidance of the KPRA Party Committee, would control and guide the work of building party organizations in a unified way in the areas along the Tuman River. As a result, all the party organizations in the areas of eastern Manchuria were placed under the control of the committee.

Meanwhile, in February 1937 Kim Il Sung organized the Changbai County Party Committee, with Kwon Yong Byok as its chairman. The committee was a local party leadership body which, under the direct guidance of the KPRA Party Committee, exercised unified leadership over the work of building party organizations in the southwestern part of the Mt. Paektu area, including Changbai. District party committees and party groups were organized under it.

Under the guidance of the Eastern Manchuria Party Working Committee and the Changbai County Party Committee, party organizations were expanded in the Korean settlements in eastern and southern Manchuria, including Changbai, Fusong and Linjiang.

With the proliferation of party organizations throughout the country, the revolutionaries, who had been active separately, were rallied organizationally, and a strict party organizational system was established throughout the country, whereby all party organizations would move under the unified guidance of the KPRA Party Committee. As a result, the monolithic leadership of Kim Il Sung over the overall Korean revolution was established, though the party centre was not organized, and an epochal change was effected in laying the organizational and ideological foundations for party building.

After proclaiming the founding of the ARF, Kim Il Sung rapidly expanded the ARF organizations throughout the whole country with the KPRA as the main force.

In a speech titled, ***Let Us Rapidly Expand the Organizations of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland*** at the meeting of military and political cadres and political workers of the KPRA held at the Heixiazigou Secret Camp, Changbai County, early in October 1936, and on several other occasions, he put forward the tasks and ways for rapidly expanding the ARF organizations.

He stressed the need to form subordinate organizations of the ARF in vast areas, including the entire homeland, establish a system of leading these organizations, firmly rally the broad sections of the people behind the ARF organizations, and enhance the role of political workers and soldiers of the KPRA in this endeavour.

He began the work of expanding the ARF organizations throughout the whole country by admitting all the soldiers of the KPRA to the ARF, and ensured that all the soldiers were information workers and organizers in rallying all the people around the anti-Japanese national united front, and that the political workers, who were selected from the ranks of the KPRA, played a leading role in the establishment of the ARF organizations.

He set up a model unit and, with this as the parent body, expanded the ARF organizations throughout the country.

He defined the western Jiandao area, including Changbai, as the model region for the expansion of the ARF organizations, and dispatched small units headed by Kim Il, Kim Ju Hyon and other commanding officers to this area. These units built the ARF organizations in an effective way. Thus, well-regulated ARF organizations were formed in the Changbai area in a matter of six months. Following the organization of the Xinxingcun branch of the ARF in Ershidaogou, Changbai County, in October 1936, numerous ARF branches were formed, and chapters, paramilitary corps, and units of the Anti-Japanese Youth League, Anti-Japanese Women's Association and Children's Corps were organized under them. In addition, district committees of the ARF were organized in Shanggangqu, Zhonggangqu and Xiagangqu in Changbai County. In February 1937 the Changbai County Committee of the ARF headed by Ri Je Sun was organized.

The subordinate organizations of the ARF were formed and rapidly expanded to various counties in eastern Manchuria, like Wangqing, Helong, Hunchun and Yanji, and in the wide areas of northern and southern Manchuria, where there were compact communities of Korean people.

Kim Il Sung defined the areas of Kapsan, Samsu and Phungsan as major areas for expanding the ARF organizations deeply into the homeland, and saw to it that the work of building the ARF organizations was stepped up in those areas.

He held discussions with Pak Tal at the Heixiazigou Secret Camp in December 1936, and elucidated the concrete tasks arising in the expansion of the ARF organizations. In line with his instructions, the Kapsan Working Committee was reorganized in January 1937 into the Korean National Liberation Union (KNLU), a subordinate organization of the ARF. The KNLU served as a launching pad for expanding the ARF organizations deeply into the homeland, and scores of subordinate organizations of the ARF were formed under it.

Kim Il Sung dispatched Kim Jong Suk and many other political workers to the areas of Sinpha, Samsu and Phungsan, to expand the network of ARF organizations, which would serve as stepping stones for increasing the network of ARF organizations throughout the country.

Thus, subordinate organizations of the ARF with various names such as the Anti-Japanese Association, National Salvation Association and Restoration Association grew rapidly in all areas, including South and North Phyongan

provinces, Hwanghae Province, Kangwon Province and the southern areas of Korea, to say nothing of South and North Hamgyong provinces. Moreover, organizations at various levels, including the Pukchong District Committee, were formed to ensure a well-regulated system of organizational leadership. These organizations embraced people from all walks of life who loved the country and nation and opposed the Japanese imperialists, including workers, peasants, youth and students, intellectuals, non-comprador capitalists, nationalists and conscientious men of religion. Choe Yun Gu, deputy commander of Ryang Se Bong-led Independence Army, which had been active in southern Manchuria, went over to the KPRA together with his unit after receiving a letter, the Inaugural Declaration and Ten-Point Programme of the ARF from Kim Il Sung.

Kim Il Sung also promoted the work of rallying the progressive Chondoists behind the ARF.

Chondoism, the native religion of Korea, advocates love of the country, the nation and the people in ideology and in practice. It was widely propagated at that time and had a wide following of believers.

Kim Il Sung took proactive measures to rally the rank-and-file Chondoists behind the ARF organizations in the areas of Changbai and Phungsan, and to win over the Chondoist leadership.

In mid-November 1936 he met South Hamgyong provincial Chondoist leader Pak In Jin and other representatives of Chondoism at the Sajabong Secret Camp, gave them a clear explanation of the purpose of founding the ARF, its Ten-Point Programme and the prospects for the national liberation struggle, and called on them to actively join the struggle for the restoration of the country.

The Phungsan chapter of the ARF, embracing the Chondoists in Phungsan County, was organized in the spring of 1937. This was followed by the formation of other ARF organizations involving backbone members of the Chondoist faith in the Kapsan, Samsu, Hyesan and Changbai areas. They rallied a large number of Chondoist believers around them.

In the autumn of 1937 Kim Il Sung led a small unit of the KPRA to the Phungsan area, where he guided the work of local revolutionary organizations, instructing them to rally the Chondoists behind the ARF organizations as suited to the concrete conditions of this area.

While expanding the ARF organizations and establishing a unified guidance system over them, he saw to it that the leadership of them by the party was strengthened.

As a result, an organizational leadership system of the ARF was established capable of ensuring party leadership of the ARF movement as a whole, and the ARF organizations could perform their mission and role of rallying the broad sections of the masses to enlist them in the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

With the building of the ARF organizations on a nationwide scale, the ARF was expanded into a pan-national organization embracing hundreds of thousands of members; at the same time, a mass foundation for the anti-Japanese armed struggle was solidly laid.

## 5. Operation for Advance into the Homeland by Large Forces and the Historic Battle of Pochonbo

While vigorously pushing ahead with military and political activities by relying upon the Paektusan Base, Kim Il Sung led the timely operation for advance into the homeland by large forces.

The situation in the mid-1930s urgently demanded that the KPRA instil in the people firm confidence in the country's liberation, by advancing by large forces into the homeland and dealing heavy blows to the Japanese imperialists.

The latter were more desperate to tighten their colonial rule over the Korean people than ever before, in order to complete their preparations for a continental invasion. They introduced various evil laws, expanded the fascist ruling machinery, and cruelly suppressed the revolutionary advance of the workers and peasants, arresting, imprisoning and murdering patriots at random. They pushed ahead with the militarization of the economy and drove the Korean people into starvation and poverty by further intensifying inhuman exploitation and plunder. Clamouring ever more loudly that "Japan and Korea are one" and that "Japanese and Koreans are of the same descent" in order to erase the national identity of the Korean people, they made vicious moves to wipe out the spoken and written language of the Korean people, as well as the good manners and beautiful customs peculiar to them, and to drum the "soul of Japan" into them. They even intensified misleading propaganda in every way to dash the expectations and hopes the Korean people placed in the KPRA, thus driving them in the direction of despair. In this gloomy situation, it was imperative for the KPRA to advance into the homeland by large forces at an

early date, to inspire the people with firm confidence in victory and arouse them to the anti-Japanese struggle.

With the work of carrying out the strategic policies set forth at the Nanhutou meeting going successfully ahead, the mass foundation of the armed struggle was further consolidated, the Paektusan Base set up and the network of the ARF organizations expanded in the vast areas at home and abroad. Thereby a strategic area was secured for expanding the armed struggle into the homeland.

In order to create favourable conditions for the advance into the homeland, Kim Il Sung had to first sabotage the large-scale winter "punitive" operations of the Japanese imperialists against the KPRA.

Alarmed at the KPRA's advance into the border areas and at the establishment of the Paektusan Base, in October 1936 the Japanese imperialists arranged the Tumen conference between the Governor-General in Korea and the commander of the Kwantung Army stationed in Manchuria. They adopted a "three-point policy" as an "emergency measure" for ensuring peace by "annihilating the anti-Japanese armed forces"–strengthening the garrisons in the border areas; launching large-scale joint "punitive" operations; and establishing internment villages in western Jiandao. The thrust of the "three-point policy" was the large-scale winter "punitive" operations in 1936, the main target of which was the area of Mt. Paektu, where the KPRA Headquarters was located. To this end, the Japanese established the "punitive" operations command in Tonghua, and launched the large-scale winter "punitive" operations from November that year. Unless the "punitive" operations were frustrated, neither could the Paektusan Base be maintained nor the successful advance into the homeland be expected.

In November 1936 Kim Il Sung convened a meeting of military and political cadres of the KPRA at the Heixiazigou Secret Camp, and put forward the policy of frustrating the enemy's numerical and technical superiority by means of ideological and tactical superiority. He then competently led large-scale military actions of the KPRA to frustrate the enemy's large-scale winter "punitive" operations. In mid-November 1936 he led the battle at Heixiazigou to victory by employing the tactics of allurement and ambush. Following this, he organized successful battles in several other places–Shisidaogou and Shangcun, Taoquanli in Shisandaogou, Changbai County–by appropriately combining large- and small-unit operations.

In December that year he drafted and proclaimed the **Tentative Regulations of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army**, which clarified in

detail the character and mission of the KPRA, as well as the regulations and codes of conduct, which were to be observed by all the KPRA members in their everyday life.

In this work, Kim Il Sung stressed that the KPRA, bearing deep in mind that just as fish cannot live without water, so guerrillas cannot live apart from the people, should fight for the restoration of the country and emancipation of the people by defending and protecting the lives and property of the people, sharing life and death with them and realizing unity with them, and that the KPRA members should give free rein to revolutionary comradeship and the spirit of unity.

After spending New Year's Day 1937 at the Hengshan Secret Camp with his KPRA soldiers, he commanded victorious battles at Hongtoushan, Taoquanli and Limingshui, and thus smashed the enemy's large-scale winter "punitive" operations.

In March 1937 he led the main-force unit of the KPRA to the Fusong area, so as to disperse the enemy's forces concentrated in the Changbai area, to ensure the success of the work of building the network of underground organizations in the Paektusan Base by diverting his attention to other places, and to create favourable conditions for the KPRA's advance into the homeland.

During the expedition to Fusong, he ensured that revolutionary comradeship was fully displayed in the unit. And he dealt heavy blows to the enemy by organizing battles at Tantoushan in Changbai County and Xidaling and Manjiang in Fusong County, and applied the tactic of marching a long distance at a go at Xiaotanghe to give him the slip, thus bringing the expedition to a successful completion.

After creating favourable conditions for the advance into the homeland in this way, Kim Il Sung convened a meeting of military and political cadres of the KPRA in Xigang, Fusong County, from March 29 to 31, 1937.

He made a speech titled, ***Let Us Inspire the People with the Hopes of National Liberation by Advancing with Large Forces into the Homeland***. In the speech, he said that by delivering an unexpected blow to the Japanese imperialist aggressors through the advance into the homeland, the KPRA should clearly demonstrate to the people that it was on the move and going from victory to victory in the sacred struggle for national liberation, and make it clear to them that so long as the KPRA existed Korea could win its independence for certain.

He outlined a three-directional plan of operations for the KPRA, and defined the tasks, area and direction of each unit. He himself led the main-force unit towards the Hyesan area.

Right after the Xigang meeting he organized military and political training for the main-force unit of the KPRA at the Donggang Secret Camp, Fusong County, so as to make the political and military preparations for the advance into the homeland, and published *Sogwang*, the organ of the KPRA, early in May.

In mid-May he arranged the ranks of the main-force unit for the advance into the homeland and carried out various forms of information work at Diyangxi, Shijiudaogou, Changbai County. At the same time, he acquainted himself in detail with the situation of the homeland to perfect the preparations for the advance there.

While he was frequently informed of the activities of the KPRA units that advanced into the border areas along the Tuman and Amnok rivers, and of the movements of the enemy, it was reported to him that the unit that had advanced into the Musan area was on the verge of being totally encircled by the enemy. He immediately took a countermeasure to change the target of attack from Hyesan to Pochonbo, to kill two birds with one stone–to save the unit and achieve the purpose of the advance into the homeland.

He organized and led the Battle of Pochonbo to victory.

On the night of June 3, leading the main-force unit, he crossed the Amnok River by raft at the Kouyushui Barrage, spent the night on Konjang Hill in the homeland, and the next day organized a reconnaissance of the town of Pochonbo. He confirmed the reconnaissance information he had previously obtained through different channels, and issued concrete combat orders to each group.

On June 4, as dusk fell, the unit descended Konjang Hill, approached the town of Pochonbo, and occupied its designated positions.

Kim Il Sung took up his command post under a poplar tree that stood at the entrance of the town. The distance from there to the police sub-station, one of the major targets, was no more than 100 metres.

At 10 p.m. sharp, he raised his pistol and pulled the trigger, which signalled the Battle of Pochonbo.

The KPRA destroyed the police sub-station, sub-county office and other organs of repression of the Japanese imperialists in short order, and liberated the Pochonbo area. Fires blazed high in the air over the town of Pochonbo.

The political workers put up in the streets of Pochonbo the **Proclamation** and the **Ten-Point Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland** drawn up by Kim Il Sung, and distributed various appeals and leaflets.

The people enthusiastically welcomed General Kim Il Sung, shouting, "Long live General Kim Il Sung!" and "Long live the independence of Korea!"

Kim Il Sung urged the cheering crowd to fight staunchly for the liberation of their motherland, inspiring them with firm confidence in sure victory, and turn out as one in the solemn war against Japanese imperialism for the independence of the country.

The KPRA's large-unit march into the homeland, where the Japanese imperialists' Government-General of Korea had been so confident of its iron rule, and destruction at a stroke of their local ruling machinery in Pochonbo, a sub-county seat, was a historic event that shook the Japanese imperialist colonial rule to its foundations.

Kim Il Sung said:

**"The significance of the battle does not lie in the fact that a few Japanese were killed in the battle but in the fact that it showed that the Korean people were not dead, but alive; it offered revolutionary rays of hope which inspired them with the confidence that they could defeat Japanese imperialism if they fought it. The Battle of Pochonbo declared to the whole world: the Korean people are resisting Japanese imperialism; they do not accept the idea that 'Korea and Japan are one;' they say the Japanese and the Koreans are not of the 'same descent;' the Koreans will not join the Japanese in invading China; the Koreans will not abandon their mother tongue, nor will they change their surnames into Japanese ones; the Korean people are not dead but alive; and they can defeat the Japanese scoundrels if they fight them. This is the strategic significance of the Battle of Pochonbo. Herein lies the historic significance of the Battle of Pochonbo."**

After the battle Kim Il Sung consolidated the victory gained in the advance into the homeland.

He annihilated the pursuing enemy troops at the battle of Kouyushuishan.

He had the units that had been operating in three different directions gathered in Diyangxi, Changbai County, and on June 13 convened a joint celebration of guerrillas and local people, at which he summed up the brilliant victory of the sortie into the homeland and clarified the tasks for accelerating the cause of national liberation through unity between soldiers and civilians.

Dumbfounded by the KPRA's advance into the homeland, the Japanese imperialists mobilized over 2 000 troops, including the 74$^{th}$ Regiment in Hamhung belonging to the 19$^{th}$ Division of their Korea Army and the puppet Manchukuo army, in order to annihilate the KPRA.

On June 30 Kim Il Sung organized a large-scale battle at Jiansanfeng.

Despite continuous rain, the battle was waged all day long. Women guerrillas sang the song *Arirang*, a well-known folk song of the Korean nation, on the battlefield. Hearing *Arirang*, the enemy soldiers were nonplussed at first, and then seized with fear.

That day only 200 of the enemy fled from the battlefield alive. This battle, together with the battle of Kouyushuishan, consolidated the success of the Battle of Pochonbo, added lustre to the victory gained at Pochonbo, and played a conspicuous part in shattering the myth of the "invincible imperial army." It brought the anti-Japanese revolution to its zenith after the KPRA's advance into the area around Mt. Paektu.

The news of the KPRA's advance into the homeland was widely publicized through major newspapers and other publications at home and abroad, and the name of Kim Il Sung, who had organized and led this operation to victory, was etched in the hearts of all the Korean people at home and abroad as the lodestar of the liberation, the sun of the nation, an excellent military strategist and a legendary hero.

## 6. Military and Political Activities to Cope with the Sino-Japanese War and Preparations for an All-People Resistance

In the period when the anti-Japanese armed struggle was penetrating the homeland, and the work of expanding party and ARF organizations was being conducted briskly on a nationwide scale, the Japanese imperialists, who had been speeding up preparations for an aggressive war to become the "leader of East Asia," provoked the Lugou Bridge Incident on July 7, 1937 and committed a full-scale invasion of China proper.

In the meantime, the "Leftist" adventurists, who were entrenched in the Comintern in those days, ordered the Northeast Anti-Japanese Allied Army forces to make an expedition to Rehe, which would have been a reckless move.

To cope with the new situation of the Sino-Japanese War, Kim Il Sung convened a meeting of commanding officers of the main-force unit of the KPRA at the Paektusan Secret Camp in mid-July 1937 and a meeting of military and political cadres of the KPRA at Caoshuitan, Changbai

County, early in August that year. In the speech he made at the former meeting and that at the latter one titled, ***Let Us Launch Brisk Harassing Operations behind the Enemy Lines to Cope with the Outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War***, he set forth strategic policies for intensifying the anti-Japanese armed struggle and effecting a fresh upsurge in the Korean revolution as a whole.

First of all, he said, the KPRA should strike the enemy from behind in the vast areas along the Tuman and Amnok rivers.

Only when the KPRA struck and harassed the enemy in the rear could the latter's main forces directed to China proper be dispersed and favourable conditions created for frustrating the Japanese imperialists' policy of aggression on the continent by throwing them into utter confusion.

Stressing that the anti-Japanese armed forces in Manchuria should reject the "Left" adventurist line of an expedition to Rehe that demanded a face-to-face fight with the enemy on a vast plain, and that they should thoroughly carry out guerilla warfare from the Juche-oriented standpoint, he pointed out that the KPRA units should advance not towards Rehe, but towards the mountainous areas around the Amnok and Tuman rivers so as to harass the enemy in the rear by conducting vigorous mobile operations.

In order to strengthen the anti-Japanese, anti-war struggle and accelerate preparations for an all-people resistance in the circumstances of the Sino-Japanese War, he said that small units and political workers should be dispatched into the homeland in large numbers so as to further expand the ARF organizations, build revolutionary bases in the Rangnim Mountains, and organize paramilitary corps and workers' shock brigades in various parts of the homeland.

He organized the KPRA's operations to harass the enemy in the rear.

In mid-August 1937 a meeting of officers and men of the KPRA was held. At the meeting he aroused them to the implementation of the strategic policies set forth at the meetings held at the Paektusan Secret Camp and Caoshuitan.

After the meeting the KPRA units conducted military operations in various areas to thwart the Japanese imperialists' manoeuvres for the expansion of the aggressive war.

Immediately after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War the main-force unit of the KPRA, under the command of Kim Il Sung, fought many battles, including the battle near Mashungou in Shijiudaogou, the raid on Xigang town in Shisandaogou, Changbai County, and the battle in the vicinity of Liujiadong in Longquanli, thus dealing heavy blows to the enemy and distracting him in the rear.

As the Sino-Japanese War dragged on, the KPRA units switched to a new strategy, marked by an ambush between Fusong and Xigang and an attack on the Huinan county town, which was of great significance to the harassment operations.

These battles scuttled the Japanese imperialists' wild ambition to swallow up China at a gulp, and gave great encouragement to the Chinese people who had turned out in great numbers in the anti-Japanese struggle.

Kim Il Sung took measures for intensifying the anti-Japanese, anti-war struggle of the people in the homeland and accelerating preparations for an all-people resistance in September 1937 when he issued an ***Appeal to All Korean Compatriots***.

In the appeal he expounded on the relationship between the Sino-Japanese War and the Korean revolution, and on the strategic ways for intensifying the anti-Japanese struggle and preparing an all-people resistance.

He ensured that secret bases were built in large numbers in the big mountain ranges which were of strategic significance, which could serve as bases for activities, operations and support of the KPRA units and, at the same time, as strongholds for guidance to the all-people resistance and anti-Japanese mass struggle.

In order to further intensify guidance over the revolutionary movement in the homeland as a whole and make a breakthrough in the preparations for an all-people resistance, he led a detachment of the main-force unit of the KPRA to the areas of Sinhung and Phungsan in September 1937. On September 25 he convened a meeting of political workers of the KPRA and heads of the underground revolutionary organizations at Mt. Sambat, South Hamgyong Province. At the meeting he said that it was necessary to set up and expand party, ARF and other anti-Japanese mass organizations in various parts of the homeland, including the east coast areas like Hungnam, Hamhung and Wonsan, where munitions factories were concentrated, to transform labour and peasants unions into revolutionary mass organizations and expand and consolidate them, to form armed units, and to vigorously launch various forms of anti-Japanese struggle throughout the country.

With the Mt. Sambat meeting as a momentum, party and ARF organizations were expanded and consolidated in Pujon, Hungnam, Hamhung, Wonsan, Tanchon, Sinhung, Phungsan and various other parts of the homeland, and militias were organized in the forms of workers' shock brigades and paramilitary corps. Various forms of anti-Japanese struggle, like slackening or frustrating munitions production, sabotaging industrial facilities and opposing delivery of

military provisions, were carried out. In particular, the labour and peasants unions, which had had various shortcomings and limitations in the past, were transformed in a revolutionary way to become subordinate organizations of the ARF or to be placed under its influence, and party organizations in the labour and peasants unions were expanded. This made it possible for the working-class and peasant movements to be newly developed into a revolutionary mass movement in close combination with the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

In conformity with the complex prevailing situation created by the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War and the requirements of the developing revolution, Kim Il Sung paid close attention to furthering the political and ideological preparedness of the KPRA ranks and other people.

Some of the people lost confidence in the victory of the revolution and even vacillated as the Japanese imperialists had occupied vast areas of China proper and intensified repression of the masses. This put a brake on the advance of the Korean revolution, which had entered a period of upsurge with the Nanhutou meeting as a momentum.

Kim Il Sung published ***The Tasks of the Korean Communists*** in *Sogwang*, the organ of the KPRA, on November 10, 1937.

In the work he clarified once again the character and tasks of the Korean revolution, and waxed eloquent on the immediate tasks of the Korean communists for carrying out the Korean revolution in an independent manner.

In particular, he stressed that the Korean communists should adhere to the stand of independence in order to implement their revolutionary tasks with success.

He said that the stand of independence was the fundamental stand of communists who were determined to responsibly carry out the revolution in their country by their own efforts with confidence in the strength of their fellow countrymen. He continued that only when they firmly maintained the stand of independence could they formulate revolutionary lines and policies in conformity with the actual conditions in their country, implement them thoroughly and fight to the last for their country's revolution no matter what the difficulties and hardships. He then stressed that since the masters of the Korean revolution were the Korean people and the Korean communists themselves, the latter should unfold their revolutionary struggle in line with their own conviction, solidly build up their own revolutionary forces and rely on the former in leading the Korean revolution to victory.

In order to make the officers and rank and file of the KPRA firmly prepare themselves politically and militarily, Kim Il Sung organized intensive winter

military and political training at the Matanggou Secret Camp in Mengjiang County, from late November 1937 to late March 1938.

He raised the slogans, **"Studying is also a battle!"** and **"Studying is the primary task of a revolutionary!"** With these guidelines, he led the training with the main emphasis on political studies, stressing having a correct understanding of the problems of maintaining an independent stand in the revolution, revolutionary faith and the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. ***The Ten-Point Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland, The Tasks of the Korean Communists*** and other works authored by Kim Il Sung were used as the main textbooks for political studies.

Kim Il Sung also ensured that great efforts were devoted to military training. The central task of this form of training was to make the guerrillas assimilate the contents of **Guerrilla Actions** and **Guerrilla Manual**.

The Matanggou Secret Camp became a virtual "military and political academy," which further improved the political and military qualifications of the KPRA members and fostered them to be staunch revolutionaries.

Kim Il Sung encouraged the KPRA members and the other people to use revolutionary publications such as *Samil Wolgan*, *Sogwang* and *Jongsori*, in order to prepare themselves politically and ideologically. He made sure that the various slogans written on trees stripped of sections of bark by the members of the KPRA and revolutionary organizations were used to educate them in a revolutionary way.

At the same time, he saw to it that the KPRA conducted more positive military activities for the expansion and intensification of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and the preparations for an all-people resistance.

In 1938 he organized and led the spring offensive. He set the direction of the offensive to be the border areas in Changbai and Linjiang on the Amnok River, and organized one battle after another–an ambush in Miaoling in Dunhua County, a raid on Dayangcha in Badaogou, and battles at Jiazaishui and Shierdaogou in Changbai County, and at Liudaogou, Shuangshanzi, Wujiaying and Jiajiaying in Linjiang County, and several other battles.

The spring offensive was followed that summer by mobile operations for alluring and attacking the enemy concentrated in the plain areas by relying on the low mountains in the areas of Liuhe and Tonghua and by brisk strikes in the enemy's rear to hamper the Japanese imperialists' war of invasion on the continent.

The military activities conducted in the spring and summer of 1938 delivered heavy blows to the Japanese imperialists, gave great encouragement

to the units, political workers and other people who were active in various areas and rendered a great help to the Chinese units of the Anti-Japanese Allied Army which had been suffering difficulties during the expedition to Rehe.

Kim Il Sung led the work of restoring the revolutionary organizations destroyed due to the "Hyesan incident," and rebuilding them at the earliest date possible.

While the main-force unit of the KPRA was operating in the areas of Fusong and Mengjiang after leaving the area of Mt. Paektu temporarily, the Japanese imperialists fabricated the "Hyesan incident," and launched a large-scale crackdown on the revolutionary forces, arresting and imprisoning the leading core and other members of the revolutionary organizations, and destroying party and ARF organizations.

Late in November 1937, at an emergency meeting of the KPRA Party Committee, Kim Il Sung took measures for preserving the revolutionary organizations and for building the party and ARF organizations in a more resolute manner. In May the following year he went to the Paektusan Secret Camp, from where he dispatched Kim Jong Suk to the Taejinphyong area in the homeland. Kim Jong Suk met Pak Tal and other revolutionaries, and gave them strength and courage, informing them of the concrete ways for rebuilding the destroyed revolutionary organizations at an early date and the orientation of their future activities.

Thus, party and ARF organizations were rapidly restored and expanded even in the midst of the Japanese imperialists' unrelenting crackdown.

In order to effect a great upswing in the anti-Japanese revolution, Kim Il Sung ensured that the armed struggle and the work of making preparations for an all-people resistance were rapidly expanded and intensified on a nationwide scale.

For the expansion and development of the armed struggle in northern Korea, in April 1938 he set forth the policy of organizing the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army in Northern Korea, and at a meeting held at the Paektusan Secret Camp late in May that year he specified the tasks to be tackled in propelling the work of making preparations for founding it.

In August 1938 he led part of the main-force unit of the KPRA to the northern region of Korea, including Sinhung, and the central part of Korea, including Yangdok, so as to take fresh measures for further intensifying the revolutionary struggle in the homeland.

Rising to the tasks put forward by Kim Il Sung, the small units, groups and political workers of the KPRA conducted vigorous political and military activities in all parts of the country.

Meanwhile, Kim Il Sung also pushed ahead with the work of training a hard core for an all-people resistance.

In May 1938 he had a base built in the area of Mt. Kanbaek in the homeland for training the hard core for an all-people resistance. In September that year he went to the Kanbaeksan Secret Camp to give concrete instructions for tasks arising in the building and running of the training base. The base trained a large number of hardcore elements equipped with military and political knowledge and abilities necessary for launching an all-people armed revolt, and dispatched them to various parts of the country.

## 7. Tasks for Continuous Advance of the Anti-Japanese National Liberation Struggle and the Arduous March

In the autumn of 1938 the anti-Japanese armed struggle was faced with grave obstacles.

The Japanese imperialists enlisted most of the main-force divisions of the Kwantung Army and even the puppet Manchukuo army units and armed police in local areas and stationed them at places of strategic importance along the Amnok and Tuman rivers to conduct stepped-up “punitive” operations against the anti-Japanese armed forces. As they had failed to achieve their purposes by means of the military offensive only, they resorted to what they called “cultural punitive” operations, by which they meant “rooting out basic evils,” “ideological indoctrination” and “forcing surrender.” They destroyed revolutionary organizations and indiscriminately arrested, imprisoned and executed revolutionaries and patriots.

In this critical situation the Chinese units of the Anti-Japanese Allied Army in southern Manchuria suffered a tremendous loss during the expedition to Rehe, and the KPRA ended up having to fight virtually single-handed against the Japanese imperialists reinforced in the areas southwest of Mt. Paektu.

Kim Il Sung convened a meeting of military and political cadres of the KPRA at Nanpaizi, Mengjiang County, for more than ten days from November 25, 1938, in order to take active measures to break through the prevailing difficulties and lead the continuous advance of the revolution.

In the speech titled, ***Let Us Break the Present Deadlock and Lead a Continuous Advance of the Revolution*** he delivered at the meeting, he

analyzed and criticized the "Left" adventurist nature and grave aftermath of the expedition to Rehe, and set forth the tasks needing to be completed for the continuous advance of the Korean revolution.

He said:

**"We are now confronting the heavy, yet honourable task to remove the aftermath of the expedition to Rehe at the earliest date and lead the Korean revolution in advancing without letup by frustrating the large-scale 'punitive' offensive of the Japanese imperialists in order to cope with the prevailing situation."**

He emphasized that in order to lead the continuous advance of the Korean revolution, Korean communists, as the masters of the Korean revolution, should hold fast to their independent standpoint and evaluate the situation correctly. He went on to indicate that the KPRA units should advance to the border areas centring on Mt. Paektu as early as possible and conduct military and political activities more actively in the vast areas.

As a practical measure to effect a continuous upswing in the Korean revolution, he reorganized the KPRA into directional armies and an independent regiment, and designated their theatres of action. Accordingly, the 1st Directional Army would operate in Tonghua, Kuandian, Jian and other mountainous areas in southern Manchuria, the 2nd Directional Army, under his own command, would operate in the homeland and the border areas along the Amnok River, like Changbai and Linjiang, and the 3rd Directional Army would operate in northern Manchuria, like Emu and Ningan, and the northern border areas of Korea along the Tuman River.

Before leaving Nanpaizi following the meeting, he saw to it that Ri Jong Rak, who had been convicted as a traitor to the nation and betrayer of human conscience and obligation, was executed in the name of the revolution. The end of the renegade taught the lesson that one's ideology must be made an element of one's faith–if it remains mere intellectual awareness it is of no avail. People without faith cannot maintain their conscience, moral obligation or even human traits; nor can they make true contributions for the sake of the party and the leader, the country and the revolution, and their comrades and fellow countrymen.

Early in December 1938 Kim Il Sung personally led the 2nd Directional Army to the border areas along the Amnok River, and began the historic Arduous March.

In the name of "punitive" operations in Dongbiandao, the Japanese imperialists set the Headquarters of the KPRA as the main target of their large-

scale "mopping-up" operations, concentrating all their "punitive" troops on the main-force unit of the KPRA. They laid double and treble encirclements by enlisting even aircraft, and used the tactic of "violent attack and tenacious pursuit," the essence of which was the "*tick* tactic."

Due to the tenacious and incessant pursuit and encirclement by the enemy and in temperatures that sank to 40℃ below zero, the KPRA had to march fighting the enemy almost every day without sufficient rest, food or sleep.

In the initial period of the Arduous March, Kim Il Sung employed concentrated attacks and large-scale annihilating offensives by large forces, driving the enemy on to the defensive.

To cope with the enemy's tenacious pursuit, the KPRA marched in a zigzag fashion, posting at every turn of the zigzag an ambush with a group armed with a machine-gun and firing whenever the enemy troops were within the range of fire.

Having crossed the rugged Rongjiang Mountains while fighting continuously, the KPRA attacked the enemy at Sidaocha and Wudaocha in Mengjiang County, at the internment village in Yaogou, near Mayihe, at Wangjiadian and near Yantonglazi in Linjiang County.

The KPRA continued the march through heavy snow for nearly one month, and arrived at the ascent to Qidaogou, Changbai County, early in January 1939.

The enemy encircled the guerrillas with large forces and attempted to wage a final showdown against the KPRA. In this situation, Kim Il Sung convened a meeting of cadres of the 2nd Directional Army at the ascent to Qidaogou, at which he put forward the policy of going over from large unit operations to dispersed actions in three directions.

According to this policy, the unit directly under the Headquarters and composed of the Guard Company and the Machine-gun Platoon advanced towards Jiazaishui in Changbai County, the 7th Regiment towards Shanggangqu in Changbai County, and the 8th Regiment and the Independent Battalion towards Donggang in Fusong County. The wounded and the sewing-unit guerrillas were sent to the Qingfeng Secret Camp in Changbai County.

This ushered in the second stage of the Arduous March. The KPRA's dispersed actions undermined the enemy's concentrated offensive, throwing him into confusion.

Personally commanding the unit directly under the Headquarters, Kim Il Sung moved to Hongtushanzi and the Fuhoushui tableland via Qingfeng in Changbai County, annihilating a large force of the pursuing enemy by employing the tactic of slipping away to one side, so as to make the enemy troops, which had

attempted a pincer movement, clash with each other. In mid-February 1939 the unit arrived at a hillock near Jiazaishui. Bivouacking there, it conducted political and military studies, and discussed its future course of action and tactical problems.

As the large enemy forces in the forests of Changbai might surround the hillock, the unit marched in broad daylight along the main highway attacking the enemy in the front and at the back.

It was at this time that Kim Il Sung changed the tactic of giving the enemy the slip to that of attacking him by seizing the initiative. At the battle of Shisandaowan internment village the unit annihilated a whole company of the enemy.

He organized the battle of Shisandaogou in Changbai County so as to deliver a telling blow to the enemy and at the same time inform the units engaged in dispersed actions of the location of the Headquarters.

In command of the assembled main-force unit, Kim Il Sung conducted military and political activities in the areas of Jiansanfeng and Shierdaogou. In March 1939 he reached Beidadingzi, Changbai County.

At long last, the main-force unit of the KPRA completed the 100-odd-day Arduous March.

The Arduous March was not a mere movement of forces, but, as the epitome of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, a deliberate manoeuvre to break through the prevailing difficulties and lead the continuous advance of the revolution.

During the march, when fierce battles were waged day and night, Kim Il Sung stood in the van, encouraging the troops, saying that only when they overcame the difficulties could they advance to the homeland. And he portioned out to them even the cup of parched-rice flour allotted to him.

The officers and rank and file of the KPRA were able to break through every manner of difficulty and bring the Arduous March to a successful conclusion only because they were rallied rock-solid behind their commander Kim Il Sung.

The victory of the Arduous March was a great victory for the KPRA's spirit of defending the commander unto death, the indomitable revolutionary spirit, the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude, and revolutionary optimism.

The KPRA defended Kim Il Sung politically and ideologically, and shielded him with their very bodies.

At the Qingfeng Secret Camp in Changbai County Kim Jong Suk took a

resolute stand against a renegade of the revolution who attempted to distort Kim Il Sung's revolutionary ideas and lines and slander the Headquarters. She thus uncovered and smashed in time the enemy's plot to harm the Headquarters. All the members of the units of the KPRA, including the 7th Regiment led by O Jung Hup, and the Guard Company, defended the Headquarters of the revolution at the risk of their lives. The 7th Regiment was a bullet-proof wall, an impregnable fortress, in that it absolutely defended the Headquarters of the KPRA from the incessant attacks of the enemy, acting as if it were the Headquarters itself. It was a trait unique to the 7th Regiment that every member of the regiment, rank-and-filer or officer, thought first of the safety of the Headquarters, no matter where he was or what the situation, and its most militant traits both in life and in combat were to treasure the commander's orders as he would his own life, and to carry them out at the cost of his life.

Bearing deep in their minds the revolutionary faith that they would certainly emerge victorious as long as they were led by Kim Il Sung, all the members of the KPRA broke through the difficulties with indomitable willpower, and never became pessimistic, always picturing in their minds the day of victory.

The victory of the Arduous March lay in the fact that the KPRA fought in unity with the people whenever it was faced with hardships. In this period the people actively helped the military actions of the KPRA at the risk of their lives, and rendered it material and moral support.

The victorious Arduous March healed the aftermath of the frantic reactionary offensive of the Japanese imperialists and reckless manoeuvres of the "Leftist" adventurists, and opened a new phase in the continuous advance of the Korean revolution.

## 8. Thrust into the Musan Area and Strategic Bases for the Revolution in the Northeastern Area of Mt. Paektu

After the victorious Arduous March, Kim Il Sung again organized and led the operations for advance into the homeland by large forces.

It was urgent for the KPRA to advance again into the homeland, so as to demonstrate its might and bring about a great upswing in the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle.

Only when the KPRA advanced into the homeland by large forces and delivered a heavy blow to the enemy could it lay bare the falsity of the propaganda of the Japanese imperialists that they had "completely wiped out" the KPRA, fully demonstrate its might at home and abroad, encourage the people in the homeland who had been temporarily daunted in the aftermath of the "Hyesan incident," restore and expand the disrupted revolutionary organizations, and breathe fresh air into the building of party organizations and the united front movement in the homeland.

On the basis of his deep analysis of the prevailing situation and the requirements of the developing revolution, Kim Il Sung convened a meeting of cadres of the KPRA at Beidadingzi, Changbai County, early in April 1939.

In his speech, ***Let Us Continue to Strike Powerful Counterblows at the Japanese Imperialist Aggressors and Advance to the Homeland***, he summed up the victorious Arduous March, and instructed that the KPRA should switch over to an active counterattack to deal continuous counterblows to the Japanese imperialist aggressors and advance once again to the homeland.

He pointed out that after making full preparations for the operations of advancing into the homeland by launching an effective spring offensive against the enemy strongholds in the border areas along the Amnok River, the main-force unit of the KPRA should make a thrust into the Musan area.

The enemy had reinforced his garrisons several-fold in the Musan area after the Battle of Pochonbo. If large forces advanced to that area and destroyed the enemy there, the effect on the people in the homeland would be several times greater than operations in any other part of northern Korea.

Kim Il Sung put forward a plan to launch new operations with a large force in the area northeast of Mt. Paektu after successfully winding up the thrust into the Musan area.

Following the Beidadingzi meeting, he led the main-force unit of the KPRA on a victorious spring counteroffensive, prior to the thrust into the Musan area.

In April 1939, as the first step in the spring counteroffensive, he organized raids on Jiujiadian, Changbai County, a major "punitive" stronghold of the enemy, and on Shiwudaogou and Banjiegou in succession. Thus, the KPRA dealt continuous blows to the enemy, secured munitions and other materials necessary for the advance into the homeland, and instilled in the people in the border area firm confidence in victory.

Kim Il Sung saw to it that on April 30 the KPRA celebrated May Day, a holiday for the working people of the whole world, in a grand fashion at

Madengchang, Xiaodeshui, Changbai County, so as to stir up the spirit of the members of the KPRA who were on the way to the homeland. Early in May he went to the Kanbaeksan Secret Camp, where, on the basis of information of the enemy's movements, he finalized the time, route and other details of the plan for the advance into the homeland by large forces. Leaving the Heixiazigou Secret Camp, 700 men, consisting of the 7th Regiment, 8th Regiment, Independent Battalion and Guard Company, under the personal command of Kim Il Sung, crossed the Amnok River on May 18, 1939, and advanced into the homeland.

Kim Jong Suk and other soldiers of the KPRA, having finished preparations for bivouacking at Chongbong that day, stripped off the bark of some trees and wrote on them revolutionary slogans, such as "Let us fight to the last for the freedom, independence and liberation of the Korean nation!" and "Korean youth, come quickly and join the anti-Japanese war!"

Having bivouacked at Chongbong and Konchang, the unit arrived at Pegae Hill on May 20. There, Kim Il Sung called a meeting of commanding personnel of the KPRA, at which he set forth a policy of advancing swiftly to the Musan area by employing the tactic of marching a long distance at a go in the daytime along the Kapsan-Musan guard road, by taking advantage of the situation in which the enemy had concentrated his forces in the mountainous areas centring on Mt. Phothae and paid less attention to major roads in the daytime.

On May 21 the unit left Pegae Hill, took a rest by Lake Samji and then marched in fine array along the Kapsan-Musan guard road in broad daylight, to reach Mupho.

At the Mupho bivouac Kim Il Sung convened a meeting of commanding personnel, at which he reviewed the march, and instructed that the whole unit should push into the Taehongdan area.

On May 22, in the vicinity of a mountain shrine, he dispatched the 7th Regiment to Singaechok. He personally led the Guard Company and the 8th Regiment to Sinsadong, where he called upon the local people to actively turn out in the anti-Japanese struggle, and made sure that all the members of the KPRA conducted political work among the local lumbermen.

On May 23 he inflicted a crushing defeat on the pursuing enemy on the Taehongdan tableland by employing lure-and-ambush tactics.

After victoriously winding up the thrust into the Musan area, Kim Il Sung moved the theatre of struggle to the area northeast of Mt. Paektu, and organized and led the work of building a strategic base for the Korean revolution in that area.

Late in May 1939 he called a meeting of military and political cadres of the KPRA at Dagou, Antu County.

In his speech, ***On Conducting Military and Political Activities Vigorously by Relying on the Area Northeast of Mt. Paektu*** he set out the policy of establishing another powerful revolutionary stronghold in the area northeast of Mt. Paektu through intensive military and political activities.

He said:

**"Conducting military and political activities by relying on the area northeast of Mt. Paektu is aimed mainly at establishing another powerful revolutionary stronghold there by drawing on the successes and experience gained in the area southwest of Mt. Paektu, so as to rally broader masses of the people not only in the northern region of Korea along the Tuman River but also across the country to the national liberation front and fan the flame of revolutionary struggle."**

The revolutionary bases, which had been established after the dissolution of the guerrilla zones, were situated mostly in West Jiandao and in various parts of the homeland centring on Mt. Paektu. If the KPRA set up new revolutionary bases in the area northeast of Mt. Paektu and in the northern part of Korea along the Tuman River, it would be able to expand the bases of its activities and operations, as well as its support bases, over the whole territory of Korea and give stronger impetus to the Korean revolution as a whole by relying on those bases.

After the meeting the KPRA conducted proactive military and political activities in order to establish the new bases.

In order to transform the various parts of eastern Manchuria, including Helong and Antu counties, into revolutionary strongholds, the main-force unit of the KPRA fought battles at Dongjingping, Huifengdong, Wukoujiang and Qingtoucun, and raided a lumber station near Qingshanli in succession. All those battles were aimed at overwhelming the enemy militarily and creating favourable conditions for the activities of the KPRA.

Kim Il Sung saw to it that political work was conducted among the people, so as to revolutionize them. Swinging and wrestling competitions, entertainment party, art performance and football match between the soldiers of the KPRA and the local people were held at Yushigou, Helong County. This was near Korea, and the inhabitants were well-disposed to the KPRA. Following these activities, the vast regions of Liudong, Huifengdong, Sandaogou and Mingyuegou were transformed in a revolutionary way.

Kim Il Sung had the main-force unit of the KPRA build secret bases in the favourable forest area northeast of Mt. Paektu. In this way, the secret camp for the Headquarters was built deep in the forest in the basin of Wukoujiang, together with other secret camps in various parts, and two to three secret liaison points.

Kim Il Sung pushed ahead with the work of transforming the northern part of Korea along the Tuman River into an overall reliable base for the Korean revolution.

He dispatched small units and political groups of the KPRA to the homeland. At the same time, he himself advanced into the northern border areas, leading the work of building secret bases, and party and other anti-Japanese mass organizations.

On June 18, 1939 he held a meeting of chiefs of underground revolutionary organizations and political workers on Kuksa Hill in Samha-dong, Samjang Sub-county, Musan County, and made a speech titled, ***On the Tasks Facing the Revolutionary Organizations in the Homeland***. In the speech he specified the tasks of transforming the northern part of Korea along the Tuman River, including the Musan and Yonsa areas, into reliable bases for the revolutionary struggle, so as to effect a continuous upsurge of the Korean revolution in conformity with the requirements of the changed situation.

Soon after the meeting, he led the main-force unit of the KPRA to the Samjang area, Musan County, again, where he took measures for carrying out the policy set forth at the meeting held on Kuksa Hill. Kim Jong Suk reported to him the actual situation in the Samjang area, and then went to the Yonsa area, where she organized the party and ARF committees of the Yonsa area.

In August 1939 Kim Il Sung advanced to the Musan and Yonsa areas, where he put forward the concrete tasks for conducting the work of building party and ARF organizations on a nationwide scale.

As a result, party and ARF organizations were expanded to the industrial regions, major cities, and fishermen's and rural villages in the northern, central and southern parts of Korea, as well as the Musan and Yonsa areas. Moreover, strong secret bases were built in several places in northern Korea, including Musan, Yonsa, Kyongwon and Orang.

The reliable strategic bases of the Korean revolution built in the area northeast of Mt. Paektu contributed to the final showdown with the Japanese imperialists.

## 9. Large-Unit Circling Operations and Intense Dispersed Actions

Panic-stricken by the KPRA's intense military and political activities, the Japanese imperialists established in Jilin a "punitive" command directly under the commander of the Kwantung Army in the autumn of 1939, and enlisted over 200 000 troops in the name of a "special clean-up campaign for maintaining public peace in the southeastern areas," blockading the secret camps of the KPRA, attacking the KPRA, and destroying revolutionary organizations. This was another tremendous trial for the KPRA again.

In order to frustrate the large-scale "punitive" offensive of the enemy, Kim Il Sung organized and led large-unit circling operations in the area northeast of Mt. Paektu.

He convened a meeting of military and political cadres of the KPRA at Liangjiangkou, Antu County, early in October 1939.

In a speech titled, ***On Conducting Large-Unit Circling Operations in the Wide Area Northeast of Mt. Paektu***, he set forth a strategic policy of conducting large-unit circling operations in the wide area northeast of Mt. Paektu for about a year, in order to frustrate the enemy's new "punitive" operations.

Unlike the previous military and political activities centring on the secret camps, the large-unit circling operations were a mode of mobile warfare, destroying the enemy by employing various methods such as marching hundreds of miles at one go and luring the enemy by way of feints while ceaselessly moving along fixed secret routes in large numbers.

His operational plan was to designate the area west of Dunhua and Emu, which were favourable for military activities, as the destination of the first stage, attack the enemy there in large numbers, and when the enemy's attention was drawn to that area, make a sharp turn towards Mengjiang, Fusong and Changbai, where it would attack the enemy there. The enemy would rush in that direction, when the KPRA would once again make an about-face and return to its original place through the southern tip of Jiandao Province.

Kim Il Sung led the large-unit circling operations to victory by employing unique military strategy and tactics.

He first ordered the 7th and 8th regiments and the Guard Company to secure and store provisions in advance at certain key points where the KPRA would be passing through. Prior to the beginning of the large-unit circling operations, he organized military and political training for about 20 days at the Hualazi Secret Camp, Antu County, in November, so as to firmly prepare his men politically and ideologically, militarily and technically.

As the first stage of the large-unit circling operations, he mounted an expedition to Dunhua, and from there to Mengjiang and Fusong.

In order to disguise the route of the large unit, he lured the enemy into the ravines of Helong and Antu by rapidly changing direction, and conducted a forced march of tens of kilometres towards the hinterland of Dunhua.

On this expedition he held a meeting of the AJYL at the bivouac in the vicinity of Sidaohuanggou, and conducted political work to awaken the members of the KPRA to ideological awareness. Following the meeting, on December 17 and 24, 1939 he organized battles at Liukesong and Jiaxinzi, respectively, dealing heavy blows to the enemy and crowning the first stage of the large-unit circling operations with success. After those battles, the KPRA recruited more than 200 local lumbermen.

O Jung Hup, commander of the 7th Regiment, was killed in action during the raid on the Liukesong lumber station. Having lost a man whom he had loved and treasured most, Kim Il Sung delivered a memorial address in bitter grief, shedding more tears than ever before.

After luring the large forces of the enemy to the hinterland of Dunhua, the KPRA marched south, and arrived at the Baishitan Secret Camp, Fusong County, in the Songhua River basin, where it held about 40 days of military and political training. It then set out on the second stage of the large-unit circling operations.

The second stage involved marching from Baishitan through Erdaobaihe, Sandaobaihe and Sidaobaihe–a no-man's-land northeast of Mt. Paektu–and advancing to the homeland and then back to Antu County via Helong County.

The KPRA left Baishitan in February 1940, and headed for the border area along the Tuman River via a secret route fixed beforehand. Faced with an unexpected situation, it delayed the advance into the homeland, and raided on March 11 the Damalugou lumber station, one of the strongholds of the enemy's "punitive" forces.

As the main-force unit of the KPRA had appeared in the areas bordering Helong and Antu counties all of a sudden and raided Damalugou, the enemy, who had thought that it would be much further north, now concentrated his

forces upon "punitive" operations against the Headquarters of the KPRA.

On March 25 the KPRA annihilated by employing the tactics of allurement and ambush the vicious "Maeda punitive unit" in a valley on the Hongqi River. This unit had claimed to be an "unconquerable unit" and "ace in the punitive operations," and stood in the van of the "punitive" operations against the KPRA.

With the battle of Hongqi as a momentum, the enemy's first stage of the large-scale "punitive" operations carried out in the name of "special clean-up campaign for maintaining public peace in the southeastern areas" was foiled, and the large-unit circling operations of the KPRA ended with a brilliant victory.

After winding up the large-unit circling operations, Kim Il Sung organized the struggle to foil completely the Japanese imperialists' "special clean-up campaign for maintaining public peace in the southeastern areas" through active dispersed actions.

In an attempt to retrieve their shameful defeat in the "punitive" operations against the KPRA, the Japanese imperialists extended the period of the "special clean-up campaign for maintaining public peace in the southeastern areas," and launched another "punitive" offensive against the KPRA on an unprecedentedly large scale.

In his speech titled, ***Let Us Fight Courageously in Dispersion to Cope with the Prevailing Situation*** at a meeting of military and political cadres of the KPRA held at Hualazi, Antu County, early in April 1940, Kim Il Sung advanced a new policy of switching over to active dispersed actions.

He said:

**"In order to foil completely the Japanese imperialists' 'special clean-up campaign for maintaining public peace in the southeastern areas' and continue to develop the Korean revolution vigorously in these circumstances, the KPRA forces must operate in dispersion."**

For this to be done successfully, he stressed, regiments should take charge of regions, form their ranks in such a way that a company could operate as a unit, employ a variety of guerrilla tactics and method of warfare such as continuous strikes, repeated strikes and simultaneous strikes in all parts, and forge unbreakable ties with the local people.

After the Hualazi meeting, Kim Il Sung organized the dispersed actions of the KPRA forces from mid-April 1940.

As the enemy had massed his "punitive" forces in mountainous areas, the KPRA slipped away from the Hualazi Secret Camp and advanced to the hilly

areas, where it made simultaneous raids on Dongnancha and Yangcaogou, which were large internment villages by the Xiaosha River, in mid-April. It destroyed pursuing enemy troops in the valley of Shujiefeng, and then vanished in the direction of Chechangzi.

In order to disperse the enemy forces, it launched simultaneous attacks on three villages east of the Antu county town–Nanerdaogou, Beierdaogou and Xinchengtun. After that, the 8th Regiment moved to the areas along the Tuman River, and the 7th Regiment and the Guard Company to the northern part of Antu County, striking the enemy every day.

In order to spread the flames of the armed struggle into the homeland, Kim Il Sung, leading the Guard Company, marched towards the Musan area in mid-May 1940, where he led the work of building up secret bases in that area in conformity with the requirements of the small-unit and group activities, and guided the military activities of the KPRA to foil the Japanese imperialists' "special clean-up campaign for maintaining public peace in the southeastern areas." He then convened a meeting of the chiefs of the small units and groups of the KPRA and of the underground revolutionary organizations, and specified the tasks of transforming the northern border area of the upper stream of the Tuman River into a revolutionary base. In order to consolidate the successes achieved in the advance into the homeland, he made sure that strikes at the enemy forces were intensified in the Tuman River and in the central and northern parts of Antu County.

In June the KPRA attacked Dongjingping and Shangdadong villages again and in the subsequent days launched simultaneous attacks on other villages, thus annihilating large numbers of the enemy. It destroyed the enemy pursuers, and raided a lumber mill at Gudonghe south of Wudaoyangcha, Antu County, so as to capture food supplies.

As the enemy was gaining knowledge of the directions of the KPRA's activities, Kim Il Sung decided on the countermeasures of ceaselessly attacking the enemy and adopting a variety of tactical changes.

The KPRA, thus regrouped into small units, made headway against the enemy's large-scale offensive in the summer of 1940, fighting several battles a day in different locations.

Late in June the same year Kim Il Sung, leading a detachment of the main-force unit of the KPRA, marched towards Xiaohaerbaling. On the way the detachment suddenly encountered the Sinsondae Band, a notorious armed group of lackeys of the Japanese imperialists, in the Dashahe gully. It annihilated this gang by employing superb tactics. At a critical moment when

Kim Il Sung was in imminent danger during the battle Kim Jong Suk shielded him with her own body.

Through these dispersed actions by small units for four months following the large-unit circling operations, the KPRA dealt heavy blows to the Japanese imperialists' "special clean-up campaign for maintaining public peace in the southeastern areas."

The dispersed small-unit actions of the KPRA led by Kim Il Sung in the spring and summer of 1940 constituted an important experimental stage for the anti-Japanese armed struggle to enter a new phase.

# CHAPTER 4. TO ACTIVELY MEET THE GREAT EVENT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CAUSE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

(August 1940–August 1945)

## 1. Xiaohaerbaling Meeting and the Strategic Policy of Preparing for the Great Event of National Liberation

With the turn of the 1940s the Korean revolutionaries were faced with the urgent task of making full preparations for greeting the great event of national liberation on their own initiative.

The Second World War, which had started with the invasion of Poland by fascist Germany in September 1939, rapidly enveloped the whole of Europe from the spring of 1940. Meanwhile, Japan was bent on expanding its war to Southeast Asia in order to realize its ambition of creating the "Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere," before completing its invasion of China. At the same time, it was making a last-ditch effort for "security of the home front."

Around this time, the Korean people had built up their own revolutionary force for the final battle with the Japanese imperialists.

Under the Songun-based leadership of Kim Il Sung, the KPRA had rapidly gained in strength–political, ideological and military–and been playing the pivotal role in the overall Korean revolution as well as in the van of the armed struggle. During the revolutionary struggle against the Japanese imperialist aggressors the KPRA was, in fact, the party and government as well as the armed forces of Korea. Supported by the KPRA, the work to lay the organizational and ideological foundations for a party, expand the ARF, develop the anti-Japanese national united front movement and make preparations for an all-people resistance proceeded successfully. All these constituted a firm foundation for waging the final battle with the Japanese imperialists.

On August 10 and 11, 1940 Kim Il Sung called a meeting of military and

political cadres of the KPRA at Xiaohaerbaling, Dunhua County.

At the meeting he gave a report titled, ***On Preparing for the Great Event of National Liberation***, in which he reviewed the successes and experiences gained during the previous ten years of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, and set out the new strategic policy of making full preparations in keeping with the rapidly changing situation so as to take the initiative in greeting the great event of national liberation.

He said that full preparations should be made for the final campaign to completely destroy Japanese imperialism, and for founding a revolutionary party, a people's government and a people's army, and for continuing to push forward the revolution in the liberated country.

He then set out the tasks for implementing the strategic policy.

He said:

**"Most important in preparing for the great event of national liberation is to preserve and accumulate the forces of the KPRA, the central force of the Korean revolution, while, at the same time, training them to be competent political and military cadres."**

For the successful accomplishment of this strategic task, he put forward a new policy on switching over from large-unit to small-unit actions.

If the KPRA continued to confront the Japanese imperialists in large forces in the face of their unprecedentedly aggravated large-scale "punitive" offensive, it would inevitably suffer losses; furthermore, this would have a negative impact on the development of the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle. A direct showdown with the enemy forces that were making a desperate effort would mean exhausting and weakening the revolutionary forces, and flew in the face of the fundamental principles of guerrilla warfare, which required destroying as many enemy troops as possible while preserving one's own forces to the maximum. And transition to small-unit actions at the time when the Japanese imperialists were trying to find an excuse for attacking the Soviet Union in the activities of the anti-Japanese guerrilla units in Manchuria, would be an effective support for the Soviet Union, a socialist state.

Kim Il Sung emphasized the need for the KPRA to conduct intensive political work among the broad sections of the anti-Japanese masses to rally them, develop elusive small-unit military and political activities in the wide areas of Korea and Manchuria, organize the work of improving the military and political qualifications of every officer and soldier, and strengthen solidarity with the revolutionary forces throughout the world, in order to carry out the new strategic policy.

With the Xiaohaerbaling meeting as a momentum, the anti-Japanese armed struggle developed to a new strategic stage.

## 2. Small-Unit Actions of the KPRA

After the Xiaohaerbaling meeting Kim Il Sung ensured that the units of the KPRA switched over to small-unit from large-unit operations. As part of the preparations for this work, he led the efforts to reorganize the KPRA units into small units.

In mid-August 1940 he convened a meeting of political officers of the KPRA at Xiaohaerbaling, at which he advanced ways for reorganizing the KPRA units into small units and groups as well as units to engage in military and political training, and for reshuffling the party organizations and political bodies in every unit in conformity with the changed fighting strategy.

He specified the number of members of each small unit as ten or so to dozens, and that of each group as several men on the principle of combining political and military cadres, as well as veterans and recruits. He also defined areas of their operation.

He set the tasks for the small units and groups–some would mainly conduct political work; some military actions; and some reconnaissance. They were also to execute other tasks than their own, depending on the circumstances. For instance, a reconnaissance group was sometimes to conduct political work or a group engaged mainly in military actions might do political work and reconnoitring at the same time. Kim Il Sung also took steps to establish a unified command system and liaison network for the small units and groups. These were to arm themselves lightly to suit the features of the areas of their operation and their missions, and form party cells and sub-cells and enhance their role.

All units of the KPRA were successfully reorganized into small units in a short span of time. As a result, the companies, platoons and squads under regiments were dissolved, and an appropriate number of small units came into being.

Kim Il Sung directed great efforts to building temporary secret bases on which the small units and groups could rely.

At a meeting of the chiefs of the small units and groups of the KPRA early in September 1940 at the Kanbaeksan Secret Camp, and at several other meetings, he put forward the policy of creating temporary secret bases as guerrilla bases

of a new type in keeping with the demand of the new strategic stage of the development of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

He ensured that the secret bases built in vast areas, including the area of Mt. Paektu, in the latter half of the 1930s were used continually, and many new ones, mobile and small-scale, built around them. These temporary secret bases were to act as springboards for further actions.

As a result, a large number of such bases were built in places of strategic importance in Korea, like Kyonghung, Unggi, Musan and Rajin in the northern part, and in the vast areas of Manchuria, like Yanji, Helong, Antu and Wangqing, with different missions–for the accommodation of small units, communications, secret meetings or storage of supplies.

Having made full preparations, Kim Il Sung led the political and military activities of the small units and groups.

The Japanese imperialists concentrated all their efforts on “mopping-up” operations against the Headquarters of the KPRA in the form of autumn and winter “punitive” operations from the autumn of 1940.

Kim Il Sung threw the enemy on the defensive, setting an example for small-unit actions by means of elusive guerrilla tactics from the first stage after the changeover to small-unit actions.

He destroyed many enemy soldiers at a swamp near Huanghuadianzi, Antu County, in August 1940 by employing telescoping tactics, and organized and commanded many battles, including the engagement with the enemy near Facaitun, Yanji County, and at Wudaoyangcha and Huanggouling, Antu County, in September and October that year, striking a telling blow at the enemy.

In order to inspire confidence and courage in the guerrillas in the face of the manifold hardships caused by the escalated “punitive” offensive of the enemy and a shortage of food, in mid-October 1940 Kim Il Sung convened at Mengshancun, Helong County, a meeting of members of the small units and groups directly under the Headquarters. At the meeting, he stressed that they should invariably follow the road of revolution full of confidence and optimism, adding that, though the prevailing situation was grave, the final victory was assured.

Busy as he was directing small-unit actions, he ensured that provisions, clothes and medicines were sent to small-unit members active in different regions.

Inspired by his deep care, the small units and groups dealt telling blows to the Japanese imperialists in the homeland, as well as at Wangqing, Hunchun, Dongning, Ningan, Muling and other places, covering a wide area of Manchuria, through active mobile operations.

Kim Il Sung developed the small-unit actions on a more varied and extensive scale from the spring of 1941.

Later, he recollected:

**"That we became able to take brisk small-unit actions in Korea and Manchuria from the new temporary bases in the Far East region can be called a turning point in the history of the anti-Japanese armed struggle."**

He had new training bases set up in the Soviet Far East, and dispatched numerous small units and groups to Manchuria and Korea; he himself advanced into Manchuria and Korea in command of a small unit early in April 1941 to guide the work of the small units and groups active there.

He arrived at Hanconggou, Antu County, via Wangqing and Dunhua, and dispatched a small unit to the Huadian and Dunhua areas, and political workers' teams to Changbai, Chechangzi, the Mt. Paektu area in the homeland and various other regions for the expansion of the network of underground organizations. Afterwards, he led the work of expanding the existing organizations in the vast areas of Antu and Fusong.

He guided the members of small units, groups and revolutionary organizations to adhere to the Juche-oriented attitude towards the new situation created by the conclusion of the neutrality pact between the Soviet Union and Japan in April 1941. This had caused ideological confusion among some people who were poor in ideological preparedness and steeped in great-power worship.

In May 1941 Kim Il Sung put forward the slogan, **"Let us carry out the Korean revolution by our own efforts!"** At a meeting of the chiefs of small units, political workers' teams and revolutionary organizations held at the Kanbaeksan Secret Camp in June that year, he stressed the need to firmly maintain the Juche-oriented attitude whatever the situation, and conduct intensive ideological education in the spirit of carrying out the Korean revolution by the efforts of the Koreans themselves. And at a meeting of political workers and chiefs of revolutionary organizations held at Thaksanggol, Phungri-ri, Onsong County, on July 20, 1941, he advanced the tasks for accomplishing the cause of national liberation through self-reliance, based on the analysis of the internal and external situations that were rapidly changing after the fascist Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union. And in the speech titled, ***Let Us Accomplish the Cause of National Liberation with Full Confidence in Victory*** he made at a meeting of chiefs of the KPRA small units at Jiapigou, Wangqing County, on July 28, he clarified the task of making thorough preparations for taking the initiative in greeting the forthcoming great revolutionary event with a firm conviction in the victory of revolution.

Afterwards, he led the military and political activities of the small units more energetically in keeping with the requirements of the rapidly changing situation. Early in August 1941 he organized an assault on the Wangqing-Luozigou road construction site in command of a small unit, throwing the enemy into great confusion, and inspiring confidence in national liberation in the broad sections of the masses. In mid-September, with a view to consolidating the success gained by the small-unit actions, he left the Far East base for Manchuria and the homeland in command of a small unit. He guided the work of small units and groups active in the areas along the Tuman River and in different areas of the homeland, inspiring them with confidence in certain victory.

In October that year he called a meeting of the chiefs of the small units and groups of the KPRA and the revolutionary organizations at Yonbong, Singon-ri, Kyongwon County, at which he stressed the need to unfold the political work among the masses more aggressively, organize and develop anti-Japanese, anti-war struggles of various kinds and intensify reconnaissance of the enemy forces.

Encouraged by his instructions and personal example, the small units and groups of the KPRA conducted their activities in more extensive and varied ways in the wide areas of Manchuria and deep in the homeland.

Kim Il Sung developed the small-unit actions more briskly before and after the formation of the International Allied Forces (IAF) in the summer of 1942.

With an eye to the pending final campaign against Japan, at a meeting of military and political cadres of the KPRA held early in August 1942, he shed light on the tasks facing the KPRA in stepping up the preparations for the final operations against Japan for national liberation, emphasizing the need to conduct the activities of the small units and groups in breadth and depth. He ensured that the principle was adhered to of giving priority to group actions while combining them with the relatively larger actions of small units, directing the main effort to military reconnoitring and preparations for an all-people resistance which would contribute to the forthcoming final campaign. In accordance with this principle, in military operations the focus was on the actions of groups, combined as appropriate with raids and ambushes by small units.

Around this time the small-unit actions were conducted by putting the main emphasis on the actions of the small units comprised of the soldiers of the main-force unit of the KPRA and combining them with military reconnoitring by the KPRA soldiers attached to the detachment of the IAF.

The KPRA small units and groups found their way to the fortresses built by the Japanese imperialists in the border areas, and Unggi, Rajin, Chongjin,

Ranam, Hungnam, Wonsan and Pyongyang. They conducted brisk military reconnaissance operations to get information about military installations and troops and their movements, harbour facilities and coastal depths in the enemy's fortified areas and places of strategic importance, the work of rousing the broad sections of the masses to the struggle for an all-people resistance and activities aimed at demoralizing the enemy troops.

Their energetic activities foiled the enemy's attempt to annihilate the KPRA, and contributed to the preservation and accumulation of the KPRA's forces as well as to steadfast preparations for greeting the great event of national liberation.

On February 16, 1942, a stirring period when the great event of national liberation was drawing near, Kim Jong Il was born at the Paektusan Secret Camp.

The anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters praised him, who was born as the son of Mt. Paektu in the flames of the anti-Japanese war, as the "Shining Star of Mt. Paektu," expressing their earnest desire that he succeed to the revolutionary cause of Juche and the cause of Songun revolution pioneered by Kim Il Sung, and lead it to victory.

Kim Il Sung, who was guiding the small-unit actions in the homeland, went to the secret camp in June 1942. He embraced his son, and wished him a happy future. He told Kim Jong Suk that they should bring up their son to be the successor to the revolution, stressing that they were obliged to lead the younger generation to steadfastly hold on high the red flag of revolution that had been raised on Mt. Paektu.

### 3. Military and Political Training of the KPRA

With the approach of the great event of national liberation, Kim Il Sung organized a political and military training of all the officers and rank and file of the KPRA while stepping up their small-unit actions.

He said:

**"With the great event of national liberation approaching, we need many excellent cadres who are well prepared politically and militarily. Whether or not we shall be ready for the great event of national liberation depends on how firmly all the officers and men of the KPRA, the nucleus of the Korean revolution, prepare themselves politically and militarily."**

He made scrupulous preparations for the successful military and political training of the KPRA.

Taking into consideration the situation prevailing at that time and the advice of the Comintern, he had a training base set up in the Soviet Far East region provided with favourable conditions for the purpose. He reorganized the KPRA units engaged in the training into units under a regular system. He organized staff sections which would plan and guide the training, and reinforced the Party Committee and other party organizations and political bodies at all levels of the KPRA in conformity with the training.

He paid special attention to formulating a rational and scientific training programme to ensure success of the training.

The programme called for closely combining small-unit actions with the training to satisfy the requirements of real warfare, and specified a curriculum that combined political education with military training, subjects and their content, and the ways for their execution and review. It put the main stress on the study of the lines and strategic and tactical policies of the Korean revolution, of Korea and of advanced military knowledge necessary for modern warfare to be applied in waging the final showdown against Japanese imperialism and for building a new country after the liberation of Korea.

Prior to starting the military and political training, Kim Il Sung took active measures to convince the members of the KPRA of the need for this training, and selected able military and political cadres as instructors. He also paid attention to building up the training base to meet the requirements of the prevailing situation and the features and conditions of the training.

The military and political training started from early 1941, and developed more intensively after the formation of the IAF.

He paid primary attention to political education. Political education dealt with the ***Ten-Point Programme of the ARF, Inaugural Declaration of the ARF, On Preparing for the Great Event of National Liberation*** and other major works of Kim Il Sung and the lines, strategies and tactics of the Korean revolution, as well as philosophy, political economy, party building and economic management.

He paid special attention to the study of the homeland.

On September 15, 1943 he gave a speech to a class of political cadres and instructors of the KPRA, titled, ***The Korean Revolutionaries Must Know Korea Well***. In the speech he pointed out that Korean revolutionaries must be well-versed in the history, geography and brilliant cultural traditions of their motherland so as to carry out the Korean revolution on their own responsibility.

He saw to it that the military training was conducted on the basis of the experience in the anti-Japanese war and in conformity with the topographical features of Korea and the physical constitution of the Korean people, so that the training would contribute to the final campaign for national liberation.

He made sure that all the members of the KPRA mastered guerrilla tactics, as well as the tactics of modern warfare, through active engagement in the training. Attaching primary importance to the tactical training, he made sure that all the lesson plans were drawn up to meet the specific conditions of Korea by drawing on experience of guerrilla warfare. Shooting drill covered fixed, moving and suddenly-appearing targets, as well as sharpshooting. In anticipation of the advance into the homeland across the Amnok and Tuman rivers in the final campaign, drills were organized in skiing, swimming, river-crossing and landing operations. As many of the troops had to be transported by air to various parts of Korea during the final campaign, much effort was directed to parachuting practice, combined with skydiving and airborne operations. Kim Il Sung personally took part in this practice on several occasions, once demonstrating with a special team how to drop from aircraft. Wireless communication drills were also conducted.

The military training also dealt with ordnance, topography, hygiene, engineering and anti-chemical warfare.

Thanks to the energetic guidance of Kim Il Sung, the KPRA members trained themselves to be full-fledged political and military cadres prepared politically and ideologically and well-versed in the tactics of guerrilla and modern warfare, and the techniques of all military services.

## 4. Struggle to Complete the Preparations for Founding a Party and Develop the ARF Movement and Preparatory Work for All-People Resistance in the Final Campaign against Japan

While intensifying the small-unit actions and the military and political training of the KPRA, Kim Il Sung made great efforts to complete the work of preparing for founding a political party.

In order to readjust and expand party organizations as required by the

prevailing situation and the developing revolution created by the pending great revolutionary event of national liberation, in April 1941 he dispatched small units to various regions, including the area northeast of Mt. Paektu. He told them that they should restore and expand the destroyed party organizations rapidly and in various suitable ways, camouflage them in a thoroughgoing way with a high sense of revolutionary vigilance, organize their work scrupulously, and properly combine organizational and political work with military actions.

He energetically led the work of readjusting and expanding party organizations in many regions of the homeland and eastern Manchuria.

In mid-July 1941 he guided the founding of a special party organization at Nanxiaotun, Mingyuegou, Yanji County, and the work of readjusting or organizing party organizations in Xiaowangqing and Shiliping in Wangqing County, and in Dunhua, Antu, Helong and Yanji counties. He advanced to Kyongwon, North Hamgyong Province, in October 1941, and the Unggi and Musan areas in June the following year, to familiarize himself with the work of forming party organizations in six towns and many other places in the homeland, and press ahead more vigorously with the work.

The small units, groups and political workers who were dispatched to the area northeast of Mt. Paektu and to various parts of the homeland formed party organizations in urban and rural areas and key industrial centres involving workers, peasants and former core members of the revolutionary organizations which had existed at the guerrilla bases. They expanded party organizations in such a way as to enrol the families and relatives of the KPRA soldiers and the bereaved children of revolutionary martyrs for party membership, and find out the party members who had lost contact with their organizations and enlist them in party ranks. As a result, party organizations were restored and expanded in the homeland and in the area northeast of Mt. Paektu.

With the great event of national liberation drawing near, Kim Il Sung pushed ahead with the work of completing the preparations for founding a party.

On February 9, 1943 he called a meeting of the chiefs and leading members of party organizations across the country at Ujokgol, Yonsa Sub-county, Musan County, at which he reviewed the work of building party organizations after the Nanhutou meeting and advanced the task of making full preparations for founding a new political party.

After the meeting he dispatched a great number of political workers' teams to key industrial areas, places of strategic importance and various other parts of Korea so as to expand basic party organizations in the homeland and establish

regional party leadership bodies. As a result, party organizations sprang up all over the country, including Chongjin, Hamhung, Pyongyang, Pusan, Taegu, Mokpho, Kunsan and Jinju, embracing hardcore elements who had been tempered and tested in revolutionary organizations. In addition, regional party leadership bodies were established, like the Regional Party Committee of South Phyongan Province, with groups in Pyongyang, Kaechon, Nampho and several other areas, and the Chongjin Regional Party Committee, with cells at the factories in the Chongjin area centring on the Chongjin Iron Works.

These party committees performed their role as regional leadership bodies with a mission to provide unified guidance to party organizations and other anti-Japanese mass organizations which had been organized in many places following the formation of the Homeland Party Working Committee. Thus a regular system was established under which party organizations across the country worked under the unified guidance of the Party Committee of the KPRA.

Kim Il Sung enhanced the militant function and leadership role of the regional party committees and party organizations in the country.

At the meeting of the chiefs of the party organizations in the homeland held on Mt. Omyong at Rasok-dong, Kwanhae Sub-county, Puryong County, in July 1944 and other meetings, he took relevant measures for enhancing the militant function and role of party organizations to meet the situation on the threshold of the final campaign against Japan.

Party organizations formed and consolidated the ARF and other revolutionary organizations and all-people resistance organizations, and conducted vigorous political work to enlist the broad masses in making preparations for an all-people resistance and in waging various kinds of anti-Japanese struggles in their respective units and regions. The basic party organizations strengthened political and ideological education and organizational life of party members, and incessantly trained them in revolutionary practice.

This led to a remarkable growth in the number of reliable organizational pillars for founding a party, the preservation of the ideological purity of the revolutionary ranks based on the Juche idea, and the establishment of the mass foundations for founding the party.

Kim Il Sung led the struggle for expanding and developing the ARF movement.

He said:

**“The small units and political workers’ teams of the KPRA should go**

**among the broad anti-Japanese masses in Korea and Manchuria and actively work to restore and consolidate, expand and develop the revolutionary organizations, including the ARF organizations destroyed by the enemy. In this way we shall make sure that broader anti-Japanese masses are united in the revolutionary organizations."**

With the aim of reconstructing and expanding the ARF organizations, he sent a large number of small units, groups and political workers to several places in Manchuria and Japan as well as to large areas of the homeland.

They located former members of revolutionary organizations and enlisted them in the ARF organizations by educating them and awakening them to ideological consciousness, while restoring the destroyed ARF organizations. They expanded the ARF and other revolutionary organizations to Wangqing, Hunchun, Yanji, Helong and other areas along the Tuman River and to the wide areas of southern and northern Manchuria, to say nothing of the homeland. They rallied the masses from all walks of life behind them. Political workers and members of revolutionary organizations dispatched to Japan formed and expanded the lower organizations of the ARF embracing Koreans resident in various parts of Japan.

In the meantime, they trained the broad sections of the people so that they could join the final campaign against Japanese imperialism, informing them of the lines, strategies and tactics of the Korean revolution and the **Ten-Point Programme of the ARF** evolved by Kim Il Sung and the inevitability of the downfall of the Japanese imperialists. They wrote on trees stripped of patches of bark slogans bearing the aspirations of the Korean people to lead a happy life with Kim Il Sung as the leader of an independent Korea, announcing Kim Jong Il's birth, motivating all the people in the preparations for the final campaign against Japan and overflowing with the pride in having the three commanders of Mt. Paektu. The slogans played a significant role in enlisting the masses in the sacred war for national liberation and rousing them to the final push against Japanese imperialism by awakening them to ideological consciousness and rallying them around revolutionary organizations.

In July 1944 Kim Il Sung called a meeting of the chiefs of the ARF organizations across the country on Mt. Sangdan, Sinjang-dong, Yonsa Sub-county, Musan County. At the meeting he clarified the ways and methods for expanding and developing the ARF organizations. He stressed the need for the ARF organizations to unite all the anti-Japanese masses into a single political force and mobilize them to the struggle for accomplishing the cause of national liberation.

After the meeting he organized new small units and political workers' teams consisting of members of the KPRA who were experienced in political work among the masses and in underground work, and dispatched them to different areas in the homeland. They trained workers, peasants, the youth and students, men of religion and other people from various social strata so that they could turn out in the final campaign against Japanese imperialism. They also approached and won over progressive workers at key factories and enterprises, and formed and expanded ARF organizations under various names with them as hardcore members. The work to expand ARF organizations was undertaken also among peasants, the youth and students, and other people of various backgrounds. This resulted in the expansion of ARF organizations across the country in accordance with the local features and the preparedness of the masses.

Kim Il Sung made great efforts to achieve solidarity with all the anti-Japanese patriotic forces active at home and abroad under the banner of national liberation.

While channelling great efforts into uniting the anti-Japanese patriotic forces in Korea and in Manchuria, he paid close attention to establishing ties with them in China proper, including the Provisional Government in Shanghai, the Korean Volunteers Corps, the Korean Independence Union and the Korean Volunteers. Deeply concerned with the work with religious people, he took measures for the small units, groups and anti-Japanese underground revolutionary organizations to shatter the enemy's suppression, defend patriotic religious people and rally them behind revolutionary organizations.

Around this time the nationalist movement champions who existed, though weakly, as an anti-Japanese patriotic force, and other anti-Japanese forces showed a tendency towards alliance and cooperation with communism out of admiration for Kim Il Sung and in response to the **Ten-Point Programme of the ARF**. The Provisional Government, which had moved to Chongqing, sent messengers to Kim Il Sung, a renowned hero of the anti-Japanese struggle, several times to establish contact with him. The Korean Nation-Building Union, an anti-Japanese underground organization formed by Ryo Un Hyong in 1944, tried in every possible way to make contact with Kim Il Sung.

Kim Il Sung directed greater efforts to the preparatory work for an all-people resistance, as the downfall of Japanese imperialism became certain. After it started the Pacific war in December 1941 and before finishing the Sino-Japanese War, Japan sank deeper towards its ruin as the days went by. The ruling system of the Japanese imperialists in Korea plunged into gradual

paralysis. The people's struggle against Japanese imperialism and war gained momentum, and various forms of delinquency appeared even among officials of the enemy's ruling organs. Such vulnerability expressed in the ruling machinery of Japanese imperialism gave rise to favourable conditions for the resistance organizations in the homeland to launch an audacious push to get themselves ready for an all-people resistance.

With deep insight into the requirements of the prevailing situation and the developing revolution, at a meeting of military and political cadres of the KPRA early in January 1943 Kim Il Sung set out the three-point line for national liberation, a general offensive of the KPRA, an all-people revolt combined with it, and joint operations behind enemy lines of the small units of the KPRA and armed organizations depending on the situation. Late in February the same year he called a meeting of commanding officers and chiefs of small units and groups of the KPRA and heads of revolutionary organizations at the Tumubong Secret Camp of the secret base in the Sinhung area. Here, he reaffirmed the three-point line and explained the ways and means for its implementation. He then stepped up the preparations for an all-people resistance in conformity with the three-point line.

He recollected:

Stepping up the preparations for the all-people resistance, we paid special attention to the following points: One was to establish new temporary secret bases while building up the secret bases existing in the homeland into military and political bases for the all-people resistance; the second was to send more small units and groups as well as political workers into the homeland to prepare the forces of the all-people resistance thoroughly for the operations to liberate the country, in keeping with the requirements of the new situation; and the third was to establish unified leadership over the all-people resistance forces in the homeland.

He paid primary attention to building up the existing secret bases to step up the preparations for the all-people resistance. The secret bases existing in the homeland were developed into military and political bases for the all-people resistance, and temporary secret bases of various forms and sizes were built in the areas of strategic importance across the country–on the Hamgyong, Pujon and Rangnim mountain ranges in the northern part, and on the Puktaebong, Ahobiryong and Thaebaek mountain ranges in the central part.

While giving precedence to the establishment of the bases, Kim Il Sung made efforts to get the all-people resistance forces fully ready for the final campaign for national liberation.

The small units and political workers of the KPRA and the party and

revolutionary organizations all over the homeland gave wide publicity to Kim Il Sung's revolutionary ideas, unexcelled art of command, lofty virtues and personality by means of leaflets, appeals, slogans and anecdotes.

In order to build up the armed organizations for the all-people resistance, Kim Il Sung convened a meeting of the chiefs of the small units and groups of the KPRA and underground revolutionary organizations in mid-July 1943 on Mt. Kom, Rogya-dong, Hwabang Sub-county, Jongsong County, at which he set out instructions concerning the direction and methods of organizing people's armed corps across the country for the all-people resistance. In July the following year he once again advanced into the homeland, and at the temporary secret base in Kwanjang, Pugo-dong, Pugo Sub-county, Puryong County, announced the principles to be adhered to in building and expanding armed organizations for the all-people resistance.

He took measures to form armed corps of various designations with young people of worker or peasant origin, who had been tested through struggle, as the hard core and other young and middle-aged people including fugitives from the Japanese draft who were hiding in the mountains. At the same time, he gradually reorganized and developed the existing militias such as paramilitary corps and workers' shock brigades into armed corps.

As a result, the Komsan Worker-Peasant Armed Corps, the Kkachibong Armed Corps, the White-Clad Society at the Musan Mine, the Rajin People's Armed Corps, the Taejinphyong Anti-Japanese Death-Defying Corps, the National-Salvation Youth Society, the National Liberation Armed Corps, the Jirisan Armed Group and other armed organizations cropped up one after another in various parts of the homeland, and resistance organizations with various designations were organized in Pyongyang, Seoul and many other places. The Kim Il Sung Corps, which was formed in Seoul in 1942 under the guidance of a political worker, embraced patriotic people of various social backgrounds and spread its influence as far as Mosulpho on Jeju Island and other parts of the country, and even to Japan. The organization, whose members pledged to devote their lives to the sacred war for national liberation, worked with the objective of rallying the broad anti-Japanese masses and preparing them to participate in the final campaign for national liberation when the KPRA would advance into the homeland.

The Fatherland Liberation Corps, which was organized by Kim Won Ju, Kim Il Sung's cousin, in July 1944, with the main objective of rising up in armed revolt in response to the operations of the KPRA to liberate the country, expanded its ranks among people of all social levels in Pyongyang, as well as in

industrial areas and the countryside in the central and western parts of the country. It even infiltrated police establishments and the enemy's government and public offices.

The resistance organizations and people in the homeland made preparations for armed revolt under the slogan, "Let us respond to the advance of the KPRA led by General Kim Il Sung with a popular armed revolt!"

The struggle for forming all-people resistance organizations was also waged among young Koreans who had been drafted into the Japanese army. In the 30th Division of the Japanese army stationed in Pyongyang young Koreans formed an anti-Japanese armed student-soldier corps and planned to join the KPRA en masse.

A considerable number of people who had been associated with various organizations active in revolutionary movements in the homeland joined in making preparations for the decisive battle to destroy the Japanese imperialists, in support of the line of an all-people resistance worked out by Kim Il Sung.

The forces for all-people resistance gained in strength rapidly: As of 1942, the anti-Japanese underground organizations in the homeland that were ferreted out by the enemy numbered over 180, and the total membership of these organizations exceeded half a million.

Kim Il Sung paid special attention to building up a powerful force for all-people resistance in Japan.

This activity took two forms: One was the reinforcement of the existing ARF organizations and various other anti-Japanese organizations there and the forming of new organizations; the other was the infiltration of special operatives of the KPRA deep into Japan to collect military information to assist the military operations against Japan.

The political workers dispatched to Japan played their parts actively to form resistance organizations at the risk of their lives. Revolutionary organizations struck root in all parts of Japan, from Hokkaido in the north to Kyushu in the south, wherever Koreans were living, and among university students, seminarians, coal miners and labour draftees.

Kim Il Sung worked hard to ensure that the regional party committees active in many parts of the homeland for speeding up the preparations for an all-people resistance enhanced their role as regional leadership bodies, so as to provide unified guidance over the forces of all-people resistance that were growing quickly.

Political workers and members of party and revolutionary organizations mobilized the workers, peasants, the youth and students to anti-Japanese and

anti-war struggles of various kinds in the course of which they could be trained and prepared for the all-people resistance and armed revolt.

The workers struck telling blows at the enemy's munitions production and wartime transportation by means of strikes, sabotage, arson and dynamiting, and the peasants struggled to oppose forcible delivery of agricultural produce, and labour drafts and other burdens of all kinds. The teaching staff and students formed secret societies and organizations, and staged strikes. Struggles against conscription, labour draft and forcible mobilization were staged uninterruptedly by young and middle-aged people. Intellectuals at home and abroad waged struggles for defending the identity of the nation. There was a secret society called the Red Research Society at Yonhui College in Seoul. Contact with a political worker led to all its activities becoming geared to realizing the **Ten-Point Programme of the ARF**. The Korean Language Association formed a secret organization of pioneers, which launched a relentless struggle to defend the Korean language and preserve the national identity. A large number of students, scholars, religious men, educators, men of art and literature, and men of the press joined the all-people resistance organizations, and fought against the Japanese imperialist policy of obliterating the Korean nation.

## 5. Allied Front of the Armed Forces of Korea, China and the Soviet Union, and the IAF

In the first half of the 1940s consolidation of solidarity with the international anti-imperialist, anti-fascist forces constituted an important factor for the final victory of the anti-Japanese revolution. In particular, realizing an effective alliance with the armed forces of the Soviet Union and China was an important strategic task that had to be completed for creating a favourable international environment and at the same time for expanding and consolidating the driving force for national liberation in every possible way.

Around this time the revolutionaries of Korea, China and the Soviet Union confronted the task of forming an anti-fascist allied front at an early date. The flames of the Second World War flared throughout Europe, and the Japanese imperialists publicly laid bare their ambition to invade the Soviet Union in concert with fascist Germany while expanding their aggressive war throughout

Asia. The Soviet Union was exposed to the threat of a pincer attack from the east and the west.

With deep insight into the requirements of the new situation and the developing revolution, Kim Il Sung attended a Comintern-hosted conference held at Khabarovsk from December 1940 to mid-March 1941 and referred to the need to realize unity and cooperation among the armed forces of the three countries.

Also attending the conference were the senior officers from the KPRA, the Northeast Anti-Japanese Allied Army (NAJAA) and the provincial party committees in Manchuria, and representatives from the Comintern and the Soviet Union.

Kim Il Sung attended it in the capacity of the representative of the KPRA, the 1st Route Army of the NAJAA and the South Manchuria Provincial Party Committee.

The meeting discussed the measures to be taken to establish relations between the KPRA, the different route armies of the NAJAA and the provincial party committees, and to take concerted action with the Comintern and the Soviet Union. It also discussed the future of the anti-Japanese guerrilla movement in Manchuria and the ways and means of mutual support and cooperation with the military authorities of the Soviet Far East.

The key item on the agenda of the conference was how to establish coordination between the guerrillas in Korea and Northeast China and the Soviet army, and how to adapt this to the new situation.

In connection with this, Kim Il Sung put forward a proposal to effect a joint struggle which should, in its content and form, not only be helpful to the Soviet Union but beneficial to the revolutions of Korea and China, and to give the fullest play to proletarian internationalism with a comradely, unselfish attitude, adding that he was opposed to an unreasonable merger through which one side slighted the other or did not recognize its independence, and stressing the need to form an international alliance between the armed forces on the basis of respecting mutual independence.

His proposal enjoyed the support of the participants and had a positive bearing on realizing unity and cooperation among the revolutionary armed forces of the three countries. The meeting reached a consensus on realizing alliance among the armed forces to cope with the threatening international situation, on the basis of recognizing one another's independence.

Kim Il Sung recollected later as follows:

**"We organized the International Allied Forces with our Soviet and Chinese comrades in July 1942. Following this, we strengthened our own forces for the Korean revolution in every possible way and, at the same**

**time, made a contribution to the annihilation of the Japanese imperialists and the victory against fascism in the Second World War through a joint struggle with the international anti-imperialist forces."**

Considering the International Allied Forces (IAF) as an ideal form of alliance between the armed forces of the three countries, Kim Il Sung put forward his strategic plan for organizing the IAF when he met high-ranking Soviet military personnel in the spring of 1942.

On that occasion he explained that winning independence by one's own efforts was his side's invariable principle; nevertheless, this did not exclude cooperation or alliance with the international revolutionary forces, as seeking help from other countries or fighting in alliance with their revolutionary forces was not sycophancy.

His plan for the formation of the IAF conformed to the political and military requirements of China and the Soviet Union, and was conveyed to the military authorities of the Soviet Union and the Comintern as an urgent matter for discussion.

In mid-July 1942 the military cadres of the KPRA, the NAJAA and the Soviet Far East Forces held a final discussion on the alliance of the armed forces of Korea, China and the Soviet Union. They made a decision to establish the IAF on the precondition that the identities of the KPRA and the NAJAA would be preserved.

Late in July that year Kim Il Sung, together with the Chinese military cadres, reached a final agreement with the commander of the Soviet Far East Forces on the formation of the IAF.

They agreed to organize the IAF on a brigade scale on the principle of reduced formation, to keep its existence and activities secret and disguise it thoroughly. They symbolically fixed the military ranks of the military and political cadres of the KPRA, lower than the actual ones, to protect their personal safety from the espionage and subversive activities of the enemy.

At last, on August 1, 1942, the formation of the international brigade, the IAF, was proclaimed at the Far East base.

Kim Il Sung was in command of the 1st Contingent, or the Korean Contingent of the IAF, composed of the KPRA and the 1st Route Army of the NAJAA.

The IAF's mission and key task were to train political and military cadres by stepping up the exercises to ultimately annihilate the Japanese imperialists through joint operations of the armed forces of Korea, China and the Soviet Union, weaken the war capabilities of the Japanese imperialists through active

small-unit actions, and unfold military reconnoitring activities needed for the operations against Japan and the struggle to undermine the enemy's rule and the interior cohesion of the enemy troops.

With the formation of the IAF as a turning point, the KPRA switched from the stage of joint struggle with the Chinese people to the stage of extensive joint struggle, which meant an alliance of the armed forces of Korea, China and the Soviet Union, joining the mainstream of the worldwide anti-imperialist, anti-fascist struggle.

After the formation of the IAF Kim Il Sung worked hard to consolidate friendship and unity with the Soviet and Chinese communists.

He gave active support and encouragement to the Soviet people during the Great Patriotic War, keeping close relations with the Soviet communists.

He kept in close touch with the senior military and political officers of the High Command of the Soviet Army and the Soviet Far East Forces, and consulted with them on the matters necessary for the operations against Japan. He frequently explained to them the deployment of the Japanese troops in Korea, the ruling methods of the Japanese imperialists, the actual situation and orientation of development of the struggle of the Korean people and the anti-Japanese forces, and the feasibility of the joint operations with the Soviet Union. He was on intimate terms with the high-ranking officials and officers of the Soviet party and army. They supported Kim Il Sung's plan for national liberation based on air-borne tactics and his Juche-oriented attitude towards building a sovereign state after liberation.

He demonstrated his noble internationalist sentiments by personal example, organizing the anniversary activities of the October Revolution and the Red Army, and expressing international solidarity with the Soviet people during the Great Patriotic War. He took measures to give wide publicity to the Soviet heroes who fought bravely in the war against Germany and hold memorial services for the fallen Soviet comrades-in-arms. He was awarded the Order of the Red Flag by the Soviet government for his active contributions to the struggle of the Soviet people under the banner of proletarian internationalism.

He sent many excellent commanding officers of the KPRA to the Chinese units of the IAF to help them in their military and political activities.

He also made great efforts to strengthen the military ties with the Soviet and Chinese forces, and prepare coordinated operations in anticipation of the Soviet participation in the campaign against Japan.

He paid close attention to defining the mission of the national units of the IAF in the final campaign, and ensuring cooperation and concerted action

among different arms and services. He held consultations for coordinated operations with the Soviet forces participating in the operations against Japan, and took concrete steps in this regard.

## 6. Operations for Final Offensive against Japan and Implementation of the Cause of National Liberation

In the middle of the 1940s a favourable situation was created for starting the operations for the final offensive against Japan to liberate the country.

Following the defeat of fascist Italy, fascist Germany surrendered on May 9, 1945, and imperialist Japan faced the crisis of final defeat. Japan sustained one defeat after another on all fronts. Internally, it was challenged by sharpening class contradictions, and discord and conflicts within the ruling circles.

In contrast, the driving force of the Korean revolution for greeting the great event of national liberation gained in strength. The KPRA developed into a revolutionary armed force capable of playing a leading role in the showdown with the Japanese imperialists for national liberation, and all-people resistance forces were built up so that they could join the final campaign of the KPRA.

Kim Il Sung, with keen insight into the trend of the rapidly changing situation, pushed ahead with perfecting the preparations for the final campaign.

He recollected later:

**"Korea's liberation was the great result of the struggle of the forces of our people and the KPRA themselves in the favourable circumstances created by the Soviet forces' destruction of the Japanese Kwantung Army. In accordance with the operational plans for the final offensive of the KPRA, the resistance organizations and armed corps we had organized in the homeland in the 1930s and the first half of the 1940s destroyed the aggressor troops and colonial ruling machinery of Japanese imperialism in various parts of the country and liberated their motherland."**

Kim Il Sung called a meeting of the military and political cadres of the KPRA on May 10, 1945. At the meeting he clarified in detail the general objective of action for the final campaign for national liberation, its main form, formation of forces, joint operations with the Soviet forces and other related matters, on the basis of the three-point line of national liberation, and put forward the revolutionary slogan, **"All efforts for the final victory of the anti-Japanese war!"**

After the meeting he advanced to Unggi, the Kanbaeksan Secret Camp, Yonsa, Puryong, Rajin and other areas, where he took measures for mobilizing the small units and groups of the KPRA, all-people resistance organizations and other revolutionary organizations active in the homeland for the showdown with the Japanese imperialists.

Having perfected the plan for the final offensive that he had long been devoting all his heart and soul to, he made it public at a meeting of the military and political cadres of the KPRA on July 30, 1945.

The plan envisaged moving the units of the KPRA that had assembled in the area of Mt. Kanbaek along prearranged routes to different provinces in the homeland to liberate them, and airlifting the units that remained in training base in the Soviet Far East region to Pyongyang and other areas to occupy the secret bases that had been built and launch full-scale military operations. In addition, the small units and political workers of the KPRA active in the homeland were to expand resistance organizations on a large scale and rouse the people to an all-people resistance so that they would fight in concert with the offensive of the KPRA all over the country.

In accordance with the plan, Kim Il Sung reorganized the units of the KPRA, and appointed Kim Chaek, An Kil, Kang Kon, Choe Chun Guk, Ryu Kyong Su, Kim Il, Choe Hyon, O Jin U and other senior military and political officers responsible for operations in major cities and regions; he himself was to advance to Pyongyang and South Phyongan Province, and command the overall operations for the final offensive.

Kim Il Sung also took relevant measures for coordinated operations with the Soviet forces. In the summer of 1945 he held frequent discussions on this topic with the senior officers of the General Headquarters of the Soviet Far East Forces and the 25$^{th}$ Army, and took detailed measures. On the eve of the campaign against Japan he attended a meeting in Moscow at which he met senior members of the Soviet party and army. He explained to them the prevailing military and political situation and clarified his principled stand on the problems related to the building of an independent state after Korea's liberation.

He saw to it that the KPRA units, before starting their final operations, launched surprise attacks on several points of military importance in the enemy's fortified zones in the border area, including Tho-ri, Unggi County, on the Korea side, and Nanbieli and Dongxingzhen, Hunchun County, on the China side, on the evening of August 8, 1945. The raids resulted in confusion in the enemy defence system and betrayed its weak points, creating favourable

conditions for breaking through the fortified zones of the enemy in the border area in one fell swoop.

On August 9 Kim Il Sung ordered the KPRA units to start the general offensive.

The KPRA units made a thrust into the homeland, like surging waves, wiping out the Japanese aggressor troops, in close cooperation with the Soviet army, which participated in the war against Japan.

The KPRA units which had been occupying offensive positions around the Kanbaeksan Secret Camp for the final operations worked hard to gain control of all the provinces together with their small units and groups and resistance organizations which had been active in the homeland; the units along the Tuman River overran the enemy strongholds on the frontier, liberated the Kyongwon and Kyonghung areas, and made a thrust into Unggi, liberating wide areas of the homeland. Some units, acting as an advance party, landed at Unggi in close cooperation with units from the Soviet army, and continued to advance to the area of Chongjin. Other units, having taken Jinchang, Dongning, Muling and Mudanjiang, pursued the enemy troops and gave fatal blows to the Kwantung Army before pressing on towards the Tuman River.

Kim Il Sung put on standby at an airport the units to be airlifted to Pyongyang, Sinuiju, Hamhung and other major targets while providing guidance for the KPRA units as they advanced in different directions.

He called on the people in the homeland to join in the general offensive of the KPRA.

In response to the operations for the final campaign, the small units, groups and political workers of the KPRA who had been active in the homeland roused people's armed corps, armed resistance organizations and other broad sections of the people to armed revolt. They harassed the enemy in the rear by boldly attacking the Japanese imperialist aggressor troops, gendarmerie and police establishments, and rendered active support to the advancing KPRA units.

In North Hamgyong Province the Rajin People's Armed Corps liberated Rajin before the landing of the Soviet army, and the armed corps organized in the area of Kyonghung and Unggi fought well from the first day of the campaign in cooperation with the allied forces of Korea and the Soviet Union. The Kkachibong Armed Corps started combat actions before the beginning of the final campaign, and destroyed the retreating enemy soldiers at Wonjong, Chonghak and Mt. Mayu. They liberated Hoeryong by their own efforts, captured planes, anti-aircraft guns and quantities of clothing and equipment, and blew up the enemy's powder magazine and oil depot. The armed corps in

the Chongjin, Kilju and Songjin areas annihilated enemy stragglers, put factories and urban areas under their control and raided police establishments. The resistance organizations in South Hamgyong Province destroyed many police stations and other enemy ruling installations before the arrival of the Soviet forces. Those in Sinuiju attacked local police substations and border guard posts, and occupied the provincial police department and provincial office building. They also disarmed enemy stragglers hiding at the airfield. In South Phyongan Province and Pyongyang a large resistance unit centring on the Fatherland Liberation Corps raided an arsenal, occupied the provincial and city office buildings, and arrested the defeated enemy soldiers. The resistance organizations in Cholwon and Poptong in Kangwon Province, in Yomju and Sakju in North Phyongan Province and in Hwanghae Province attacked enemy soldiers in various areas.

On August 15, 1945, only one week after the start of the final offensive, Japan declared its unconditional surrender after receiving decisive blows from the KPRA and the Soviet forces and the all-people resistance.

However, the Japanese imperialists made desperate attempts to maintain their colonial ruling system even after they had surrendered.

On August 16 the Japanese Government-General in Korea and its headquarters of the Korean military district, at the instigation of the United States and with the latter's support, issued the *Outline for Controlling Political Movements*, and gave subordinate units in different parts of the country an order to suppress the liberation struggle of the Korean people. Claiming that their Korea Army was still in existence, they warned the Korean people "not to act rashly," as they would resort to arms without hesitation if Koreans launched any independence movement taking advantage of Japan's unconditional surrender.

To cope with this situation, Kim Il Sung issued to the units of the KPRA and the resistance organizations in the homeland an order to show no mercy in destroying by force of arms the stragglers of the Japanese aggressor army that were putting up resistance and the ruling organs of the enemy.

In response to his order, the KPRA units and the resistance organizations forthwith neutralized the remnants of the Japanese army and disarmed them, and dismantled the colonial ruling machinery of Japanese imperialism. They then formed party organizations, local autonomous organs and public security bodies, and devoted themselves to establishing a new democratic order and defending their country's industrial and cultural establishments from the enemy's attempts at subversion. The resistance organizations and armed corps

in the homeland, excluding those in North and South Hamgyong provinces, raided nearly 1 000 of the enemy's instruments of oppression in only one week in mid-August.

Under the leadership of Kim Il Sung the Korean people, waging a protracted, heroic anti-Japanese armed struggle, eventually liquidated the Japanese imperialists' system of colonial rule and accomplished the historic cause of national liberation.

## 7. Historic Significance of the Victorious Anti-Japanese Armed Struggle and the Creation of Juche-Oriented Revolutionary Traditions

The anti-Japanese armed struggle that was organized by Kim Il Sung under the banner of Songun was a glorious revolutionary struggle that occupies the highest and most important position in the Korean people's history of the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle.

This struggle was the highest form of national liberation war. It brought about the defeat of the Japanese imperialists and the sovereignty and independence of Korea on the strength of a standing army. It was an unprecedentedly arduous and protracted revolutionary struggle, which emerged victorious over a formidable enemy with no state to back it in the rear or support from a regular army, and the largest-scale national liberation struggle whose mainstream was armed struggle closely combined with the preparations for founding a party and the anti-Japanese national united front movement. As a link in the overall chain of the world revolution, it was both an anti-imperialist national liberation struggle for the cause of liberating the exploited classes and oppressed nations from imperialism and colonialism and a great revolutionary struggle in which the peoples of countries under colonial subjugation pioneered a new historical era of carrying out the revolution for national liberation by force of arms.

The brilliant victory of the anti-Japanese armed struggle was a precious outcome of Kim Il Sung's unique Songun-based revolutionary leadership.

It was also a great victory of the Juche idea and Songun idea created by him.

In the early days of the anti-Japanese revolution Kim Il Sung forged the

immortal Juche idea and Songun idea as entirely scientific and revolutionary guiding ideologies of the times, and advanced related revolutionary lines and policies of struggle, embodiment of the ideas.

Holding high the banner of Songun he organized an armed force first and brought the anti-Japanese armed struggle to a brilliant victory on the strength of arms.

The victory was also a fruit of the military strategies and tactics and the art of command employed by Kim Il Sung.

He advanced the Juche-oriented military idea of gaining the upper hand over the enemy's military and technical superiority with the political and ideological, strategic and tactical superiority of the revolutionary army, set out correct strategic and tactical policies at each stage of the armed struggle, created guerrilla tactics and methods, and commanded operations and combat actions always taking the initiative, thus defeating the Japanese aggressor troops each time.

He advanced the line of forming an international anti-imperialist united front and thereby successfully realized a united front with the broad anti-Japanese forces throughout the course of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and strove to cement international solidarity with the revolutionary peoples of the whole world. This created a favourable environment for the victory of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

The historic significance of the anti-Japanese armed struggle is that it implemented the cause of national liberation and paved a wide road for the building of a new society.

Kim Il Sung declared that the Korean people had eventually won freedom by putting an end to the Japanese imperialists' colonial rule of nearly half a century, and welcomed the prospect of building a new, independent and prosperous Korea.

As the anti-Japanese armed struggle emerged victorious, the Korean people won back their lost national sovereignty and independence, and became the genuine masters of a new Korea. This created favourable conditions for building a new, prosperous and powerful Korea.

Another historic significance of the anti-Japanese armed struggle is that it built up a motive force capable of continuously pushing ahead with the Korean revolution.

In the flames of the anti-Japanese armed struggle a solid contingent for carrying through the revolutionary cause of Juche was built up, and the masses of the people of all walks of life were united into a single political force. The Korean people looked up to Kim Il Sung as the sun of their nation, and became

able to work hard to build a new country, firmly united behind him.

The victory of the anti-Japanese armed struggle was also of great international significance.

The struggle ushered in for the first time in history a new era when the anti-imperialist national liberation revolution emerged victorious under the banners of independence and Songun, marking the start of the liberation wars of colonized nations.

The anti-Japanese armed struggle greatly contributed to the development of the theory of the revolution for national liberation in colonies.

The line of the revolution based on the immortal Juche idea and Songun idea, and the theories of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, armed struggle with guerrilla warfare as its main form, the anti-Japanese national united front and the building of party and people's power–all advanced by Kim Il Sung–constituted precious ideological and theoretical assets that developed the revolutionary theories of the working class.

In the course of leading the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle to victory, Kim Il Sung created the glorious Juche-oriented revolutionary traditions of the Workers' Party of Korea.

He said:

**"Through the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, which cost us a great deal of blood, the ideological system of Juche was established, imperishable revolutionary achievements and fighting experience were gained, and the revolutionary work method and popular work style were created."**

The core of the Juche-oriented revolutionary traditions is the ideological system of Juche and the revolutionary spirit of Mt. Paektu.

The ideological system of Juche is Kim Il Sung's revolutionary idea which is the Juche idea, and a monolithic ideological system based on it.

Throughout the anti-Japanese armed struggle Kim Il Sung consistently set the realization of the independence of the Korean people on the basis of the Juche idea as the basic objective of the revolution, and ensured that they held the position of masters and played the role as such in the revolutionary struggle. He held fast to the Juche-oriented stand, and solved all problems arising in the revolutionary struggle independently and creatively, rejecting worship of great powers and dogmatism.

The revolutionary spirit of Mt. Paektu embodies all the aspects of mental and moral virtues to be possessed by revolutionaries–unfailing loyalty to the leader and revolution, dedication to uncompromising struggle against

imperialism and class enemies, faith in sure victory and revolutionary optimism, self-reliance and fortitude, indefatigable fighting morale, devotion and self-sacrifice, comradeship and obligation, socialist patriotism and internationalism.

The determination to defend the leader unto death is the basic spirit that runs through the revolutionary traditions of the Workers' Party of Korea.

This spirit, imbued in the soldiers of the KPRA and the other revolutionaries, is unshakable because it is based on the revolutionary ideas, leadership, lofty virtues and charisma of Kim Il Sung, and was formed, consolidated and handed down through generations in the ebb and flow of revolutionary practice.

Faith in sure victory and revolutionary optimism hold an important place in the revolutionary spirit of Mt. Paektu.

Kim Il Sung educated the revolutionaries and the other people to cherish the conviction of certain victory and revolutionary optimism, and personally showed examples in this regard.

The soldiers of the KPRA and the other revolutionaries would get together to dance and sing full of optimism around the campfire with Kim Il Sung at night even though they had to engage in battle or march all day long experiencing cold and hunger. They trod this thorny path cheerfully, and were always victorious in battle as they were determined to wipe out the Japanese aggressors.

Of importance in the revolutionary spirit of Mt. Paektu are the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude and the indomitable fighting spirit.

During their arduous struggle the soldiers of the KPRA and the other revolutionaries unconditionally carried out their revolutionary tasks with their own efforts, however difficult they were, always giving free rein to the spirit of self-reliance and fortitude, and fought heroically displaying an iron will and untiring fortitude under the slogan, "Defeat the enemy no matter how often we may have to die!"

Also of importance in the revolutionary spirit of Mt. Paektu is revolutionary comradeship and feeling of duty.

Kim Il Sung began his revolutionary activities by winning over like-minded people, and unfolded a new history of lofty comradeship in the hard-fought struggle. He bestowed affection and benevolence on his followers, showing consideration to them at all times and under whatever conditions. He was a great man, a great comrade and the supreme incarnation of revolutionary comradeship and duty.

Anti-Japanese patriotism also holds an important position in the revolutionary spirit of Mt. Paektu.

The anti-Japanese armed struggle was a patriotic struggle waged by the Korean people unprecedented in history, and the soldiers of the KPRA and the other Korean revolutionaries were paradigms of true patriots.

Priceless revolutionary exploits and rich fighting experience are another important part of the Juche-oriented revolutionary traditions created by Kim Il Sung.

In the course of organizing the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and leading it to victory, he made valuable revolutionary exploits and gained rich fighting experience in the political, military, economic, cultural and all other fields of the revolution and construction–the founding of a Juche-oriented revolutionary party, the establishing of people's power, the organizing of a revolutionary armed force, the forming of mass organizations, the promoting of cultural construction and the developing of the united front movement.

At the outset of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle he evolved the unique principle of the Songun revolution that the victory of the revolutionary cause and the independence and prosperity of a country and nation are assured by the revolutionary armed forces. By applying this principle he founded the AJPGA and developed it into the KPRA, thus building it up as the most powerful political force, the core force, of the Songun revolution.

In this way he made valuable exploits and gained rich experience in army building, which constitute the historical roots of the Songun politics of the Workers' Party of Korea.

Also important in these traditions are the revolutionary method and popular style of work.

Regarding the idea of **"The people are my God"** as his life motto, Kim Il Sung created the revolutionary work method of solving all problems relying on the strength and wisdom of the masses, as he waged the revolutionary struggle always in close contact with them throughout the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

He established a popular style of work by respecting and loving the people in real earnest, paying heed to their opinions and satisfying their needs in time; he was exemplary in every undertaking and led a moderate, simple, well-mannered and cultured life.

The Juche-oriented revolutionary traditions were developed in depth by Kim Il Sung during the later revolutionary struggle at different stages and were defended, carried forward and enriched in its pure form by Kim Jong Il.

# CHAPTER 5. TO ACCOMPLISH THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST, ANTI-FEUDAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

(August 1945–February 1947)

## 1. Line of Building a New Korea, Three Major Tasks for Building a Party, State and Army, and Triumphant Return

Korea's liberation was an event of great significance, marking an epochal turning point in carving out the destiny of the people, and a historic event which opened a broad avenue for building an independent and sovereign state.

People's committees were organized in different parts of liberated Korea, and party and other mass organizations were formed centring on the revolutionaries who had been enrolled in the homeland party organizations and the resistance organization members. Workers spontaneously formed armed guards of their own accord to protect factories, enterprises, coal and other mines, ports and railways. Literary persons and artists at home and abroad gathered in Pyongyang, Seoul and other major cities. The Koreans' enthusiasm for national salvation, which had been crystallized into the all-people resistance, was developed into enthusiasm for the struggle for independence after liberation.

The internal and external situations of Korea, however, were very complicated, and many difficulties and obstacles stood in the way of building a new state. The stationing of troops of the Soviet Union and the United States in the north and the south of Korea respectively afforded a possibility for dividing Korea. Pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation formed political parties and organizations of various hues and factionalists and "Leftist" and Rightist opportunists claimed themselves to be "revolutionaries" and "patriots," one side asserting that a bourgeois republic should be built, and the other that Korea should follow the road to socialism at once, thereby creating confusion over the

way to build a new country. The Korean people were at a loss which way to go in the liberated country.

With deep insight into the prevailing situation, Kim Il Sung convened a meeting of the military and political cadres of the KPRA on August 20, 1945.

In a speech titled, ***On Founding the Party, State and Armed Forces in the Liberated Homeland***, he set forth the line of building a new Korea and the three major tasks for building a party, state and army, respectively.

On the building of a new Korea, he said:

**"We must continue to advance the Korean revolution on the basis of our triumphant success, and through our own efforts to build a prosperous, independent and sovereign state."**

He set the said three major tasks as a strategic task for effecting the line of building a new Korea.

He said: We must push ahead dynamically with the building of a party, state and army, relying on the invaluable revolutionary achievements and rich experience gained in the course of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and thus creditably fulfil the historic task of building a new Korea without fail.

He instructed that a Korean communist party which would play the role of the General Staff of the Korean revolution and the vanguard detachment of the working class should be founded.

Stressing the need to found a unified working-class party centring on the communists tempered and trained in the flames of the anti-Japanese armed struggle at the earliest possible date, he said: Though it is true that some of the communists who worked in the homeland might lack organizational training and be still bound by the ideological after-effects of factionalism, they would take the correct path of revolution if we place our faith in them boldly and work with them broad-mindedly, as we have a reliable backbone force trained and seasoned in the protracted armed struggle.

He also instructed that if the Korean communist party was to fully perform its mission and role as the General Staff of the revolution the party should in no way be an organization for only a few communists but be a party which struck its root deep in the broad sections of the working masses. He said that it was necessary to ensure the identity of ideology, purpose and action of the whole ranks, free from factional groups, equip all the party members with revolutionary ideology and theory, establish voluntary and iron discipline, and firmly adhere to the principle of democratic centralism. He also underlined the need to firmly prepare the cadres of the party politically and ideologically, rally broad sections of the masses around the party and establish its leadership position among them.

Kim Il Sung advanced the tasks for settling the question of sovereign power, indicating the way to this.

Noting that as far as the question of power was concerned it was necessary to establish a democratic people's republic representative of the interests of all the Korean people proceeding from the character and duty of the revolution following the country's liberation, he stressed that the democratic people's republic must be founded at all costs by the Koreans themselves, and a national united front embracing the democratic forces of all strata should be formed under the leadership of the working class and a people's government be established based on this. He specified the tasks for the people's government to carry out in the stage of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, and its action programme.

Kim Il Sung said a regular revolutionary army should be built by the efforts of the Korean people themselves.

The KPRA, trained and tempered in the fierce flames of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, would serve as a firm foundation for the timely founding of a regular armed force, he said, adding that a regular revolutionary army should be built with the sons and daughters of workers, peasants and other working people with the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters as its backbone.

Following this, he formed groups for implementing the above three major tasks, pinpointed their destinations and gave a short training course to the members of the groups for several days.

Kim Il Sung returned in triumph to the homeland, where he organized and led the struggle for the building of a new country.

Without even having time to relax after his 20-year anti-Japanese armed struggle, he went among the people to arouse them to the drive to carry out the line of building a new country.

In Wonsan he had talks with party officials, representatives of trade unions and influential figures in the area in mid-September 1945. After these talks he reached a conclusion that none of the parties and organizations in the homeland had presented a correct line for nation building to the Korean people.

In talks with the military and political cadres and the leading officials of the communist party organization in Wonsan he explained to them that the road Korea should take in the then-prevalent stage of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution was one that led to progressive democracy, that the state which should be built in liberated Korea was an independent and sovereign democratic one, and that this was the form of state desired by the masses of the people.

Dispatching the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters as political workers to North and South Hamgyong provinces and the Cholwon area on September 20, he gave them detailed tasks for carrying out the line of building a new country, and urged them to arouse the people to make the utmost efforts for their implementation.

Late in September Kim Il Sung met officials and workers in the field of electricity in the Pyongyang area, and took measures for rehabilitating and developing the power industry of the country. He also visited the Pyongyang Cornstarch Factory and advised the workers there on how to revive its operations.

On October 3 he gave a historic lecture titled, ***On Progressive Democracy*** to the students of the Pyongyang Worker-Peasant Political School, explaining what Korean-style democracy was.

In his lecture he said that the road Korea should take was the road to progressive democracy, genuine democracy, and that only this road would provide the people with freedom, rights and a happy life, and guarantee the complete independence and sovereignty of the country.

At that time many people thought that there were only two kinds of democracy–that of the Soviet Union, a socialist state, and that of the United States, a capitalist state. So, naturally they thought that one of these two ways should be selected in order to build a new Korea.

Noting that the progressive democracy the Korean people aspired to was completely different from that of a capitalist country, and it was not a mere imitation of that of a socialist country, he said that it was a new type of democracy suited to the reality of Korea, which was in the stage of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

He stressed that the progressive democracy the Korean people aspired to was characterized by independence, solidarity, freedom, prosperity, revolution and peace.

On October 9 Kim Il Sung passed the fork in the road which leads to Mangyongdae without dropping in at his native home in order to visit the Kangson Steel Plant. He presented to the workers there a blueprint for rehabilitating the steel works by their own efforts as soon as possible and developing it into a solid base of the metallurgical industry in the country.

Thanks to his energetic activities, the Korean people turned out in the vigorous struggle for building a new, prosperous and democratic Korea despite difficult and complicated situation immediately after liberation.

Only after settling the matters of the greatest urgency and importance arising in building a new country did Kim Il Sung address a historic official meeting with the people of the homeland for the first time.

In the afternoon on October 14, 1945 he appeared at the Pyongyang Mass Rally of Welcome co-sponsored by the South Phyongan provincial party committee and the South Phyongan Provincial People's Political Committee. As he mounted the platform, cheers of "Long live General Kim Il Sung!" resounded.

Kim Il Sung made a speech titled, ***Every Effort for the Building of a New, Democratic Korea*** at the meeting.

The theme of his speech was great national unity.

Noting that the time had come for the Korean people to unite their strength to build a new, democratic Korea, he appealed to the nation to positively contribute to the work of building the state, **"Let those with strength dedicating strength, those with knowledge devoting knowledge and those with money offering money,"** and said that all people who loved their country, their nation and democracy must unite closely and build an independent and sovereign democratic state.

This historic speech on his triumphant return served as a great platform for powerfully inspiring all the people to struggle to implement the line of building a new country.

*Pyongyang Minbo*, a newspaper in those days, wrote as follows under the headline, *Cheers of 400 000 People Shake Korea, a Lovely Land:*

"Pyongyang has a history of 4 000 years and a population of 400 000. Has it ever had such a large meeting as this? Has it ever held such a significant meeting? ...

"What gave historic significance to this meeting and turned it into a storm of emotions was that General Kim Il Sung, the great patriot of Korea and a hero who was born in Pyongyang, was present there and extended joyful and warm greetings and words of encouragement to the people. … As soon as General Kim Il Sung, the hero whom the Korean people hold in high respect and have been looking forward to seeing, showed his dignified figure on the platform, a storm of enthusiastic cheers arose, and most of the audience were deeply moved to silent tears."

After delivering his triumphal speech before the homeland and people at the Pyongyang Mass Rally of Welcome he visited Mangyongdae, his native home, and had an emotional reunion with his grandparents after 20 years' separation.

## 2. Realizing the Cause of Party Founding and Safeguarding and Implementing the Political and Organizational Lines of the Party

What was of great urgency in realizing the great programme of building a new country right after Korea's liberation was the founding of a party on the basis of the organizational and ideological preparations for party founding made in the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.

Kim Il Sung wisely led the work of founding a Juche-type revolutionary party without delay after the country's liberation.

He was faced with a very difficult and complicated situation. The factionalists, who had thrown the Korean communist movement in the 1920s into disarray, put obstacles in the way of the work of party founding by engaging in factional strife again, failing to draw a lesson from their past. The factionalists of the Tuesday group and the M-L group in south Korea cobbled together their respective parties by underhanded methods and pursued factional strife, undermining the communist ranks. Meanwhile, the US imperialists and their stooges instigated the factionalists in an attempt to destroy the unity of the communist movement and the effort to found a new communist party.

Kim Il Sung ensured that party organizations were firmly built in local areas prior to the institution of the party centre for the party founding.

In a talk with the military and political cadres and the leading officials of the communist party organization in Wonsan in September 1945, he stressed the need to form party organizations first in local areas before organizing the leadership body of the party.

He dispatched the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters as political workers to different parts of the country in order to build local party organizations.

The political workers readjusted and strengthened the already-existing party organizations, and set up new party organizations in the areas where there had been no party organizations, with the result that party organizations at all levels were formed throughout the country, not only in factories and enterprises but also in the smallest jurisdictions, sub-counties, counties, cities and provinces.

Kim Il Sung met the communists in the homeland who were active all over

the country to inform them of the policy of founding a unified party, and led them to implement it.

With a full understanding of the importance of the position and role to be played by the South Phyongan provincial party committee in founding a unified party, he met its leading official late in September 1945. He told the official that no task was more urgent than that of founding a party, specifying the work of the party committee.

Late in September and early in October 1945 Kim Il Sung met the communist activists from south Korea and urged them to aspire after cohesion centring on the Korean revolution and, for the present, to immediately develop the parties organized respectively by the separate factions into a unified party with a closely-knitted organization.

With the successful progress of the preparations for the party founding, the matter of setting up the leadership body–the central committee–emerged as a priority requirement.

He pushed ahead with the work to set up the central leadership body of the party without delay in north Korea with all the favourable conditions.

Right after Korea's liberation, north Korea, where the main force of the KPRA was stationed, was where legitimate possibilities for party founding and favourable conditions for the development of the revolution were available. In contrast, in south Korea, occupied by the US imperialists, the political activities of the people were curtailed and the activities of communists made totally illegal.

Only when the central leadership body of the party was organized quickly in north Korea, where favourable conditions prevailed, was it possible to guide communist party organizations active in different parts of the country in a unified way, achieve the organizational and ideological unity of the revolutionary ranks, rally broad sections of the masses and steadfastly realize the leadership of the party over the Korean revolution as a whole.

On October 5, 1945 a preparatory meeting to set up the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea was convened.

The meeting discussed the question of setting up the Central Organizing Committee of the CPNK as the central leadership body of the Party. The anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters and many representatives from local party committees expressed their absolute support and approval for it. The factionalists, however, were doggedly opposed, insisting on the so-called Seoul Centre. At the meeting a sharp ideological struggle was waged, during which the persistent moves of factionalists for division were revealed and condemned.

Based on an analysis of the diametrically opposite political situations in the north and south of Korea, Kim Il Sung emphasized that, in order to actively push ahead with the overall Korean revolution, it was necessary to set up in north Korea, where the conditions were favourable, the Central Organizing Committee of the CPNK as the central leadership body of the Party. At this time, the US army in south Korea was administering military rule and bringing harsh repression to bear upon communists and patriotic people there.

He laid bare the ulterior intention of the factionalists, and dealt a decisive blow at their local separatist moves, thus foiling their schemes.

The historic Inaugural Congress of the Central Organizing Committee of the CPNK was held from October 10 to13, 1945 in Pyongyang.

In his report to the Congress titled, ***On Founding a Marxist-Leninist Party in Our Country and Its Immediate Tasks*** he underscored the need to form the said Central Organizing Committee, and made clear the organizational and political lines of the Party.

Referring to the organizational line of the Party he stressed that, in order to build the Party into a revolutionary and militant one, it was necessary to build the organizational backbone of the Party, develop it into a mass party with a strong proletarian foundation, achieve the unity of the whole Party in ideology, purpose and action, and intensify its revolutionary discipline based on democratic centralism.

He said as follows on the political line of the Party:

**“We should set up the democratic people’s republic, and thereby develop our country into a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state. This precisely is the basic political task facing us at the present stage.”**

He defined it as the basic political task of the Party to establish a democratic people’s republic, and advanced four immediate tasks for its realization. He also set forth the political task of the Party as building a powerful revolutionary democratic base in the northern half of Korea.

Supporting the organizational and political lines of the Party advanced by Kim Il Sung, the representatives who participated in the Congress gave full approval to setting up the Central Organizing Committee of the CPNK.

At the Congress he set up the Central Organizing Committee as the central leadership body of the Party, and declared the Party founded.

Thus, the historic cause of founding a Juche-type revolutionary party which

had its origin in the formation of the Down-with-Imperialism Union was brought to fruition.

After the founding of the Party, Kim Il Sung organized and led the struggle to defend and implement the political and organizational lines of the Party.

What was of great significance in the struggle to safeguard and implement the political line of the Party was the Second Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Central Organizing Committee of the CPNK, held in mid-November 1945.

At the meeting he made a speech titled, ***For the Establishment of a Genuine People's Government***.

In the speech, he condemned the anti-revolutionary, anti-popular assertion of the factionalists and the "Leftist" and Rightist opportunists as regards the establishment of the government in an ideological and theoretical way, and elucidated the principled stand and tasks the Party should adhere to in solving the question of power.

He instructed that in order to establish a democratic people's republic, a genuine people's power, it was necessary to form a democratic national united front embracing the broad patriotic, democratic forces of different social strata and, on this basis, set up a provisional central organ of power which would represent the interests of the people in north Korea so as to lay the groundwork for establishing a unified central government.

Kim Il Sung saw to it that the organizational line of the Party was carried out thoroughly.

In those days the factionalists and local separatists, who held the leading positions in the Party, overtly and covertly hindered the efforts for implementing the organizational line of the Party.

In mid-December 1945 the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Central Organizing Committee of the CPNK was held in order to take decisive measures for carrying out the organizational line of the Party.

At the meeting Kim Il Sung made a report titled, ***On the Work of the Organizations at All Levels of the Communist Party of North Korea***, and a concluding speech titled, ***For the Consolidation of the Party***.

In his report and concluding speech he analyzed in an all-round way the achievements made and shortcomings revealed in Party building after the Inaugural Congress of the Party, and advanced tasks for strengthening and developing the Party on a sound basis.

He underlined the need to improve the composition of the Party, strengthen unity and discipline in the Party and its ties with the masses, conduct the

training of cadres and allocation of Party forces properly, carry out the work of issuing a uniform Party membership card and keeping accurate statistics on Party members, and improve and intensify the united front work.

The meeting took radical measures for intensifying the central leadership body of the Party in order to achieve the unity of the Party in ideology and purpose centring on Kim Il Sung, and establish iron discipline within it.

Kim Il Sung was elected to the supreme post of the Party according to the unanimous will and desire of all the Party members.

At the meeting the moves of factionalists who had disobeyed the Party's instructions and violated the Party's discipline were criticized sharply, and decisive measures were taken to block such tendencies.

The Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Central Organizing Committee of the CPNK was an epochal turning point in strengthening the organizational and ideological unity of the Party and thoroughly establishing the monolithic leadership system of Kim Il Sung in the Party.

After the meeting Kim Il Sung directed primary efforts to establishing the monolithic organizational and guidance system of the Party while pushing ahead with the work to carry out the decisions of the meeting.

He dispatched Party inspection members to all provincial Party committees and special Party organizational delegates to several localities to guide and inspect the work of local Party organizations, and ensured that Party conferences were held in all provinces, cities, counties and sub-counties so as to take concrete measures for carrying out the organizational line of the Party. He attended the First Conference of the South Phyongan Provincial Organizations of the Communist Party of North Korea held late in December 1945 and the Conference of the Activists of Haeju, Hwanghae Province, of the CPNK on January 10, 1946 and guided the work of carrying out the above-mentioned decisions.

He paid close attention to building up Party ranks.

He ensured that the work of screening the Party members and issuing uniform Party membership cards to them was conducted throughout the Party from late 1945 to early 1946, so as to purge the Party of alien elements of all shades that had wormed their way into the Party and guarantee the purity of Party ranks. At the same time, he saw to it that city and county Party committees expanded Party ranks among vanguard workers and peasants, and rapidly increased the number of Party cells in factories and rural areas so that

the Party could take root deep among workers and poor peasants, with the result that Party ranks increased nearly sixfold and its composition was improved considerably in a matter of four months after the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Central Organizing Committee of the CPNK.

In mid-February 1946 Kim Il Sung convened the Fourth Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Central Organizing Committee of the CPNK, summed up the results of the work to implement the decisions of the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting and took fresh measures to further strengthen the Party organizationally and ideologically.

As a result, a well-regulated system of organizational guidance was established from the centre down to the cells to realize the monolithic leadership of Kim Il Sung, and the central leadership body of the Party and the Party organizations at all levels were stiffened with qualified officials faithful to the Party and revolution, and this resulted in intensifying the unity and cohesion of the Party.

## 3. Closely Rallying the Broad Masses of the People around the Party

While strengthening the Party organizationally and ideologically after its founding, Kim Il Sung organized and guided the efforts to win over the broad masses of the people and rally them closely around the Party.

He said:

**"The building of a new, democratic Korea depends entirely on whether we succeed in strengthening the Communist Party, forming the national united front and rallying the broad masses around it."**

To knit the broad masses of the people around the Party was an important requirement for consolidating and developing the Party and successfully carrying on the revolution.

He said that in this regard it was necessary to form mass organizations on a wide scale so as to enrol workers, peasants, young people, women and intellectuals in their own organizations.

He directed special attention to uniting young people into a single democratic youth organization.

Right after Korea's liberation the Young Communist League (YCL) reemerged, but it failed to attract a large number of young people.

In order to unite broad sections of young people into a single youth organization Kim Il Sung advanced in October 1945 the line of dissolving the YCL on its own initiative and organizing the Democratic Youth League (DYL), a mass organization for young people under the slogan, **"Patriotic youth, unite under the banner of democracy!"**

A preparatory committee for forming the DYL was organized in order to implement the line of forming the DYL, and a decision on reorganizing the YCL into the Democratic Youth League of North Korea and the programme and rules of the new DYL were adopted at the Meeting of Democratic Young Activists held late in October 1945. Kim Il Sung attended the inaugural congress of democratic youth organization of South Phyongan Province late in November that year to guide the work of forming the DYL, and publicized its experience throughout the country.

On this basis, he convened the Conference of Representatives of Democratic Youth Organizations in North Korea on January 17, 1946, and proclaimed the formation of the Democratic Youth League of North Korea.

The General Federation of Labour Unions of North Korea was formed on November 30, 1945, the Federation of Peasants Associations of North Korea on January 31, 1946 and the Democratic Women's Union of North Korea on November 18, 1945. Meanwhile, such public organizations as the General Federation of Industry and Technology of North Korea, the General Federation of Art Unions of North Korea, the Journalists Federation of North Korea, the Buddhists Federation of North Korea and the Christians Federation of North Korea were formed.

Consequently, the broad masses of the people were rallied into a political force in a short period, and solid foundations were laid for a democratic national united front.

Kim Il Sung also organized and led the work of forming a democratic national united front along with the work of forming mass organizations.

In several works, including ***On the Building of New Korea and the National United Front***, a speech to the senior officials of the provincial Party committees in mid-October 1945, and ***On the Question of the National United Front***, a lecture delivered at a political forum sponsored by a democratic youth organization late in December 1945, he clarified in an all-round way the line and form of the democratic national united front and the principles to be adhered to in achieving it.

He said that in order to build a democratic people's republic it was necessary to form a united front which represented all patriotic, democratic forces embracing not only the workers and peasants but the national capitalists as well.

For the formation of the democratic national united front he saw to it that active help was given to the middle-of-the-road forces in organizing political parties, so that they could be developed into democratic political parties and not side with the reactionaries.

As a result, the Democratic Party, comprising mostly the petty-bourgeoisie, business people, rich farmers, the lower middle class and other strata, was formed on November 3, 1945, and the Chondoist Chongu Party, the majority of the members of which were peasants who believed in the Chondoist religion, on February 9 the following year.

He saw to it that the Communist Party formed the united front with the friendly parties as they took an active part in the building of a new democratic, independent and sovereign state and maintained friendly relations with the former, and that the Communist Party in its relationship with the friendly parties maintained the principle of forming the united front with emphasis on the lower echelons and, on this basis, promoting it at the higher echelons.

He also directed great efforts to the work with nationalists and religionists.

In November 1945 he met personages who had been engaged in the nationalist movement and told them that, if they were devoted to the destiny of the country and the nation, they should not keep out the communists but join hands with them. When he met religious believers, he gave explanations of the religious policy of the Communist Party, saying that if they were to believe in a religion they should trust in it for the sake of the people of their own country, and if they were to have faith in "God," they should believe in the "God" of Korea.

As a result, the members of the friendly parties, nationalists and religious persons took active parts in the democratic national united front.

Based on these achievements, a meeting of representatives of democratic political parties and public organizations in north Korea was convened on July 22, 1946, at which the Central Committee of the Democratic National United Front of North Korea (DNUF) was formed as the permanent united front organization.

Many political parties and public organizations were involved in the DNUF, and over six million people from all walks of life enrolled in its affiliated organizations, with the result that the broad masses of the people were able to turn out more vigorously in the drive to build a new country.

## 4. Establishing the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, Enforcing Democratic Reforms and Developing Democratic Education and Culture

Kim Il Sung organized and led the struggle to establish the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea (PPCNK), the genuine people's central organ of state power.

It was impossible to immediately establish an all-Korean unified government at that time owing to the manoeuvres of the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique for national division. At the Inaugural Congress of the Communist Party of North Korea held in October 1945 and the Second Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Central Organizing Committee of the Party held in November, Kim Il Sung advanced a policy to effect alliance between all the political parties and factions, rally all the patriotic, democratic forces and, on this basis, establish the PPCNK as the central organ of state power in north Korea.

Based on the experience gained in setting up the people's power during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, he made sure that the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters who had been dispatched to different parts of the country as political workers in order to form local people's committees and consolidate them, called people's congresses at all levels and organized the people's committees in such a way that people directly voted for their members. As a result, provincial, city, county, sub-county and ri people's committees were organized in all parts of north Korea by the end of November 1945, and went into action.

He saw to it that the pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionary elements who had wormed their way into the power organs were thoroughly unmasked and expelled in order to consolidate the newly-fledged local power organs as the genuine people's government. He visited the Pyongyang City People's Committee, the South Phyongan Provincial People's Political Committee, the Ryongchon County People's Autonomous Committee of North Phyongan Province and other local people's committees to lead the work of readjusting and reinforcing the local power organs.

On November 19, 1945 he organized the Ten Administrative Bureaus of North Korea as the transitional central administrative organs to guide all

fields of the national economy and ensure economic ties between provinces.

As the reactionaries became ever-more blatant after the publication of the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers on Korea in December 1945, Kim Il Sung vigorously promoted the work of establishing the PPCNK with a view to hastening the setting up of a unified government.

With the framework for the establishment of the central organ of state power in place, he organized a promotion committee with the leaders of democratic political parties and public organizations early in February 1946 and stepped up the preparations for the inauguration of the central organ of state power in north Korea. He specified the issues concerning the establishment of the PPCNK at the meeting of the Standing Executive Committee of the Central Organizing Committee of the CPNK held on February 5. Detailed issues for the inaugural conference were discussed and decided at the preliminary meeting of representatives of democratic political parties and public organizations for establishing the PPCNK held on February 7.

On February 8 a consultative meeting of representatives of the democratic political parties, public organizations, administrative bureaus and people's committees of north Korea was convened.

In the report delivered at the meeting titled, ***On the Present Political Situation in Korea and the Organizing of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea***, Kim Il Sung made clear the necessity for setting up the central organ of state power and the immediate tasks confronting the PPCNK.

The consultative meeting organized the PPCNK with the representatives of broad sections of the people, including workers and peasants, and elected Kim Il Sung as the chairman of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea in reflection of the unanimous will and desire of all the Korean people.

He advanced the 11-point immediate task to be undertaken by the people's government by elaborating the political line of the Party.

The PPCNK, the direct successor to the people's revolutionary government set up in the guerrilla bases along the Tuman River during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, was a people's democratic dictatorship whose guideline was the Juche idea and whose aim was to realize progressive democracy. Its mission was to carry out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, create a revolutionary democratic base and lay the preconditions for switching over to the stage of socialist revolution in north Korea by exercising dictatorship over pro-Japanese and pro-US elements, traitors to the nation, landlords and comprador capitalists and granting democracy to the broad masses of the people.

After the establishment of the PPCNK Kim Il Sung pushed ahead with the preparations for carrying out democratic reforms. It was the PPCNK and the revolutionary armed forces and security organs that guaranteed that he could do so.

Kim Il Sung elucidated on several occasions the main principles to be adhered to by the Communist Party in carrying out the democratic reforms. He said that all the democratic reforms should be effected by turning them into the work of the masses themselves and the all-people movement, and that they should be completed in a short period of time by conducting them positively and continuously. He stressed that the colonial and feudal socio-economic relations should be completely liquidated through the democratic reforms and, at the same time, all reforms should be thoroughly carried out as required by the continuous revolution in the direction of socialism.

He also made sure that the revolutionary forces were strengthened in order to successfully enforce the democratic reforms.

Ideological education was intensified among the masses of the working people to heighten their class consciousness and sense as masters of the country so that they could join purposefully and consciously in carrying out the democratic reforms, and all the political parties and public organizations could take concerted action in effecting the democratic reforms by carrying out the work for the united front well, with the main emphasis on enhancing the leading role of the Communist Party and strengthening the worker-peasant alliance. The organs of the people's power and such dictatorship organs as the revolutionary armed forces and security, judicial and prosecutorial organs were built up properly in order to crush all sorts of obstructive schemes of reactionaries at home and abroad and ensure the successful enforcement of the democratic reforms.

He advanced it as the primary task arising in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution to settle the issue of land, and directed great efforts to enforcing the agrarian reform.

He was convinced that only when the land problem had been solved correctly would it be possible to liquidate the feudal production relations, the fetters impeding social progress, free the masses of the peasants from the centuries-old backwardness and poverty, and build a new, democratic Korea. To enforce the agrarian reform presented itself as a particularly important question in Korea as it had been a colonial agrarian country the overwhelming majority of whose population was peasants. Right after Korea's liberation the landlords, who accounted only for four per cent of the rural households, occupied 58.2 per cent of all the farmland in north Korea, whereas the poor

peasants, who made up 56.7 per cent of the rural households, had only 5.4 per cent of the cultivated land.

Proceeding from the Juche-based standpoint, Kim Il Sung paid close attention to solving the land problem in keeping with the specific conditions of the country and the centuries-old desire of the peasants.

After the publication of ***Decision on the Land Problem***, which clarified the main orientation of the agrarian reform and was adopted at the First Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Central Organizing Committee of the CPNK on October 16, 1945, the peasants waged a struggle for the 3:7 tenancy system in the autumn of 1945. Awakened and tempered by the struggle, the peasants held mass rallies and presented to Kim Il Sung letters, resolutions and petitions asking for the distribution of land to the tillers. On the anniversary of the March First Movement in 1946 more than two million peasants held demonstrations in different parts of north Korea demanding land. Through the said struggle and the petition movement, they were fully awakened and ideologically prepared to carry out the agrarian reform.

In the period from December 1945 to February 1946 Kim Il Sung went to various localities, including Taedong County, South Phyongan Province, to learn in detail about the situation in the countryside and the peasants' demand for land, and confirmed the categories of land to be confiscated, the methods of confiscation and distribution and the ways of doing away with the tenancy system for good.

Based on these preparations, at the Fifth Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Central Organizing Committee of the CPNK held early in March 1946, he elucidated in an all-round way all the problems arising in enforcing the agrarian reform. On March 5 he promulgated the **Law on Agrarian Reform in North Korea**.

Under the slogan **"Land to the tillers!"** he defined making the peasants the masters of the land as the fundamental principle of the agrarian reform, and set forth a detailed policy of agrarian reform to put this principle into effect.

He said:

**"In order to make the tillers the true masters of the land, our Party put forward the policy of enforcing the agrarian reform on the principle of confiscating land and distributing it free of charge, and of making the confiscated land the private property of the peasants instead of transferring it to state ownership."**

He made clear the specific problems arising in carrying out the policy of the agrarian reform.

All the land, irrigation facilities and farm implements owned by the Japanese state and individuals, pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation were designated as objects to be confiscated. Those who possessed more than five hectares of land per household and rented them out or had them cultivated by hired hands while living in idleness were defined as landlords whose land, houses, draught animals, farm implements, orchards, wooded areas and irrigation facilities were to be confiscated. And all the land of those who rented it out instead of tilling it themselves were to be confiscated without compensation, irrespective of size.

The confiscated land was distributed evenly to the farm hands and peasants with little or no land, according to the number of their family members and breadwinners. The distributed land was banned from being sold or bought, rented out or mortgaged. Land not cultivated by the peasants was returned to the state, and the confiscated wooded areas, irrigation facilities and orchards and some land unfavourable for cultivation by the peasants were placed under state ownership.

Kim Il Sung advanced the class policy to be followed in carrying on the agrarian reform, that is, relying firmly on the hired and poor peasants, allying with the middle peasants and isolating the rich farmers.

The hired and poor peasants had the greatest interest in the agrarian reform as they were the main beneficiaries of the distribution of land. The middle peasants did not belong to the main section of the people entitled to receive land, as most of them farmed their own land. But they supported the agrarian reform because they had always been exposed to the threat of bankruptcy owing to exploitation and oppression by the landlords and usurers. The rich farmers were not the objects of liquidation in the agrarian reform, but they were liable to oppose the agrarian reform because they were to be expropriated from their land, as it had been rented out for cultivation.

In order to successfully enforce the agrarian reform, over 11 500 rural committees consisting of hired and poor peasants were organized with a rural ri as the unit. They were to deal with all matters related to the agrarian reform law, including the work of determining the targets of confiscation and liquidation and confiscating and distributing the land, and to take the lead in the struggle against landlords, pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation. Meanwhile, agrarian reform support corps formed of students of Pyongyang Institute and over 10 000 progressive workers were sent to the countryside to give a helping hand to the rural committees, and expose and crush the subversive and conspiratorial act of landlords and reactionaries. Kim Il Sung

also roused all the people to the struggle for the victory in the agrarian reform and strengthened the united front among various political parties and public organizations.

He personally went to many local areas, including Taedong, Kangso and Junghwa counties, and led the work of carrying out the agrarian reform as required by the policy of the Party. He visited Songmun-ri, Sijok Sub-county, Taedong County, on March 10, 1946 to meet the peasants who had been in bondage to the landlord there, and ensured that the best plots of land were distributed to them. He particularly saw to it that a farm hand who had worked as a servant for a long time for the landlord was given that house to live in, writing that man's name on a plate to hang at the gate of the house.

The agrarian reform involved a serious class struggle, and so he formulated and promulgated a law on the temporary measures in regard to the agrarian reform in order to prevent the landlords and reactionaries from perpetrating subversive acts, strengthened the dictatorship of the people's government and mobilized the broad masses to the struggle against the class enemies. Meanwhile, he took measures to transfer the expropriated landlords to other areas, thus dispersing and weakening their reactionary forces and keeping their noxious influence away from the peasants. While cracking down on the Rightist deviation of shielding landlords and traitors to the nation, he at the same time opposed the "Leftist" deviation of confiscating the land of the middle and rich farmers, who were not targets of confiscation.

The agrarian reform was carried out in a matter of mere 20-odd days. More than one million hectares of land owned by the Japanese imperialists, pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and landlords were confiscated without compensation and distributed gratis to over 720 000 landless and land-short peasant households.

When the agrarian reform was completed, Kim Il Sung took measures to follow up its success.

He expanded the forces of the Party in the rural areas and further consolidated the rural branches of the Party. Moreover, on June 27, 1946 he promulgated a law on abolishing the old system of forced grain delivery and such miscellaneous and burdensome taxes as land tax and profit tax. At the same time, he introduced a single system of agricultural tax in kind. Such credit and trade cooperatives as a peasant bank and consumers' cooperatives were organized to prevent usury and profiteering and provide conveniences to the work and life of the peasants. Along with this, he proposed the slogan **"Let us greet the first spring of liberated Korea with increased production and not**

**let an inch of land lie idle!"** vigorously rousing the peasants' enthusiasm to agricultural production.

Thus, the solution to the land problem, which presented itself as one of the most important tasks to be accomplished at the stage of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution was achieved brilliantly.

Kim Il Sung also guided the struggle for the nationalization of key industries.

Before Korea's liberation most of its industries were monopolized by the Japanese imperialists and comprador capitalists, and this seriously retarded the development of the national economy. Only when the major industries were nationalized was it possible to thoroughly eliminate the economic foundations of imperialism and its lackeys and the after-effects of colonial rule, free the working class from colonial bondage and exploitation forever, ensure the independent development of the national economy and build a prosperous sovereign state. Moreover, it was necessary for the people to manage and control the state to suit their own requirements and stabilize and improve their standard of living as soon as possible.

Kim Il Sung firmly adhered to the stand that the factories and enterprises owned by the Japanese imperialists should be naturally placed under the ownership of the Korean people. So he advanced the slogan, **"Factories to the workers!"** and saw to it that factory committees were organized to control, manage and operate the industrial establishments and economic organs designated as the objects for nationalization. In addition, a well-regulated system was set up in the organs of the people's power for controlling and guiding them.

Based on this, the **Law on the Nationalization of Industries, Transport, Communications, Banks and So On** was promulgated on August 10, 1946.

The law declared that all enterprises, mines, power stations, railways, means of communication, banks, trade, cultural establishments, etc., owned by the Japanese state, corporate bodies and individuals or traitors to the nation should be confiscated without compensation and nationalized, that is, made the property of the people.

He confined the objects to be confiscated only to the property owned by the Japanese imperialists and Korean traitors in keeping with the stage of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, and ensured that the possessions of non-comprador capitalists were protected by law and the business activities of individual entrepreneurs and traders encouraged.

As a result of the nationalization of major industries, 1 034 key industrial establishments accounting for over 90 per cent of the country's entire industry became the possessions of all the people.

Kim Il Sung saw to it that reforms for fully guaranteeing the democratic freedom and rights of the working people were enforced.

On June 24, 1946 the **Labour Law for the Factory and Office Workers in North Korea** was promulgated, guaranteeing in an all-round way to the workers and office employees for the first time the democratic freedom and rights to labour and rest, including an eight-hour workday, equal wages for workers who do equal work, paid leave and social insurance.

On July 30, 1946 the **Law on Sex Equality in North Korea** was promulgated to secure a legal guarantee for women, who made up the half of the population, to enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of social life such as the rights to elect and to be elected and the rights to work and study.

People-oriented and democratic systems of education, culture, and justice and prosecution were established for the first time in the Korean history by liquidating the old systems and legacies dating from the period of Japanese colonial rule and enforcing democratic policies in those fields, with the result that the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution were completed in a short period of time.

As a result, an original people's democratic system of the Korean style which embodied the will and demand of the masses of the people and a revolutionary democratic base were firmly established in north Korea.

While enforcing the democratic reforms, Kim Il Sung led the efforts to develop democratic education and culture. Regarding it as one of the most important steps in building a new Korea to build up reliable ranks of native cadres, he paid great attention to it.

Many hardships and difficulties cropped up for the Korean people in the course of their struggle to build a new, democratic Korea. One of the most troublesome problems was the shortage of native cadres. Owing to the prolonged colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists, Korea was short of specialists and technicians after its liberation. And so Kim Il Sung drew up a policy of re-educating old-time intellectuals and training fresh cadres of working-class origin for its solution.

He took measures to find out and bring the old-time intellectuals dispersed in various parts in the north and south of Korea and enable them to fully display their knowledge and talents in the building of a new Korea.

In the course of this he saw to it that Kim Il Sung University was built on

October 1, 1946 in order to train the new cadres of working-class origin. Moreover, a large number of colleges were founded with the university as the parent body. Kim Il Sung also founded Central Party School (the present Kim Il Sung Higher Party School) and Central Higher Leading Officials School (the present University of National Economy) for training officials urgently needed for the Party, state and economic organs in the course of building the new country, and Mangyongdae Revolutionary School for bringing up the children of revolutionary martyrs.

Kim Il Sung also directed great efforts to developing democratic education.

He saw to it that an all-people drive was conducted to build schools and fully provide students with suitable conditions for studying. On October 28, 1945 he visited Chilgol, Ha-ri, Ryongsan Sub-county, Taedong County, South Phyongan Province, and told the people there that many schools should be built for the future of the country and the rising generation. There he selected the site for a middle school and explained the way to build the school. Upon receiving the news that the people there had finished the building of the school, he named it **Samhung Middle School** to indicate that it should train competent young people equipped with ample knowledge, high morality and strong physiques so as to make the country prosperous.

He ensured that the question of pencils was discussed as an agenda item at the First Session of the PPCNK on February 20, 1946 and he took steps to provide enough pencils as well as school things, school fixtures and laboratory equipment.

At the Fourth Session of the PPCNK held early in March 1946, Kim Il Sung took measures to train many competent teachers capable of taking charge of democratic education. On several occasions, including the Meeting to Form the Union of People's Teachers of North Korea held on April 5 that year, he took steps for establishing new education and edification systems on the principle of progressive democracy. He saw to it that the children of revolutionary martyrs and poor families were exempted from school fees from April 1946.

Kim Il Sung led the efforts to develop the culture of the new, democratic Korea, starting with guidance to the Meeting of Information Workers of the Provincial People's Committees, Political Parties and Social Organizations, Cultural Workers and Artists in North Korea, held late in May 1946.

Saying that the struggle in Korea was no longer an armed one but a political one, involving information and culture, he made clear the mission and duty of cultural workers in the new Korea and the tasks and ways for improving and strengthening the work of spreading cultural information.

In order to develop the national culture he formed the General Federation of Art Unions in North Korea, a theatrical company, central symphony orchestra and provincial art organizations, and thus rallied organizationally writers and artists who had been wandering in the wilderness owing to the policy of the Japanese imperialists to obliterate Korean culture.

In those days, when eye-opening changes were taking place in all parts of the country thanks to the enforcement of democratic reforms, the Korean people earnestly wished for the production of a hymn in praise of General Kim Il Sung.

Kim Il Sung stubbornly kept creative workers from composing one, asking them to create more songs for the people than for him if they were to compose songs.

However, the creative workers splendidly created and completed the revolutionary hymn *Song of General Kim Il Sung* under the guidance of Kim Jong Suk, the leading anti-Japanese heroine, and held its debut in June 1946 in her presence. The central symphony orchestra gave its premiere in the presence of Kim Il Sung in August that year. This song rapidly spread among the people, sparking a great response from the public.

Attaching great significance to the creation of the full-length epic poem *Mt. Paektu*, Kim Il Sung met its author on several occasions to give vivid explanations of the historical facts about the anti-Japanese armed struggle and specify the contents of the epic and even the way of its portrayal. When the epic was completed, in January 1947 he went over it and spoke highly of the author for producing a wonderful epic, and indicated the way to complete the epic by depicting better the scene of the Battle of Pochonbo, the core of the epic. He then ensured that wide publicity was given to the epic by disseminating it through mass media and printing it in a collection of poems.

Late in September 1946 Kim Il Sung assigned writers the task of creating a national anthem, advising them on its theme. He said: Ours is indeed a beautiful country. It is sea-girt on three sides, the mountains are grand and majestic, and crops and fruits of various kinds abound. Our country is rich in mineral resources, too. Our people boast of a 5 000-year-long history, and they are a resourceful people with a brilliant culture. The national pride and dignity of the Korean people who have such a beautiful country and glorious tradition of struggle must be incorporated in the national anthem.

After he heard the first official rendering of the national anthem *Patriotic Song* late in June 1947, Kim Il Sung said that it would be better to repeat the part from *Our people ever were renowned and sage, And rich in cultural*

*heritage* in the later part, making the national anthem more effective and harmonious as well as more solemn, enabling its singer to express the pride and self-confidence of the Korean nation.

The *Patriotic Song*, reflecting his noble idea of loving the country, the nation and the people, was thus brought to completion through his meticulous guidance.

Thanks to the Juche-oriented policy of Kim Il Sung of building the national culture and his wise leadership, cultural workers created a large number of excellent works, including a feature film *My Home Village* and an oil painting *The Torch of Pochonbo*, making positive contributions to developing the art and literature of the country.

## 5. Preparations for Founding the Regular Revolutionary Armed Forces

It was necessary for newly-liberated Korea to found its own powerful national army with which to defend itself in order to become a full-fledged independent and sovereign state. A country which does not have its own national army cannot be called a full-fledged independent and sovereign state. One of the reasons why Korea fell under the yoke of the Japanese imperialist aggressors was ascribable not only to the corrupt state administration but mainly to the fact that it did not have its own powerful national army. Moreover, it emerged as an urgent task to build a powerful regular army under the prevailing situation where US imperialist aggressor troops that had long watched for a chance to invade Korea were stationed in the southern half of Korea in the guise of “liberators.”

In a speech made on August 20, 1945 Kim Il Sung advanced a policy of building a regular revolutionary army by Korea’s own efforts no matter what difficulties cropped up in the process.

Referring to the need to build a regular revolutionary army with the sons and daughters of workers, peasants and other working people, and with the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters trained and tempered in the flames of the anti-Japanese armed struggle as its backbone, he stressed the importance of inheriting the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

At that time there were many hardships and difficulties in the way of building

the regular revolutionary armed forces. Korea was short of military and political cadres equipped with advanced military science and technology, and the material and technical foundations for producing and supplying military equipment.

While braving those difficulties, Kim Il Sung vigorously pushed ahead with the preparations for building the regular revolutionary army with Korea's own efforts on the basis of the precious exploits and experience of army building gained in the flames of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

Liberated Korea urgently required cadres in all sectors, including the work to found a party and establish a government. He, however, dispatched most of the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters to the work of building the regular army to enable them to play the leading role in this sphere. Among them were Kim Chaek, Choe Yong Gon, An Kil, Kang Kon, Kim Il, Choe Hyon, Ryu Kyong Su, O Paek Ryong, Jo Jong Chol and Choe Chun Guk.

Kim Il Sung directed great efforts to setting up a base for training military and political cadres necessary for the founding of the regular armed forces.

He said:

**"Before anything else we need plenty of cadres to build a new, democratic Korea and found our national army, a modern regular army. Our primary revolutionary task is to train cadres quickly who will shoulder the responsibility of the new Korea. So we must set up an institute which will graduate large numbers of military and political cadres who will constitute the backbone of the modern regular armed forces."**

In order to provide the cadres urgently needed for the founding of the regular armed forces, he took the initiative to set up an institute for training military and political cadres, and guided the work.

On November 17, 1945 he went to Jiul-ri, Tami Sub-county, Ryonggang County, South Phyongan Province, to select a site for the first institute. He personally named it **Pyongyang Institute**, and specified the tasks arising in the building of the institute and the orientation of its educational work.

Saying that the institute's building should be well furnished without delay, he instructed that barracks should be built first, lecture rooms, training grounds and shooting ranges be well laid out and Nation-Building Room, a mess hall, a clinic, living quarters and an auditorium be well arranged.

Noting that the aim of education should be defined properly and be carried out thoroughly, he said that the institute should make its curriculum a revolutionary and people-oriented one in every way, intensify the political and ideological education of students, and teach them advanced military science and techniques, and the method of work among the masses.

As a result, the Pyongyang Institute, the first facility for training military and political cadres, was set up in a matter of only three months after Korea's liberation.

As honorary headmaster of the Pyongyang Institute, Kim Il Sung personally directed its educational work.

Early in January 1946 he went to the institute to give the first lecture of the first term to its instructors and students. On February 23 he attended the opening ceremony of the institute and made a congratulatory speech, specifying the tasks for the institute.

In this way the Pyongyang Institute was developed into a parent base for training military and political cadres provided with the characteristics of a regular school in a short period of time, and held the graduation ceremony of its first-term students late in April 1946.

Kim Il Sung ensured that the training of military cadres was separated from the Pyongyang Institute by setting up the Central Security Officers School.

In April 1946 he went to Taean-ri, Songam Sub-county, Kangso County, and appointed the site for the school. In July he separated the Central Security Officers School from the Pyongyang Institute, at the same time setting forth the tasks for training military officers at the school. In mid-August that year he dispatched anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters to the school as its leading officials, and stressed that the Juche orientation should be thoroughly established in the work of training military cadres. Thereafter he visited the school on several occasions and instructed that the education there should be conducted in the Korean way, without following the example of other countries.

As the education of the Central Security Officers School was conducted on the basis of the Juche-oriented viewpoint, the quality of the training increased. The school held the graduation ceremony of its first-term cadets late in October 1947.

Kim Il Sung also paid close attention to the training of officers for the air force and the navy.

In mid-March 1946 he made sure that an air force training class was formed at the Pyongyang Institute, and in July the following year he personally selected the site for a Naval Security Officers School.

The issue of military and political cadres which posed as one of the most difficult problems in the building of a regular army was brought to a brilliant settlement as the bases for training military cadres were firmly set up with the Pyongyang Institute as their parent body.

Kim Il Sung vigorously pushed ahead with the work to set up the security officers training centres, the core detachments of the regular armed forces, and form necessary units of services and arms.

In mid-August 1946, Kim Il Sung called Kim Chaek and other anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters, elucidated the organizational principle, scales and locations of the core detachments of the regular armed forces, and named the units to be newly organized the security officers training centres and their leading organ the Security Officers Training Battalion Headquarters.

Early in September that year several security officers training centres were organized with the main force of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army and military and political cadres trained at the Pyongyang Institute as the hard core, and with the public-security corps, frontier guards and railway guards organized in different parts of the country right after Korea's liberation as their parent body.

In mid-September 1946 a cultural section was organized in the Security Officers Training Battalion Headquarters in order to provide the Party's leadership to the training centres.

After the establishment of the security officers training centres, Kim Il Sung paid close attention to developing them into the core detachments of the regular revolutionary armed forces, providing on-site guidance to their work.

In a speech titled, ***Immediate Tasks of the Security Officers Training Centres***, delivered at a meeting of the military officers of the Security Officers Training Centre No. 2 in mid-January 1947, he emphasized the importance of strengthening the training centres in defending the country and the people, and building the regular revolutionary armed forces of the Party. At the same time he set forth the tasks before it. Noting that the training centres should strengthen political and ideological education among service personnel, he said that the cultural section should establish in the units a proper system of conveying Party policies, and correctly explain and bring home to the service personnel the line and policies set forth by the Party at each period without delay and thus give all of them a clear understanding of the essence and correctness of Party policies and firmly arm them with the revolutionary ideas of the Party. Along with education in Party policies, the soldiers should be educated in the unbending revolutionary spirit of the members of the KPRA, he said. He also instructed that the training centres should step up combat training to enable all soldiers to acquire advanced military science and technology and methods of battle operations at the earliest possible date, that service personnel should always take good care of their weapons and other combat equipment, that the training centres should establish strict discipline and order in the units,

and that the revolutionary unity between superiors and subordinates and between comrades should be strengthened.

He saw to it that units of services and arms necessary for the building of the regular armed forces were organized.

On June 5, 1946 he renamed the coastal defenders the Maritime Security Force and organized them respectively on the eastern and western seaboards of Korea. The Korean navy has its origin in the Maritime Security Force.

He also ensured that young people of worker and peasant origin were recruited as airplane pilots and technicians. In December 1945 they were combined to form the Korean Air Society. On August 20, 1947 he organized a aviation corps at the Pyongyang Institute, with the result that the air force of new Korea was founded.

He also vigorously pushed forward the preparations for organizing the artillery, military engineering and tank and signal corps, along with the other units of the services. Meanwhile, he intensified the already-organized mother units of services and arms in political and military ways.

Kim Il Sung paid close attention to laying the foundations of an independent armaments industry.

Early in October 1945 he went to Phyongchon-ri, Pyongyang, where he unfolded a far-reaching plan for establishing a Juche-oriented armaments industry. Late in June 1947 the Security Officers Training Battalion Headquarters issued an order to establish Korea's first arsenal. The arsenal produced a submachine gun by its own efforts early in October that year.

As Kim Il Sung devoted his wholehearted efforts to the preparations for founding the regular revolutionary armed forces through his Songun-based revolutionary leadership, a modern regular army was in place only two years after Korea's liberation.

## 6. Struggle against the US Imperialists' Occupation of South Korea and Their Moves to Divide the Korean Nation

When the KPRA took part in the operations against Japan in August 1945 and advanced in cooperation with the Soviet army, the United States resorted to a crafty scheme to occupy the southern half of Korea as it could not realize its

ambition to swallow up the whole of the Korean peninsula. As American troops were tied down on the Okinawa and Philippine fronts in those days, it was impossible for them to advance to the Korean peninsula rapidly. So the United States arranged to occupy the southern half while Soviet troops occupied the northern half under the guise of disarming the Japanese aggressor troops stationed in Korea.

The 38th Parallel, a tragedy of national division to the Korean people, came into being owing to the wild ambition of the US imperialists to invade Korea and the compromise made between the countries concerned. Thus the US set foot in south Korea without firing a single shot on September 8, 1945, and enforced a military government from the very first day of their occupation.

Under the cloak of military government, they forcibly dissolved the people's committees organized across south Korea and in their place formed pro-US reactionary political parties and organizations with pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the Korean nation, barbarously clamping down on all democratic forces. They seized major economic arteries of south Korea under the premise of "enemy property," closed numerous factories, and protected and fostered the feudal exploiting relationship in the rural areas. They took over the military establishments built up by the Japanese imperialists with a view to turning south Korea into their own military base and stepped up preparations for forming a puppet army. While violating and attempting to obliterate the national culture peculiar to the Korean people, they spread among the south Korean people the corrupt and reactionary Yankee culture, the American way of life and the ideas of worshipping and kowtowing to America.

The US imperialist moves to permanently occupy and colonize south Korea and divide the Korean nation became ever more pronounced with each passing day.

In this situation, the Korean people were faced with the new task of fighting against the US imperialists' occupation of south Korea and their attempt to divide their nation.

Kim Il Sung ensured that a vigorous struggle was launched to dispel illusions about US imperialism and oppose its military government.

He said:

**"Since the US imperialist moves to convert our country into a colony are becoming more apparent, our people will again find themselves in a wretched plight as a ruined nation, far from building a fully independent and sovereign state, if they do not resist the US military government. The**

**thirty million Korean people would rather die in battle than become the slaves of the US imperialists."**

It was none other than the US imperialists that arrested social progress in Korea and threw roadblocks in the way of the Korean people who were trying to build an independent and sovereign state. The US imperialists were the sworn enemy of the Korean people as the former occupied south Korea and inflicted misfortunes and sufferings upon the latter, but not a few south Koreans harboured an illusion about US imperialism due to the fact that the United States had taken part in the operations against Japan as a member of the Allies and to the infusion of ideas of worship of and sycophancy towards the United States by pro-American quislings such as Syngman Rhee.

Clearly seeing this situation, Kim Il Sung laid bare the aggressive nature of the US imperialists and their moves to divide the Korean nation on several occasions, including in his talk with communist activists from south Korea late in September 1945, stressing the need to reject all illusions about them and to wage an uncompromising struggle against the US military government

In order to oppose the US military government it was necessary to overcome both Rightist and "Leftist" deviations. The former advocated waiting for the advent of a favourable situation without waging an active struggle, and the latter advocated launching reckless struggles without a correct calculation of the balance of forces. Kim Il Sung said that it was necessary to advance correct fighting slogans to suit the prevailing conditions and to skilfully combine various forms and methods of struggle such as political and economic, violent and nonviolent, legal and illegal struggles.

He promoted the work of firmly rallying all patriotic, democratic forces from all walks of life in south Korea.

He directed primary attention to building a genuine party of the working class, the vanguard force of the democratic forces in south Korea, in order to firmly unite the latter.

In a talk late in October 1945 with leading officials of the south Korean Communist Party organizations who had crossed the 38$^{th}$ Parallel, he referred to the problem of party building in south Korea. Saying that it was urgent for them to rid themselves of factionalism and build a party embracing all communist groups, he stressed that they should pay close attention to steadily improving the composition of the party, building it up into an organization deeply rooted among the working masses and ensuring the purity of the party ranks. Late in January 1946 he sent a letter to the chief of the south Korean Communist Party organizations, in which he urged him to launch a strict struggle against

unprincipled factionalists who were seeking only leading positions instead of trying to strengthen the party in south Korea, and readjust party ranks without delay.

As a result, the south Korean Communist Party was organized afresh in February 1946.

Kim Il Sung also attached great significance to rallying the patriotic, democratic forces in south Korea into the democratic national united front.

In a letter to Ho Hon on December 20, 1945 he underscored the need to fight against factionalism and, at the same time, exert efforts to win over broad sections of the masses and expand the democratic forces through the unity of patriotic and democratic figures from all walks of life. In a talk with Ryo Un Hyong, who came to Pyongyang on February 11 the following year, he specified the principle of forming a united front and its fighting orientation, saying that it was necessary to form a democratic united front in order to firmly rally all patriotic, democratic forces from all walks of life in south Korea. He told Ryo Un Hyong to strive to form a democratic united front at the earliest possible date by pooling his efforts with those of the south Korean communists.

The patriotic and democratic figures and the middle-of-the-road political forces of south Korea, moved by his clear idea of the national united front and his boundless magnanimity, joined hands to realize the united front, with the result that the Democratic National United Front of South Korea was formed in February 1946.

Kim Il Sung made sure that a campaign was launched to support the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers.

The conference of the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom held in Moscow in December 1945 adopted a decision on the Korean issue while discussing a series of issues to be dealt with on an international scale, following the end of the Second World War. The decision stated that a provisional democratic government should be established in Korea through consultation among political parties and public organizations, with a view to building it into an independent state, and that the four victor countries–the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and China–would place Korea under a guardianship for a period of five years in order to ensure its democratic and independent development as a sovereign state.

The US imperialists, reactionaries and some political forces, however, waged an "anti-trusteeship" campaign, in a misrepresentation of guardianship as "trusteeship." The attitude towards the decision presented itself as a serious political issue decisive of the destiny of Korea, that is, whether or not to give

support to the building of a unified, democratic, independent and sovereign state.

Noting at a consultative meeting of the department directors of the Central Organizing Committee of the CPNK held on December 31, 1945 that the ultimate purpose of the decision of the conference was to develop Korea into a democratic and sovereign state, Kim Il Sung said that the establishment of a provisional democratic government conformed not only to the political line of the Party but also to the demand of the Korean people for the building of a democratic, independent and sovereign state, and stressed the need to launch a dynamic campaign to support the decision. He took measures to launch such a campaign on a wide scale to expose and shatter the "anti-trusteeship" clamour on the part of the US imperialists and the reactionary elements in south Korea, and give support to the decision.

From the start of January 1946, a brisk campaign to support the decision was launched across Korea. In north Korea the six political parties and public organizations–the Communist Party, Independence Union, General Federation of Labour Unions, Democratic Youth League, Democratic Women's Union and the Peasants' Committee of South Phyongan Province–made public a joint statement in support of the decision on January 2. There followed mass rallies and demonstrations to support the decision in Pyongyang and local areas. In south Korea, too, the Communist Party and other democratic political parties and public organizations co-sponsored a citizens' meeting in Seoul on January 3 in support of the decision. Even the political forces which had been involved in the "anti-trusteeship" uproar deceived by the US imperialists and their stooges, and those who had remained neutral finally came to realize the true intention of the decision and changed their stand.

Meanwhile, Kim Il Sung directed great efforts to foiling the attempt of the US imperialists to cobble together a pro-American, separate government in the south.

A meeting of the USSR-US Joint Commission was held in Seoul from March 20, 1946 in order to discuss the matter of establishing a provisional government in Korea in accordance with the decision of the Moscow conference.

In connection with this, Kim Il Sung gave a radio address on March 23, 1946, in which he said that the USSR-US Joint Commission should find a solution to the problem of establishing a unified provisional government which was earnestly demanded by the Korean people, and published the **20-Point Platform** to be carried out by the provisional government.

The platform reflected in an all-round way the main requirements for thoroughly liquidating all the remnants of Japanese imperialist rule, providing people with genuine freedom and political rights, and enforcing the democratic reforms and policies.

The meeting of the USSR-US Joint Commission was held twice, but both times ended in failure owing to the moves of the US imperialists to cook up a pro-American, separate government, not a unified provisional democratic government in Korea.

Such being the situation, he created the solid foundations and favourable conditions for establishing a unified government by ensuring that the **20-Point Platform** was implemented to the letter in north Korea.

In hearty response to the **20-Point Platform** and the policy of an anti-US struggle for national salvation advanced by Kim Il Sung, the south Korean people turned out in the struggle to oppose the US imperialist policies of colonial enslavement and division of the Korean nation, and demand the democratic reforms.

Entering the summer of 1946 their struggle gained momentum. People from all walks of life launched struggles one after another in south Korea–the strike of workers of the Samchok Coal Mine early in June 1946, the struggle waged in several areas to commemorate the first anniversary of Korea's liberation on August 15, the struggle of workers of the Hwasun Coal Mine in Kwangju, the struggle of peasants against the "collection of summer crops" and the struggle of students against the "national university plan." They waged unremitting struggles not only in demand of their immediate life requirements but under such political slogans as opposition to the repression of the US military government, guarantee of freedom of activity for trade unions, enactment of the same democratic reforms as in north Korea, and establishment of a unified provisional democratic government.

The autumn of 1946 saw these struggle develop into a large-scale movement.

In September over 40 000 railway employees in south Korea came out on strike in demand of the provision of food, higher wages, immediate halt to oppression by the US military government and enforcement of the same democratic labour laws as in north Korea. In response to their action, workers in other industries and transportation walked off the job, and even students, white-collar workers and other citizens joined them. This general strike rapidly spread throughout south Korea, enjoying the active support of millions of people.

Late in September 1946 Kim Il Sung called a meeting of the Presidium of

the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea, and saw to it that an all-people movement was launched to extend support and encouragement to the struggle of the south Korean workers.

In line with the measures taken by him, the blue- and white-collar workers and men of culture in north Korea held mass rallies and demonstrations to support and encourage the struggle of the south Korean workers, and sent them aid funds.

In October the struggle of the south Korean workers developed into an all-people anti-US resistance for national salvation. They held demonstrations, strikes and revolts in different areas under the slogans, "Opposition to the colonial enslavement policy of US imperialism!" "Transfer power to the people's committees!" and "Introduce the democratic reforms as in north Korea!" They attacked such repressive agencies as police stations and county administration offices, punishing reactionary policemen and wicked government officials. The resistance movement drew over 2.3 million patriotic people.

The struggle, however, bore no tangible fruit and was put down by the brutal repression of the US imperialists and the subversive activities and sabotage of factionalists. The US imperialists proclaimed "martial law," and arrested, imprisoned and slaughtered the south Korean people at random by mobilizing a large number of aggressor troops and armed police. The Pak Hon Yong clique goaded the masses of the people to reckless riots, only to suffer considerable sacrifices and cause the south Korean Communist Party and other revolutionary organizations to be demolished.

The heroic September general strike and the October resistance of the south Korean people dealt telling blows to the US imperialists and their stooges, and shook the foundation of their colonial rule, thus powerfully demonstrating the revolutionary spirit and the might of unity of the masses, including the working class.

## 7. Founding of the Workers' Party, a Mass Party of the Working People

With the democratic revolution promoted successfully under the leadership of the Communist Party, Kim Il Sung dynamically pushed ahead with the work to develop it into a mass party of the working people.

To develop the Communist Party into a mass party of the working people emerged as a matter of even greater urgency since not only the Communist Party but several other political parties claimed to represent the working people right after Korea's liberation. In north Korea there existed the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party and in south Korea the Communist Party, the People's Party and the New Democratic Party. The existence of various parties began to hinder the unity and cohesion of the working masses. In such a situation it was necessary to form a single mass party by merging the several political parties of the working people in order to achieve the unity of the working masses.

It was also a demand arising from the changed social and class relationships to organize a party of the working people. At that time, the people's power organ had been established and democratic reforms enforced in north Korea, in the course of which the leading position of the working class had been further consolidated and the alliance of the workers, peasants and intellectuals strengthened and they came to have a common interest in building a new, democratic Korea. And the immediate fighting programme of the Communist Party coincided, in general, with those of the other political parties.

Kim Il Sung put forward a policy of founding a mass party of the working people at a consultative meeting of leading officials of north and south Korean Communist parties held on June 26, 1946.

He said:

**"The work of founding mass-based parties of the working people should, for the present, be done separately in north and south Korea, as the situation and fighting tasks are different from each other. I think it would be good to found a mass-based party of the working people by merging the Communist Party with the New Democratic Party in north Korea, and amalgamate the Communist Party, the People's Party and the New Democratic Party into a working people's mass-based party in south Korea."**

He clarified principled matters arising in the work to found a mass party of the working people.

He made clear that the revolutionary character of the Communist Party would remain unchanged after its merger with other parties. He stressed that even when the Communist Party was merged with the other parties the guiding idea of the former would be unchanged, and the same would be the case with its organizational principle.

He said that Party ranks should be expanded on a broader basis after the merger. Noting that it would be impossible to develop the Party into a mass party if it embraced only dedicated communists, he said that it should admit all democratic progressive elements who strove for the building of a new country among workers, peasants and working intellectuals.

He underscored the need to firmly build up the hard core of the Party and steadily expand it. When the Party developed into a mass party and its ranks were expanded rapidly, individuals might vary in the level of their ideological theory and their working ability. Therefore, only when the core members of the Party were trained and their role enhanced could the general level of the Party members be quickly raised and the Party consolidated qualitatively. He put forward the constant training of the core elements of the Party as the consistent organizational line of the Party.

He said that as the founding of a mass party was aimed at realizing the merger of the Communist Party with other working people's parties, so the Communist Party should not impose its intention on other political parties but deal with all problems with prudence. Noting that communists should not try to take high positions in the party to be newly founded, he said that it was recommended for them to give up the top and other positions of the party to the People's Party and New Democratic Party members.

He vigorously promoted the work to merge the parties in north Korea.

He paid close attention to making the members of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party have a correct understanding of the necessity and rationality of the merger.

When he met with the leading officials of the New Democratic Party and the Communist Party in south Korea in mid-July 1946 he explained that the Communist Party should merge with the other parties of the working masses in order to prevent their breakup and secure the decisive superiority of the revolutionary forces.

The New Democratic Party in north Korea officially expressed its stand of supporting the merger, and a notice to this effect from the New Democratic Party was carried in the newspaper *Jongno*.

Late in July the Standing Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the CPNK held a meeting to discuss the matter of the merger with the New Democratic Party in north Korea, and sent a reply letter to the latter. When a fundamental agreement was reached on the amalgamation of the two parties, the Eighth Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPNK was held on July 27 to discuss a report to be delivered at the joint conference of the

central committees of the two parties, a statement on the amalgamation of the two parties, the name of the party after the merger, its draft programme and rules, and detailed regulations for the election of its leadership body.

In order for the amalgamation to be conducted thoroughly and on democratic lines, the Communist Party and New Democratic Party held a joint conference and an enlarged joint conference of the central committees late in July and fully discussed the programme and rules of the party to be founded, the detailed regulations for the election of its leadership body and the draft statement on the amalgamation of the two parties. Thus the will and demand of the members of the two parties were reflected before a decision on their merger was adopted.

After the joint conferences of the two parties their lower organizations discussed the party's programme, draft rules and the statement on their amalgamation. The merger was then carried out from the cells up to the highest party bodies.

From early August the organizations of the two parties at all levels called enlarged meetings of committees to pass the resolution and statement on amalgamation adopted at the joint conferences of the two parties, and to hold discussions on the new party's programme and draft rules. They were followed by joint general membership meetings of the two parties' cells and conferences of their city, county and provincial committees, with the result that local party organizations of the Workers' Party at all levels were set up in the short period of one month, by the end of August.

On this basis, the Inaugural Congress of the Workers' Party of North Korea was held between August 28 and 30, 1946.

At this congress Kim Il Sung delivered a report titled, ***For the Establishment of a United Party of the Working Masses***, clarifying the character, basic duties and fighting tasks of the Workers' Party.

He made it clear that, as the Workers' Party was the vanguard detachment representing and defending the interests of the working masses, its basic duty at that stage was to carry out anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic reforms thoroughly and establish a democratic people's republic.

Advancing tasks to build up the Party into a powerful militant unit, he underlined the need to firmly ensure unity of thought and will, purity and iron discipline in Party ranks, strengthen the ties of the Party with the masses, bring the Party's policies and decisions home to the masses and pay the utmost attention to the problem of personnel administration.

The congress adopted the Party's Programme and Rules, and decided to publish the newspaper *Rodong Sinmun* as the organ of the Party and *Kulloja* as its politico-theoretical magazine.

At that time Kim Il Sung attached great significance to the problem of deciding on the emblem of the Party. Eventually he ensured that a hammer, a sickle and a writing brush–symbolic of worker, peasant and intellectual–were included in the design of the emblem.

When factionalists objected to inclusion of a writing brush in the design, he told them as follows: We can neither make a revolution nor build a country without intellectuals. We need them not only in the struggle to overthrow the old society and take power but also in the efforts for building a new society. Only when we join hands with intellectuals equipped with knowledge and technology can we succeed in the revolution and construction.

This is how the Party's emblem came to consist of a hammer, a sickle and a writing brush.

Thus, it was possible for the Party to be strengthened and developed into a unified mass party representing the interests of all the working people.

Kim Il Sung paid close attention to the merger of political parties in south Korea.

The amalgamation of parties in south Korea had to suffer trying ordeals due to the subversive activities and wicked plots of the US imperialists and their lackeys and the disruptive schemes of the factionalists. The US imperialists and their stooges intensified oppression of the Communist Party, the People's Party and the New Democratic Party and attempted to sabotage them by means of spies and saboteurs.

Late in September 1946 Kim Il Sung published a work titled, ***On the Establishment of the Workers' Party of North Korea and the Question of Founding the Workers' Party of South Korea***, scathingly disclosing and criticizing the crimes of the factionalists who were hindering the merger of political parties in south Korea, and stressing the need to conduct the merger without delay.

The Workers' Party of South Korea was finally founded in November 1946. However, the amalgamation of parties in south Korea was carried on in name only due to the disruptive schemes of the factionalists, including the Pak Hon Yong clique, and the Workers' Party of South Korea failed to perform its role as a unified party of the working masses.

Kim Il Sung devoted his heart and soul to have the Workers' Party of South Korea overcome the disruptive moves of the factionalist elements and discharge its role properly.

## 8. General Ideological Mobilization Movement for Nation Building, Emulation Drive for Increased Production and Anti-Illiteracy Campaign

In order to overcome the ideological, technological and cultural backwardness left over from the old society and the economic difficulties and successfully carry out the gigantic tasks for building a new country, it was necessary to launch various forms of mass movements aimed at transforming the ideological consciousness of the working masses, the motive force of nation building, and enlisting their creativity.

With a view to hastening the building of a new country, Kim Il Sung proposed a general ideological mobilization movement for nation building, an emulation drive for increased production and an anti-illiteracy campaign.

He organized and led the general ideological mobilization movement for nation building.

From right after the country's liberation he stressed that a key task for ideological remoulding was to eliminate the survivals of Japanese imperialism from the minds of the masses and equip them with the consciousness of national independence and the idea of nation building. He focused all the political and ideological work of the Party on the solution to this question.

As the ideological education for the building of a new Korea intensified, a great change took place in the thinking of the people, and their enthusiasm ran high. However, the ideological consciousness of the people remained backward as compared with the new socio-economic conditions following the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. Still remaining in their minds were the remnants of outdated ideology and the way of life left over from the Japanese imperialist phase of Korea's history. Without liquidating these remnants it was impossible to consolidate and develop the new socio-economic relationship established by the democratic reforms, and push the revolution and construction to a higher stage.

Kim Il Sung found the key to carrying out the cause of nation building in the remoulding of people's ideas, and set forth the policy of launching a general

ideological mobilization movement for nation building at the Third Enlarged Meeting of the PPCNK on November 25, 1946.

He said:

**"It is necessary to push forward vigorously the general ideological mobilization movement for nation building among the broad masses of the people throughout the country and to wage a struggle to remould their old thinking."**

The general ideological mobilization movement for nation building was a great ideological transformation movement aimed at abolishing all the decadent and degenerate customs and lifestyle left by Japanese imperialism, fostering the spirit, traits, ethics and fighting capacity worthy of the masters of a new, democratic Korea in an all-round way, and creating a lively and vibrant national spirit.

The main objective of this movement was the elimination of the servile spirit, flunkeyism, national nihilism, bureaucratism and egoism, and the corrupt, degenerate and hedonistic habits of life which were the survivals of Japanese imperialist and feudal thoughts and bad habits remaining in the memory of the people. The main aim of the ideological education in this movement was to equip the masses of the people with the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance which would enable them to overcome difficulties by themselves and build a new country in a way befitting its masters, and with noble patriotism which would induce them to put the public interest above their own and to take good care of the property of the state and society and to infuse them with an ethical view of life and society based on collectivism marked by mutual help and encouragement.

Kim Il Sung said that the movement should be conducted as an all-Party, all-people campaign closely combined with the practical struggle of the people for building a new country.

In December 1946 the 14th Meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea and the Eighth Meeting of the Central Committee of the Democratic National United Front of North Korea were held at his proposal. At these meetings he advanced concrete tasks for transforming the people's ideological consciousness, and stressed that this movement should be conducted as an all-people campaign in close combination with the practical struggle. He ensured that the PPCNK worked out and issued a "publicity outline for the general ideological mobilization movement for nation building" which specified the main contents of ideological education for nation building and the modes and ways of publicity. He saw to it that the

policy of the movement and ways of its implementation were brought home to the working people and positive examples displayed in the course of the struggle for its implementation given wide publicity.

This movement was intensified in the aspects of ideological education and campaigning.

Ideological education and campaigning were launched in every field and every unit–Party, state and economic organs, judicial and security organs, public organizations, factories, enterprises and residential quarters. Through this campaigning individual selfishness, hedonism, laziness and dissipation, bureaucratism and irresponsibility were hit hard, and hostile and alien elements were detected and removed. The sense of responsibility of officials was further raised, their attitude and style of work improved, and the people's consciousness of nation building, political awareness, patriotic enthusiasm and positiveness soared.

The general ideological mobilization movement for nation building was conducted in close combination with the practical struggle for the building of a new, democratic Korea.

Upholding the slogan, **"Let us finish the day's work on the day!"** advanced by Kim Il Sung, the workers put the ideology of nation building into practice, waging a drive for increased production vigorously. The workers of the Jongju Railway Corps, displaying patriotic enthusiasm, repaired damaged locomotives, put railway service on the normal track and increased transport capacity, thus kindling the torch of a patriotic drive for increased production.

On January 20, 1947 Kim Il Sung sent a message of thanks to them, naming their patriotic initiative the **Kim Hoe Il Movement** after its pioneer, and calling on all the railway officials and workers throughout the country to follow suit. Later, this campaign spread to all the fields and units of the national economy.

The patriotic drive to embody the ideology of nation building was also unfolded vigorously among the peasants, and developed into a patriotic rice offering movement to solve the strained food problem of the country.

Kim Il Sung highly appreciated the patriotism of Kim Je Won, who donated 30 bags of rice to the country. The patriotic mass movement of offering rice then unfolded dynamically in all rural areas across the country.

Under his leadership the general ideological mobilization movement for nation building took an epochal turn in transforming the ideological consciousness of the working people and kicked off the ideological revolution in Korea.

Kim Il Sung also organized and led a gigantic nature-remaking project and an emulation drive for increased production.

He roused the masses of the people to the grand nature-remaking project in order to get through the difficulties lying in the way of building a new Korea by enlisting their enthusiasm to the utmost.

He proposed the Pothong River improvement project as the start of the nature-remaking project, and went to the spot several times to examine its design and specify ways to speed up the project. On May 21, 1946 he attended the ceremony for starting the project, delivered a speech of encouragement and picked up a shovel to be the first to break the ground.

The Pyongyang citizens finished in only 55 days the project which the Japanese imperialists had failed to accomplish in nearly ten years. With the project completed, it was possible to protect Pyongyang from flood damage and secure the lives and property of its citizens. The project was a prelude to a new history of grand nature remaking in Korea.

Miracles and innovations were wrought one after another in numerous construction sites such as the coal conveyor belt project in Samsin Coal Mine, Tanchon Port repair project, Amnok River embankment project, and Ryonghung River and Haeju Port improvement projects.

Meanwhile, afforestation was conducted on a nationwide scale.

On March 2, 1946 Kim Il Sung climbed Moran Hill in company with his young son Kim Jong Il and his wife Kim Jong Suk, and instructed that afforestation should be conducted in a proper way. On April 6 the following year he climbed Munsu Hill to plant trees, and said that the drive for afforestation should be launched on a nationwide scale so as to cover all mountains with thick forests and make the country more beautiful.

All the Korean people turned out in the drive to plant trees, with the result that the mountains and rivers and streams of the country were steadily improved as befitted those of the new, democratic Korea.

Kim Il Sung led the patriotic emulation drive for increased production for rehabilitating the economy destroyed by the Japanese imperialists, and reviving and developing it at the earliest possible date.

At the Fourth Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Central Organizing Committee of the CPNK on February 15, 1946 he initiated a campaign for labour heroes, a form of patriotic emulation drive for increased production, and ensured that this movement was widely launched at all factories, mines and rural areas.

The campaign for labour heroes spread over the factories, enterprises and

rural areas across the country. As of January 1, 1947, a total of 822 factories and enterprises, including the Hwanghae Iron Works, were rehabilitated and went into operation, and over 14 500 000 *sok* of rice, 3 400 000 *sok* more than in the previous year, was produced.

He developed the campaign for labour heroes into a mass emulation drive for increased production in keeping with the new requirements for reviving and developing the national economy in an all-round way. In the course of this the working people rehabilitated the destroyed production facilities by fully displaying their enthusiasm for nation building and the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. They thereby brought about an unprecedented increase in production by introducing numerous new inventions and technical innovations.

The emulation drive for increased production became the start of the technological revolution in Korea.

Kim Il Sung ensured that an anti-illiteracy campaign was widely waged among the working people.

There were over 2.3 million adult illiterates in north Korea right after the country's liberation due to the Japanese imperialist policy of keeping the colonial nation in ignorance. Without abolishing illiteracy it was impossible to successfully solve the problems of raising the cultural and technical levels of the working people, developing the national culture, awakening them in a political way and enlisting them in the drive for nation building.

Setting anti-illiteracy as the primary task in building a new, democratic culture, Kim Il Sung put forward on November 17, 1945 a policy for launching an anti-illiteracy campaign.

Under the slogan **"Let us begin by abolishing illiteracy to raise the people's cultural standard!"** he arranged to conduct the campaign on an all-society and all-people scale under the leadership of the Party and the state.

He set forth tasks and ways for the stages of the anti-illiteracy campaign.

On his initiative the PPCNK issued a decision on the winter anti-illiteracy campaign in rural areas in November 1946. The campaign was conducted as an all-people campaign for four months from December that year to March the following year. Adults' anti-illiteracy schools were set up in various places, including cities, fishing and rural villages, factories and enterprises, and anti-illiteracy guidance committees were formed in the capital, provinces, cities, counties and sub-counties, and anti-illiteracy classes in ri (the smallest administrative unit). Officials of all political parties and public and cultural organizations, as well as teachers and students of schools at all levels were mobilized in the anti-illiteracy campaign.

The period from December 1947 to March 1948 was designated for an all-out campaign to wipe out illiteracy, and examples in this campaign were popularized throughout the country.

Early in August 1947 Kim Il Sung met Ri Kye San, a woman from Oktong-ri, So Sub-county, Phyonggang County, Kangwon Province. On learning that she did not know how to read and write, he told her that only when one was literate could one live a useful life and make a tangible contribution to the country. He reminded her that it was not too late for her, and so she must study hard to become literate and write to him about it in her own hand. Moreover, he asked her to appeal to all the Korean people to turn out more vigorously in the anti-illiteracy campaign. On receiving a letter from her informing him that she had learned how to read and write in three months, Kim Il Sung was greatly pleased and sent her a reply full of praise and encouragement. He ensured that the Ri Kye San Movement was dynamically waged to follow her example in overcoming illiteracy.

The all-people anti-illiteracy campaign spread rapidly throughout the country, with the result that more than two million working people became literate in less than three years after the country's liberation.

After looking round the central exhibition dedicated to the anti-illiteracy campaign late in May 1948 and holding a discussion with officials, he advanced tasks for the further consolidation and development of the successes gained in the anti-illiteracy campaign. The period from December 1948 to March 1949 was designated for the second winter anti-illiteracy drive, aimed at eliminating illiteracy once and for all.

In response to his instruction people of all ages and walks of life across the country turned out in the campaign under the slogan, "Knowledge is power and ignorance is ruin" and "Let us study, study and study!" In March 1949 Korea was cleared of illiteracy completely, becoming the first Asian country without illiterates.

The anti-illiteracy campaign served as the beginning of the cultural revolution in Korea.

The general ideological mobilization movement for nation building, the emulation drive for increased production and the anti-illiteracy campaign rendered great services to removing the remnants of the outdated ideas and the technological and cultural backwardness which had restrained the independence of the working people and to successfully promoting the building of a new, democratic Korea. The three revolutions–ideological, technological and cultural–which started with the above-said movements served as the driving force for social development.

# CHAPTER 6. TO FULFIL TASKS FOR THE EARLY STAGE OF THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM AND ESTABLISH A UNIFIED CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

(February 1947–June 1950)

## 1. Tasks for the Early Stage of the Period of Transition to Socialism and the People's Committee of North Korea

After the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution had been carried out in north Korea, Kim Il Sung put forward a policy of passing over to the socialist revolution.

He said:

**"It is a logical process of revolutionary development that the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution led by the working class changes to the socialist revolution."**

After the accomplishment of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, the small-commodity and capitalist sectors of the economy in no small measure remained in north Korea. Without eliminating these economic sectors, it would be possible neither to completely eradicate the sources of exploitation of the working people and of poverty nor to rapidly develop the country's economy as a whole in a planned way. Furthermore, it would be impossible to strengthen the unity and cohesion of all the people based on the worker-peasant alliance, to remove the footholds of the reactionaries and the breeding ground of old ideas, and to augment the political foundation of the revolution. All these could be settled only through the socialist revolution.

Kim Il Sung made clear the basic task arising in the socialist revolution, as follows:

The socialist revolution is a deep-going social reform for eradicating the exploitation of man by man for good, achieving the socio-political

independence of the masses of the people and opening up a new path of social progress. The primary task in the socialist revolution is to establish a socialist government and the undivided sway of socialist production relations. Preparations for the socialist reorganization of production relations should be made and their partial reorganization carried on primarily in the early stage of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, and the overall reorganization of the old production relations should be pushed forward on a full scale when the masses of the people earnestly demand it and when enough forces have been built up to cope with the task.

He organized and led the work of further strengthening and developing the people's government as suited to carrying out its duty in the period of the socialist revolution.

At the Second Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea, held on September 25, 1946 and several other meetings, Kim Il Sung put forward a unique policy for building a socialist government.

He said that this should be done by consolidating and developing the Provisional People's Committee, in line with its duty of carrying out the socialist revolution.

With the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution successfully accomplished, the class foundation of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea was further consolidated and the masses of the working people absolutely trusted and supported the people's government, which they were convinced would guarantee them a happy life.

Convinced that the most rational way to develop the people's power into the socialist government was to hold democratic elections, Kim Il Sung led the elections to victory.

In order to ensure success in the elections, the Second Enlarged Meeting of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea was held early in September 1946 to draw up the regulations for the elections of members of local people's committees at all levels. It was decided at the meeting to hold elections of members of the provincial, city and county people's committees in all areas of north Korea on November 3 in accordance with the regulations. And at the Fifth Meeting of the Central Committee of the Democratic National United Front of North Korea and the Second Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea, held in September the same year, the significance of elections of members of the people's committees, the progressive nature of the election system in Korea and the urgency of launching positive election information were made clear.

The representatives of democratic political parties and public organizations in the Democratic National United Front jointly recommended the candidates for members of the people's committees. Along with this, election committees were formed in the capital and provinces, so as to guide the elections in a unified way.

In October 1946 Kim Il Sung gave on-the-spot guidance to the preparations for elections in Uiju, Sakju, Kusong, Jongju and several other counties in North Phyongan Province, arousing the people to great efforts for victory in the elections.

In mid-October 1946 he went to Samdung Sub-county, Kangdong County, South Phyongan Province. He had been recommended as a candidate to the South Phyongan Provincial People's Committee. There he called upon all the voters to take an active part in the elections to cement the people's power rock-hard.

That day the people in the sub-county unrolled rolls of cotton cloth they had prepared on the road to the meeting hall, to express their gratitude for the man who had won back for them the country they had lost and provided them with a new and worthwhile life. Saying that he could not step on cloth with which the people were to get their clothes made, Kim Il Sung strongly refused to do so. He had the cloth rolled up and taken away, and then went into the meeting hall.

He vigorously pushed ahead with the struggle to smash the subversive manoeuvres of the reactionaries.

When the election campaign started, the reactionary forces of south Korea, together with the sidelined landlords, capitalists, traitors to the nation and other class enemies in north Korea, made desperate efforts to frustrate the democratic elections. They spread all sorts of reactionary rumours, secretly instigated people to vote against the candidates for members of the people's committees jointly recommended by the DNUF and egged religious believers on to boycott the elections.

While exposing and denouncing their manoeuvres, Kim Il Sung ensured that the people kept sharp vigilance, and mass meetings were held in different parts of the country in celebration of the democratic elections in order to further enhance their political enthusiasm. He also visited Sub-constituency No. 52 of Constituency No. 6 in Pyongyang on the election day to vote for a worker candidate.

The elections of members of the provincial, city and county people's committees, the first of their kind in the history of the Korean people, ended in a brilliant victory–99.6 per cent of the total electorate went to the polls, and 96 per cent of the electors voted for the candidates.

On the basis of the victory in the democratic elections, a congress of the provincial, city and county people's committees of north Korea was held in February 1947, and the People's Assembly of North Korea, the supreme organ of state power, was established.

At the First Session of the People's Assembly of North Korea, held late in February, Kim Il Sung declared that the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea had handed its power over to the People's Assembly of North Korea in line with the new requirement of the developing revolution.

The session elected him Chairman of the People's Committee of North Korea (PCNK), in accordance with the unanimous will and desire of all the people, and he formed the PCNK upon the authorization of the People's Assembly of North Korea.

As the first socialist government established in Korea, the foremost duty of the PCNK was to carry out the tasks in the period of gradual transition to socialism in north Korea while making continuous efforts to fulfil the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution on a nationwide scale. The PCNK was the highest executive organ of the people's power in north Korea.

After the establishment of the PCNK, the elections of members of sub-county and ri (dong) people's committees were held and new local people's committees at all levels formed.

Under his leadership, the people's committees, now with a well-organized system, were set up from the capital down to the smallest administrative units, and a powerful weapon was prepared for the success of the revolution and construction.

## 2. Line of Building an Independent National Economy and Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy

Kim Il Sung specified the line of building an independent national economy and the fundamentals of the Party's economic policy in order to achieve the complete independence and sovereignty of the country, and for its future prosperity and development.

He set forth the line of building an independent national economy at a

conference of scientists and technicians in October 1946 and a meeting of chiefs of industrial departments of provincial people's committees and managers of state enterprises in December 1946, a congress of provincial, city and county people's committees in February 1947 and several other meetings.

He said:

**"For complete national independence and sovereignty and for national prosperity and development, one must build an independent national economy and thus firmly ensure economic independence."**

Since the country's economy as a whole was backward and, worse still, it had been severely ravaged, he defined the first stage of the economic construction as a period of rehabilitation, and set forth the basic orientation for economic construction in this period.

He stated that what was essential for economic development in the period of rehabilitation was not to merely restore the ruined economy but rehabilitate and develop it in such a way as would eliminate its colonial one-sidedness and deformity, and ensure the predominance of the state-run sector in the overall economy.

He pointed out that in order to realize these requirements it was necessary, for the time being, to restore and readjust the existing heavy industrial factories to supply machinery, equipment, raw and other materials needed for the development of the national economy, and build a new light industry sector while vigorously propelling the development of the rural economy.

Fundamental to the Party's economic policy, he said, in the early stage of the transition period was to ensure direct, planned state control of the major economic sectors and constantly strengthen the leading role of the state-run sector and, on this basis, properly combine the state-run sector with the cooperative and private sectors.

Only when planned control of the economy was ensured would it be possible to develop the economy purposefully and intentionally to meet the actual situation of the country, ensure the balance between different sectors of the national economy and a high tempo of growth in production, and build an independent national economy. He maintained that enhancing the leading role of the state-run sector would make it possible to develop the national economy in a socialist way and steer the cooperative and private sectors along the right path.

Kim Il Sung enlisted the entire Party and all the people to the drive to fulfil the national economic plan, based on the fundamentals of the Party's economic policy in the early stage of the transition period.

From the latter half of 1946 he began to decide the main indices of the first national economic plan one by one and, on the basis of this, made public the 1947 national economic plan at the Congress of Provincial, City and County People's Committees of North Korea in mid-February 1947.

The basic task of the 1947 national economic plan was to rehabilitate and run factories and enterprises to ensure a 92 per cent increase in industrial output and 18.6 per cent rise in grain production over the previous year, and to stabilize the people's livelihood as quickly as possible. The plan, the first of its kind in the Korean history, was a programme of economic construction with which to lay a solid foundation for building a democratic, independent and sovereign state.

To carry out this gigantic plan under the conditions of the time was indeed a difficult and tough job–the economy left over by Japanese imperialism was backward and decrepit, the experience of economic construction was lacking, technical personnel and skilled workers were few, and raw and other materials and funds were in a state of acute shortage. Moreover, the US imperialists and all class enemies were engaged in vicious sabotage and other subversive activities.

Kim Il Sung found the key to breaking through the difficulties in giving full play to the patriotic enthusiasm and creativity of the masses, and enlisted all the people to carry out the plan.

He clarified the tasks of the Party, power organs and public organizations for carrying out the national economic plan successfully, and took measures for their implementation at the Sixth Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea in March 1947, the 36th Session of the People's Committee of North Korea in May and several other meetings.

He stressed that Party work should be improved and that Party members should acquire knowledge of the economy and technology, thereby playing the vanguard role in production. A shock brigade movement to increase production should be launched vigorously among the working people, he stressed, and officials should do away with the outdated style and method of work, and establish instead a revolutionary and popular style and method of work. He also ensured that the people's power organs should improve the political and practical qualifications of their officials, build up the ranks of cadres in economic sectors and teach them the theory and methods of economic construction. The functions of power organs at all levels were clearly fixed and strict discipline was observed in planning. At the same time, he made sure that the trade unions and other public organizations fully performed their role as

links between the Party and the masses and as mass political organizations for educating the masses engaged in production and enlisting them in economic construction.

Kim Il Sung went among the masses of the people to dynamically arouse them to the implementation of the national economic plan.

In March 1947 he visited the Hwanghae Iron Works to direct its rehabilitation, and gave the workers there the task of restoring blast furnace No. 3 and its coke oven at the earliest possible date. In September he went to the Chongjin Iron Works and Songjin Steel Plant to spur the workers there and to take concrete measures for the rehabilitation of these units. Distressed at the sight of workers of the Songjin Steel Plant working in front of a dangerous electric arc furnace charged with a high-tension current and emitting poisonous gas and dust, he said that no matter how precious steel was the workers' lives could not be bartered for the steel, and ordered the furnace destroyed.

He gave on-the-spot guidance to the Mathan irrigation project in Kangdong County and the Jolgol irrigation project in Kaechon County in April and May 1947, respectively. On June 7 he went to the Mirim Plain, where he personally transplanted rice seedlings and inspired the peasants to the struggle for increased grain production. He called on the peasants of Kujigol in Yangdok County late in September that year, and told them that they should make effective use of the local mountainous areas.

The first national economic plan was successfully completed. In 1947 the total output-value plan of the state-run industries was overfulfilled by 2.5 per cent, and 170 000 tons more of grain was produced than in 1946. At the same time, state-run industries accounted for 80.2 per cent of the total industrial output value. The number of schools and students increased by 1.4 and 1.3 times respectively over the previous year, and many new hospitals and clinics were built. In addition, the system of free medical care in accordance with the Social Insurance Law was introduced for blue- and white-collar workers and their dependents.

On the basis of successes gained in the course of implementing the first national economic plan, Kim Il Sung took a measure for monetary reform at the 53rd Session of the People's Committee of North Korea early in December 1947. The session then successively proclaimed the Law on Monetary Reform, with the result that sufficient funds for the building of an independent national economy were secured.

He mobilized the entire Party and all the people to fulfil the 1948 national economic plan, based on successful experiences gained in carrying out the first national economic plan.

Early in February 1948 he made public the 1948 national economic plan at the Fourth Session of the People's Assembly of North Korea, and specified tasks and ways for its fulfilment at the 12th Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea, held shortly afterwards.

He ensured that a mass emulation drive for increased production was conducted in a dynamic way to carry out the plan of the year, while giving field guidance at factories, enterprises and rural villages in North and South Hamgyong provinces, North and South Phyongan provinces, and other parts of the country.

As a result, the 1948 national economic plan was fulfilled triumphantly. The total industrial output-value plan of the state-run and cooperative sectors was overfufilled by two percent, and the industrial output went up by 50.6 percent as compared with 1947. The grain output was 10.4 percent higher than the peak year under Japanese imperialist rule, so that it was then possible for the country to be self-sufficient in food.

In the course of drawing up the two rounds of annual plans and carrying them out, the economic foundations of the country were further consolidated, and a considerable number of successful experiences emerged. The situation at that time demanded that the national economy be rehabilitated and developed more quickly under a longer-term plan instead of a short-term one, as in the past. Only then would it be possible to develop the national economy as a whole in a far-sighted way.

Proceeding from this, Kim Il Sung advanced a policy for implementing the Two-Year National Economic Plan at the 71st Session of the People's Committee of North Korea held late in July 1948, and set forth the major tasks for this plan at the Second Session of the Supreme People's Assembly early in February 1949.

The two-year plan envisaged rehabilitating the factories which had not yet been restored and newly building essential factories to surpass the pre-liberation level in industrial output, putting an end to the colonial lopsidedness of industry and laying the foundations for an independent economy.

Kim Il Sung inspired the entire Party and all the people to the successful fulfilment of the plan.

With the main link for this identified in improving guidance over economic affairs, the Fourth Meeting of Managers of Factories and Enterprises under the Ministry of Industry was convened in July 1949; the Conference of Economic and Trade Union Activists from the Industrial Field in November, and other meetings of different sectors of the national economy were also held later. At

the meetings concrete measures were taken for the Party organizations at all levels to guide economic affairs through political methods and for the leading officials to bring the level of economic guidance into step with the new environment and conditions.

Meanwhile, Kim Il Sung gave on-the-spot guidance at the Hwanghae Iron Works, Chongjin Iron Works, Hungnam Fertilizer Factory and other key factories and enterprises. In addition, he visited Kangso County in South Phyongan Province, Kumchon County and the Namuri Plain in Jaeryong County, Hwanghae Province, and other rural areas, specifying the ways to fulfil the Two-Year National Economic Plan and solve knotty problems. In March 1950 he insisted on going down into a pit of the Holtong Mine. There, he explained to the miners the significance of giving priority to the mining industry in carrying out the two-year plan and the way to give precedence to tunnelling.

The working people throughout the country turned out as one in the drive to fulfil the national economic plain ahead of schedule, while conducting various forms of emulation drive for increased production.

In those days the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique infiltrated spies, subversive elements and saboteurs into north Korea and perpetuated armed incursions into areas in north Korea.

In order to have all the Party members prepared to cope with the prevailing situation and vigorously propel the drive for the fulfilment of the Two-year National Economic Plan, Kim Il Sung had a letter from the Central Committee of the WPK sent to them in June 1949, and ensured that the discussion of it was held on a high political and ideological level.

The discussion served as a turning point in developing the WPK into an invincible one, firmly rallying broad sections of the masses around it and, for the present, carrying out the Two-Year National Economic Plan.

The tasks of industrial production envisaged in the plan were completed in the main by the first half of 1950, and the country's industrial output climbed far above the pre-liberation level. At the same time, the colonial lopsidedness of industry, an after-effect of Japanese imperialist rule, was largely overcome. In the sector of agriculture, the grain output far surpassed the highest watermarks before liberation, and the material and technological foundations of the rural economy were further consolidated. Great achievements were also made in cultural construction–15 colleges, various cadre-training institutions and 55 specialized technical schools were established, and preparations were made to enforce universal compulsory primary education from September 1950.

## 3. Developing the Korean People's Revolutionary Army into the Korean People's Army and Building Up the Military Strength of the Country

Entering 1947, the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique ceaselessly committed armed incursions into north Korea in the areas along the 38th Parallel while reinforcing their armed aggressive forces on a large scale.

There were over 270 such incursions in 1947 alone. From the beginning of 1948 the incursions grew more serious. Fierce battles broke out continuously in the areas along the 38th Parallel, including on Mt. Unpha and Kuksa Peak.

In order to cope with the enemy's move to provoke a war, defend the country and the people, and ensure the building of a new country by force of arms, it was urgently necessary to build a regular revolutionary army.

Grasping the prevailing situation and the requirements of the law that guides the building of a revolutionary army, Kim Il Sung sagaciously led the struggle to strengthen and develop the Korean People's Revolutionary Army into the Korean People's Army, a regular revolutionary armed force, without delay.

He pushed forward the work to give the army the features of a regular army in a far-sighted way.

He ensured that the service personnel of the security officers training centres, the Maritime Security Force and the aviation corps of the Pyongyang Institute and the students of military schools at all levels were provided with newly-designed regular army uniforms, and armed with modern weapons and other combat equipment from May 1947. He also saw to it that the military structure was reorganized as required for the building of a regular army, and that systems were established for combat and political training, and logistics. Military regulations and manuals, military colours and military code of conduct were also decided on.

In September 1946 Kim Il Sung urged a group of writers to compose a song for the regular army, and indicated what such a song required. When *The People's Army March* was completed, he designated it as the army song. And in January 1948 he clarified the tasks of the forthcoming army paper *Joson Inmingun*.

In order to guarantee unified guidance over the regular armed force, he

organized the National Defence Bureau under the People's Committee of North Korea at the 58th Session of the People's Committee of North Korea early in February 1948. This bureau was to be in charge of the military and political guidance of the revolutionary armed force. Kim Chaek was appointed its director.

On this basis, Kim Il Sung strengthened and developed the Korean People's Revolutionary Army into the Korean People's Army, a regular revolutionary armed force, on February 8, 1948.

That day a grand military parade of the KPA was held in Pyongyang. Among the viewers were Kim Il Sung, founder of the revolutionary armed force, young Kim Jong Il and Kim Jong Suk.

Kim Il Sung reviewed the military parade, and delivered a speech titled, ***On the Occasion of the Founding of the Korean People's Army***, proclaiming to the world the founding of the regular revolutionary armed force and making clear its character.

He said:

**"Though our People's Army is established today as the regular army of democratic Korea, it is, in reality, an army long rooted in the past. It is a glorious army inheriting the revolutionary traditions of anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare, invaluable battle experience and indomitable patriotic spirit."**

He also stated that the KPA was a genuine people's army made up of the fine sons and daughters of workers, peasants and other working people, with the anti-Japanese war revolutionary fighters as its backbone, and a revolutionary army which would fight against the imperialist aggressive forces from abroad and reactionary forces at home for the liberation and independence of the Korean nation and the happiness of its people.

In his speech, he set forth important tasks for strengthening the KPA politically and militarily.

His speech was followed by a grand march-past of the KPA units.

The development of the KPRA into the KPA was a brilliant success of Kim Il Sung's Juche idea and the Songun idea and Songun revolutionary line based on the Juche idea.

As he developed the KPRA into the KPA, the task of founding the army in liberated Korea was brought to a successful completion and a strong revolutionary armed force of the independent and sovereign state emerged, capable of defending by itself the sovereignty of the country and the nation and the gains of the revolution.

Later, the KPA was expanded into a regular revolutionary armed force consisting of various services and arms, and its combat efficiency increased in every way.

The security officers training centres were renamed as divisions or brigades in mid-February 1948. At the same time, the Security Brigade under the Ministry of the Interior was reorganized into an infantry division to be assigned to the KPA in September, and new infantry divisions were organized.

For the building of the air force, the aviation corps of the Pyongyang Institute, the core unit of the air force, was reorganized into the aviation corps of the General Headquarters of the KPA and developed into a regular air regiment which simultaneously performed combat and training duties. With more airmen and other technical personnel trained and airfields built, the regiment was developed into a division equipped with modern fighter planes, combat and technical equipment and solid material and technological foundations.

Meanwhile, the Maritime Security Force was reinforced and the maritime security officers school was developed into the Naval Academy, and a naval technical training centre was set up for naval cadres and technical personnel. At the same time naval bases were built and flotillas capable of performing coast guard duty were organized. The first patrol ship made by Korean workers themselves was launched. On the basis of successes achieved in the building of the naval force, Kim Il Sung organized a naval fleet.

Kim Il Sung also organized technical services and specialized units.

In August 1948 he assigned Ryu Kyong Su, an anti-Japanese revolutionary fighter, the task of organizing a tank regiment that would serve as the parent body of a large-scale mechanized unit. Afterwards he visited the newly-organized tank training regiment and guided it to train tankmen fully prepared politically and militarily, increase the number of tanks and strengthen the combat efficiency of the unit in every possible way.

Attaching great importance to strengthening the artillery also, he organized a reserve artillery unit under the Ministry of National Defence, anti-aircraft artillery regiments and coastal artillery sub-units equipped with powerful howitzers and direct-firing guns. He also pushed ahead with the work to organize and develop units of military engineers, signalmen and drivers.

Kim Il Sung advanced a four-point programme for improving the combat efficiency of the KPA. In a speech titled, ***You Must Be a Powerful People's Armed Force That Defends the Interests of the Country and the People***,

delivered at a meeting of officers of the Security Brigade under the Interior Bureau in mid-May 1948, he elaborated on the four points: First, all soldiers must learn skilful tactics and swift combat movements; second, they must shoot well; third, they must be physically fit; and fourth, they must be firmly equipped politically.

He directed primary attention to consolidating the KPA politically and ideologically.

He took measures to strengthen the Party's ranks in the army by selecting excellent Party members for the armed forces at a joint meeting of chairmen of provincial, city and county committees of the Workers' Party of North Korea in September 1948. In a speech delivered at a meeting of cultural officers of the Security Forces late in October that year and a talk with the commanding officers of a unit of the KPA in mid-November, he set forth the task of stepping up the Party's political work in the army units, stressing the need to arm the soldiers with a high sense of class consciousness and patriotism, and teach them to learn from the indomitable fighting spirit and faith in certain victory displayed by the anti-Japanese guerrillas.

He paid close attention to improving the command ability of the officers of the KPA.

In October 1948 he attended a banquet held to celebrate the graduation of the second term of the First Central Military Academy, together with young Kim Jong Il and Kim Jong Suk. In a speech delivered on that occasion he said that the officers should enhance their role in order to increase the combat efficiency of units, underscoring the need for them to make efforts to arm themselves with the Party's ideas, constantly study the fighting exploits and experience of their anti-Japanese revolutionary forerunners, study military affairs closely so as to be well versed in advanced military science and technology and sophisticated weaponry, and steadily improve their command ability.

He led all units and sub-units of the KPA to intensify combat drills suited to the actual conditions of the country.

Combat regulations, textbooks and training plans were made to suit the specific conditions of the country by making effective use of military and political training experience gained in the period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle. Based on this, field training was conducted.

In particular, Kim Il Sung saw to it that shooting practice was intensified. Saying that soldiers should be trained to be crack shots, he led them to conduct shooting practice in mountainous regions by making good use of the firing

experience of the anti-Japanese guerrillas. He also ensured that training in hurdling, hand-to-hand combat, hand-grenade throwing, swimming, forced marches with full kit and mountain-climbing were intensified.

Kim Il Sung channelled great efforts into rapidly developing the defence industry of the country.

Anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters were dispatched to the munitions industry, and qualified workers and technicians selected from across the country to staff the arsenal. And equipment and raw and other materials for the production of up-to-date weapons were provided to the arsenal on a preferential basis so that it could produce a larger number of weapons and ammunition, including submachine guns.

On December 12, 1948 he received a report that the arsenal workers had succeeded in turning out high-performance submachine guns. He immediately left what he was doing and went out to a testing ground to test-fire the new weapons. He ordered that the arsenal be further expanded.

Afterwards, he provided the arsenal with modern equipment to mass-produce the new submachine guns. Late in October 1949 he gave to anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters the submachine guns presented to him by the workers of the arsenal and had a souvenir photograph taken with them.

His energetic guidance put the defence industry in a position to produce mortars, hand-grenades, shells, ammunition and other military equipment as well as submachine guns for the KPA.

As a result, the KPA grew into a regular revolutionary armed force prepared politically and militarily in a short span of time, with its combat efficiency constantly increasing.

Kim Il Sung led the work of building up the country's military capabilities to cope with the enemy's moves to unleash a war.

He stated that the KPA, the Security Forces and the Public Security Corps should strengthen their combat and political training in every way, and establish iron discipline and order so that all the soldiers could keep themselves in perfect combat readiness to repel any sudden attack by the enemy by mastering their weapons and skilfully handling combat and technical equipment.

The US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique stepped up their preparations for a war of aggression after drawing up a strategy for an attack on the north in the summer of 1949. The US imperialists sharply increased the number of south Korean puppet troops and police forces, shipped into south Korea large amounts of weapons and combat and technical equipment from the

United States and Japan, and built and expanded military airfields on a large scale. At the same time they tested the north's defences by stepping up armed incursions into the northern areas along the 38th Parallel by mobilizing regiment- and division-scale armed forces and even such special units as the Horim Unit. The number of armed raids committed by the enemy on the whole area along the 38th Parallel including Kosan Peak, Mts. Songak and Unpha, and Kuksa Peak topped 2 617 in 1949.

To cope with this tense situation, Kim Il Sung ensured that the units of the KPA kept themselves in full combat readiness.

Political and ideological education was intensified among service personnel of the KPA.

In May 1949 Kim Il Sung instituted the post of assistant company commander in charge of cultural work in the basic combat units of the KPA, the companies, and took measures to enhance the role of the cultural departments in all units. The *Information Worker's Manual*, *Military Knowledge* and other information materials were newly published and disseminated. In September that year he inspected the 40th Tank Training Regiment of the KPA and several other units, and guided the running of the Nation-Building Rooms in the companies to intensify political and ideological education among service personnel.

Combat training was further strengthened among service personnel in order for the KPA to be fully combat-ready.

In July 1949, while guiding a reinforced infantry battalion in combat exercises, Kim Il Sung underscored the need to make a close study of tactics suited to the topographical conditions of Korea, which has many mountains.

He told soldiers of KPA Unit 238 late in August that year that they should conduct field training in earnest so as to repel any enemy attack at once. He also instructed that many things useful in a war should be taught in field, tactical and marksmanship training, and coordinated training of the infantry with the artillery be strengthened. Also, the ability of officers should be enhanced and strict military discipline enforced.

Under his leadership, the units of the KPA and the People's Security Forces frustrated the enemy's war-provocation moves step by step. Consequently the enemy could not but give up the plan to ignite a war in 1949.

Early in 1950 the enemy's armed provocations reached the brink of war.

At a talk to soldiers of the 1st Company of the 1st Battalion of KPA Unit 603 late in May 1950 and a talk to soldiers of KPA Unit 749 early in June afterwards titled, ***Let Us Step Up Combat Preparations***, Kim Il Sung said that

they should keep themselves alert and ready as never before, and further increase the combat preparedness of their units so as to counter the enemy whenever he should attack.

Kim Il Sung ensured that all the soldiers had a clear understanding of the justness of the revolutionary cause and a firm conviction that they would surely emerge victorious, and that they ardently loved their country and people and devoted their lives without hesitation to defend their motherland from the enemy's encroachment.

He also saw to it that combat training was further intensified so as to enable all the soldiers to master their weapons and other combat and technical equipment, and use them skilfully. They should acquire the most accurate marksmanship and do a lot of marching practice, attack and defence training in mountainous regions and river-crossing, anti-aircraft and night training. In particular, he stressed, they should be prepared to undertake the duties of a higher rank.

In order to cope with the enemy's war provocations, at a meeting of the Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea held on August 5, 1949, Kim Il Sung advanced important tasks on properly supplying war materials and establishing an all-people system of national defence, and pushed ahead with the work to implement them.

In order to establish the all-people system of national defence, he proposed in July 1949 to form a national defence support committee as a mass organization to convert national defence into an all-people enterprise. He ensured that a preparatory committee was organized for founding the National Defence Support Committee with representatives of the General Federation of Trade Unions, peasants associations, Democratic Youth League and Democratic Women's Union, and its leadership bodies at all levels were set up from the capital to all the localities. The committee conducted such work as organizing military training and disseminating military knowledge among its members and the general public, giving active assistance to the KPA and the soldiers' families and forming a youth training corps widely among young people so as to create military reserve forces that could be mobilized in a sacred war for national defence in case of emergency. The committee also conducted the work to raise funds for national defence.

Kim Il Sung had the Aviation Association of North Korea incorporated into the National Defence Support Committee, and the Ministry of National Defence and the Ministry of the Interior help the work of the committee on a regular basis. The provincial, city and county Party committees selected and

assigned trustworthy and faithful officials to the committee and the supervisory posts of the youth training corps.

Early in August 1949 a unified local people's self-defence force was organized by linking up the military organizations of civilians in factories, enterprises, rural and coastal areas, and areas along the borders, the 38th Parallel and railways, and put under the guidance of the organs of public security in the given regions. The local people's self-defence force was a self-defence militia organization in defence of the country.

## 4. Preparing for the Socialist Transformation of the Relations of Production

The socialist transformation of the relations of production is a law-governed process of development of the socialist revolution and the basic task to be solved in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

But in those days it was not posed as a vital demand of the masses of the people. As the democratic revolution had just been carried out, the level of ideological consciousness of the peasants who had received land for the first time was not mature enough to accept the socialist transformation. Moreover, the socio-economic and material conditions were also not ready to realize it in a comprehensive way.

After scientifically analyzing the requirement of the law governing the development of the socialist revolution and the actual conditions of the country, Kim Il Sung advanced a policy of making preparations for the socialist reorganization of the relations of production in the early phase of the transition period while partially undertaking it.

Attaching great importance to transforming of the handicrafts sector of the economy along socialist lines, he had it undertaken in a partial manner.

Transforming the handicrafts economy along socialist lines was one of the important problems to be solved without fail in boosting the small-scale and technically-backward manual trades in Korea, and in improving the living conditions of handicraftsmen. This was also needed to meet the people's demand for daily necessities in the situation at that time, when state-run industry was not in a position to produce all the needed sundry goods due to the colonial backwardness and lopsidedness of this sector.

In a speech titled, ***On Organizing Producers' Cooperatives***, made at a meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea early in September 1947, Kim Il Sung advanced a policy of organizing producers' cooperatives, specifying the principle to be adhered to in its realization and ways to do it.

He said:

**"Producers' cooperatives should be formed on a strictly voluntary basis from rural inhabitants who do some side jobs at their home and handicraftsmen in the countryside. As we accumulate experience in organizing and running producers' cooperatives, they should be formed gradually with urban handicraftsmen and petty bourgeoisie as well."**

At that time there was a great reserve of seasonal labour in the countryside of Korea, and there was little obstruction from capitalist traders and manufacturers preventing producers' cooperatives from being organized. Though they were not yet ready to transform the individual economy along cooperative lines, the peasants could agree to the joint carrying out of seasonal sideline production.

On this basis, Kim Il Sung saw to it that producers' cooperatives were formed in the rural areas first rather than in the urban areas, and starting from the sideline production of peasants, not from their regular occupations.

As the number of producers' cooperatives engaged in sideline production in the countryside increased and experience was accumulated, he encouraged the urban handicraftsmen to form producers' cooperatives by types of business.

Cooperativizing urban handicrafts was undertaken in close combination with the policy of limiting the activities of capitalist trade and industry. The state furnished funds and materials to the cooperatives in a planned way and sold their products through the trading network of the state and cooperative organizations. It also strengthened the guidance and assistance in order to bar speculators from worming their way into producers' cooperatives and protect them against such harmful activities. And measures were taken to make all the cooperatives join in carrying out the national economic plan of the state from 1948.

As a result, producers' cooperatives were able to develop soundly and display their superiority clearly from the outset. By the end of 1949 some 22.5 per cent of handicraftsmen had joined the cooperative economy.

Kim Il Sung ensured that fishermen's cooperatives were organized in the fishing villages, as there was a problem there of poor equipment.

Late in August 1947 he gave the leading officials of the Agriculture and

Forestry Ministry of the People's Committee of North Korea the task of organizing fishermen's cooperatives, and, in September that year, he visited Yombunjin in Kyongsong County, North Hamgyong Province, to lead it to organize a model fishermen's cooperative. In July 1948, at a meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea, he took measures to organize fishermen's cooperatives on a wide scale.

Fishermen's cooperatives were organized in fishing villages throughout the country. In 1949 these cooperatives accounted for 29.8 per cent of the total fish catch of the country.

As the number of cooperatives rapidly increased in towns and rural and fishing villages, Kim Il Sung, in order to improve their business activities, took steps to remove the functions of directing the producers' and fishermen's cooperatives from the Central Committee of Consumers' Cooperatives and establish separate systems of guidance for them, at a meeting of the Organizing Committee of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea in March 1950.

He made preparations for the socialist transformation of the rural economy in the early phase of the transition period.

In those days this did not pose itself as an urgent matter. The patriotic zeal and zest for production of the peasants, who had become the masters of the land thanks to the agrarian reform, were very high and their attachment to their land was strong. In this situation, if the problem of cooperativization came to the fore, it could not win active support from the peasants, and, what was worse, it would dampen their enthusiasm for production which had been enhanced by the agrarian reform, and hamper overall agricultural production. In such a case, it would be possible neither to develop agricultural production rapidly on a new basis nor to establish a socialist system with the small-scale private peasant economy left as it was.

Taking all this into consideration, Kim Il Sung kept from proposing the socialist transformation of agriculture in the early days of the transition period, but allowed all the conditions for agricultural cooperativization to ripen one after another.

First of all, he had the development of the rich farmers' husbandry restricted, in order to create favourable conditions for the cooperativization of agriculture.

By a law and a decision of the people's government, the rich farmers were prohibited from keeping permanent hired labour, and only allowed to use seasonal labour. Along with this, the people engaged in seasonal labour were

encouraged to form trade unions and enter into collective agreements with the rich farmers. As a result, the development of the rich farmers' economy was extremely restricted, and they had no alternative but to do farming by their own efforts.

Practical education was undertaken to convince the peasants of the superiority of the collective economy.

To this end, in the sectors of credit and consumption, the Peasant Bank, a cooperative credit agency, and the Consumers' Cooperative, a cooperative trading body, were organized in April and May 1946, respectively.

Kim Il Sung made the peasants correctly understand the superiority of the collective economy in the realm of agricultural production. Under his guidance the state agrostock farms built in Phyonggang, Kyongwon and other parts of the country right after its liberation were consolidated and developed, playing a vanguard role in developing the rural economy. And such traditional forms of cooperative labour in the countryside as ox-sharing and labour-exchange teams were universally popularized and encouraged to the utmost.

Kim Il Sung vigorously pushed ahead with the work of creating the material and technical conditions for the socialist transformation of agriculture.

In order to make up for the shortage of draught animals in the countryside, in July 1949 ox-and-horse hiring stations were organized with a certain region as a unit in local areas and model farm-machine hiring stations set up in some regions. In November that year, while talking with the leading officials of Hwanghae Province and Jaeryong County Kim Il Sung stressed the need to make full preparations for setting up farm-machine hiring stations, and took the initiative for this at the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Cabinet in February the following year.

As a result, farm-machine hiring stations were set up in Ryongchon and Jongju in North Phyongan Province, Anju in South Phyongan Province, Hamju in South Hamgyong Province, Jaeryong in Hwanghae Province and other lowland areas, with sub-stations attached to them. In addition, various types of improved farm implements were turned out in larger quantities, the Phyongnam Irrigation Project and other projects to newly build or expand irrigation facilities were undertaken on a large scale, and large quantities of chemical fertilizers were supplied. Thus, the material and technical foundations of agriculture were further strengthened.

Kim Il Sung saw to it that preparations for the socialist transformation of capitalist trade and industry were made according to a well-thought-out plan.

He took measures to turn the positive aspects of capitalist trade and industry

to good account, while strictly curbing their negative aspects. The business activities of individual traders and industrialists were limited to the manufacture of daily necessities and the distribution of retailed goods. A positive campaign was waged to expose and eliminate illegal acts in this sphere. Ideological education was intensified among capitalist traders and industrialists to enable them to join the positive work for the interests of the country and the people in a spirit of lofty patriotism.

Preparations for the socialist transformation of the relations of production went ahead vigorously in Korea in the early days of the transition period, with the result that the foundation for stepping up its overall realization was laid.

## 5. Second Congress of the Workers' Party of North Korea and Qualitative Consolidation of the Party

Entering 1948, all domains of the revolution and construction were undergoing a new change in north Korea. The people's government was consolidated and the army building and economic construction were progressing well, thus increasing the country's political, military and economic might remarkably. Big strides were also made in the building up of the Party, with its ranks expanding rapidly and its militant efficiency and leadership role enhanced.

The north Korean people's struggle for national reunification and the south Korean people's struggle against the colonial enslavement policy of US imperialism were further strengthened. In particular, the anti-US struggle for national salvation entered a new period of upsurge in south Korea after the February 7 National Salvation Struggle.

Meanwhile, the US imperialists unwarrantably took the Korean question to the United Nations, and rigged up the UN Temporary Commission on Korea by using their clout in the UN Security Council in September 1947, and made a "resolution" on holding separate elections in south Korea under its supervision, with the result that the Korean people were faced with the danger of national division.

In order to cope with this crisis, the Second Congress of the Workers' Party of North Korea was held from March 27 to 30, 1948.

At the congress, Kim Il Sung gave a report on the work of the Party Central Committee and a conclusion.

In the report, he reaffirmed the Party's policy of independent and peaceful national reunification and specified the ways for its implementation.

He said:

**"Our Party holds that a supreme legislative body for all Korea should be elected by secret ballot on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage. The supreme legislative body of the people thus elected should adopt a democratic constitution and form a genuinely democratic people's government to lead our people along the road to national prosperity and happiness. The establishment of a unified government on such lines by the Korean people themselves will only be possible when foreign troops are withdrawn."**

He defined it as the main policy for national reunification to reunify the country from an independent standpoint, on democratic principles and in a peaceful way.

He pointed out that in order to realize the independent, peaceful reunification of the country the north and south of Korea should pool their efforts to wage a resolute struggle against the crafty colonial enslavement policy of the US imperialists, and call a joint conference of representatives of all democratic political parties and public organizations in the north and south of Korea to adopt a detailed plan and measures for hastening the establishment of a democratic, unified state.

Putting forward tasks for implementing the Party's economic policy in the early stage of the transition period he stressed the need to enhance the leadership role of Party organizations at all levels in economic construction.

On the basis of analysis of the experience gained and lessons drawn from the process of carrying out the first national economic plan, he brought to the fore the demand that the Party become not only one capable of organizing and politically leading the masses but one of builders able to build the economy and manage enterprises and possessing economic knowledge and technology. He underlined the need for officials to acquire economic knowledge, learn the method and experience of enterprise management, establish strict order and discipline in business operations and steadily increase the leadership role of the state-run sector in the development of the national economy.

In the report, he set the qualitative consolidation of the Party as the principal issue in developing it into a mass party and advanced the task of strengthening the Party cells in particular.

Saying that the Party cell was the basic organization for ensuring

ideological and organizational unity in Party ranks by giving its members day-to-day education and training, and translating the lines and policies of the Party into practice, he stated that strengthening the cells was fundamental for strengthening the entire Party.

In order to strengthen the Party cells, he added, it was essential for every cell to exert great efforts to foster the Party's hard core, and decisively elevate its own work level so as to turn it into a militant, living organization brimming over with vitality.

The congress adopted a resolution for thoroughly implementing the tasks advanced by Kim Il Sung, and amended the Party's Rules in keeping with the revolutionary duties facing the Party and the demand of its development.

The Second Congress marked a historic turn in the struggle of the Korean people for the organizational and ideological strengthening of the Party, national reunification and the building up of the revolutionary democratic base.

After the congress Kim Il Sung vigorously pushed ahead with the work of consolidating the Party in a qualitative way.

To this end, he directed great efforts to strengthening the Party cells.

Early in November 1948 he put forward tasks for improving the work of the Party cells at a meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea.

He said that it was necessary to build up the Party cell workers with hardcore members, and give day-to-day guidance to them to enhance their role. He stressed that the Party cells should give detailed assignments to their members, review their progress on a regular basis, and conduct their general membership meetings and the work of increasing Party membership in line with the requirements and principle of the Party's Rules. He added that it was essential to improve the guidance and inspection of the Party cells by their senior Party committees, in order to strengthen their work. He also gave on-the-spot guidance to the Party cells.

On January 5, 1949 he visited the Party cell in Wondong village, Toksan-ri, Sain Sub-county, Sunchon County, South Phyongan Province. Examining the minutes of the Party cell meetings and acquainting himself with the state of its work he gave it detailed instructions on how to hold its general membership meetings and carry out work with the masses. On the same day he attended a study session of the Samhwa Party cell, at which he pointed out that in order for the Party members to fight with sure confidence in victory as the anti-

Japanese guerrillas did, they should study hard and regard their new knowledge as a stepping-stone to future action.

His on-site guidance tour of the Party cells served as a turning point in further enhancing their militant functions and role, and in strengthening the Party organizationally and ideologically.

At the Fifth Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea, held in mid-February 1949, Kim Il Sung analyzed the meetings held by Party cells and other lower Party organizations and reviewed the work they had done during the nine months following the Second Party Congress. He also proposed the tasks for improving the work of all Party organizations. In particular, he stressed the need to train many core elements for the Party cells, and steadily improve their political and theoretical levels.

For the qualitative consolidation of the Party, he ensured that the ideological education of Party members was intensified.

As Party ranks were being constantly replenished with new recruits, he stated at a meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea held in mid-June 1948 that the Party organizations at all levels should intensify education to enhance their political and ideological levels. And at the meetings of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea held in January and May the following year he took measures for raising the level of Party study sessions.

He also paid close attention to building up the ranks of cadres for the qualitative strengthening of the Party.

At a joint conference of officials in charge of personnel administration of power organs, public organizations and major factories and enterprises held in mid-January 1949, and on several other occasions, he underscored the need to correctly carry out the Party's policy on cadres. He said that it was essential to allocate cadres with the main stress on those of worker and poor and hired peasant origin while combining them with those of intellectual origin in a proper manner, and put greater efforts into educating them. He also saw to it that able Party workers were trained in a larger number by improving the work of the Central Party School and other Party cadre-training institutions. Meanwhile, paying close attention to ensuring the purity of the ranks of cadres, he made sure that the due formalities and orders were strictly observed in personnel administration.

As a result, the Party was able to grow into a powerful General Staff of the revolution, leading it undeviatingly along the road of victory, braving all difficulties and hardships.

## 6. Realizing the Unity of the Entire Nation and Founding the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Kim Il Sung exerted priority efforts to realizing the unity of the whole nation in order to establish a unified central government of the whole of Korea on the principle of democracy.

He said:

**"Today we are confronted with the momentous task of establishing a democratic unified government as soon as possible and rapidly developing the economy and culture of the country so as to build a rich and strong independent sovereign state. All the democratic political parties and public organizations under the Democratic National United Front should be firmly united among themselves to carry out this task satisfactorily."**

In order to realize the unity of the whole nation the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Democratic National United Front of North Korea held a meeting early in October 1947 and put forward a proposal of holding north-south negotiations in the form of a consultative or joint meeting of the representatives from all political parties and public organizations in both the north and south of Korea. And at another meeting held in January the following year it sent a letter to the leaders of the political parties, public organizations and individual figures in south Korea proposing north-south negotiations. In March 1948 it sent to them a letter proposing to open a preliminary small-scale joint meeting of leaders of political parties and public organizations in the north and south of Korea early in April in Pyongyang. The 26$^{th}$ Meeting of the Central Committee of the DNUF of North Korea adopted an open letter proposing to the political parties and public organizations in south Korea to hold a north-south joint conference in Pyongyang on April 14.

The proposal won the enthusiastic support and approval of all the Korean people. Not only the political parties and public organizations under the DNUF of South Korea but those of the middle-of-the-road and the Right-wing forces also adopted special resolutions in support of the north-south joint conference.

However, the US imperialists and their stooges put pressure upon, threatened and blackmailed the political parties, public organizations and individual figures in the south trying to attend the joint conference in order to

sabotage it. The Pak Hon Yong clique, outwardly pretending to support the conference, attempted to put the middle-of-the-road and the Right-wing forces on one side and allow only those in their favour to attend the conference.

Kim Il Sung vigorously pushed ahead with preparations for the calling of the joint conference, frustrating all sorts of obstructive manoeuvres engaged in by the enemy.

At the First Session of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea, held late in March 1948, he stressed the need to form a preparatory committee for the joint conference at an early date, select the representatives of north Korea to attend it, properly prepare the documents to be presented to the conference and afford convenience to the representatives from south Korea during their stay. Early in April he formed the preparatory committee and gave scrupulous guidance on preparations–ranging from the arrangement of the meeting place and lodgings for representatives to preparations for an art performance, visits and invitation cards to be issued to the representatives.

While dispatching officials to southern parties, public organizations and individuals, he personally met liaison agents sent by high-level personnel of the Right-wing parties in south Korea and opened up the road for their representatives to visit Pyongyang by assuring them that he would wipe the slate clean and cooperate even with those who had committed crimes before the nation and the people in the past if they repented of their mistakes and took the road of patriotism for national reunification.

Moved by his high authority, broad-mindedness and correct united front policy, not only progressive political parties and public organizations but also middle-of-the-road and Right-wing forces in south Korea came to actively support the holding of the joint conference.

The Joint Conference of Representatives of Political Parties and Public Organizations in North and South Korea was held in Pyongyang from April 19 to 23, 1948.

The conference was attended by 695 representatives from 56 political parties and public organizations, involving over 10 million members.

In his political report titled, ***The Political Situation in North Korea***, delivered at the conference, Kim Il Sung set it as the supreme immediate task of the nation to achieve reunification of the country by checking and baffling efforts to hold separate elections in south Korea and setting up a unified central government on democratic principles. To this end, he called on the people in the north and south to wage an anti-US national salvation struggle in firm unity.

At the conference he took realistic measures for national salvation to frustrate the separate elections pursued by the US imperialists and their stooges, and to set up a unified government on democratic principles.

The joint conference adopted the *Decision on the Political Situation in Korea*, which carried a resolution on opposing and repudiating separate elections in south Korea and establishing a unified government, as well as the *Appeal to All the Korean Compatriots*, which called on all the people to turn out in the struggle. It also adopted a letter which was sent to the governments of the Soviet Union and the United States, calling for organizing a committee for the struggle against plots to hold separate elections and set up a separate government in south Korea, and for the immediate withdrawal of troops of the two countries from Korea.

The joint conference clearly showed that even those who were different in their thoughts, ideals and religious beliefs could unite in the struggle for the common cause of the nation, and that the cause of national reunification could be achieved if they waged a national salvation struggle with the great unity of all the people.

Following the conference, Kim Il Sung wisely led the struggle against the plot to hold separate elections in south Korea and for achieving the unity of the nation and the country's reunification.

A consultative meeting of leaders of political parties and public organizations in the north and south of Korea was held late in April 1948, at which the *Joint Statement of Political Parties and Public Organizations of North and South Korea*, which clarified such urgent problems as the withdrawal of foreign troops and the establishment of a unified central government, was published. This consolidated the success of the joint conference.

In order to find a realistic way for carrying out the decisions adopted at the joint conference and the consultative meeting, and solve the problem of national reunification, Kim Il Sung convened a consultative meeting of leaders of the political parties and public organizations in south Korea who had attended the north-south joint conference, on Ssuk Islet in the Taedong River early in May.

At the consultative meeting he pointed out the measures to be taken to baffle the plot to hold separate elections in south Korea. He also proposed a plan for founding the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as a unified central government by holding a general election in both the north and south of Korea, stressing the need to oppose dependence on foreign forces and the ideas

of worship and sycophancy towards the United States, and achieve national reunification by the sole efforts of the Korean people.

The participants unanimously supported his fighting strategy for achieving the cause of national reunification. The consultative meeting on Ssuk Islet was virtually a pan-Korea political consultative meeting at which an agreement was reached on founding the DPRK as a unified central government and a historic meeting which wrote a landmark chapter in the history of the united front of the WPK.

All the political figures from south Korea expressed their boundless respect for Kim Il Sung. Even Kim Ku, a fervent anti-communist, said, after meeting him and visiting his birthplace at Mangyongdae, that General Kim Il Sung was the only hero to steer Korea along the right path and that he would commit his all to the struggle for the unity of the nation and the country's reunification under his guidance.

After the joint conference all the patriotic, democratic forces in the north and south of Korea launched a vigorous struggle to scuttle the farce of separate elections forged by the US imperialists. The people in the northern half of Korea held mass rallies and demonstrations in denunciation of separate elections in south Korea every day in Pyongyang and other parts of the country, extending active support and encouragement to the struggle of the south Korean people. People from all walks of life in south Korea, too, vigorously waged various forms of struggle for the same purpose. The workers of south Korea organized a general strike against separate elections and for national salvation in Seoul and other major cities. The people of Jeju Island and other regions rose in arms and destroyed "polling stations" and the enemy's organs of repression. As a result, the May 10 separate elections in south Korea cooked up by the US imperialists were in vain.

However, the US imperialists forged "election" results by all sorts of frauds, and hammered out an illegal "national assembly" composed of pro-Japanese and pro-American elements and traitors to the nation, in an attempt to rig up a puppet government. The result was that the danger of national division became greater, and new obstacles cropped up to hamper the struggle for independent reunification of the country.

Kim Il Sung led the work of establishing a unified central government as a decisive measure to tide over the crisis of national division.

Between late June and early July 1948 a conference of leaders of political parties and public organizations in the north and south of Korea was held and decisive steps taken.

In the report delivered at the conference Kim Il Sung analyzed and disclosed the illegality of the “national assembly” of south Korea and set forth the policy of establishing an all-Korea government.

He said that it was necessary to set up without delay an all-Korea supreme legislative body representing the Korean people’s will and adopt the Constitution of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, thereby establishing not a separate government but an all-Korea government comprised of representatives of the north and south Korean political parties and public organizations.

The conference supported and approved the measures advanced by him for national reunification, and adopted a decision to found a supreme people’s assembly and establish an all-Korea central government through a north-south general election.

Kim Il Sung led the work of founding a democratic people’s republic.

Attaching great importance to framing and adopting the Constitution of the DPRK which would serve as the legal basis of the coming Republic, he ensured that the already-made draft Constitution was brought forward for nationwide discussion at the Fourth Session of the People’s Assembly of North Korea early in February 1948. The nationwide discussion took place throughout the whole of north and south Korea over a period of two months from mid-February 1948, enjoying the unanimous support of all the people.

The Constitution of the Republic was deliberated at the Fifth Session of the People’s Assembly of North Korea on July 9, 1948.

While making preparations for the founding of the Republic, he also put efforts into deciding on its name, emblem, flag and anthem.

At that time, factionalist sycophants disparaged the name of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. They held that the country should be named the People’s Republic or the Democratic Republic, claiming that the name was too long, others did not name their countries in that way, and so on.

Kim Il Sung criticized them to the following effect: We, as the masters, should name our country to meet the demands of the people. Why should we look up to others? The name “Democratic People’s Republic of Korea” clearly reflects the independent and genuinely democratic and popular character of our Republic. Some people’s proposal to delete the word “people” or “democratic” in the name of the country is an absolutely wrong view coming from their misunderstanding of the duty of the developing Korean revolution at the present stage and, particularly, their ignorance of the fact that the revolution is being carried on when the country is divided.

He said that it was most reasonable to name the country the DPRK as it fully reflected the people's will and took into consideration the prevailing reality of the divided country, the immediate tasks of the revolution and its fundamental purpose.

In mid-January 1948 he taught the designers of the national emblem and flag to incorporate in them symbols of the DPRK being a dignified, independent and sovereign state. He ensured that a hydro-electric power station, symbolizing the powerful industrial future of the country, and a shining five-pointed star, symbolic of victory, were included in the national emblem, and that the national flag was made in such a way as to correctly depict the promising future of the Republic.

Along with this, he saw to it that the national anthem should be named the *Patriotic Song*, not the *Song of the Republic*, considering the fact that the country was not yet reunified. He even gave meticulous guidance to writing its words.

As a result, the sinister attempt of the factionalist sycophants was brought to naught, and the name, emblem, flag and anthem of the country associated with Kim Il Sung's lofty traits of loving the country, the nation and the people were decided upon.

He led the work to ensure success in the north-south general election for the founding of the Republic.

At the Fifth Session of the People's Assembly of North Korea, on July 10, 1948, he ensured that the election of deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK was to be held on August 25. At the Second Session of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea, held in mid-July he made sure that all Party organizations vigorously conducted organizational and political work in order to greet the general election with a high degree of political enthusiasm and labour feats. A joint central leadership body of the north and south Korean Workers' parties was formed early in August that year so as to guarantee unified leadership over the activities of Party organizations and members in the north and the south, and push ahead more dynamically with the work of setting up an all-Korea central government on the basis of the general election.

Considering the different situations in the north and the south, he made sure that in north Korea free election would be held by secret ballot on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage and in south Korea the representatives to the people's representative conference would be elected by means of obtaining the voters' signatures before electing the deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly by secret ballot at the conference.

In a speech to voters of the Sungho Constituency in Kangdong County, South Phyongan Province, late in August and in a talk with the participants in the people's representative conference of south Korea, he made clear the character and duty of the Supreme People's Assembly, and the significance of the election and duties of deputies, and called on all the people to take part in the election with a high degree of political enthusiasm. He also visited several polling stations in Taedong County, South Phyongan Province, and others in Pyongyang, advising on the way to hold the election successfully.

The north-south general election was held on August 25, 1948. In north Korea 99.97 per cent of the entire electorate participated in the election to elect 212 deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly, and in south Korea 77.52 per cent of the entire electorate took part in the election and returned 1 080 people's representatives, who gathered in Haeju and held the people's representative conference of south Korea to elect 360 deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly.

On the basis of this, the First Session of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was held in Pyongyang early in September 1948.

The Constitution of the DPRK was adopted at the session.

The session also elected Kim Il Sung Premier of the Cabinet of the DPRK, in accordance with the unanimous will and desire of all the Korean people.

It was the greatest happiness and supreme honour for the Party, the army and the people to hold in high esteem Kim Il Sung, who had achieved the historic cause of liberating Korea by pioneering the revolutionary cause of Juche and leading the sacred anti-Japanese war to victory by force of arms and who was leading the building of a new country.

On September 9 Kim Il Sung formed the government of the DPRK and announced its founding to the whole world.

At the session he published ***The Political Programme of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea***. In the programme he clarified the administrative policy of the government of the Republic for realizing the country's reunification and building an independent and sovereign state, prosperous and democratic.

In order to achieve national reunification and territorial integrity the First Session of the Supreme People's Assembly demanded, in the name of the government of the DPRK, that the governments of the Soviet Union and the United States simultaneously withdraw their troops from Korea.

The DPRK was the only legitimate state established by the unanimous will

of all the Korean people in the north and the south, which had inherited the glorious revolutionary traditions Kim Il Sung had created in the flames of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, and a genuine people's state representing the interests of workers, peasants and other working people and fully defending their independence. The government of the Republic was an independent government built in accordance with the will and demands of its people, and a Korean-style government based on a comprehensive socio-political foothold.

With the founding of the DPRK, the Korean people became the resourceful people of an independent and sovereign state, and could proudly proceed into the international arena on an equal footing with all the other countries of the world under the banners of Juche and Songun. It provided the Korean people with a powerful weapon for successfully carrying forward the revolutionary cause of Juche initiated by Kim Il Sung.

The founding of the DPRK was indeed a new appearance of an independent people on the world stage, and the solemn birth of Juche Korea, Songun Korea.

With its founding the struggle of the WPK, the army and the people to build an independent and sovereign state entered a new phase.

## 7. Support to the Chinese People in Their Revolutionary Struggle and Solidarity with the International Democratic Forces

Kim Il Sung ensured that Korea gave active support and assistance to the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people despite the difficulties of building a new country after its liberation.

He said:

**"In the period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle we formed a joint front with the Chinese people and waged a joint struggle for a long time and, even after liberation when the situation was very complicated and many difficulties cropped up in the building of a new country because of the US troops' occupation of south Korea and the country's division into the north and the south, we did everything we could to help the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people."**

After the defeat of the Japanese imperialists, the situation in Northeast China was very acute and complicated.

Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist (Kuomintang) forces occupied 70 per cent of

the whole territory of China, availing themselves of the favourable opportunity of disarming Japanese troops and taking over the regions they occupied with the backing of the US imperialists, and were stepping up their general offensive to expand their occupation to Northeast China.

Kim Il Sung, with a noble international sense of duty, put forward a policy of giving support to the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people and tasks and ways for its realization in a talk on September 15, 1945 with military and political cadres to be dispatched to Northeast China.

He dispatched Kang Kon, Choe Kwang, Pak Rak Kwon and many other military and political cadres of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army to Northeast China to form Korean armed units, set up party, power and mass organizations, and help the Chinese people to form a united front.

As a result, Yanbian and other vast areas in northern and southern Manchuria turned into a reliable military and political base for the liberation of Northeast China.

Kim Il Sung proposed strategic and tactical operations plans for the liberation of Northeast China, and provided the Communist Party of China with large amounts of weapons and other war materials.

Late in November 1945 he went to Dandong in China at the request of the Chinese side to instil confidence and encouragement in the commanding officers of the newly-organized Northeast Democratic Allied Army, indicating the way to bring a radical turn in the tide of the war.

He even went to Namyang in Onsong County, North Hamgyong Province, late in March 1946 to meet Zhou Baozhong, deputy commander-in-chief of the Northeast Democratic Allied Army and commander of the Jilin-Liaoning military district, and settled knotty problems arising in the operations to be conducted in Northeast China.

In spring that year he met a special envoy of Chairman Mao Zedong and complied with the request of the Communist Party of China to allow units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in China proper to go to Northeast China via Korea and provide them with weapons. Later he sent them more than 100 000 weapons captured from Japanese imperialist aggressor troops, huge quantities of munitions, gunpowder, uniforms, medicines and other military items and provided a passage for the PLA units in the Shandong area to move to northern Manchuria via Nampho Port and the northern border areas of Korea and transport their materials. He also organized an artillery regiment and engineering units with core members tempered in the anti-Japanese war, and sent them to the Chinese side.

Material aid and moral support given by Kim Il Sung to the Chinese people fighting under the most difficult circumstances made it possible for the latter to overcome the grave situation in Northeast China and turn it favourable for the Chinese revolution.

Kim Il Sung led the Korean units attached to the PLA to play a leading and decisive role in all operations and battles during the whole period of the Chinese people's liberation war.

The Korean units that took part in the operations to liberate Northeast China fought selflessly against Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang army as the main force of the Northeast Democratic Allied Army. In particular, the fine sons and daughters of the Korean people unhesitatingly devoted their valuable youth in the battles to liberate Changchun, Jilin, Siping, Jinzhou and Shenyang, which brought about a radical turn in the course of liberating Northeast China. In the whole period of the third revolutionary civil war of the Chinese people, these young Koreans performed their honourable mission and duty as internationalist fighters in the liberation war ranging over thousands of kilometres from Mudanjiang and the Yanbian area in Northeast China to Hainan Island, crossing the Great Wall and the Chang River, and thus made a great contribution to the liberation of China and the birth of People's China.

Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai used to say that China's five-star red flag was dyed with the blood of the Korean communists.

Kim Il Sung exerted great efforts to strengthen solidarity with the international democratic forces.

To this end, he ensured that the public organizations of Korea launched positive activities to join international democratic organizations. The Democratic Youth League of North Korea gained membership in the World Federation of Democratic Youth in June 1946, the Democratic Women's Union of North Korea in the Women's International Democratic Federation in October 1946 and the General Federation of Trade Unions of North Korea in the World Federation of Trade Unions in May the following year.

Afterwards delegations were dispatched to several international meetings and events sponsored by international democratic organizations so as to conduct positive activities for strengthening solidarity with the people all over the world.

Early in July 1947 Kim Il Sung met the members of a delegation about to attend the World Festival of Youth in Moscow and told them that they should take an active part in all the events of the festival as youth representatives of the new, democratic Korea, thus displaying the honour of the country and the

nation to the world and contributing to the development of the world democratic youth movement. He also sent delegations to the Conference of International Working Youth in June 1948 and several other conferences so that they could strengthen and promote friendship and solidarity with the youth and other people the world over who were fighting for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

Meanwhile, he attached great significance to the work with international democratic organizations on their visits to Korea, met a delegation of the World Federation of Trade Unions headed by its secretary-general early in April 1947, and inspired them to further strengthen and develop the unity and cohesion of the ranks of the international labour movement.

Thus he aroused international support for and sympathy with the cause of the Korean people of building a democratic state, and rendered great services to strengthening the international democratic camp.

The DPRK established official diplomatic relations with the countries in the democratic camp right after its founding, and developed friendly and cooperative relations with them.

Defining it as the fundamental policy of its government in its external activities to establish diplomatic relations with the countries in the democratic camp on the principle of independence, and develop friendly and cooperative relations with them, the DPRK established diplomatic relations with all the socialist countries and the people's democratic countries in the period from October 1948 to January 1950. Thus the international position and role of the DPRK were enhanced and it could make a great contribution to the development of friendly and cooperative relations with the countries in the democratic camp and the consolidation of the international democratic forces as a whole.

In order to enhance the international prestige of the DPRK and deepen the bonds of international solidarity, Kim Il Sung paid an official goodwill visit to the Soviet Union as the head of a government delegation from late February to early April 1949. During the visit, he had talks with Joseph Stalin and other leaders of the party and government of the Soviet Union several times, and exchanged opinions with them on developing bilateral friendly and cooperative relations and other important international issues. Also, he concluded an agreement on economic and cultural cooperation with the Soviet Union based on the principles of respect of sovereignty, equality and reciprocity.

Stalin, in his speech made at the banquet in honour of Kim Il Sung, highly appreciated Kim Il Sung as a genuine proletarian internationalist and a model

of communists who had defended the Soviet Union from the invasion of imperialism by force of arms in the East.

Kim Il Sung pushed ahead with the work of boosting solidarity with the international democratic forces in close combination with the struggle to frustrate the wild ambition of the United States for world supremacy and defend peace and democracy.

The US imperialists, who emerged as the spearhead of imperialism after the Second World War, openly resorted to a policy of war, advocating the notorious Truman Doctrine and wielding atomic weapons. At the same time, they set up military bases in different parts of the world, and organized aggressive military blocs, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. They intensified oppression of national liberation struggles while engaging in moves to lay siege militarily to the socialist and people's democratic countries and overturn the revolutionary countries by force of arms. Meanwhile, they pursued a policy of "aid," using money as bait under the signboard of the Marshall Plan.

Consequently, the myth about their mightiness was widespread in many countries, creating not a few illusions about US imperialism in the guise of "liberator" and "helper." This greatly impeded the principled struggle against the US imperialists and stood in the way of the striving for peace, democracy, national independence and social progress.

With keen insight into this situation, Kim Il Sung thoroughly laid bare the facts that the US imperialists were the ringleader of the world reactionaries and the most vicious and cunning aggressors at the Second Congress of the Workers' Party of North Korea and the Second Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea held in mid-December 1949. There, he stressed the need for the world peace-loving forces to reject all illusions about US imperialism, hold fast to the anti-imperialist, anti-US stand, and check and frustrate by closely uniting with each other the scheme of the United States to divide and disintegrate the revolutionary countries from within.

He conducted energetic activities to break up the new aggressive manoeuvres of the US imperialists, defend peace and democracy and promote the world revolution as a whole.

The DPRK government and public organizations issued statements and appeals and sent letters to international democratic organizations, through which they thoroughly disclosed the aggressive nature of the US imperialists and their acts of aggression and war committed in many parts of the world.

In a talk with the chairwoman of the Central Committee of the Democratic

Women's Union and the chairman of the Central Committee of General Federation of Unions of Art and Literature late in February 1949, Kim Il Sung underscored the need for them to strengthen solidarity with people all over the world who were fighting for peace and against war during their participation in the World Peace Congress to be opened in April. He also sent delegations to several international meetings to expose the moves of the US imperialists who were making frantic efforts to realize their wild ambition of world supremacy and revive the fascist countries, wantonly trampling on international agreements and resorting to all sorts of acts of violence.

Thanks to this guidance by Kim Il Sung, Korea's solidarity with the international democratic forces was strengthened, promoting an international climate favourable for the struggle of the Workers' Party of Korea and the people of Korea for building a new country.

## 8. Rallying Patriotic Forces for National Reunification and the Plan for Peaceful Reunification

After the founding of the DPRK, Kim Il Sung directed great efforts to rallying all the patriotic forces for national reunification in the north and south of Korea into a unified force so as to promote the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

The US imperialists and their stooges concocted the "National Security Law" and various other draconian fascist laws in south Korea in November 1948, prohibited all the activities of the democratic political parties and public organizations, and brutally suppressed the struggles of the masses of the people.

In such a situation, to rally the patriotic forces for national reunification in the north and the south into a unified force emerged as a pressing issue for positively driving ahead the movement for independent and peaceful reunification by rescuing the south Korean revolutionary forces from a crisis and building up the motive force of national reunification.

Kim Il Sung took an important measure for merging the Workers' parties in the north and south of Korea into a single Workers' Party of Korea.

At the Joint Plenary Meeting of the Central Committees of the Workers' Parties of North and South Korea, held from late June to early July 1949, the two parties were merged into a single party named the Workers' Party of

Korea. And the joint central leadership body of the Workers' parties of north and south Korea which had been formed in August 1948 was reorganized into the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea.

At the meeting Kim Il Sung was elected chairman of the Central Committee of the WPK according to the unanimous will of all the Party members, and the Central Committee headed by him was organized.

The merger of the two parties marked a turning point in the realignment of the party organizations and revolutionary ranks in south Korea, which had been on the verge of total collapse, and the development of the revolutionary movement. In particular, the merger further strengthened the monolithic leadership of Kim Il Sung over the Workers' parties of north and south Korea. It also made it possible to build up a guiding force capable of waging a vigorous struggle to accelerate the country's independent and peaceful reunification by rallying all the patriotic forces for national reunification in the north and the south.

In order to do this on a more extensive scale, Kim Il Sung saw to it that the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea was formed.

He made clear the matters of principle with regard to the formation of the DFRK at the 37th Session of the Central Committee of the Democratic National United Front of North Korea in May 1949 and at the Sixth Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea in June. Making it clear that the DFRK should become an organization embracing the patriotic and democratic political parties and public organizations throughout Korea on a voluntary basis, he said that its mission and duty were to make vigorous efforts to achieve the country's reunification and its complete independence, and ensure its democratic development.

On the basis of full preparations a conference for forming the DFRK was held in Pyongyang late in June 1949.

The conference drew 704 representatives from over 70 political parties and public organizations, including the Left, middle-of-the-road and Right-wing forces, personages from all walks of life, and the Federation of Korean Residents in Japan. It formed the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea, a permanent organization of the nationwide front for national reunification, by merging the democratic national united fronts in the north and south of Korea, and involving other political parties and public organizations desirous of the country's reunification and independence.

The formation of the DFRK made the people of all strata in the north and

the south unite into a single powerful political force for national reunification, and fight more dynamically for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

Kim Il Sung advanced just and reasonable proposals for the peaceful reunification of the country one after another, and vigorously led the struggle for their realization.

He said:

**"We demand that the question of national reunification should be solved by the Korean people themselves, by peaceful means and on a democratic basis free from fratricide and foreign interference. We shall continue to maintain this principle in the struggle for the country's reunification."**

Around 1949 the enemy ceaselessly invaded the northern areas along the 38th Parallel, bringing the country into a virtual state of war.

As the danger of war loomed over the country, the DFRK, at its inaugural conference in June 1949, adopted and published a declaration on the measures for the country's peaceful reunification, to be sent to all the Korean people.

The declaration covered the measures for the peaceful reunification of the country–the immediate withdrawal of all US troops from south Korea, the dissolution of the illegal UN Commission on Korea and the establishment of an all-Korea supreme legislative body and a central government by holding a north-south general election.

The patriotic, democratic forces in the north and south of Korea gave ardent support and approval to the new measures for reunification, and turned out in a nationwide struggle for their realization.

Thanks to this struggle, the anti-Syngman Rhee group backing the north-south negotiations came to have a majority of the new National Assembly at the election forced on the south Koreans in May 1950.

As the tendency towards peaceful reunification mounted in south Korea, the US imperialists pushed ahead with preparations for an aggressive war against the northern half of Korea while rapidly reinforcing their aggressive armed forces along the 38th Parallel. The south Korean puppet army under their command deployed for an offensive action, waiting for the order to attack. This created a grave situation which could lead to an outbreak of war at any moment.

Kim Il Sung took more active measures for preventing war and reunifying the country in a peaceful way.

The Sixth Enlarged Meeting of the Central Committee of the DFRK,

held early in June 1950, adopted the Appeal for the Promotion of Measures to Bring About the Peaceful Reunification of the Country, and sent it to all the political parties, public organizations and ordinary people in the north and the south.

The appeal proposed the holding of a north-south general election in all parts of Korea between August 5 and 8 and the setting up of a unified supreme legislative body to be opened in Seoul on August 15, marking the fifth anniversary of Korea's liberation. It also suggested a consultative meeting of all the political parties and public organizations in the north and south of Korea in either Haeju or Kaesong from June 15 to 17 in order to discuss and decide on various conditions for peaceful reunification, the procedures of the general election and the setting up of a central committee for guiding it.

The US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique did not accept the proposal for the peaceful reunification of Korea, but arrested and imprisoned all the people who supported it.

With strong power of self-control and perseverance, Kim Il Sung took active steps for promoting the peaceful reunification of the country one after another.

He made a concluding speech titled, ***On Realizing Our Party's Proposal for the Peaceful Reunification of the Country*** at a meeting of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the WPK in mid-June 1950, in which he proposed a new plan for achieving national reunification in such a way as to merge the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK and south Korea's National Assembly into a single all-Korea legislative body, as the Syngman Rhee clique opposed the just proposal for reunifying the country through a north-south general election.

In compliance with his proposal, the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly adopted a decision titled, *On the Promotion of the Peaceful Reunification of the Country* on June 19. The decision held that a single all-Korea legislative body should be founded by merging the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK and the National Assembly of south Korea, that this body should adopt the Constitution of the Republic and, on this basis, elect a new all-Korea legislative body, merge the armies of the north and south Korea, and that the UN Commission on Korea should immediately be withdrawn from Korea. This clearly showed Kim Il Sung's whole-hearted love of the country and the nation and his persevering efforts to prevent a war by all means and reunify the country in a peaceful way in the grave situation when the possibility of achieving peaceful reunification seemed to be

hopeless owing to the enemy's frantic manoeuvres to provoke a war.

The US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique categorically opposed this just proposal, and committed such atrocities as illegally arresting and brutally persecuting three envoys from the DPRK side who went to south Korea to convey the appeal of the Central Committee of the DFRK. Meanwhile, they proclaimed martial law across south Korea and made ever-more frantic efforts to unleash a war. All these things turned the Korean peninsula into a powder keg.

Sharply analyzing the rapidly changing situation, Kim Il Sung, in a speech delivered to the directors of the provincial interior service departments on June 22, 1950, warned: If the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique dare ignite a war, we cannot sit back with folded arms but will give strong and telling counterblows to them.

Nevertheless, in the end the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique responded with their criminal aggressive war to the DPRK's proposals for the peaceful reunification of the country.

# CHAPTER 7. FOR VICTORY IN THE FATHERLAND LIBERATION WAR
(June 1950–July 1953)

## 1. Armed Invasion of the US Imperialists and Liberation of the Southern Half of Korea by a Decisive Counteroffensive

The US imperialists, who had been escalating the low-level war bit by bit every year since 1947, perpetrating ceaseless armed provocations against the northern half of Korea, egged the Syngman Rhee puppet clique on to launch an all-out armed invasion at dawn June 25, 1950. In an attempt to swallow up the northern half of Korea at one go through an adventurous "blitzkrieg," the enemy had already intruded one to two kilometres into the north across the 38th Parallel from the regions of Haeju, Kumchon and Cholwon. The US imperialists unleashed the aggressive war in Korea with an eye to overthrowing the young DPRK, and turning the whole of Korea into their colony and a military bridgehead for an invasion of the Asian continent and thereafter realizing of their wild ambition for world supremacy.

The starting of the Korean war by the US imperialists plunged the Korean peninsula and its people into great danger. The Korean people found themselves in the midst of a serious crisis, the outcome of which would decide whether they would become colonial slaves of imperialists once again or remain a free people of an independent and sovereign state.

With a firm determination to counter the enemy's aggressive war with a righteous war of liberation, Kim Il Sung took revolutionary measures to cope with the armed invasion of the US imperialists.

He called an emergency Cabinet meeting on June 25, 1950.

He told the participants in the meeting: The Yankees are looking down upon the Korean people; as there goes a saying that cudgelling is the fittest for a

wolf, we must show the mettle of the Koreans to them who dare to attack us recklessly.

In a speech to the participants, titled, ***Let Us Wipe Out the Invaders by a Decisive Counteroffensive***, he ordered that the Korean People's Army should frustrate the enemy's surprise armed invasion and switch over to an immediate counterattack.

True to his order, the KPA frustrated the attack of the enemy who had intruded into the northern half of Korea, and went over to a decisive counterattack throughout the front line. All the people turned out as one in the sacred war to defend their country with arms against the US imperialists, a country won back by arms from the Japanese imperialists.

The war fought by the Korean people against the armed invasion of the US imperialists and their stooges was a just war to defend the independence of the country and the sovereignty of the nation, and to liberate the south Korean people from the colonial rule of US imperialism. It was also a fierce struggle against the class enemies of all shades. It was in addition an anti-imperialist, anti-US sacred war to oppose aggression by the allied forces of the world reactionaries headed by US imperialism, and safeguard the security of socialism and world peace.

On June 26 Kim Il Sung delivered a radio address titled, ***Go All Out for Victory in the War***, in order to mobilize the entire army and all the people to the struggle for victory in the war.

In his speech he specified the fighting tasks the Korean people needed to devote themselves to in order to defend the country with their own efforts, liberate the southern half of the country from the colonial rule of US imperialism, and accomplish the cause of national reunification under the banner of the Republic.

He made sure that the country was put on a war footing as soon as possible.

On June 26 the DPRK Military Commission was set up as the supreme leadership body invested with all the powers of the country to control and provide unified guidance to all work both at the front line and at the home front, and on July 4 the Supreme Headquarters of the KPA was organized to command all the armed forces in a unified way. Kim Il Sung was given the important positions of Chairman of the DPRK Military Commission and Supreme Commander of the KPA–in accordance with the unanimous will and desire of all the service personnel and people. The Front Command and the Army Group Headquarters were organized, in order to ensure swift and decisive command of frontline operations. Most of the anti-Japanese

revolutionary fighters were appointed to the posts of battalion commanders and above. The system of military commissars was instituted in the frontline units in order to intensify the Party's leadership over the KPA and political work in it.

As a result, a powerful, well-organized wartime command system for providing Kim Il Sung's unified guidance over the front, the rear, the whole Party, the entire army and all the people was established.

At the same time, a wartime mobilization system was established throughout the country on the basis of the principle of attaching priority to military affairs.

Kim Il Sung proclaimed a state of war throughout the country and issued orders for wartime mobilization. He set up a military mobilization department directly under the DPRK Military Commission and a people's volunteer army organizing committee to be a standing body in the liberated regions of south Korea, so as to recruit patriotic young and middle-aged people in the northern half of Korea and the liberated southern regions to ceaselessly replenish the armed forces necessary for the war effort.

The work of the Party, government organs and public organizations was reorganized to suit the wartime conditions. On June 27 a letter from the WPK Central Committee was sent to all Party organizations and members instructing that the fighting efficiency of Party organizations and the vanguard role of Party members be enhanced, that revolutionary discipline be strengthened in the Party, and that all Party members fully prepare themselves to fight the enemy under any circumstances. The dictatorship of the people's government organs was strengthened and the functions and role of public organizations were enhanced. Meanwhile the national economy was reorganized to suit the demands of wartime. All economic efforts were directed to supplying the huge amounts of materials needed at the front by boosting the production of war supplies, and the production of munitions was increased by expanding arsenals in particular and transforming as many factories and enterprises as possible into munitions factories. The railways were put under the control of the military and the work of all sectors of the nation was reorganized to suit the wartime conditions.

The whole country was put on a war footing within a short span of time, as the entire Party, armed forces and people were rallied closely into a single fighting force. Workers' regiments were formed in Hungnam, Songnim, Nampho and other major industrial areas and dispatched to the front. Moreover, young people vied with one another to volunteer for the front. The

self-defence forces in factories and villages were reorganized to suit the wartime conditions, all the people turning out to defend their workshops, streets and villages.

Kim Il Sung led the counteroffensive operations of the KPA.

On June 26 he put forward a strategic policy for victory in the war at the First Session of the Military Commission.

He said:

**"We should wipe out the enemy by rapid movements and continuous strikes, before the US imperialists can mobilize their aggressive forces to the front in Korea on a large scale, and completely liberate the southern half of Korea. This is our Party's strategic policy at the present stage."**

He set the western sector of the front as the main direction of the counterattack, and ordered the main units of the KPA to launch operations for liberating Seoul without delay.

In order to protect the lives and property of the Seoul citizens and the city's cultural relics, and ensure success in street fighting there, he ordered some of the KPA forces to dash into the city of Seoul in advance to plunge the enemy into confusion, while the main forces launched a general offensive at 5 a.m. June 28 to liberate the city.

Upon his order, the tank unit led by Ryu Kyong Su, an anti-Japanese revolutionary fighter, made a breach in the enemy's front line, to be followed by combined infantry units striking the enemy in front, and from the flanks and the rear. These forces completely liberated Seoul, the central citadel of the enemy, at 11: 30 a.m. on the same day. Thus, they annihilated the main forces of the south Korean puppet army.

Kim Il Sung had the KPA units push the offensive continuously with the same force and spirit of having liberated Seoul, giving the enemy no respite, so as to create conditions favourable for the next stage of the operations.

The combined units of the KPA went on to liberate Inchon and Suwon through continued strikes, and wiped out the advanced troops of the 24$^{th}$ US Division in the Osan area, driving the enemy south across the 37$^{th}$ Parallel on the entire front.

Continuous attacks against the US imperialists were made not only on the ground but on the sea and in the air as well. Late in June Kim Il Sung gave orders to the Commander of the KPA Navy on destroying the battleships of the US imperialists which had intruded into the East Sea of Korea, involving such Juche-oriented naval warfare tactics as allurement and successive attacks.

True to his orders, the seamen of the 2$^{nd}$ torpedo boat fleet of the KPA sank

the heavy cruiser *Baltimore*, which the US imperialists had boasted about as a "moving island," and damaged a light cruiser with four torpedo boats off Jumunjin at dawn July 2, thus performing brilliant feats noteworthy in the world history of naval battles. The brave air corps of the KPA fought with matchless courage and grit under the influence of Kim Il Sung. They shot down or damaged scores of latest-type fighters and bombers including B-29, a strategic bomber boasted about by the US imperialists as an "air fortress."

Now that they were frustrated in their attempt to occupy the northern half of Korea at one go, the US imperialists hurled huge ground forces into the Korean front while beefing up their aircraft corps and naval fleets. They usurped the name of the UN to bring even the mercenaries of their vassal nations into the war.

In his radio address on July 8, 1950 titled, ***Repel the US Imperialist Invasion*** Kim Il Sung laid bare the heinous machinations and brutal nature of the US imperialists who abused the name of the UN, and called on all the officers and men of the KPA and all the people to annihilate them.

In hearty response to the call of the brilliant Songun commander, the officers and men of the KPA with burning hatred for the enemy advanced southward, administering crushing blows at the enemy and making further achievements in the war.

Seeing through the attempt of the US imperialist aggressors to check the advance of KPA units in the Taejon area and reverse the tide of war, Kim Il Sung organized the operations for liberating Taejon.

With the strong backing of the artillery, the KPA units broke through the defence line along the Kum River advertized by the enemy as a "line of no retreat," liberated Kongju and drove the enemy into Taejon by means of successive blows.

After mapping out a meticulous operations plan for liberating Taejon, Kim Il Sung crossed at dead of night in mid-July a railway bridge over the Rimjin River by car, braving a hail of shells, and went to the Front Command in Seoul, where he immediately called an operations meeting and advanced an operations plan to liberate Taejon. The KPA units were to attack the enemy in Taejon from the north, northwest and flanks. At the same time, some units which had advanced to the Ronsan area were to move to the southeast of Taejon in order to cut off the enemy's retreat and intercept his reinforcements if the combined unit which was to advance to the southeast of Taejon to encircle the enemy had to delay its advance in the face of the enemy's possible desperate resistance.

True to his operational policy, the KPA units launched a general offensive

to liberate Taejon at dawn July 20, vanquished the 24th US Division, the so-called "invincible division," arrested its commander and had completely liberated Taejon by noon that day.

After this operation, Kim Il Sung went to the front in person, and commanded the offensive operations of the KPA units on their southward advance while making greater military gains.

In order to unfold new operations to deliver a decisive blow to the enemy, he went to the Front Command of the KPA in Suanbo, south of Chungju, North Chungchong Province, early in August, and called a meeting of officers of the Front Command, commanding officers of combined units at the front and officers in charge of cultural affairs.

At the meeting he said that the combined units at the front should break through the defence line of the enemy, dealing continuous blows to him and conducting audacious mobile operations without giving him a breathing spell, advance to the Masan, Taegu, Yongchon and Phohang areas by forced crossing of the Raktong River, and thus provide favourable conditions for wiping out the enemy. He stressed that instead of giving only a frontal push to the enemy, who was numerically superior to the KPA, the army units should outflank him by boldly moving along the mountain trails and ridges so as to properly combine blows at the front and from the flanks and rear, intensify night warfare, properly conduct combined operations between services and arms, and make good use of the artillery.

That day he climbed up Mungyong Pass, which commanded a view of the front, to familiarize himself with the situation and the terrain at the front, and specified the orientation and ways to carry out operations.

Greatly encouraged by his inspection of the front, the KPA units, as he had taught, advanced rapidly southward, encircling and annihilating the enemy by intensifying joint operations between the infantry and the artillery, and making effective use of mountain warfare, night warfare, continuous attacks and bold mobile operations, liberating over 90 per cent of the territory and 92 per cent of the population in the southern half of Korea in a period of one month and a half after the outbreak of the war.

The US imperialist aggressors, who had suffered defeat after defeat, inveigled even the Japanese reactionaries into the Korean war.

In connection with Japan's entry into the Korean war, a meeting of the Political Committee of the WPK Central Committee was convened late in August 1950. At the meeting Kim Il Sung scathingly condemned the criminal acts of the Japanese reactionary ruling circles for conceding their whole

territory to the US imperialist aggressor troops as a military and strategic base, providing war materials and transportation necessary for the aggressive war in Korea and directly participating in the Korean war by assigning a "volunteer army" organized with former imperial Japanese soldiers to assist the US forces.

The KPA soldiers, with surging indignation and burning hatred for the US and Japanese aggressors, waged resolute battles to wipe out the enemy. By early September they were driving them into narrow areas in North and South Kyongsang provinces.

Kim Il Sung paid close attention to the work of providing the people in the liberated areas in the southern half with a new life under a new system.

He said that Party organizations and people's government organs in the liberated areas of south Korea should be restored at as early a date as possible and democratic reforms be enforced so as to provide the people there with genuine democratic freedom and rights and stabilize their living.

Political workers' teams consisting of able officials of Party and government organs and public organizations and educational and cultural institutions were dispatched to the liberated areas in south Korea to restore and reorganize the Party organizations and local government organs there and help them to enforce democratic reforms. Front guard command was organized and posted in major liberated areas in order to restore the local Party and government organs and successfully carry out the democratic reforms.

The Party organizations in the liberated areas were restored and reorganized.

The work of registering Party members was carefully conducted, Party ranks were enlarged by admitting a large number of people tested and tempered in the practical struggle against the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique, and the revolutionaries and hardcore Party members who had displayed patriotic devotion and valour in the struggle for the reunification of the country were appointed as the leading cadres of Party organizations.

A leadership body was set up independently in Seoul in order to guarantee the unified guidance of the WPK Central Committee over the Party organizations in the southern half of Korea quickly and accurately to meet the wartime conditions. The body organized and led the work of restoring Party organizations and people's government organs, and enforcing democratic reforms, economic rehabilitation and assistance to the front in the liberated southern areas under the unified guidance of the WPK Central Committee. As the liberated areas were extended and the front was far away, the leadership body was moved to Taejon, and the Party organizations in Seoul and Kyonggi

and Kangwon (south) provinces were put under the direct guidance of the WPK Central Committee, while those in the liberated areas of North and South Chungchong, North and South Jolla and North and South Kyongsang provinces were put under control of the leadership body in Taejon under the leadership of the WPK Central Committee.

As a result, the WPK organizations at all levels in the liberated areas in south Korea, ranging from cells to provincial organizations, were rapidly restored, and a regular system of guidance over them was established.

Meanwhile the people's government organs and public organizations were restored.

At the Eighth Session of the Military Commission held on July 10, as a measure to restore the people's government organs in the liberated areas in south Korea, provide the local people with democratic freedom and rights and stabilize their living, a temporary representative committee of the DPRK government was organized, with a vice-premier as its chief and other minister- and vice-minister-level officials as its members. The committee restored the Seoul city provisional people's committee and others in counties, sub-counties and ri (or dong). In order to consolidate by law the role of the restored provisional people's committees at all levels, a meeting of the Political Committee of the WPK Central Committee on July 14 took measures to hold elections of county, sub-county and ri (or dong) people's committees in the liberated southern areas. After the elections the people's committees, genuine people's government organs, were established in 108 counties of nine provinces, except in some areas of North and South Kyongsang provinces and Jeju Island. The people in the former areas soon became the true masters of their government.

The work of restoring public organizations was also so vigorously conducted that the trade union, peasants union, democratic youth league, women's union and other public organizations were restored in the liberated areas in a short span of time, and embarked on their activities.

Kim Il Sung made sure that democratic reforms, including agrarian reform, were carried out in the liberated southern areas.

Large numbers of Party members and active workers were sent to help the agrarian reform in the liberated areas and, at the same time, agrarian reform guidance members and inspectors were dispatched to make sure that it was carried out without the slightest deviation. The agrarian reform in the liberated southern areas was brought to a successful completion in a little over one month. About 43.3 per cent of cultivated land in the liberated areas was

confiscated without compensation and distributed to more than 1 267 000 households of hired farmhands and the landless and land-short peasants free of charge.

Besides, the system of colonial enslavement education was abolished, a democratic education system was established, and democratic and people-oriented reforms including the labour law and the law on sex equality were enforced in the liberated areas.

Kim Il Sung also paid close attention to stabilizing the livelihood of the people in the liberated areas in south Korea and protecting the historical and cultural assets there.

Busy as he was commanding the front, he went to the liberated areas several times to acquaint himself with the progress of enforcing democratic reforms and the living conditions of the people, and took relevant measures to this end. In order to stabilize the people's living, he saw to it that markets were run properly and that grain stored in the Yongdungpho area, except for the military provisions, was supplied to Seoul citizens. Early in August he went to Seoul in person to look after the living of citizens ranging from the supply of food and firewood to vegetables for *kimchi*. He also took measures to protect *Rijo Sillok* (Chronicles of the Ri Dynasty) of about 1 800 volumes and other historical and cultural assets from the flames of war and keep them in safe places in the rear.

The people in the liberated southern areas rendered active support to the policies of the DPRK government, which provided them with a new system and a new life. They took part in assistance to the front en masse, and many young people and students joined the people's volunteer corps to fight against the enemy in the sacred war.

## 2. Temporary Difficulties in the War and a New Counteroffensive, Tightening Revolutionary Discipline and Restoring and Rearranging the Rear

In mid-September 1950 the war situation rapidly turned against the DPRK, creating grave difficulties.

In an attempt to recover from their repeated defeats at the front and achieve their aggressive designs for seizing the whole of Korea at any cost, the US

imperialists brought to the Korean front huge forces–their ground, naval and air forces in the Pacific, part of their Mediterranean Fleet, ground forces from the US mainland and even troops from their vassal states, including Britain. While trying to launch a "general offensive" in the area along the Raktong River with their beefed-up forces, the US imperialists carried out landing operations at Inchon in mid-September 1950 by mobilizing an army of over 50 000 men, hundreds of warships and some 1 000 aircraft. They manoeuvred to cut off the KPA's front from its rear and encircle and wipe out its main units at the front by seizing the Inchon, Seoul and Wonju areas, and thus occupy the whole of Korea in the shortest period of time.

The KPA units waged fierce battles to beat back the onslaught of the enemy gaining overwhelming predominance over them, in the areas of Inchon-Seoul and along the Raktong River. In particular, the men of the coastal artillery company on Wolmi Islet fought a death-defying battle to defend the gateway to Inchon for three days, hurling themselves against the odds like human bombs, and severely hampering the enemy's landing at Inchon. But the tide of war at the front turned against the KPA due to the overwhelming superiority in numbers of the foe.

Kim Il Sung led the struggle to actively tide over the temporary difficulties in the war.

He advanced a new strategic policy to this end at an operations meeting of the Supreme Headquarters of the KPA on September 25, 1950 and on other occasions.

He said:

**"Our Party's strategic policy at the present stage is to delay the enemy's advance as much as possible in order to gain time and thus save the main force of the People's Army, and organize fresh reserves with which to form powerful counteroffensive forces, while organizing a planned retreat."**

His strategic policy in the second stage of the war was one which made it possible to frustrate the enemy's aggression by properly organizing the temporary, strategic retreat and deal a fresh decisive blow to him by turning the unfavourable situation into a favourable one.

Convinced that the enemy's encirclement along the areas of Inchon-Seoul and the Raktong River was so extensive that it was no more than a symbolic front line, and that the main units of the KPA would fight their way through the encirclement as they were led by competent military commanders tempered and seasoned in the anti-Japanese armed struggle, he set one month or one month

and a half for the retreat, and planned to switch over to the counteroffensive as soon as possible.

He made sure that the KPA units retreated in such an organized way as following mountain ridges and assuming a posture of mobile defence with a combined force as a unit, as the enemy was moving only along highways. The units that had been fighting in the Seoul area covered the main force's retreat by building powerful defence positions along the 38th Parallel and other central zones to check the enemy.

On October 11, 1950 he delivered a radio address titled, ***Let Us Defend Every Inch of Our Motherland at the Cost of Our Blood,*** arousing all the service personnel and people in the struggle to break through the prevailing difficulties.

In wholehearted response to his appeal, the KPA units built stout defence positions and fought life-and-death battles in the Wonsan, Yangdok and Pyongyang areas. This slowed down the enemy's advance, and successfully ensured the retreat of the main force of the KPA and civilians from the area of the Raktong River.

Even under these difficult conditions, workers moved their production facilities to safe zones and continued their production of goods, and peasants aided the retreating KPA heart and soul and by all possible means. Scientists, technicians, artistes and many other people in the liberated southern areas retreated with the KPA, crossing steep mountains and deep rivers.

The Party members and people in the enemy-held areas waged heroic struggles.

The US imperialist aggressors temporarily occupied vast areas in the northern half of Korea and committed monstrous atrocities, massacring innocent civilians. In Sinchon County alone, they slaughtered over 35 000 people, or a quarter of the county's population. They even destroyed schools, hospitals and cultural institutions, and plundered at random the precious cultural relics of the Korean people. The surviving remnants of the overthrown exploiter classes and other reactionary elements, instigated by the US imperialists, actively collaborated in these atrocities, which taught a lesson to the Korean people that they should not harbour the slightest illusion about the US imperialists and that they should fight uncompromisingly against the class enemies.

The people behind the enemy lines rose up with determination in the struggle against the occupationists. They organized guerrilla units in different parts of Hwanghae, Kangwon, South Hamgyong and South Phyongan

provinces, attacked and destroyed the bases, vehicles and combat equipment of the enemy, and wiped out large numbers of aggressor troops, thus driving them into uneasiness and fear. Young people organized the Young Guards and Children's Guards to annihilate the enemy in various parts of the country. Jo Ok Hui and many other women, too, bravely fought against the occupationists with arms in their hands.

While organizing the temporary, strategic retreat, Kim Il Sung also pushed ahead with preparations for a new counteroffensive.

First of all, he saw to it that strong bases for a counteroffensive were created in the mountainous areas in the northern inland area, that counteroffensive groups and reserve forces were organized by reforming and reinforcing the KPA units and that their training was intensified. At the same time, in order to strengthen Party leadership over the KPA and improve its political work with it, he took measures to set up Party organizations in the KPA and reorganize its cultural departments into political departments at a meeting of the Political Committee of the WPK Central Committee held on October 21, 1950.

While organizing the temporary, strategic retreat, he put forward a policy of forming a powerful second front with combined units of the KPA behind the enemy lines for a new counteroffensive at an operations meeting of the Supreme Headquarters of the KPA late in September 1950. Afterwards he reinforced the second front units by dispatching newly formed units behind the enemy lines.

Accordingly, the second front units, under competent commanders, including anti-Japanese revolutionary fighter Choe Hyon, held wide areas, in Hwanghae, Kangwon and South Phyongan provinces–in the central part of Korea–and launched brisk military actions in the enemy's rear from mid-October. They delayed the enemy's advance as much as possible, created conditions favourable for the counteroffensive of the KPA and enhanced the striking power of the KPA both at the front and in the rear, thus making it possible to liberate the enemy-held areas at the earliest possible date.

On this basis, Kim Il Sung organized the new counteroffensive operations of the KPA.

Late in October 1950 the war entered its third stage.

At that time, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese government, under the banner of resisting America, aiding Korea, safeguarding the home and defending the motherland, organized the Chinese People's Volunteers with their fine sons and daughters and sent them to the Korean front.

On October 24, 1950 Supreme Commander Kim Il Sung convened an

operations meeting of the Supreme Headquarters of the KPA, at which he advanced the strategic policy to be implemented at the third stage of the war. It was to drive the enemy south of the 38th Parallel by decisively frustrating his advance and switching over to a counterattack at the earliest date possible, and annihilate and weaken the enemy forces through incessant battles while making full preparations for the final victory in the war.

Late in October 1950 he called a meeting of the officers and generals attached to the Supreme Headquarters of the KPA, at which he took concrete measures for the successful implementation of the new strategic policy, ordering powerful counterstrikes to decisively frustrate the enemy's advance.

In response, the KPA, together with the units of the Chinese People's Volunteers, dealt powerful counterstrikes in the areas north of the Chongchon River in the western sector of the front and on Hwangcho Pass, Pujon Pass and Orang Stream in the eastern sector of the front from late October to early November.

Kim Il Sung went to the front line in the areas of Puhung-ri and Kosong-ri, Unsan County, in order to organize and command the counterstrikes against the enemy who had intruded into the Unsan area.

The powerful counterstrikes of the KPA frustrated the enemy's attack throughout the front, and brought to naught the scheme much vaunted by the enemy to wind up the Korean war before Thanksgiving Day that year (November 23). Notwithstanding the staggering blows they had sustained, the US imperialist aggressors set about preparing for a new general offensive, this time raving that they would occupy the northern half of Korea before Christmas Day (December 25).

Seeing through the enemy's weak points and his scheme for a new offensive, Kim Il Sung ordered the KPA to annihilate the attacking enemy along the whole front and go over to a decisive counteroffensive late in November.

In accordance with his order the KPA combined units encircled and annihilated the enemy by close joint operations in the areas along the Chongchon River, on Lake Jangjin and in Chongjin and Hamhung, and continued to advance southward rapidly. The second front units of the KPA, which held the vast areas in the central part of Korea, cut off the enemy's retreat and swiftly took the areas along the 38th Parallel, thereby preventing the enemy from arranging his defence and bringing in reinforcements. In the course of this, they killed or captured a large number of enemy troops, including the commander of the 8th US Army, and captured or destroyed their combat equipment. The KPA units gave hot pursuit to

the fleeing enemy forces, completely liberating the areas occupied by the enemy by the end of December and expanding their fighting achievements in the areas south of the 38th Parallel.

In order to recover from its defeat, the United States declared a "state of national emergency" in the country and schemed to make another military adventure, threatening that it would use atomic bombs. As a result, the war became a protracted one.

Such military and political situations demanded eliminating shortcomings revealed during the temporary, strategic retreat, tightening discipline in the Party, the state and the army, thoroughly establishing the Juche orientation in the military sphere and further consolidating the front and the rear.

Kim Il Sung then proceeded to organize and lead the struggle to make the front and the rear more solid.

He called the Third Plenary Meeting of the WPK Central Committee late in December 1950.

In his report titled, ***The Present Situation and the Immediate Tasks***, he specified the urgent tasks to be tackled in consolidating the front and the rear, and in achieving the final victory in the war.

After the plenary meeting he vigorously led the work to strengthen the Party and the army, and consolidate the rear.

He paid close attention to establishing the Juche orientation in the military sphere.

Late in January 1951 he addressed the commanders and political workers of the KPA under the title, ***We Should Fight with Our Own Military Tactics***. In this address he indicated the ways to deal heavy blows to the enemy by applying military tactics that suited the actual conditions of the country in the operations and battles, stressing the need to overcome the dogmatic trend revealed in the military sphere.

A vigorous campaign against this flunkeyist and dogmatic trend was launched and, at the same time, military equipment was improved and studies into the Juche-oriented tactics intensified on the basis of the topographic features of the country and the experience gained in the course of the previous six months of war.

The KPA made the most of the Juche-oriented war tactics and strategy, and thereby delivered telling blows to the enemy militarily and politically in the areas along the 38th Parallel from late January to early June 1951, waging ceaseless attacks and several powerful counterstrikes, together with harassment of the enemy's rear.

In those days the brave soldiers of the KPA gave full play to their loyalty to the Party and the leader, the country and the people. In hearty response to the militant call of Kim Il Sung not to allow the enemy to tread upon even an inch of land of the country, Hero Han Kye Ryol raised high the torch of "My Height Movement," and Hero Kang Ho Yong became a human bomb at the last moment of his life by rolling into a group of the enemy with a hand grenade in his mouth. Heroine An Yong Ae, a nurse, saved her comrades-in-arms at the risk of her life during her combat mission and, at her last moment, asked them to convey her Party membership card and dues to the WPK Central Committee.

Kim Il Sung saw to it that an all-out offensive against counterrevolutionary elements was intensified in order to restore and readjust the rear areas.

He set it as a fundamental principle in the struggle against counterrevolutionary saboteurs to exercise strict dictatorship over a handful of vicious elements while educating those who were passive and ensured that those who had committed crimes against the country and the people, but had sincerely repented and frankly confessed, were treated leniently, so as to win over as many people as possible to the cause of the liberation of Korea from the foreign invaders.

Meanwhile, at the 21st Session of the Military Commission held late in January 1951, he took a step to organize local self-defence committees in provinces and counties for the consolidation of the rear and to smash the behind-the-scenes manoeuvrings of the enemy.

As a result, the rear was restored and further strengthened to cope with the long-drawn-out war. The KPA units at the front, too, steadily expanded their combat achievements, inflicting heavy losses upon the enemy.

## 3. Active Positional Defence Warfare, Expansion of Party Ranks and Enhancement of Functions and Role of the People's Government

By June 1951 the front line had been fixed in the main along the 38th Parallel, and the war entered a new stage. The US imperialists, far from giving up their aggressive designs, attempted to break through the existing front line by bringing in manpower, aircraft and artillery pieces on a large scale, and concentrating their attacks on the eastern and central sectors of the front,

watching for a chance to land their troops on the east and west coasts.

In order to cope with the military and political situations of the war, which had become protracted, Kim Il Sung laid down on several occasions, including a meeting of the Political Committee of the WPK Central Committee held on May 30, 1951, the strategic policy for hastening the final victory in the war by fighting an active positional defence battle.

His strategic policy in the fourth stage of the war was to maintain the existing front line and ceaselessly strike at and wipe out the enemy forces by launching an active positional defence battle, while preparing all conditions necessary for the ultimate victory in the war, by gaining time to further increase the fighting capacity of the KPA and consolidate the rear.

In order to translate the new strategic policy into practice, he advanced tunnel tactics and mobilized the entire army in the building of strong tunnel-type positions.

He ordered that a unit should build a model tunnel-type position and that its experience be generalized throughout the army.

Thus, strong defence positions based mainly on tunnels were built on the hills and coastal defence areas of tactical importance. Telling blows were then delivered to the enemy through incessant attacks by relying on the tunnels.

Late in June 1951 he summoned to the Supreme Headquarters the DPRK heroes and exemplary combatants, and listened to their combat stories, encouraging them to greater feats. He gave them as gifts wrist watches and submachine guns bearing the slogan “Annihilate the US imperialist aggressors!” telling them not to lay down their arms before liberating the southern half of Korea and reunifying the country.

The KPA soldiers gave full play to their unparalleled bravery and mass heroism in every battle, and dealt heavy blows to the enemy by skilfully applying military tactics.

The US imperialists, who had suffered serious political and military crises due to their repeated defeats, proposed armistice negotiations to the KPA side. In proposing the negotiations, the US imperialists sought to appease world public opinion which was denouncing their aggression against Korea, escape from their ever-worsening political and military predicament, and gain a breathing spell to prepare a new offensive behind the screen of the armistice talks. They also schemed to achieve their aggressive aims at the negotiating table which they had failed to attain at the front.

Seeing through their cunning scheme, Kim Il Sung clarified his principled stand and attitude towards the armistice talks.

At a meeting of the Political Committee of the WPK Central Committee held late in June 1951, he stated that the proposal of the armistice talks on the part of the US imperialists meant nothing but their submission and official admission of their defeat in the war. He stressed: We should agree to their proposal from the standpoint that we do not mind either making a truce or going on with the war.

With their scheme frustrated by the principled and resolute stand of the KPA side, the US imperialists unilaterally broke off the negotiations and launched a fresh military offensive.

Kim Il Sung organized and commanded the operations to crush their "summer and autumn offensives."

From mid-August 1951 the US imperialists launched a "summer offensive."

Making a feint of directing the brunt of their attack at the western sector of the front, they furtively threw a huge force into the eastern sector.

Foreseeing that the enemy would direct his spearhead not at the western sector, but at the eastern sector of the front, Kim Il Sung ensured that the KPA combined units in the western sector of the front were moved to the eastern part as quickly as possible just before the beginning of the enemy's operations.

The US imperialists ceaselessly made desperate attacks for a month by mobilizing a huge army over a hundred thousand strong, more than 1 000 airplanes and a large number of tanks, only to suffer tens of thousands of casualties and fail to penetrate the defence positions of the KPA even a single step. But instead of drawing a lesson from their defeat in the "summer offensive," they made preparations for an adventurous "autumn offensive."

While the defence lines throughout the front were reinforced, the area of Height 1211 in the eastern sector of the front was specially turned into an impregnable fortress, and the coastal defence was consolidated.

Height 1211 was of great strategic importance. If it were taken by the enemy, the KPA could lose Mt. Kumgang and Wonsan, and it would be impossible to frustrate the enemy's attempt to land on the coast.

Late in September 1951 Kim Il Sung made his way through the thick of battle to visit the defenders of Height 1211, and mapped out a plan to frustrate the enemy's "autumn offensive."

In accordance with this plan, the KPA units reinforced the density of defence by concentrating their forces on Height 1211 and deployed direct-firing guns on it.

One midnight, some days after returning from his inspection of the front, Kim Il Sung rang up Choe Hyon, the commander of the army corps on the

height, and told him that all the combatants were irreplaceable treasures and that they should be provided with warm rice and hot soup and with a warm place to sleep, as it had already begun to get cold. He also asked him to take good care of them so that they would not catch cold. Later when he heard a report that vegetables were not fully supplied to the combatants, he made sure that soybeans were sent to them so that they could grow bean sprouts. He also saw to it that frontline rest homes were built for exhausted soldiers, and that field letter boxes were installed at the KPA units so that the soldiers could send and receive news and be in touch with their homes and families.

The US imperialists, who launched the "autumn offensive" at the end of September 1951, poured 30 000 to 40 000 shells and bombs every day on Height 1211, clamouring about "the largest firing and bombing operations," and forced their mercenaries to make "wave attacks" over ten times a day under the cover of tank fire. As a result, thick forests were burnt down and rocks pummelled into powder.

The combatants on Height 1211, full of confidence in sure victory and revolutionary optimism, made by themselves musical instruments in the tunnels and trenches of the flaming height, sang songs and danced even while fighting life-and-death battles against the enemy. They sacrificed their youth and lives without hesitation, under such slogans as "For the Party and the leader!" "For the motherland and the people!" and "Don't yield even an inch of land to the enemy!" Hero Ri Su Bok blocked an enemy pillbox with his chest, and thus made a breakthrough for the victory of his unit. A signalman ensured the communications of his unit by linking a broken communication line with his body. A fatally-wounded artilleryman rained shells upon the enemy to the last moment of his life, shouting "Long live General Kim Il Sung!"

The enemy's "autumn offensive," too, was utterly frustrated by Kim Il Sung's superb tactics, outstanding art of command, warm love of soldiers, and the heroic struggle of the KPA service personnel and the people in the rear.

Having suffered repeated defeats from their "summer and autumn offensives," the US imperialists were compelled to come back again to the truce talks table late in October 1951 and accept the reasonable proposal of the KPA side on the fixing of the Military Demarcation Line and the establishment of a demilitarized zone. However, the cunning US imperialists stalled the negotiations by advancing an absurd claim, and prepared for another military provocation.

In order to cope with the long-drawn-out war, Kim Il Sung organized and led the work to expand Party ranks, tighten the bonds between the Party and the

masses, and enhance the functions and role of the people's government.

The Fourth Plenary Meeting of the WPK Central Committee was held between November 1 and 4, 1951.

In a report titled, ***On Some Defects in the Organizational Work of Party Organizations*** and a concluding speech titled, ***On Improving the Party's Organizational Work***, he criticized in an all-round way the defects revealed in the organizational work of the Party, and put forward tasks for expanding Party ranks and uniting broad sections of the masses behind the Party.

He set it as an important task to expand and strengthen Party ranks.

In the crucible of the fierce war many Party members had been killed, whereas a large number of advanced elements were growing up. Under such circumstances, the latter should be admitted to the Party without delay to steadily expand and strengthen its ranks. Only then could the Party increase its fighting efficiency, tighten its bonds with the masses and mobilize them more effectively in the struggle for victory in the war.

Kim Il Sung said that the closed-doorist tendency should be rejected categorically and that the advanced elements of peasants and intellectuals as well as workers be admitted to the Party to continuously develop it into a mass party. Refuting the opinion that if a large number of peasants were admitted, the WPK would become a party of the peasantry, he emphasized that the WPK would never change its character even if the proportion of peasants increased in the composition of Party membership as long as it was formed with the working class as its core and was guided by its revolutionary idea. He stressed the need to conduct the work of recruiting new members not in a rush but on a regular basis, and strictly follow the procedures of handling the applicants individually as prescribed in Party Rules.

After the plenary meeting, he gave important instructions on intensifying the Party's political education and mass-based cultural work in the countryside at a meeting of the Organizing Committee of the WPK Central Committee held late in June 1952. At a meeting of the Political Committee of the WPK Central Committee held early in August that year he set forth tasks for waging a resolute struggle against bureaucratism among leading officials and further consolidating Party ranks organizationally and ideologically.

While providing field guidance to the work of Party cells in factories and rural areas of North and South Phyongan provinces, he led the efforts to enlarge Party ranks, consolidate its cells, rear hardcore members and enhance the leading role of Party members. On June 20, 1952 he attended a general membership meeting of a Party cell in Hajang-ri, Pukjung Sub-county,

Ryongchon County, at which he instructed that Party members should lead Party life faithfully, study hard to improve their level of political theory, resolutely overcome all the bottlenecks and difficulties in the vanguard of the masses despite adversities and lead an optimistic life. Seeing a female Party member playing an organ and other female Party members singing cheerfully to its tune during a recess, he said that he was given a tremendous boost at the sight of them working and living optimistically even in the grimmest days of the war. Only those with confidence in victory and an indomitable will could lead an optimistic life without pessimism and hesitation even in the grave situation of the war, he stressed. He went on to say that tiding over difficulties with confidence and optimism was the mettle of the fighting Korean people today and that no force on earth could bring such people to their knees.

After the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the WPK Central Committee, a large number of hardcore members of Party cells were fostered, the activity and creativity of Party members increased unprecedentedly and hundreds of thousands of advanced elements of workers, peasants, service personnel and intellectuals who had devotedly fought at the front and in the rear were admitted to the Party. The result was that the WPK was expanded and strengthened into a powerful mass party with over one million members.

Kim Il Sung pushed ahead with the work of enhancing the functions and role of the people's government.

In February 1952 he made a speech titled, ***The Tasks and Role of the Local Organs of Power at the Present Stage*** at a joint meeting of people's committee chairmen and leading Party functionaries of provinces, cities and counties, in which he clarified the character and features of the people's government, and specified the tasks and ways for enhancing its functions and role to suit the prevailing wartime conditions.

He said that, to this end, it was necessary to wage a vigorous struggle against the bureaucratic style of work among officials. He also stressed that the officials should be genuine workers for the people, paying close attention to the interests of the people, relying on them in the course of their work, persuading and educating them instead of ordering them about, always learning from them and serving them with the utmost sincerity.

He specified the tasks facing the people's power organs at a consultative meeting of leading officials of North Phyongan Province held on June 22, 1952. On the following day he delivered a speech titled, ***Strengthening of the People's Power Is an Important Guarantee for Victory in the Fatherland Liberation War***, to the teaching staff and students of the Central Higher Cadres

Training School, in which he stressed the need to overcome bureaucratism in a thoroughgoing way, saying that it still revealed itself in various forms.

At the 24th Plenary Meeting of the Cabinet of the DPRK held late in November 1952, he saw to it that the local administrative system and districts were reorganized by way of subdividing the counties, abolishing the sub-counties and enlarging the ri, in order to further enhance the functions and role of the people's power organs. This measure made it possible for the latter to improve and strengthen their work to meet the wartime conditions in which they had to quickly and accurately deal with a series of challenging and difficult tasks.

## 4. Wartime Production and Preparing Postwar Rehabilitation

Kim Il Sung energetically mobilized all the people in the struggle for ensuring wartime production.

He first of all saw to it that great efforts were directed to the countryside in order to increase agricultural production.

He put up the slogan **"Send the best forces of the Party to the countryside!"** and dispatched a large number of competent officials to the rural areas. He saw to it that full-time chiefs of the democratic publicity halls were allocated to the rural areas, who would effectively operate the halls so as to raise the level of political, ideological and class consciousness of the peasants and whet their ardour for production.

Kim Il Sung took measures to ensure the production of adequate amounts of grain in the prevailing wartime conditions.

In March 1951 he visited several rural areas in South Phyongan Province. Noting that the struggle for grain production was also a struggle for the country and for victory at the front, he vigorously roused the peasants there to the struggle for increasing grain production. A national congress of peasants with high crop yields and a meeting of exemplary stockbreeders were held in January 1952. At the meetings the results of the struggle for increasing agricultural production and developing stockbreeding in the previous year were reviewed and their experiences generalized.

The peasants unfolded a vigorous struggle for increased agricultural production in the prevailing wartime conditions. They continued their farming

work day and night with air-raid shelters dug at the edges of the fields and the backs of oxen camouflaged, in spite of the ceaseless enemy bombings and naval bombardments. As a result, the plan for grain production was fulfilled even under such difficult conditions.

Kim Il Sung pushed forward the struggle for wartime industrial production.

The damaged production facilities were restored, factories and enterprises dispersed and evacuated to safe zones, and major machine-building plants and arsenals moved underground or newly installed, so that production could be continued even in the wartime conditions. The conferences of leading workers in different fields of the national economy, including industry and rail transport, were held, at which measures were taken to fully ensure wartime production and transportation. Kim Il Sung provided field guidance at several industrial establishments, rousing the workers there to the struggle harder for wartime production.

In mid-February 1951 he visited a munitions factory to call on the workers there to produce more weapons for the front, and stressed the need to mass-produce mortars and submachine guns which were suited to the topographical conditions of the country and the physiques of Koreans. He also said that an evening college, as a branch of Kim Chaek University of Technology, should be set up in the factory in order to develop it into a base for raising technicians and experts needed for the development of the munitions industry.

The working class of the whole country, including the munitions industry workers, turned driving belts by hand to process shells and weave cloth, when the electricity supply failed on account of enemy bombing, and even built small-sized blast furnaces in mountain recesses to melt iron. The railway workers ensured wartime transportation, repairing damaged railways, bridges and other transportation facilities even under air raids.

As a result, the total industrial production plan for 1951 was surpassed by 9.6 per cent. In 1952 the gross industrial output value of state-run and cooperative organizations was 19 per cent greater than in the previous year, the total grain output saw an increase of 13 per cent and the railway freight plan was overfulfilled by 5.2 per cent as compared with the previous year. The first half-yearly plan of the national economy for 1953 also was overfulfilled. The munitions industry, in particular, produced sufficient cannons and shells, small arms and ammunition so as to cope with the long-drawn-out war.

Kim Il Sung also paid close attention to stabilizing the people’s livelihood.

He made sure that a decision of the Cabinet was adopted in January 1951 on organizing relief committees for the war victims from the capital to the

provinces, cities, counties, sub-counties and ri. He also took measures to set up a school for the bereaved children of patriotic martyrs and ensured that active state and social assistance was given to the families of patriotic martyrs, honoured disabled soldiers and families of the service personnel. At a meeting of the Political Committee of the WPK Central Committee held in January 1951, he took measures to raise the bereaved children of patriotic martyrs and war orphans at the state's expense. In fact, he personally brought up a war orphan at the Supreme Headquarters.

While lowering the prices of commodities systematically even in the difficult circumstances of the war, he saw to it that a system of supplying daily necessities in kind was introduced for both blue- and white-collar workers. A decision of the Cabinet was adopted in September 1952 to sell grain at low prices and appropriate state funds for the housing of both blue- and white-collar workers, and the universal free medical care system was enforced throughout the country from January the following year.

Kim Il Sung pushed ahead with preparations for postwar rehabilitation along with wartime production.

Looking ahead to the victorious tomorrow of the country even in the fierce flames of the war, he advanced a policy of preparing for postwar reconstruction at the Third Plenary Meeting of the WPK Central Committee held late in December 1950.

Late in June 1952, when the war was assuming a protracted nature and becoming still fiercer, he attended a general membership meeting of the Party cell of the casting shop of the Ragwon Machine Factory. Talking with workers there about postwar rehabilitation, he solemnly said that there would be a great many difficulties in rebuilding the destroyed economy after the war, but the destroyed cities and countryside should be rehabilitated at all costs. A woman Party member got to her feet and said to him: "Don't worry. If only we win the war, reconstruction will not pose a problem. We successfully restored in two or three years what the Japanese imperialists had destroyed so wantonly in their flight from our country, and lived well thereafter. We will be able to lead affluent lives after postwar rehabilitation, too. So don't worry too much." Noting that her words expressed the strong will of the Korean working class, Kim Il Sung said with firm conviction that the Korean working class had an indomitable will that would never give in to any difficulty or trial, and that the Korean people were sure to emerge victorious in the war and carry out the postwar reconstruction successfully with such a working class.

With deep insight into the position and role of the machine-building

industry in rehabilitating and developing the national economy after the war, Kim Il Sung paid primary attention to creating machine-building bases.

He initiated the creating of machine-building bases late in March 1951, gave instructions in mid-October that year to build a machine-building factory in Huichon and, later, took measures for building such factories in Kusong, Tokchon and other places.

He also hastened the preparations for rehabilitating light industry factories together with such key industrial sectors as the machine-building, metallurgical, electric-power, coal-mining, and chemical industries, and for rebuilding destroyed towns and rural villages.

The actual conditions of towns and rural villages were investigated and, on this basis, draft plans and blueprints for their reconstruction were completed. The Ministry of Chemical and Building-Materials Industries was organized in May 1952. In February the following year the State Construction Commission was set up. Brick works were built in different parts of the country, and the Sunghori Cement Plant and other cement factories throughout the country were rebuilt.

Kim Il Sung attached great importance to the reconstruction of the capital city of Pyongyang, in particular. In January 1951 he gave instructions to the officials in charge of urban design to draw up a general plan for the reconstruction of Pyongyang, and had the Cabinet adopt a decision on the reconstruction of Pyongyang in May 1952. Early in July 1953 he convened more discussions on the general plan at a meeting of the Political Committee of the WPK Central Committee, and took upon himself the position of chairman of the Pyongyang City Reconstruction Commission.

Plans and designs for the reconstruction of all provincial seats and rural villages were drawn up, and officials who had worked in important positions in government organs and the KPA were dispatched to major factories and enterprises in the field of heavy industry as managers and Party envoys.

In this way, grand blueprints to rebuild Pyongyang and all other cities and rural villages after winning victory were prepared during the grim days of the war, and the preparations for the reconstruction were promoted vigorously.

Kim Il Sung stepped up the preparations for the socialist transformation of the relations of production in both urban and rural areas.

He ensured that the proportion of the socialist forms of the economy in the field of industry was increased and its superiority fully displayed. In particular, in the current situation that large-scale state-run industry had been destroyed, he made sure that medium- and small-sized local industries were developed,

that producers' and fishermen's cooperatives were organized on a wide scale and that the ratio of socialist elements in the sector of circulation was raised by enhancing the role of state-run commerce and that of the cooperative societies.

Kim Il Sung channelled great efforts into preparing the socialist transformation of the rural economy.

He saw to it that the number of state agrostock farms and farm-machine-hire stations which had begun to be formed before the outbreak of the war was increased further, and that stock farms were built in large numbers in provinces, cities and counties. The result was that over 200 stock farms run by the state, provinces, cities and counties were newly built, the number of the state agrostock farms increased from 37 to 213 and the number of farm-machine-hire stations grew from 5 to 15.

He also made sure that the preconditions for agricultural cooperativization were provided by widely disseminating and developing the forms of cooperative labour in the countryside.

In May 1952, while giving on-site guidance at Wonhwa-ri, Tongam Sub-county, Taedong County, South Phyongan Province, he saw that the local peasants had organized ox-sharing and labour-exchange teams. Noting that these systems would be helpful for agricultural cooperativization in the future, he made clear the superiority of the agricultural cooperatives, the conditions for their realization and the principles for their formation. Saying that it would be advisable for the peasants of Wonhwa-ri to form and run their own cooperative, he instructed that the size of the cooperative should be set not on a large scale but at about 30 households, and that the cooperative should accept only volunteers at first and then other people gradually after it started to prosper.

At a meeting of the Political Committee of the WPK Central Committee in December 1952 Kim Il Sung took measures to positively foster the nascent cooperative economy in the countryside so as to create better conditions for realizing agricultural cooperativization, and organize sideline producers' cooperatives. In this way, such forms of cooperative labour organizations as ox-sharing and labour-exchange teams became widespread in the countryside, and many agricultural cooperatives and sideline producers' cooperatives were organized. As of July 1953, the number of agricultural cooperatives amounted to 102 and that of the sideline producers' cooperatives to 72.

He spurred the preparations for grand postwar nature-harnessing projects.

In the autumn of 1952 Kim Il Sung dispatched a survey team to the Paekmu and Kaema plateaus and other northern highlands to identify arable lands and pastures, and, based on this survey, set up Farm No. 5 and many other state

agrostock farms. He also drew up a far-reaching plan to restore and expand irrigation facilities, reclaim tidelands on the west coast and build a canal linking the East and West seas, and made preparations for its implementation.

Kim Il Sung paid close attention to training national cadres and developing science and technology even in the difficult wartime conditions.

Early in August 1951 he issued a directive from the Military Commission on the recall of university graduates and undergraduates. Late in January the following year he assigned the deputy commander in charge of military affairs of the Supreme Headquarters of the Korean People's Army to send back the soldiers who had joined the army while studying at university to make them continue their studies. Thus, the student-soldiers went back from the front line to their universities in the days when the country could hardly afford to lose even one combatant, and the possibility was opened up for them to go abroad for study and internship.

He visited Kim Il Sung University in April 1952, and Kim Chaek University of Technology, Pyongyang University of Education, Central Party School and many other universities and cadre-training centres in June, where he indicated the direction for training cadres and solved all the prominent problems arising in education.

He provided scientists with all the conditions, including experimental apparatuses and reagents, to continue their scientific research without interruption even in the wartime. At the Congress of Scientists held in April 1952, he clarified the Juche-based orientation for developing science. On December 1 that year he established the Academy of Sciences and directed it to do research in those problems urgently needed for the wartime production and the postwar rehabilitation under a far-reaching programme.

## 5. Strengthening of the KPA in a Qualitative Way and In-Depth Development of the Juche-Oriented War Theory and Tactics

While guaranteeing victory at the front, Kim Il Sung directed great efforts to strengthening the KPA in a qualitative way, in order to increase its fighting efficiency on the principle of attaching more importance to military affairs.

He delivered a speech titled, ***On Further Increasing the Fighting Efficiency of the People's Army and Activating Military Action*** to the generals

and officers higher than the chiefs of departments of the Supreme Headquarters of the KPA late in December 1951, indicating the important tasks to be tackled in strengthening the KPA in a qualitative way.

He said:

**"We should continuously take the initiative at the front, incessantly wipe out the enemy's manpower and firearms and gain the maximum time, so as to strengthen the People's Army in a qualitative way."**

He continued that, in order to strengthen the KPA, it was necessary to improve and strengthen its military equipment to suit the actual conditions of the country, enhance the military and political qualifications of all commanding and political officers in keeping with the requirements of modern warfare, and increase the fighting efficiency of units in every way by conducting effective combat and political training.

He attached primary importance to strengthening the KPA politically and ideologically, and made sure that the Party's political work was intensified.

At a meeting of the Political Committee of the WPK Central Committee early in July 1952 he said that the Party organizations and political organs in the KPA should enhance their role to educate all the service personnel to be faithful to the Party, love the country and the people, hate the enemy and have confidence in victory. He stressed the need to conduct all types of ideological education in an impressive and persuasive way by combining it with the combat missions of units to suit the actual conditions of the country, and thus vigorously rouse the service personnel to carry out their combat missions.

He saw to it that sycophancy and dogmatism were combatted and that the Juche orientation was established in a thoroughgoing way in the work of ideological education among service personnel.

In October 1951 he visited a KPA rest home, where he saw a landscape picture of a bear creeping through a snowy Siberian forest. He said to the officials there: We are now shedding our blood in the war against the US imperialists not in any other country but in our own country. So even in case of drawing a picture, we must draw one conducive to educating the KPA soldiers to treasure every tree and every blade of grass in their motherland. As we have beautiful seas and such picturesque sites as Mts. Kumgang and Myohyang in our country, we should depict their beautiful sceneries, which will have a good effect on the education of KPA soldiers.

He channelled great efforts into further strengthening the KPA militarily and technically.

He saw to it that the qualifications and command ability of KPA officers were enhanced in conformity with the requirements of modern warfare.

He issued Order No. 0618 in the name of the Supreme Commander of the KPA late in November 1951 on conducting the training and re-education of KPA officers. A higher military school (the present Kim Il Sung Military University), artillery school, military medical school and other military educational institutions were newly established, and training centres for re-educating officers were set up in several military officers' schools and KPA units, thus establishing a well-organized system of training and re-educating commanding personnel.

He met the participants in the short training course for the KPA regimental officers early in February 1952, and specified the tasks for the KPA to achieve the final victory in the war, giving clear answers to the problems arising in applying the Juche-oriented art of war. Late in June that year he visited Kang Kon Military Academy to acquaint himself with the state of teaching facilities and the contents of education there, and gave instructions to teach war tactics suited to the geographical and other conditions of the country, as well as combat experience gained in the battles against the US imperialists. He also made on-site inspections of several military schools and officers' training centres.

He ensured that combat and political training was conducted in an effective way, as required by the actual conditions of Korea and modern warfare, and that arms and equipment were steadily improved.

KPA units organized combat drills in keeping with the experience gained in the whole course of the war, the actual conditions of the country and their immediate combat missions and, in particular, intensified training in mountains and at night so as to conduct defensive and assault battles in an effective way in the areas they had occupied.

While paying close attention to improving the military equipment of the KPA by relying on the munitions industry of the country, Kim Il Sung made sure that the firepower of automatic weapons of the infantry units was improved and that the rate of mortars and howitzers was raised in the composition of the artillery's firepower to suit the geographical conditions of the mountainous country. In order to strengthen the air force he saw to it that pilots and technicians were trained in large numbers and that the combat and technical equipment was updated. He also ensured that the military equipment of the navy was improved and that technical services such as the tank, signal and military engineering corps were equipped with modern weaponry and advanced combat gear.

He paid due attention to strengthening the company, the basic organization and combat unit of the KPA.

Late in October 1951 he initiated a model company movement and, late in March the following year, issued Order No. 0166 of the Supreme Commander of the KPA on generalizing the movement throughout the army. Considering the importance of the role played by sergeant-majors in strengthening the company, he ensured that a training centre was set up for them and late in February 1952 visited the centre and indicated their duties, specifying the tasks for improving company management.

The firepower of each infantry division of the KPA saw an increase of 60 per cent over the previous year at the end of 1952, and the firepower of automatic weapons and the mechanization level of the army also reached a higher level. 45 per cent of all the commanding officers ranking higher than platoon leader were re-educated at officers' training centres and other educational institutions. Consequently the KPA grew and developed as never before not only in quantity but also in quality.

In order to firmly defend the rear, Kim Il Sung saw to it that the militia was strengthened.

He made sure that the ranks of the people's self-defence force in each area were increased, their arms and equipment improved and military training strengthened, so as to steadily enhance their fighting efficiency. Special armed self-defence force was organized with excellent Party members to discharge, together with the People's Army, such duties as defending the country's coasts, wiping out the enemy's landing forces and tracking down spies and saboteurs.

Kim Il Sung developed in depth the Juche-oriented theory and art of war.

To enrich the above theory and tactics was a basic requirement for waging war and a strategic and tactical guarantee for victory.

In a speech titled, ***Let Us Strengthen the People's Army***, delivered at a meeting of high-ranking officers of the KPA held late in December 1952 and other works, Kim Il Sung developed and enriched the Juche-oriented theory of war as required by modern warfare.

He said that a war, in essence, is the continuation of the policy of a class by special, violent means. He made a new and classic formulation that if a war is caused by an imperialist policy, that war is an imperialist war of aggression; if a war champions the interests of the people and opposes national oppression, that is precisely a revolutionary national-liberation war.

Making clear that modern wars originate from the imperialists' aggressive policy to oppress and exploit the masses of the working people and dominate other countries and nations, he clarified in an original way that the decisive factor of victory in a war lies in the political and moral superiority of soldiers, in other words, that what plays a decisive role in a war is not weapons and combat equipment but the people who handle them. He at the same time advanced a military theory that the active and decisive factor for victory in a war is the independent forces of a country that fights a war.

He also delineated the revolutionary stand towards war–that one must not be afraid of war though one does not want it, and that one must wage a just, revolutionary war to the end.

He created the Korean-style Juche-oriented art of war in the flames of the Fatherland Liberation War.

As a war is a confrontation of armed forces and, at the same time, a confrontation of military tactics and strategy, only when an armed force is guided by a correct strategy and tactics can it fully perform its mission.

While steering the Fatherland Liberation War to victory, Kim Il Sung created many military tactics, including prompt counterattack to beat back the enemy's surprise attack, continuous strikes, formation of a second front in the enemy's rear, battles of large encirclement by concerted operations between the main front and the second front, positional defence warfare relying on tunnels, sniping, anti-aircraft teams, anti-tank teams, independent heavy-machine-gun teams, enemy-rear harassment teams, mobile artillery companies and mobile anti-aircraft artillery companies. The KPA applied these deployments skilfully, thereby defeating the US aggressors, despite the latter's numerical and technical superiority, and achieving a brilliant victory.

## 6. US Imperialists' Barbarities and Solidarity with the World's Peoples

At the Third Plenary Meeting of the WPK Central Committee in December 1950, and on several other occasions, Kim Il Sung formulated the wartime foreign policy of the WPK of exposing to the whole world the aggressive policy of the US imperialists towards Korea and their brutal acts against the

Korean people, and strengthening international solidarity with the revolutionary peoples of the world including those of the socialist countries.

He directed great efforts to laying bare the barbarities committed by the US imperialists.

He said:

**"We must lay bare before mankind all the barbarities of the US imperialists unprecedented in history, and thus isolate these beasts more thoroughly."**

He saw to it that the true colours and crimes of the US imperialists as the provocateurs of the Korean war were exposed to the whole world.

The DPRK government issued statements and opened to the public documentary evidence so as to lay bare the plots of the US imperialists who had concocted an unjust "resolution" at the UN Security Council and their true nature as war provocateurs. In particular, the documents providing evidence of their criminal war plan, captured when Seoul was liberated, were distributed to the UN and other international organizations and other countries. The WPK and public organizations exposed and condemned the criminal acts committed by the US imperialists through press releases, statements and mass rallies.

As a result, the facts that the US imperialists provoked the Korean war, and that they were aggressors and war criminals were brought to light, bringing upon them condemnation from peoples the world over.

Kim Il Sung also revealed to the peoples of the whole world all the brutal atrocities committed by the US imperialists in Korea.

The US imperialists massacred innocent people, including children, the aged and women and even waged bacteriological and chemical warfare in Korea, in wanton violation of the elementary norms of international law and human morality. All the atrocities committed by the US imperialists in Korea ripped away their fig leaf as the "apostles of civilization" and the "champions of humanitarianism," and brought their true, bestial nature to the attention of the whole world.

The DPRK government issued statements and appeals so as to expose to the whole world the crimes being committed by the US imperialists. And a fact-finding committee was set up in the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea in order to investigate their atrocities systematically and in an all-round way, and give wide publicity to them in the form of reports. At the same time, measures were taken to reveal to the world the details of the US imperialists' atrocities, and delegates from some international organizations as well as progressive figures from around the world invited to Korea to investigate the

US imperialists' barbarities on the spot and expose them to the rest of the world.

Thus, authoritative investigation teams formed of progressive scientists from all over the world, including the investigation group of the International Democratic Women's Federation and the International Democratic Lawyers' Association, visited Korea to investigate in detail the US imperialists' brutal acts, and prepared reports, publicity materials, appeals and protest letters concerning the results of their investigations and sent them to international organizations, the governments of various countries and prominent persons of various circles. Saying that the US imperialists' indiscriminate bombings, genocide and bacteriological warfare were criminal acts perpetrated in a planned way, they strongly insisted that the criminals should be punished severely in accordance with international law and that their barbaric acts must be stopped at once.

Kim Il Sung ensured that international solidarity with the other revolutionary peoples of the world was strengthened.

He paid primary attention to strengthening international friendship and unity with the peoples of the socialist countries and people's democracies.

He made clear on scores of occasions the matters of principle with regard to developing relations of friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries and the people's democracies, and conducted energetic external activities to this end.

In 1952 he paid an unofficial visit to the Soviet Union to meet Premier Joseph Stalin, and had frank discussions with him about the issues concerning the Korean and world revolutions.

At a gathering of party representatives from countries around the world who were visiting the Soviet Union to attend the 19$^{th}$ Congress of its Communist Party, Stalin highly praised Kim Il Sung as an outstanding leader in the East, and called on the participants to support and encourage the Korean people in their fight against US imperialism. The party leaders of the people's democracies in Europe warmly welcomed Kim Il Sung, and promised that they would render active support and encouragement to the Korean people in their struggle and aid post-war rehabilitation in Korea.

With Kim Il Sung's visit to the Soviet Union as a momentum, the voices of support and encouragement for the just cause of the Korean people grew louder.

Meanwhile, he dispatched DPRK government delegations and people's delegations to the fraternal countries on several occasions so as to further promote the relations of friendship and cooperation with them.

He paid close attention to strengthening international solidarity with the progressive peoples around the world.

Despite the hard wartime conditions, World Youth Week was celebrated in Korea, and a signature campaign for championing peace in support of the appeal adopted at the First Session of the World Peace Council was conducted on a nationwide scale. At the same time, delegations were sent to various international meetings and functions, such as a World Peace Conference, meetings of the World Peace Council, Asia-Pacific Peace Conference, and World Festival of Youth and Students, to conduct vigorous activities to strengthen solidarity with the progressive peoples of the world. Busy as he was with the heavy burden of the war on his shoulders, Kim Il Sung met government delegations from many countries, delegations of international democratic organizations, peace champions and journalists visiting Korea, and inspired them to pool their efforts in the struggle against US imperialism. Meanwhile, the DPRK government actively supported the national liberation struggle of the peoples in colonial and subjugated countries, the revolutionary struggle of the working class in capitalist countries and the struggle of all the progressive peoples of the world for freedom and independence, peace and democracy, and encouraged them to keep pace with each other in the worldwide anti-US and anti-war struggle.

Thanks to Kim Il Sung's energetic activities, international solidarity with the revolutionary peoples of the world was cemented, the support and encouragement of the world's peoples for the just Fatherland Liberation War of the Korean people was further increased, and a favourable international situation was created for the final victory of the Korean people in the war.

## 7. Strengthening the Party Organizationally and Ideologically and Final Victory in the War

Towards the end of 1952 the situation in Korea grew extremely tense and complicated.

Dwight D. Eisenhower flew to the Korean front early in December 1952 soon after he was inaugurated as president of the US and personally commanded the preparations for a "new offensive," saying that "action is better than negotiations."

In an attempt to make an overall breakthrough at the existing front lines and

stage landing operations of their naval brigades and paratroops in the rear of the DPRK, the US imperialists planned to commit as many troops as possible and a large number of aircraft and guns of various types.

In order to torpedo the attempt of the US imperialists' "new offensive" and achieve final victory in the war, Kim Il Sung first of all directed great efforts to strengthening the Party, the General Staff of the revolution, organizationally and ideologically, and augmenting its fighting efficiency.

At the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the WPK Central Committee, held between December 15 and 18, 1952, he delivered a report titled, ***The Organizational and Ideological Consolidation of the Party Is the Basis for Our Victory***, in which he summed up the successes achieved in Party work since the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the WPK Central Committee, and set forth important tasks for strengthening the Party organizationally and ideologically.

He emphasized the importance of raising the Party spirit of the WPK members.

He said:

**"By heightening Party spirit we mean that each member of the Workers' Party should be boundlessly loyal to the Party and active in its work, regard the interests of the revolution and of the Party as his life and soul and subordinate his personal interests to them, defend the interests and principles of the Party at all times, anywhere and in whatever conditions, fight uncompromisingly against all manner of anti-Party, counterrevolutionary ideas, be conscientious in his life in Party organization, strictly observe Party discipline and always strengthen the bonds between the Party and the masses."**

He stressed the need to wage a struggle against all liberalistic tendencies of refusing to subordinate personal interests to those of the revolution, and to intensify the Party life of WPK members through criticism and self-criticism in particular, in order to heighten their Party spirit.

He also underscored the need to wage a resolute struggle against factionalists hampering the unity and cohesion of the Party. In order to overcome factionalism, he said, Party members should steadily sharpen their revolutionary vigilance and temper their Party spirit to keep a sharp watch on the movements of factionalists, strengthen the organizational discipline of the Party and implement the principle of democratic centralism in Party life. He stated that the Party would always welcome back the factionalists if they refrained from acts detrimental to the interests of the Party and made sincere efforts to correct their mistakes.

He advanced tasks for strengthening the Party's ideological work.

Education in Party policy and patriotism had to be intensified as never before, as a large number of new recruits were being admitted to Party ranks while a fierce war against the US imperialists was going on. Also, the fight against formalism, dogmatism and national nihilism in the Party's ideological work had to be stepped up, and ideological education to suit the actual realities of the country and the practical requirements of the Korean revolution be deepened.

After the plenary meeting Kim Il Sung pushed ahead with the work of consolidating the Party organizationally and ideologically.

The minutes of the plenary meeting were discussed throughout the Party, being conducted in the direction of tempering Party members' spirit and enhancing their vanguard role and by the method of ideological struggle in close combination with the struggle to improve the militant function of Party organizations and overcome liberalism and factionalism.

Through the ideological struggle involving the whole Party, the fighting efficiency of the Party was further improved. In particular, the Pak Hon Yong and Ri Sung Yop clique that had been lurking within the Party was detected and their anti-Party, counterrevolutionary and espionage acts were brought to light.

Pak Hon Yong was a renegade of the revolution who had already surrendered to Japanese imperialism and turned his coat before liberation, and had been reduced to a US spy. After liberation he tried to sabotage from within the Party organizations, labour movement and revolutionary struggle of the people in south Korea under the manipulation of the US imperialists. Even after coming to the northern half of Korea, he continued his anti-Party and anti-state intrigues. During the arduous wartime in particular, he systematically passed Party, state and military secrets to the US intelligence agency and machinated to stage an armed revolt to overthrow the Party and the government in conjunction with the "new offensive" of the US imperialists.

With the purge of this clique, the purity of the WPK could be defended and the unity and cohesion of its ranks strengthened. The purge also dealt a serious blow to the US aggressors, who had been attempting a new military adventure pinning their hope on the clique, and made it possible to hasten the final victory in the war.

While building up the Party organizationally and ideologically, Kim Il Sung organized and led the struggle to foil the US imperialists' "new offensive" and achieve final victory in the war.

In an attempt to realize their design for a "new offensive," the US imperialists hurled into the war massive armed forces and a large number of warships, aircraft and other combat equipment from the US mainland and Japan, and even planned to bring in the Self-Defence Forces of Japan and Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist troops.

Kim Il Sung took positive measures to frustrate the desperate new military offensive of the US imperialists.

At a meeting of high-ranking officers of the KPA held late in December 1952, Kim Il Sung set forth the military tasks for further strengthening the KPA politically and ideologically, militarily and technically to cope with the US imperialists' large-scale "new offensive," turning the east and west coasts and the forward areas into impregnable fortresses, and crushing the enemy's offensive on the seas and at the front. At the end of December that year, he issued an order in the name of the Supreme Commander of the KPA titled, ***On Strengthening Positional Defence***, so that all the units at the front and in charge of coastal defences turned their areas into impregnable fortresses and got themselves fully ready for action.

At the 53rd Session of the Military Commission in January 1953, he specified measures for completing the defence positions at the frontline and east and west coastal areas at the earliest date possible, and for defending Pyongyang, as well as tasks of further strengthening the rear. At the same time, the WPK Central Committee sent a letter to all Party organizations and members, rousing all the Party members, service personnel of the KPA and other people to a do-or-die battle to smash the "new offensive" of the US imperialists.

While giving on-site guidance at a munitions factory late in February 1953, Kim Il Sung stressed the need for the workers there to have a Juche-oriented stand and the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance–that the Korean people should achieve victory in the war at any cost by their own efforts. While inspecting KPA units 256 and 249, in charge of defending the east coast, he said that they should annihilate the enemy invading from the sea and air in the sea and air, and those attacking on the ground should not be allowed to trample upon even an inch of land of the country.

Greatly encouraged by his strategic and tactical policy and on-site guidance, all the Party members, service personnel of the KPA and other people turned out as one in the death-defying struggle for the final victory in the war under such militant slogans as **"Go all out in the decisive battle to annihilate the enemy!"** and "Let us defend every inch of the motherland to the last drop of our blood!"

Kim Il Sung foiled the "new offensive" design of the US imperialists by frustrating their offensive operations on a T-shaped hill.

In January 1953 the US imperialists attempted an attack, called Operation Smack, on the T-shaped hill west of Cholwon, in a bid to fathom the feasibility of their success in the "new offensive" and raise the sagging morale of their "allied forces."

Informed of the enemy's offensive design 12 hours before its start, he drew up a tactical operations plan to frustrate the enemy's attack at one blow by rapidly moving the artillery unit, a reserve force of the Supreme Headquarters, in the Yangdok area scores of kilometres to the area of the T-shaped hill. He made a phone call to the commander of the artillery unit to give orders and commanded the unit's movement, sitting up all night at the operations table.

The KPA soldiers on the T-shaped hill, with the support of powerful gunfire of the artillery unit, crushed the enemy's attacking waves and went over to a counterattack, wiping out the attackers.

As a result, the "exemplary battle" the US imperialists had plotted for the T-shaped hill ended in a fiasco, even though they mobilized huge armed forces, and the battle was witnessed by the top generals of their army and air forces, diplomatic representatives of their vassal countries, and war correspondents of the "UN forces." The warmongers' chiefs argued about the feasibility of success in the large-scale offensive in the whole area of the front, noting that they had been utterly defeated in the attack against an unknown small hill even though they had mobilized all arms and services, along with tanks and other latest weapons.

They had no choice but to give up the "new offensive" and turn up again at the armistice talks. There, they reluctantly agreed to the just proposal of the KPA side on the problem of repatriation of POWs, the solution to which had dragged out for a year and a half. However, the cunning US imperialists all the more frantically committed indiscriminate bombing of power stations, reservoirs and residential districts in the rear in an attempt to reach an armistice agreement on better terms for them. They also perpetrated such a provocative act as forcibly "releasing" the POWs of the KPA in violation of the provisions already agreed upon. At the same time, they egged the Syngman Rhee clique on to raise the clamour of "desperate opposition to the ceasefire" and "separate march north," and thus created a new obstacle to the progress of the armistice talks.

In order to frustrate the plot of the US imperialists and hasten the final victory in the war, Kim Il Sung organized three successive powerful strikes against the enemy from mid-May to late July 1953.

True to his order, the KPA units launched their first strike in the eastern and central sectors of the front, followed by their second strike, more powerful than the first, dealing severe blows to the enemy.

The enemy had built permanent pillboxes and underground structures for two years and deployed their armed forces on Height 351 in a concentrated way, claiming that they would never give up the height, even if they had to abandon Seoul. But the KPA soldiers launched an attack on the height early in June with the backing of powerful artillery forces, and seized it in a matter of only 15 minutes.

In order to achieve the final victory in the war, the KPA units launched the third strike with a towering determination to annihilate the enemy. The powerful guns of the KPA artillery units opened fire in the eastern, central and western sectors of the front, and the infantry units began to break through the enemy's defence lines.

Through the three rounds of concentrated strikes, they destroyed a large number of enemy troops and liberated more than 340 square kilometres of the homeland.

The US imperialists, who were driven into an inextricable predicament and could not find a way out, fell to their knees before the Korean people tempered in the crucible of Songun revolution and finally signed the Armistice Agreement, on July 27, 1953.

That day Kim Il Sung issued Order No. 470 in the name of the Supreme Commander of the KPA in celebration of victory in the war. That day, fireworks were displayed over the sky of Pyongyang in celebration of the victorious July 27, the "second liberation day."

The three-year-long fierce Fatherland Liberation War ended in a great victory for the KPA and the people who had risen in the just struggle against US imperialism with arms in their hands under the leadership of the great brilliant commander of Songun.

During the period of the war, the KPA soldiers and the people killed, wounded or captured over 1 567 128 of enemy, including more than 405 498 US imperialist aggressor troops, and seized or destroyed enormous amounts of combat equipment and war materiel, including 12 224 aircraft, 564 warships of various types, 3 255 tanks and armoured vehicles, 13 350 trucks, and 7 695 guns of various types. The loss sustained by the US imperialist aggressors was nearly 2.3 times what they had sustained in the Pacific war and it was the first ignominious defeat they had ever met with in their 100-odd years of blood-stained history of aggression.

Kim Il Sung led the KPA soldiers and the people along the road to victory with his seasoned Songun-based revolutionary leadership, holding aloft the banner of Songun.

In the three years of the war he made forced marches totalling over 20 480 km to inspect more than 1 056 units, including the Front Command situated in Seoul, Suanbo and other areas. He was awarded the title of Marshal of the DPRK on February 7, 1953 and the title of Hero of the DPRK on July 28, 1953 for the exploits he had performed for victory in the war with his Juche-based Songun idea and leadership, making the US imperialists suffer defeat for the first time in history.

The victory in the Fatherland Liberation War was of great historical significance for the development of the WPK and the revolution.

Kim Jong Il said:

**"The Fatherland Liberation War was a great revolutionary war of worldwide significance, a war in which our people defended their motherland and inflicted the first-ever defeat on US imperialism, the ringleader of world imperialism, by waging a national, heroic struggle."**

By achieving victory in the Fatherland Liberation War, the Korean people honourably safeguarded the country's freedom and independence, the national sovereignty and the gains of the revolution, and clearly demonstrated the invincible might of the DPRK and the solidity of their state and social system, their confidence in sure victory and indomitable spirit.

Under the Songun-based revolutionary leadership of Kim Il Sung, the KPA soldiers and the people beat back the armed invasion of the US imperialists and troops of their 15 vassal countries by fully displaying the spirit of defending their leader and their country at the cost of their lives. The result was that they heroically safeguarded the WPK, the DPRK and the people's democratic system established in the northern half of Korea, and the national dignity and honour, bringing fame to them as a heroic army and heroic people.

Through the severe trials of the war period, the whole Party, the entire army and all the people were rallied closer around Kim Il Sung, the WPK grew into a seasoned and tempered party with rich experience, and the KPA was strengthened politically, ideologically, militarily and technically, and developed into an invincible revolutionary armed force with rich battle experience.

By winning a great victory in the Fatherland Liberation War through the life-and-death struggle of all the people, Kim Il Sung humbled the US imperialists who had boasted of being the "strongest" in the world, exploded the myth about their "mightiness" and started them on their decline.

# CHAPTER 8. FOR POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION, DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND BUILDING OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALISM

(July 1953–December 1960)

## 1. Basic Line for Postwar Economic Construction and the Struggle for Reconstruction of the National Economy

As soon as the Fatherland Liberation War came to an end, Kim Il Sung mobilized the entire Party and all the people to the struggle for postwar reconstruction.

Even after the ceasefire, the situation on the Korean peninsula remained tense. The path of postwar reconstruction to be followed by the WPK and the Korean people was beset with innumerable difficulties and hardships.

The US imperialists, instead of drawing a proper lesson from their ignominious defeat in the war, made frantic efforts to provoke a new war without giving up their wild ambition for aggression of the northern half of Korea. They also instigated the Syngman Rhee puppet clique to ceaselessly raise “march north” clamours in flagrant violation of the armistice agreement. Such a situation required the WPK and the Korean people to be always ready and on the alert, and promote the postwar reconstruction while increasing defence power on the principle of giving priority to military affairs.

The war damage in Korea was beyond description. During the three-year-long war the US imperialists dropped 18 bombs on average per square kilometre in the northern half of Korea, reducing towns, rural villages, factories, enterprises and educational and cultural establishments to ashes. As a result, the living conditions of the people were very difficult.

The US imperialists claimed that Korea would not be able to rise to its feet again in a hundred years, and even foreign friends who sympathized with the Korean people were concerned how they would conquer these severe difficulties.

The situation of the country was so difficult that it was hard to decide what to begin with and how to go about postwar reconstruction.

Kim Il Sung devoted his all to establishing the main orientation of postwar reconstruction, which he had long planned during the war.

He put forward the militant slogan, **"Everything for the postwar rehabilitation and development of the national economy to strengthen the democratic base!"** in a historic radio address on July 28, 1953. Descending from the platform of the Pyongyang mass rally held in celebration of the victory in the war, he visited many factories and enterprises to familiarize himself with their specific conditions.

That day he gave on-site guidance at the Kangnam Brick Works, and the next day the Pyongyang Textile Mill, Hwanghae Iron Works, Nampho Smeltery and Nampho Glass Works, where he discussed how to rehabilitate the national economy with the workers and technicians there. On August 3 at the Kangson Steel Plant he seated himself on the remains of a demolished wall under a poplar tree standing in the compound of the seriously damaged plant and talked with the workers there. While making preparations for the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the WPK Central Committee, he went to the plant to have a discussion with the workers there, and explained the orientation of the postwar rehabilitation of the national economy. He called on them to rebuild the plant magnificently with their own techniques, materials and equipment and by their own efforts in a short span of time, demonstrating the mettle of the heroic Korean working class once again to the whole world.

The Sixth Plenary Meeting of the WPK Central Committee was held from August 5 to 9, 1953.

He gave a historic report titled, ***Everything for the Postwar Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy***.

He set forth the revolutionary tasks facing the Party in connection with the conclusion of the armistice agreement, and stressed the need for the entire Party and all the people to mobilize every effort for the postwar rehabilitation without slackening in the least the spirit with which they had won the war.

He made clear the main orientation of the postwar rehabilitation and development of the national economy.

He said:

**"In postwar economic construction we must follow the line of giving priority to the rehabilitation and development of heavy industry and simultaneously developing light industry and agriculture. This alone will**

**enable us to consolidate our economic base and rapidly improve the people's living."**

He stated that the work of reconstruction should be carried out in three basic stages: In the first stage, covering six months to one year, preparations and readjustments would be made for the overall reconstruction of the wrecked national economy; in the second stage a three-year plan would be carried out to regain the prewar level in all branches of the national economy; and in the third stage a five-year plan would lay the foundations for socialist industrialization.

After the plenary meeting Kim Il Sung organized and led the struggle for postwar reconstruction of the national economy.

He directed primary efforts at strengthening the Party organizationally and ideologically, and rallying the masses closely around it.

He took measures to enable the entire Party to discuss the document of the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the WPK Central Committee to clear away the poisonous influence of the Pak Hon Yong-led anti-Party, counterrevolutionary and spy clique, temper the members' Party spirit and enhance their vanguard role in postwar reconstruction. Meanwhile, at the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the WPK Central Committee in mid-December 1953 he took measures to improve and strengthen the united front in keeping with the new postwar circumstances, so that people of all social strata were united more firmly around the Party and turned out as one in the reconstruction work with a high degree of patriotic zeal.

He reorganized the wartime economic system to suit the new postwar situation.

For this all factories and enterprises would produce goods needed for the reconstruction on a priority basis, and the war-torn rural economy would be restored as soon as possible. Competent workers of the Party, power organs, public organizations and economic bodies were dispatched to the field of economic construction so as to rebuild the devastated factories and enterprises in a planned way, and stabilize the living of factory and office workers at the earliest possible date by building houses for them.

In order to push ahead with the overall rehabilitation of the national economy on the strength of the high fighting capacity of the KPA, he ensured that KPA units were sent to the reconstruction projects to give full play to their heroic mettle.

At a meeting of the heads of the departments of the General Staff of the KPA Supreme Headquarters and the commanders of all services and arms of

the KPA held late in July 1953, he took a step to enlist the KPA units in the postwar rehabilitation of the national economy while defending the country. After the meeting he dispatched many KPA units to major factories and enterprises, and different fields of the national economy, including rail transport and the rural economy, and the reconstruction sites in major towns and cities.

In mid-August 1953 the National Meeting of Battle Heroes was convened. At the meeting he encouraged all the service personnel of the KPA and the other people to continuously perform heroic exploits in the struggle for postwar reconstruction by displaying the same spirit as they had shown in beating the US imperialists during the war.

While all the people were getting down to postwar reconstruction, the anti-Party factionalists who were infected with sycophancy and dogmatism opposed the Party's basic line of economic construction, arguing that too much stress was being put on the building of heavy industry when the people were badly off and that machines could not produce rice. Great-power chauvinists found fault with the DPRK, claiming that it did not have the resources to give priority to the growth of heavy industry, nor could it develop light industry and agriculture simultaneously on the war debris.

Kim Il Sung pushed ahead with postwar reconstruction, with a tight hold on the basic line of economic construction, resolutely frustrating the obstructive moves of the great-power chauvinists and factionalists.

Saying that he should visit wherever people were, he gave on-site guidance in October 1953 at large numbers of factories, enterprises, rural villages, and educational and cultural establishments, including the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory, Jangjingang Power Station, Joyang-ri in Hamju County and Hungnam University of Technology. He familiarized himself with the work of those units, and inspired the working people and soldiers to the drive for postwar reconstruction.

All the people and service personnel threw themselves into the reconstruction work, fully displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and patriotic devotion. The Kangson Steel Plant and many other factories and enterprises restored some of their facilities in only two weeks after the war, and started production. Railway workers opened all trunk lines to traffic in only a week after the ceasefire. The peasants, too, enhanced farm operations, restoring and readjusting the devastated land and damaged irrigation facilities.

Thus, the tasks of the preparatory stage for postwar reconstruction were

achieved in the short period of five months, and the country launched a three-year national economic plan from 1954.

Kim Il Sung advanced the basic task of the Three-Year National Economic Plan (1954-1956) and led the drive to implement it.

He said:

**"The basic task of the Three-Year Plan is to rebuild and develop the ravaged national economy and recover the prewar level of production in all sectors of the economy."**

The Three-Year Plan was a long-range plan which envisaged economic reconstruction in the direction of eliminating the colonial lopsidedness of industry and creating the conditions for industrialization in the country, not merely restoring the economy to its original state. The plan envisaged increasing gross industrial output value by nearly 1.5 times as against 1949 and reaching the prewar level in grain production.

A plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee was held late in March 1954. At the meeting Kim Il Sung said that the guidance and management of the national economy should be improved in conformity with the new, changed situation after the war, and that the officials of the state and economic organs should discard the "armchair," bureaucratic work style and give concrete guidance, and particularly heighten their sense of responsibility for work. Noting that, unlike the wartime, when the Party organizations directed considerable efforts to the countryside, they should now turn their eyes towards industry and transportation, the leading sectors of the national economy, and intensify the Party's guidance of them, he underlined the need to ensure the collective guidance of Party committees and provide effective guidance by political methods.

Following the plenary meeting, he convened a national meeting of architects and construction experts, a national meeting of activists from the timber industry, a meeting of model transport workers and similar meetings for each branch of the national economy, as well as several plenary Cabinet meetings, at which he specified tasks and ways for carrying out the national economic plan.

Attaching primary importance to creating robust bases for heavy industry with the machine-building industry as its core, he ensured that the reconstruction and expansion of the existing heavy-industry factories were properly combined with the work to build new ones, and that efforts were concentrated on building heavy industry which would serve the development of light industry and agriculture better, not heavy industry for its own sake.

He visited a large number of factories and enterprises in the field of heavy industry, inspiring the workers there to the struggle for carrying out the basic line of economic reconstruction.

In April 1954 he called a consultative meeting of leading officials and workers of the Huichon Machine Factory and the Huichon Truck Parts Factory, at which he set forth tasks for developing the machine-building industry. In June he visited the Hwanghae Iron Works, where he said that he felt courage and confidence at the sight of molten iron flowing out of open-hearth furnace No. 1, urging the workers there to rebuild the furnace into a larger and magnificent one by relying on their own efforts and techniques. In July that year he toured the Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Works and the Songjin Steel Plant, where he advanced the tasks and ways for increasing the production of iron and steel by rebuilding them in a far-sighted way. In November the following year he gave on-site guidance at the Kangson Steel Plant, encouraging the workers there to take the lead in fulfilling the Three-Year Plan.

Deeply concerned about the reconstruction of light industry, he saw to it that large light-industry factories were reconstructed rapidly and the new foundations of light industry were created by building new foodstuff processing and daily necessities factories. He also paid close attention to restoring and developing the ravaged rural economy.

He directed considerable efforts to stabilizing and improving the people's living so as to enable the working people to display their revolutionary zeal and initiative.

Noting that leading personnel should take good care of the living of the people, who were making great efforts for the reconstruction work, he ensured that dwelling houses were built extensively. He took steps to stabilize and improve the living conditions of working people who were separated from their family members or relatives during the war, the inhabitants of the newly-liberated areas, families of the fallen, servicepersons' families, war victims and small-scale farmers. He also took measures to raise the wages of factory and office workers drastically, lower the prices of commodities on several occasions and improve commodity supply service.

Heavy and light industries as well as agriculture were rapidly rehabilitated and developed in a short space of time after the war, the people's living began to be stabilized, the colonial distortion in the allocation of industries was gradually eliminated and the Three-Year Plan successfully carried out.

## 2. Strategic Task of Army Building after the War and the Development of the KPA into the Party's Army Loyal to Its Leadership

After the war the US imperialists, without giving up their wild ambition for aggression against the northern half of Korea, forcibly adopted a so-called 16-Nation Declaration even before the ink on the armistice agreement they had signed was dry, and then concluded a mutual defence treaty with the south Korean puppet clique, thereby making pretexts for enlisting the troops and military and technical equipment of their satellite countries at will and at any time, and stationing their troops in south Korea for a long period. Meanwhile, the US imperialists and the south Korean puppet clique extensively reinforced their aggressive armed forces and committed ceaseless military provocations along the Military Demarcation Line, claiming that the "ceasefire is only temporary" and "there is more fighting to come," thus endangering the armistice agreement.

The prevailing situation required the strengthening of the KPA in every possible way in order to frustrate the enemy's attempt to ignite a new war, change the ceasefire into a lasting peace and carry on the postwar reconstruction of the national economy and socialist construction successfully.

With keen insight into this situation and the necessity of building revolutionary armed forces, Kim Il Sung indicated the strategic tasks for army building at a meeting of the Political Committee of the WPK Central Committee and a meeting of battalion commanders and deputy battalion commanders in charge of political affairs of the KPA, both held in October 1953, and on several other occasions.

He advanced as a strategic task for army building the making of the KPA into an army of cadres.

He said:

**"We should make the People's Army an army of cadres.**

**"To make the People's Army a cadre-based army means to enhance the level of all the service personnel, ranging from officer to private, so that they are able to discharge the duties of a grade higher than their own. When the**

**People's Army is trained into an army of cadres, we can form many new units by mobilizing them in a short span of time in case of emergency.**

**"To make the People's Army a cadre-based army can be said to be a strategic task for army building in view of the experience gained in and lessons drawn from the Fatherland Liberation War."**

In order to develop the KPA into an army of cadres, he stated, it was necessary to raise the level of the soldiers' political and ideological awareness, bring home the Party's lines and policies and the orders of the Supreme Commander to them so that they had a correct understanding of the validity of the revolutionary cause and faith in sure victory, and educate them to have burning hatred for the enemy, noble patriotism and boundless loyalty to the Party, the country and the people. It was necessary to intensify combat training so that all the service personnel could perform the duties of a grade higher than their own, and raise their level by conducting training in an atmosphere of real fighting on the basis of the experiences gained in the anti-Japanese revolutionary war and the Fatherland Liberation War, as well as to suit the country's actual conditions and each unit's assignments. All officers should acquire advanced knowledge of military science and technology, so as to be capable of commanding modern warfare skilfully, and the military education institutions should be built up and the quality of military education improved.

He put forward as another strategic task for army building the modernization of the armaments of the People's Army.

In a speech titled, ***On a Historic Victory in the Fatherland Liberation War and the Tasks of the People's Army*** delivered to the officers and men of KPA Unit No. 256 late in October 1953 and at major meetings of the KPA held the following year, and while giving on-site guidance at military academies, he put forward the modernization of the military equipment of the KPA as a strategic task for army building.

He defined the direction of modernizing the armaments of the KPA as combining modern weapons and conventional ones, and gradually arming it with the latest weapons in keeping with the development of the national economy. He also stressed the need to develop military science and technology, expand the existing munitions factories and equip them with advanced technologies. He added that new ones should be built to produce and supply the latest armaments by their own efforts.

He regarded it as a precondition for implementing the strategic task for army building to strengthen and develop the KPA into the Party's army boundlessly loyal to its leadership.

To develop the KPA into the army of the Party emerged as a particularly important matter after the war, when the anti-Party, counterrevolutionary factionalists who had smuggled themselves into the army resorted to every trick to reject the leadership of the Party and the leader over the KPA. Holding that the KPA was an "army of the united front," they did not educate soldiers in Party policies nor informed them of the decisions and directives of the WPK Central Committee, with the aim of detaching the army from the Party so as to make it withdraw from the class struggle, and reducing it to an impotent body independent of the leadership of the Party. In effect, this would have meant disarming the WPK.

In order to thoroughly establish the Party's ideological system in the entire army, a meeting of the Presidium of the WPK Central Committee held in January 1958 discussed the work results of the political organs and Party organizations in the army, and a plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee held in March took radical measures to improve Party political work in the army.

The KPA Committee of the WPK was established under the Presidium of the WPK Central Committee, and Party committees at all levels of the KPA were authorized to guide the relevant political organs.

Study and discussion of the document of the March Plenary Meeting of the WPK Central Committee were held throughout the KPA.

The discussion was orientated to strengthening the unity and cohesion of the revolutionary ranks in every way, while sharply distinguishing the prime movers from their followers in the struggle against the anti-Party, counterrevolutionary factionalists.

Kim Il Sung made great efforts to oppose sycophancy and dogmatism, and firmly establish the Juche orientation in Party political work in the KPA.

In a talk titled, ***On Opposing Dogmatism and Establishing Juche in Party Political Work in the People's Army*** delivered to military and political workers at the corps and higher levels of the KPA in mid-May 1959 and several other works, he indicated the ways for establishing the Juche orientation in Party political work in the KPA.

Class and revolutionary education was intensified among soldiers, with the main stress on arming all of them with the Party's lines, policies and revolutionary traditions, so as to train them to be revolutionary soldiers who would fight for the socialist cause at the risk of their lives animated by hatred of the exploitative system. The February 8 Film Studio was set up to produce films dealing with the revolutionary traditions and the Fatherland Liberation

War to be used for the education of soldiers, and Party political work in the army was conducted through education by examples with the main emphasis on persuasion and education.

In order to thoroughly establish the Party's ideological system throughout the army, Kim Il Sung made sure that the collective guidance of Party committees over all the affairs in the army was intensified.

An enlarged plenary meeting of the KPA Committee of the WPK was held early in September 1960. There he explained in detail the problems arising in intensifying the collective guidance of the Party committees. Noting that the Party committees were not merely consultative bodies but collective organs for military and political leadership, he stressed that all the work in the army should be conducted under the guidance of the Party committees.

He led the KPA to take the lead in defending the purity of the WPK's glorious revolutionary traditions and brilliantly carrying them forward.

In a speech titled, ***The Korean People's Army Has Inherited the Anti-Japanese Armed Struggle*** delivered to the officers and men of KPA Unit No. 324 on February 8, 1958, he made it clear that the KPA was the successor to the glorious anti-Japanese armed struggle.

Noting that the sole revolutionary traditions the KPA should inherit were the traditions of the anti-Japanese guerrilla army, he stated that the KPA should carry forward the ideological system of the anti-Japanese guerrilla army and its excellent work method and style, the traditions that the guerrillas shared their lives with the people and fought for the sake of the people, and that the officers were closely united with their men in their struggle. In addition, he said, the KPA should inherit the confidence in sure victory and indomitable fighting spirit of tiding over all adversities of the anti-Japanese guerrilla army.

In a speech to a congress of teachers of all military academies of the KPA held in October 1958 and while inspecting the KPA units, Kim Il Sung stressed that all the officers and men should steadfastly defend the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese guerrilla army and carry them forward to the end.

To this end, such educational books of revolutionary traditions as the *Reminiscences of the Anti-Japanese Guerrillas* and *Battle Memoirs of the Anti-Japanese Guerrillas* were published in large numbers and education in the revolutionary traditions was intensified in the KPA in various ways and by various methods. As a consequence, the study of the memoirs became part of the daily life of KPA soldiers, all the military posts and training grounds reverberated with revolutionary songs, including *Guerrilla March,* and the

traditional traits of unity between officers and men and between the army and the people were fully displayed.

The KPA developed into the WPK's revolutionary armed forces firmly equipped with the Party's ideology, and all its service personnel grew up into staunch heirs to the anti-Japanese armed struggle under the slogan "Let us defend with our very lives the Party Central Committee headed by the respected Comrade Kim Il Sung!"

Recalling an inspection of the Seoul Ryu Kyong Su Guards 105th Tank Division of the KPA he had made on August 25, 1960, Kim Il Sung spoke highly of the slogan, saying that it was a sincere and correct slogan to defend the WPK Central Committee unto death, and that it was an excellent slogan touching the hearts of the soldiers of the KPA, the army of the Party.

## 3. Publication of the April Theses, Struggle to Step Up the Socialist Revolution to the Full, and Establishment of the People-Centred Socialist System

The path of the socialist revolution and construction to be carried out in the DPRK was an untrodden one which was strewn with a large number of new theoretical and practical problems. These problems had to be solved by the DPRK's own efforts from the standpoint of Juche.

In order to properly push forward the revolution and construction in a situation in which the north and south of the country were placed in different stages of the revolution after the war, it was necessary to give the Party members and other working people a clear idea of the nature and tasks of the Korean revolution, the ways for carrying them out and their prospects, and the socialist revolution and construction in the northern half of Korea.

Kim Il Sung devoted his heart and soul to completing the programme of socialist revolution with which he had planned to inspire the people with faith in socialism and promote the socialist revolution and construction on a full scale.

He discussed the matter of correctly defining the nature of the Korean revolution at the present stage at a meeting of the Political Committee of the WPK Central Committee late in December 1954, intending to publish theses on the nature and tasks of the revolution at a forthcoming plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee.

However, the factionalists, infected with sycophancy and taking their cue from others, asserted that the northern half of Korea should not promote the socialist revolution and construction. The great-power chauvinists also found fault with the WPK, displeased with its intention to publish the theses on the socialist revolution. They questioned why Korea should feel it necessary to have such theses when European countries were carrying out their socialist revolutions without one. Their real intention was that theses on socialist revolution were something that could be made only by a party of a big country, such as the Soviet party which had already achieved a socialist revolution, and that it could not be produced by a party of a small country like Korea, which had just begun its socialist revolution.

Kim Il Sung flatly rejected their assertion, asking them if there was any need to find fault with it now that it had been decided to produce the theses needed for the Korean revolution.

He shaped and finished the theses on the nature and tasks of the Korean revolution from such a steadfast stand of independence. He published the theses titled, ***Every Effort for the Country's Reunification and Independence and for Socialist Construction in the Northern Half of Korea*** at a plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee held in April 1955.

In the theses he gave a unique solution to the correlation between a national revolution and a regional revolution and, on this basis, made clear the nature and basic tasks of the overall Korean revolution.

He said:

**"Our revolution must carry out the anti-imperialist task of national liberation on the one hand and, on the other, the anti-feudal task of liberating the broad sections of the peasantry in the southern half still oppressed and exploited by the landlords."**

He explained that the basic tasks of the Korean revolution on a nationwide scale were to overthrow the US imperialist aggressive forces and their allies in south Korea–the landlords, comprador capitalists, pro-Japanese and pro-American elements, and traitors to the nation–and to free the people there from imperialist and feudal oppression and exploitation. This would achieve the country's reunification along democratic lines and enable it to attain complete national independence. Therefore he stressed the need to step up the socialist revolution in the northern half of Korea for the successful promotion of the Korean revolution.

Based on a deep analysis of the socio-economic forms and class relations in the northern half of Korea, he stated that the WPK's principal tasks for the

Five-Year Plan in laying the foundations of socialism in the northern half were to establish the undivided sway of the socialist economy by transforming the small commodity and capitalist sectors in both the urban and rural areas and develop the productive forces to lay the foundations for socialist industrialization.

For the successful implementation of the tasks for laying the foundations of socialism it was necessary to educate the people in socialist ideology, train new cultural and technical workers in large numbers and carry out the Party's basic line of economic construction to the letter, he stressed. He set as one of the Party's most important tasks the continuous building up of the people's armed forces.

He led the struggle to step up the socialist revolution at full throttle.

The socialist revolution is in essence the most serious social change in human history, as it is aimed at eliminating the exploitation of man by man once and for all and opening up a new road for social development. Only when the socialist revolution is carried out will it be possible to get rid of the social roots of the exploitation of man by man and the subjugation of class by class, and effect the socio-political independence of the masses as the masters of their state and society.

Kim Il Sung directed primary efforts to the socialist transformation of the rural economy.

In the period of the war he had visited Wonhwa-ri, where he suggested that the agricultural cooperativization could be realized even before industrialization had been carried out and modern farm machines were not available, if the peasants themselves demanded it.

Right after the war, agricultural cooperativization emerged as the way to improve the living of the peasants, the masters of the rural economy. The fierce three-year-long war had devastated the material and technical foundations of agriculture and impoverished nearly 40 per cent of the rural population. The countryside was short of draught cattle, farm implements and manpower. Such being the case, if private peasant farming was left intact, it would be impossible to rapidly develop the productive forces of agriculture and solve the problems of food and peasants' living, which were very serious in the aftermath of the war. As long as private peasant farming remained intact, it would be impossible to bring agriculture into step with industry, which was developing rapidly in a planned way, and, in the long run, successfully develop the national economy as a whole.

After the war Korea had adequate revolutionary forces prepared to undertake agricultural cooperativization. In the struggle to create a new life after the country's liberation and in the flames of the hard-fought war, in particular, the peasants had become politically and ideologically awakened and tempered in a revolutionary way. They realized the superiority of collective farming in the course of forming and managing the farm-machine-hire stations, labour-exchange and ox-sharing teams and sideline cooperatives. In contrast, the rich farmers and other forces opposing agricultural cooperativization found their position greatly weakened.

With keen insight into these developments Kim Il Sung defined the postwar years as the most appropriate period for realizing agricultural cooperativization in Korea. At the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the WPK Central Committee held in August 1953 and other meetings he put forward the policy of carrying out socialist transformation of the economic form before the technical transformation of agriculture.

He said:

**"Our Party took steps to carry out socialist transformation of the economic form before technical transformation of agriculture. When the realities urgently demand the socialist reorganization of agriculture and there are ample forces to undertake it, we should transform the economic form along socialist lines before technical transformation of the rural economy."**

He clarified the principles to be abided by in the movement for agricultural cooperativization.

Stressing the need to strictly observe the principle of voluntarism in this movement, he said that it was necessary to intensify ideological education among the peasants, show them the superiority of cooperative farming by practical demonstrations and permit them to choose the forms of cooperatives freely, in order to induce them to join agricultural cooperatives voluntarily. He also stated that a correct class policy suited to the balance of forces between classes in the countryside should be pursued.

On the basis of a correct analysis of class relations in the countryside, Kim Il Sung defined it as a class policy to be followed consistently in the course of the agricultural cooperativization movement to firmly rely on the poor peasants, strengthen alliance with the middle peasants, and restrict the activities of the rich farmers and gradually transform them.

He stressed the need to intensify the guidance and assistance of the Party and the state for the agricultural cooperativization movement, with the main

emphasis on political and ideological guidance, material, technical and financial support, and labour assistance.

He led the agricultural cooperativization movement from the experimental stage.

He saw to it that three or four agricultural cooperatives were first formed experimentally in each county with the participation of poor peasants and other rural cooperativization activists, paying close attention to defining the forms and sizes of cooperatives and the methods of pooling the means of production.

He gave full explanations of the problems arising in organizing agricultural cooperatives at a consultative meeting of workers of the cooperative societies for agricultural production and the joint frontline workteams held in mid-December 1953.

Considering that the peasants differed from one another in their levels of ideological preparedness and economic conditions, he proposed three forms of agricultural cooperatives and allowed the peasants to choose any one of them freely.

The first form was a labour-exchange team in which the peasants did not pool land and farm implements but only did farm work jointly. The second form was a semi-socialist form in which land was pooled and cultivated jointly and the yields were divided according to the work done and the size of the land contributed. The third form was a completely socialist form in which land and other major means of production were placed in common ownership and the distribution was made entirely according to the work done.

Kim Il Sung said that agricultural cooperatives should not be made too small or too large and that necessary experiences should be gained while managing them. Taking into account the management workers' qualifications and the peasants' level of ideological consciousness, the size of cooperatives was set to comprise some 15 to 20 households at first, and then, as conditions matured, it was gradually expanded to incorporate some 40 to 100 households.

He also clearly indicated the methods of amalgamating the means of production. Draught animals, farm implements and other means of production were not pooled mechanically but according to the peasants' wishes, were left under private ownership and used jointly for a certain time and when they were pooled, they were duly paid for.

The Party and the state rendered active guidance and support to cooperatives so that the advantages of cooperative economy were demonstrated in practice.

The newly organized cooperatives were given long-term loans,

accommodated with food and seed grains, provided preferentially with farm implements, and supplied with more fertilizers at a low price. The farm-machine-hire stations and the draught-animal-hire stations did ploughing and carried farm loads for the agricultural cooperatives on a priority basis. Active help was given to the management and operation of cooperatives, and manpower support intensified.

When he visited Samjong-ri, Junghwa County, South Phyongan Province, he indicated tasks and ways for consolidating and developing a newly organized agricultural cooperative. He gave on-site guidance at newly organized cooperatives in Kumchon-ri, Taedong County, and other places in order to ensure that the advantages and vitality of cooperative economy were brought into play, and their experience generalized across the country.

As a result, the per-unit grain yield of the cooperative economy in 1954 was 10 to 50 per cent higher than those of the individual farmers and its cash income was two to seven times greater.

Kim Il Sung led the drive to develop the agricultural cooperativization movement on a mass basis.

He called a plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee in November 1954, at which he summed up the achievements scored in the experimental stage of the agricultural cooperativization and put forward the tasks for developing it on a mass scale. Late in December the Political Committee of the WPK Central Committee released a decision on developing the agricultural cooperativization movement on a mass basis. As a consequence, the agricultural cooperativization movement in Korea entered the stage of mass development in 1955.

Kim Il Sung ensured that the agricultural cooperativization movement at the stage of mass development was conducted without any deviation.

Such tendencies were corrected as speeding up the tempo of cooperativization in an administrative way in violation of the principle of voluntarism out of impatience or organizing cooperatives of higher forms and large sizes recklessly in disregard of the peasants' preparedness. Negative phenomena manifested among some peasants were rectified promptly, and the sabotage and subversion by the class enemies of the cooperativization movement frustrated.

Former hired or poor peasants, particularly the bereaved families of patriotic martyrs, families of the KPA soldiers and ex-servicepersons played a pivotal role in the agricultural cooperatives, and the Party and public organizations in the cooperatives enhanced their role and increased the class awareness and socialist consciousness of the cooperative members.

Irrigation facilities, including the Phyongnam irrigation system, were expanded on a large scale, more chemical fertilizers, farm machines and building materials sent to the countryside, and the economically weak agricultural cooperatives accommodated with food, grain seeds and farming funds or exempted from the payment of taxes in kind in arrears and repayment of state loans of food grain and funds.

Well-trained government employees were selected and dispatched to the agricultural cooperatives to improve their management and operation, training courses and short-term training centres were set up in different places to foster management workers in large numbers, and the number of agricultural colleges and institutes increased. Meanwhile, the Agricultural Cooperatives Standard Rules were made for all the cooperatives to pattern their own rules on them in keeping with their actual conditions and improve their management work accordingly.

In a bid to provide state guidance to the agricultural cooperatives, numerous officials were sent to the countryside to give intensive guidance to the agricultural cooperative economy once or twice a year from the outset of 1955, and each cooperative was made the responsibility of every member of the Political Committee of the WPK Central Committee, every vice-premier and minister of the Cabinet and every other senior officials. In order to strengthen and develop the agricultural cooperatives, Kim Il Sung called a consultative meeting of the Cabinet on June 20 that year, at which he took measures to dispatch guidance teams consisting of Party and government officials from the central and local authorities to the countryside, and led them to put the main emphasis of their guidance on helping all the agricultural cooperatives to stand on their own feet, setting an example to them.

While the agricultural cooperativization was under way, he gave on-site guidance more than a hundred times at farming areas in South Phyongan Province alone, including Chongsan-ri, Kangso County. In mid-November 1955 he visited the Wonhwa Agricultural Cooperative in Sanum-ri, Sunan County, and encouraged its members to do farming well to develop the cooperative, calling himself one of its members.

From 1957 the agricultural cooperativization movement entered the stage of its completion, led by Kim Il Sung.

He took measures to concentrate efforts on the areas which lagged behind others in the aspect of cooperativization, and recruit all the peasants into the cooperatives, while consolidating the achievements already made in the course of cooperativization.

In 1957, when the country was still in an economically difficult situation,

such gigantic irrigation projects as the Kiyang and Ojidon systems were undertaken with a heavy outlay of state funds, and huge amounts of financial, material and technical assistance were given to cooperatives so that they could carry out several thousand irrigation systems and river improvement projects of medium and small sizes on their own. Moreover, the number of farm-machine-hire stations was increased to ensure the ploughing of the land of the agricultural cooperatives, and the rehabilitation and expansion project of the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory was stepped up to increase the supply of chemical fertilizers.

Agricultural cooperativization in Korea was brought to completion on a nationwide scale in August 1958.

Kim Il Sung also organized and led the socialist transformation of urban handicrafts and capitalist trade and industry.

He pushed forward the cooperative reorganization of handicrafts, which had been partially realized already before the war.

Korea's handicraft economy, originally with a weak base, had been severely damaged during the three-year war provoked by the US imperialists. Handicraftsmen found themselves in difficult conditions, as they could not improve their livelihood without merging with one another and relying on the active support of the state. Meanwhile, they deeply understood the superiority of the cooperative economy over the private one through the cooperativization which had already been effected before the war, and so they expressed active support for the Party's line of the cooperativization.

In view of this situation, Kim Il Sung pushed forward the work of remoulding the thinking of the handicraftsmen along socialist lines by forming them into producers' cooperatives on a wide scale. He also made sure that the cooperatives were consolidated by giving them more material, technical and financial support.

The socialist transformation of handicrafts, which had begun at the earliest period of transition, was nearly completed by 1956.

Kim Il Sung gave guidance to the socialist transformation of capitalist trade and industry.

Korea's capitalist trade and industry, the economic foundations of which were originally weak, were totally destroyed by the indiscriminate bombings of the US imperialists during the war, and the position of many business people and traders was little different from that of handicraftsmen or retailers. It was impossible for them to restore their economy and improve their livelihood without pooling their means of production, manpower and funds with assistance from the state.

Taking this situation into account, Kim Il Sung advanced a policy of remoulding the activities of capitalist traders and manufacturers along socialist lines.

He ensured that the voluntary principle was strictly observed in this sphere, too. These people were enlisted in various forms of industrial cooperatives according to their own wishes, and all the traders and manufacturers were remoulded into socialist working people by closely combining the transformation of economic forms with the remoulding of the people involved.

In enlisting individual entrepreneurs in the various forms of producers' cooperatives according to their wishes, Kim Il Sung saw to it that the already formed handicraftsmen's cooperatives were built up, and, on this basis, the entrepreneurs were gradually allowed to join them. At the same time, semi-socialist forms were widely introduced in keeping with the level of the consciousness of the participants and the cooperatives' economic conditions. The equipment donated by individual entrepreneurs was paid for with the joint accumulation of funds of producers' cooperatives so as to cause them no loss and thus convert their ownership into socialist ownership.

In consideration of the fact that the traders were not accustomed to physical work, Kim Il Sung made sure that they first formed marketing cooperatives or production-and-marketing cooperatives among themselves and developed them before changing them into producers' cooperatives by increasing the share of output.

He put great efforts into building up the already formed producers' cooperatives, ensuring that they were provided with equipment, raw materials and funds and lower taxes were imposed upon them, and that their management personnel were properly selected and appointed, and a strict system and order established.

In the course of this, he led the members of producers' cooperatives, who had been traders and manufacturers, to lead a worthwhile life, regarding them as eternal companions of the revolution, not as transient fellow-travellers.

Thanks to his leadership, the socialist transformation of handicrafts and capitalist trade and industry was completed in a comparatively smooth and thoroughgoing way in a short period of four to five years, simultaneously with the completion of agricultural cooperativization. In consequence, the historic victory of socialist revolution in Korea finally resulted in the establishment of a solid socialist system.

With the establishment of the socialist system the exploitation and oppression of man by man was eventually liquidated, the socio-political

independence of the masses realized and the historic task of class liberation carried out.

On September 7, 1958 Kim Il Sung was awarded the title of Labour Hero of the DPRK for his imperishable exploits for the country and the cause of mankind's emancipation by establishing the world's most advantageous socialist system and leading the socialist construction to brilliant victory.

He clarified afresh the contents and mode of the revolution in socialist society.

He defined the three revolutions–ideological, technological and cultural–as the main contents of the revolution to be carried out after the establishment of a socialist system and as the tasks of the continuous revolution to be fulfilled throughout the whole period of socialist construction. He said that the three revolutions were a new mode of revolution to be carried out in socialist society.

He also highlighted such principles to be maintained by the Party in carrying out the three revolutions as the simultaneous promotion of the technological and cultural revolutions while giving priority to the ideological revolution.

## 4. Overcoming Flunkeyism and Dogmatism and Establishing the Juche Orientation after the War

With the revolution and construction promoted in depth after the war, Kim Il Sung took resolute measures to oppose flunkeyism and dogmatism, and thoroughly establish the Juche orientation in the new socialist society.

The socialist revolution and construction in Korea were conducted under unusual socio-economic conditions and circumstances different from those of other countries. Accordingly, it was impossible to correctly solve all the problems arising in the revolution and construction only on the basis of the established theories or the experience of other countries; everything had to be settled entirely from the Juche-based standpoint to suit the actual conditions of Korea.

The thorough establishment of the Juche orientation emerged as a more pressing demand because the harmful machinations of anti-Party factionalists, sycophants and dogmatists became ever more pronounced after the war. The sycophantic and dogmatist elements did not work according to the lines and

policies of the WPK, but only tried to blindly follow others and depend on them in doing everything without relying on the strength of their people. They turned away from the history and culture of the Korean people and even the revolutionary traditions of the WPK, and descended into national nihilism. They tried to mechanically copy foreign practices, regarding all domestic things as bad and all foreign things as good. Flunkeyism and dogmatism grew to the extreme, and the harm that resulted became unbearable. The revisionists, who appeared within the international communist movement in those days, put political and economic pressure on other countries in a bid to force them to accept their revisionist lines. The anti-Party, counterrevolutionary factionalists lurking within the WPK, taking advantage of this opportunity, made every attempt to bring about revisionism. In such a situation, if Korea failed to establish the Juche orientation, revisionism might infiltrate from outside and bring grave consequences to the revolution.

Seeing this clearly, Kim Il Sung advanced a resolute policy of opposing flunkeyism and dogmatism and establishing the Juche orientation in all fields after the war.

He said:

**"In 1955 our Party laid down a firm policy to oppose dogmatism and establish Juche in all spheres, and went on to wage a resolute struggle to carry it through."**

In order to eliminate flunkeyism and dogmatism and thoroughly establish the Juche orientation in all spheres of the revolution and construction, he made clear the fundamental guidelines for establishing the Juche orientation in ideological work in a historic speech titled, ***On Eliminating Dogmatism and Formalism and Establishing Juche in Ideological Work***, delivered to Party information and publicity workers on December 28, 1955.

He specified the ways to firmly establish the Juche orientation in the Party's ideological work.

He underlined the need to make a deep study of Korea's history and its people's struggle, give wide publicity to them and, in particular, educate Party members and other working people in the Party's history of struggle and revolutionary traditions.

In order to establish the Juche orientation in ideological work, he pointed out, it was essential to study one's own things in earnest and know them well, and, in particular, educate Party members and other working people to be well versed in the Juche idea and the Party's lines and policies, its embodiment.

In connection with the question of establishing the Juche orientation, he

clarified that socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism are inseparably linked, and stressed the need to eliminate formalism in ideological work and conduct information work efficiently.

He paid primary attention to establishing the Juche orientation in the sector of ideology.

In order to arm Party members and other working people with the Party's Juche idea, he convened a meeting of the Presidium of the WPK Central Committee in mid-February 1956, at which he took steps to change the contents and forms of the Party's ideological work in an all-round way and equip Party members and other working people with the Juche idea.

Many books on the Juche idea and the Party's lines and policies, its embodiment, and the revolutionary traditions were published, and the State Central Liberation Struggle Museum (the present Korean Revolution Museum) got a better arrangement. Meanwhile, the Party and public organizations intensified the study of Party documents and of the history and revolutionary traditions of the Party. All Party organizations and information and cultural institutions put the main emphasis on the things of their own country in their work and completely improved all its forms and methods to suit the feelings and tastes of their people.

Kim Il Sung directed efforts to ensure that the Party's lines on literature and the arts were carried out to the letter. At a meeting of the Presidium of the WPK Central Committee held on January 8, 1956 he laid bare the crimes of the anti-Party, counterrevolutionary factionalists who attempted to spread the reactionary bourgeois ideology in the sector of literature and the arts, and put forward tasks for implementing the Party's policy for this sector.

In a talk to leading officials of the Ministry of Culture and Information on March 1, 1956 he underscored the need to develop the Juche-based national culture and arts by graphically reflecting the realities of Korea and the heroic struggle of its people, and making effective use of the artistic forms peculiar to the Korean nation.

In order to establish the Juche orientation in education he visited Kim Il Sung University, the Central Party School and many other educational establishments and cadre training centres and gave concrete instructions on preparing teaching programmes and textbooks from the standpoint of Juche and firmly equipping students with the Juche idea and practical knowledge useful to the Korean revolution.

The vigorous struggle to establish the Juche orientation in the ideological sphere under Kim Il Sung's leadership brought about a radical

change not only in the contents and forms of the Party's ideological work but also in the people's ideological life and their way of thinking. All the officials, Party members and other working people became able to discriminate between right and wrong by means of the yardstick of Kim Il Sung's revolutionary ideology and the WPK's lines and policies, its embodiment. They also cherished a growing sense of national pride and independent consciousness that they were the masters of the Korean revolution, and established the revolutionary habit of settling everything by means of their own efforts.

The year 1955 saw a definite turning point in the WPK's consistent struggle to establish the Juche orientation.

Kim Il Sung saw to it that the principle of independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-reliance in national defence was firmly adhered to.

He paid primary attention to leading the country to maintain independence in politics.

He ensured that the WPK flatly rejected the flunkeyist tendency to surrender to the pressure of big countries and take its cue from others, worked out its lines and policies in keeping with the specific conditions of the country and the aspirations and demands of the people, and carried them out on the strength of the people.

He led the country to maintain independence in building its economy.

In the summer of 1956, while touring the USSR and Eastern European socialist countries, he declared that if Korea promoted socialist construction successfully by displaying self-reliance, it would indicate its faithfulness to internationalism, even though it did not enter the CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance). Afterwards, he invariably opposed the country's entry into the CMEA and held fast to the line of building an independent national economy.

He led the country to steadfastly adhere to the line of self-reliance in national defence.

Firmly convinced that without one's own strong self-defensive military strength it would be impossible to defend the sovereignty of the country and nation and achieve the independence of the nation and the prosperity of the country, he strictly adhered to the principle of self-reliance in national defence with a determination to build up a mighty military deterrent.

As a result, the DPRK was able to develop into a socialist power nobody

dared to attack as it had an independent national economy and great self-defensive military strength, maintaining independence in politics and the principle of complete equality and mutual respect in external relations.

## 5. Struggle to Arm Party Members and Other Working People with Socialist Ideology and Defending and Carrying Forward the Revolutionary Traditions

Kim Il Sung directed great efforts to arming Party members and other working people with socialist ideology.

After the war, while the country was stepping up the socialist transformation of its economy, its people's ideological consciousness failed to keep pace with this development. Outdated ideological remnants, such as individualism, egoism, passiveness and conservatism, remained deeply etched in the minds of the people, who had formerly lived in a capitalist economy. Such being the situation, only when the work to equip the working masses with socialist ideology was strengthened could their revolutionary zeal and creative activity be given full play, and socialist revolution and construction promoted successfully.

Equipping Party members and other working people with socialist ideology was a matter of special urgency as Korea was promoting its socialist revolution in direct confrontation with the US imperialists.

Kim Il Sung made energetic efforts to arm the people with socialist ideology in accordance with their preparedness from the first stage of the socialist transformation of the relations of production after the war.

He frequently inspected the rural areas, acquainting himself with the peasants' cognizance of socialism, explaining to them the three forms of agricultural cooperatives in plain and simple language, and teaching them which form was socialistic.

After listening to his explanation, the peasants realized that the form of their cooperatives was socialistic, and expressed ready support for agricultural cooperativization, insisting that nothing would be better than socialism if cooperativization was clearly socialistic.

The question of arming the people with socialist ideology presented itself as

an urgent necessity with the deepening of the socialist revolution and the gradual transformation of all the people into socialist working people. In this connection, in his April Theses of 1955, at a meeting of the Presidium of the WPK Central Committee in February the following year and at the Third Congress of the WPK, Kim Il Sung advanced the tasks for preparing the working people to be builders of socialism by intensifying socialist education.

He ensured that education in socialist ideology was intensified, with the main stress on education in class consciousness.

The class consciousness of the working class constitutes the core of socialist ideology, and a socialist society is one embodying their class demands.

As the socialist revolution is an acute social revolution for abolishing the exploiter classes once and for all, it is accompanied with a fierce struggle between classes. Moreover, as the acts of sabotage by the US imperialists and class enemies against the socialist revolution and construction in the northern half of Korea were growing more and more vicious, education of the working people in socialist ideology with the main stress put on education in class consciousness was an all-the-more important task.

The plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee held in April 1955 discussed and decided on intensifying such education among Party members.

In a report delivered to the meeting titled, ***On Intensifying Class Education for Party Members*** Kim Il Sung clearly elucidated the basic orientation and ways of education in class consciousness. Stressing the need to conduct such education in keeping with the actual situation of the country, he stated that, to this end, it was required to bring home to all Party members and other working people the country's socio-economic situation, the positions of classes and the correlation among them, and particularly the nature and cunning aspects of the hostile classes. In this way the people would come to correctly understand who were the main driving force of the revolution and its allies. He added that it was necessary to establish a revolutionary world outlook among all Party members and other working people, and educate them in the firm conviction in the victory of the revolution. He also pointed out that they should be given a clear understanding of the general laws governing the development of nature and society so that they could be armed with a scientific knowledge of the inevitable collapse of capitalism and imperialism and the certain triumph of socialism. He stressed that all Party members and other working people should be encouraged to struggle with perseverance against all sorts of practices which had nothing to do with the working class, and to detect and expose enemy subversion and sabotage in good time. He detailed specific ways to that end.

After the plenary meeting the work of intensifying education in class consciousness for all Party members and other working people was developed into the work of the entire Party.

For this purpose, the ranks of information workers were built up, the system, contents, forms and methods of the Party's ideological work rectified, Party organizations' guidance over education in class consciousness improved, formalism and sloganeering in such education eliminated and the education conducted effectively to suit the actual situation of the country and the practical problems raised in the Korean revolution. In particular, emphasis was put on intensifying such education among peasants and the rising generation.

As education in class consciousness was intensified, the class awareness of Party members and other working people was enhanced, and their class consciousness and role raised all the more in the practice of socialist construction.

Kim Il Sung showed deep concern for arming Party members and other working people with the collectivist idea.

He paid close attention to educating all Party members and other working people so that they would value and love the common property of society, take part in communal labour with sincerity and voluntarily observe labour discipline, with a correct understanding that the interests of the collective include those of its individual members and that the property of a community contains the shares of its individual members.

In May 1958, while giving on-site guidance in Ryanggang Province, he stressed the need to conduct the Party's political education aimed at arming the people with socialist ideology to meet the specific situation of each province and the peculiarities of every stratum of society. He added that as most of the farmers in that province lived in different mountainous areas, they were strongly inclined towards conservative and dispersed character, and that accordingly it was necessary to intensify the education of them in collectivism more vigorously than in other provinces.

As socialist education for all Party members and other working people, with the main emphasis on education in class consciousness, went on extensively after the war under his wise leadership, the socialist revolution of Korea was successfully carried out.

After the establishment of the socialist system, he directed greater efforts to intensifying socialist education for all Party members and other working people.

He already defined the intensification of socialist education as a general direction of the Party's political work at the WPK Conference, and in his speech titled, ***On Communist Education*** delivered at the national short course for publicity workers of city and county Party committees on November 20, 1958 he explained the tasks of educating Party members and other working people in socialist ideology after the establishment of the socialist system.

In the speech he declared that the struggles between the new and the old, between the progressive and the conservative, between the active and the passive, between collectivism and individualism and, generally speaking, between socialism and capitalism–these were the contents of the revolutionary struggle of the Korean people. The socialist cause could emerge victorious only in the course of sweeping away all outdated things in the way of its advance.

Of importance in communist education, he stated, was the bringing home to Party members and other working people of the superiority of socialism over capitalism and the truth that things new will surely win and things old will fall, and educating them in the spirit of collectivism and of love for work, socialist patriotism, proletarian internationalism and the ideas of continuous revolution, progress and innovation. He stressed that all this work should be combined with education in loyalty to the Party.

After the short course, socialist education of Party members and other working people was conducted vigorously.

With the successful promotion of socialist education, the people's mental and moral qualities were transformed on socialist lines, and the collectivist atmosphere prevailed in the whole society. Under the slogan **"One for all and all for one!"** the working people, helping and leading one another forward, displayed lofty collectivist deeds, dedicating their all to society and the collective, and sometimes even donating their flesh and blood to their comrades without hesitation.

Kim Il Sung led the effort to staunchly defend the revolutionary traditions of the WPK and carry them forward.

Revolutionary traditions constitute the historical roots of socialist society and ideological and mental wealth which ensures the lifeline of the revolution. The course of defending, inheriting and developing the revolutionary traditions created by the leader who blazed the trail for socialism is the very course of bringing the socialist cause to completion. The attitude towards the revolutionary traditions is therefore a touchstone that distinguishes loyalty from

treachery to the masses' cause of independence, the socialist cause, and distinguishes revolution from counterrevolution.

In his speeches delivered to the officers and men of KPA Unit No. 324 in February 1958, and to officials of the Party, power organs and public organizations in Ryanggang Province in May that year Kim Il Sung gave a profound explanation of the theoretical and practical problems arising in defending, inheriting and developing the revolutionary traditions.

He defined the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese guerrilla army as the only traditions the WPK and the Korean people should inherit and develop.

He said:

**"What do we mean by the inheritance of revolutionary traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army? We mean that the People's Army has inherited the ideological system of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, its fine working methods and style."**

The traditions of the anti-Japanese revolution have rich and diverse contents–the ideological system of Juche, the revolutionary spirit of Mt. Paektu, undying revolutionary exploits, priceless fighting experience, revolutionary way of work and popular style of work.

What is of great significance in carrying forward the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese struggle is to strictly defend their purity and thoroughly apply them to all spheres of the revolution and construction.

Kim Il Sung also gave answers to the theoretical and practical questions concerning education in the revolutionary traditions.

Only when the education of Party members and other working people in revolutionary traditions was strengthened would they be able to clearly understand the historical roots of the Korean revolution, train themselves into Juche-type revolutionaries who would firmly defend the Party and the revolution in any adversity and display unfailing devotion and self-sacrificing spirit in implementing the Party's lines and policies with the noble revolutionary spirit that the anti-Japanese guerrillas had displayed. This type of education was of special importance to the new generations that had never experienced the ordeals of the revolution or suffered the exploitation and oppression by landlords and capitalists.

Kim Il Sung pointed out that what was important in this education was to get Party members and other working people to fully appreciate the revolutionary ideas and spirit contained in the revolutionary traditions. So the education should be conducted in a deep-going and true-to-life way in close combination with their actual life and revolutionary practice.

He took proactive measures to intensify this education so as to defend, inherit and develop the revolutionary traditions of the WPK.

While visiting the revolutionary battle sites and revolutionary sites in Ryanggang Province, including those of Pochonbo and Samjiyon, in May 1958, he gave detailed instructions on intensifying education in the revolutionary traditions. He also explained that Party members and other working people should be educated to get ready to fight for the victory of the revolution with a clear understanding of the historical roots of the Korean revolution.

At his instructions, a tour of anti-Japanese revolutionary battle sites by anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters was organized in 1959. The group was dispatched to Northeast China with the task of discovering and collecting historical materials and relics of the period of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. And the revolutionary battle sites, revolutionary sites, revolutionary museums, museums of revolutionary activities and halls for the study of history of the WPK were laid out across the country as centres of education in the revolutionary traditions. At the same time, a regular system of education in the revolutionary traditions was established throughout the Party. Meanwhile, the *Reminiscences of the Anti-Japanese Guerrillas* and the *Collection of Revolutionary Songs* were published in great numbers, and books, articles, films, novels and songs concerning the revolutionary traditions were widely produced and disseminated.

With the active promotion of the education of Party members and other working people in the revolutionary traditions in various forms and by various methods, the glorious revolutionary traditions of the WPK created in the period of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle were brilliantly inherited and developed.

## 6. Third Congress of the WPK and the Struggle for the Party's Unity and against Counterrevolution

By the latter half of the 1950s the postwar reconstruction had been completed in the main in the northern half of Korea, the socialist transformation of production relations was being successfully promoted in both urban and rural areas, and the ideological consciousness of its people was being continually remodelled on socialist lines. Meanwhile, in south Korea the fighting spirit of the people was soaring with each passing day against the attempts of the US

imperialists and their lackeys to provoke a new war and against their fascist tyranny.

The general international situation was turning in favour of the Korean revolution, but it was still complex and strained. The US-led imperialists were determined to ignite a new war and raising a frantic “anti-communist” racket. They also attempted to disintegrate the socialist countries from within. The revisionists who appeared in the international communist movement placed a grave obstacle in the way of the implementation of the socialist cause by putting forward an opportunist line, and trying to force other countries to act under their direction.

Taking advantage of this complex situation, the anti-Party, counterrevolutionary factionalists, who had been lying low within the Party, raised their heads and manoeuvred against it and the revolution with the backing of foreign forces.

The prevailing situation urgently demanded that the WPK and Korean people step up the struggle to accomplish the building of the foundations of socialism and achieve national reunification, strengthen the unity of the WPK, and adhere more steadfastly to the principle of independent politics, self-supporting economy and self-reliant national defence.

With sharp insight into the demands of development of the WPK and the Korean revolution, Kim Il Sung called the Third Congress of the WPK.

At the congress, held from April 23 to 29, 1956, he delivered a report on the work of the WPK Central Committee.

In the report he made a profound analysis of the internal and international situations, reviewed the achievements and experiences gained in Party activities, and set forth programmatic tasks for calling the WPK and the Korean people to a new victory.

He advanced the basic principle of the country’s foreign policy–strengthening friendship, solidarity and cooperation with other socialist countries, endeavouring to establish political and other ties with all peace-loving countries on the basis of mutual respect of one another’s sovereignty and equality, fighting resolutely against the US imperialists’ aggression in Asia and the revival of Japanese militarism, and giving active support to the national liberation struggles in the colonies.

In the report he clarified the task of completing the building of the foundations of socialism and the goals to be attained in the Five-Year National Economic Plan (1957-1961).

The basic task of the Five-Year Plan was to complete the socialist

transformation of the relations of production, lay solid foundations for socialist industrialization and basically solve the problem of people's clothing, food and housing.

Kim Il Sung presented the orientation and tasks of each branch of the national economy for the five-year period. Referring to industry, he stressed that its colonial lopsidedness should be done away with and socialist industrialization speeded up. In agriculture, he pointed out, grain production should be increased considerably and agricultural cooperativization brought to completion. He also detailed the tasks for capital construction, the training of technical personnel and the raising of the people's material and cultural living standards.

He proposed consolidating the state and social system. He explained that to this end it was imperative to intensify the work of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea, consolidate the people's power, and enhance the role of the internal security organs, prosecutors' offices and judicial organs.

In the report he reaffirmed the policy of independent national reunification and explained concrete proposals for its realization.

He reviewed the achievements gained in Party building and set forth the task of consolidating and developing the Party.

The congress adopted new Party Rules to meet the demands of Party building and developing revolution, and a declaration–*For the Peaceful Reunification of the Country*–which advanced concrete proposals for the independent reunification of Korea.

Reflecting the unanimous will and desire of the entire WPK and all the people, the congress reelected Kim Il Sung Chairman of the WPK Central Committee.

After the congress Kim Il Sung led the struggle to consolidate the unity of the Party while stepping up the work of completing the laying of the foundations of socialism.

Consolidating the Party's unity was an urgent requirement, as the situation within and without was complex and the moves of the anti-Party, counterrevolutionary factionalists were becoming more blatant.

Kim Il Sung made great efforts to expose and shatter the attempts of the factionalists who dared to challenge the Party in the trying years after the war.

Already at the April Plenary Meeting of the WPK Central Committee, held in 1955, he had warned that the Party would sternly oppose them if they persisted in factionalism, putting the spotlight on the factionalist elements appearing within the Party. He gave them another warning at the Third Party Congress.

In spite of the Party's repeated warnings that they immediately stop their anti-Party machinations, Choe Chang Ik and other factionalists persisted in their anti-Party, counterrevolutionary moves. They hatched a base counterrevolutionary plot to attain their political ambition when Kim Il Sung was on friendly visits to the Soviet Union and other Eastern European socialist countries in June and July 1956. The Choe Chang Ik-led clique made a frontal attack on the Party at the plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee convened late in August 1956.

Kim Il Sung took resolute measures to lay bare the true nature of the anti-Party, counterrevolutionary factionalists at the plenary meeting.

The anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans and other participants at the meeting delivered a decisive blow to the factionalists there and then, and defended Kim Il Sung in every way. As a result, the plot of the anti-Party, counterrevolutionary factionalists was completely frustrated before it was too late.

Pak Chang Ok and other factionalists, who had been hand in glove with Choe Chang Ik, were inveterate splittists who had done serious harm to the revolution while they were in Party leadership positions. Those who were exposed and purged during the plenary meeting were not merely a factionalist gang but a heinous counterrevolutionary clique that tried to overthrow the Party and government in league with the US imperialists. They schemed to deny Party leadership of the revolution and construction and the function of dictatorship of the people's government, and obliterate the revolutionary traditions of the WPK. They opposed the Party's lines and policies, and hurled abuse and slanders against its brilliant achievements and successes in the revolution and construction.

Exposing the true nature of the factionalists and the essence of their schemes at the meeting, Kim Il Sung emphasized the need to unconditionally forbid factionalist activities within the Party in future and to resolutely smash them under whatever pretext they might be perpetrated or however trivial they might look.

After the meeting the anti-factionalist struggle was organized throughout the Party.

Although the ringleaders of the factionalist cliques were purged after sustaining a fatal blow at the plenary meeting, its remnant forces and the ideological poison of factionalism remained as threatening as ever. The work of liquidating the remnants of factionalism could not be settled by an administrative, businesslike method, because it was related to people's ideas.

Therefore, Kim Il Sung ensured that the struggle against factionalism was

waged by way of ideological struggle and education, and that the struggle was waged on the principle of uniting more people around the Party and consistently on the basis of the experience he had gained in the struggle against the Minsaengdan in the period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and for exposing and smashing the Pak Hon Yong clique during the Fatherland Liberation War.

The primary task was to defend the WPK Central Committee and strengthen the unity and cohesion of the Party, so the main effort was directed to this end. All Party members and other working people were clearly informed of the essence and harmful nature of factionalism and its ideological origin and crimes, and a sharp ideological struggle was waged against every manifestation of factionalism no matter how small. Along with this, the struggle against factionalism was closely combined with the struggle against worship of great powers, dogmatism and revisionism, and for effecting a great upsurge in socialist construction.

Through this struggle all Party members, service personnel and other working people were politically and ideologically awakened, and firmly united behind Kim Il Sung.

Late in August 1957, when Kim Il Sung went to Thaesong-ri, Kangso County, to cast a ballot for a deputy to the Supreme People's Assembly, an old woman grasped him by the hand and said, "Mr. Premier, you look so pale! Don't worry so much. Whatever the factionalists may say concerning our living conditions, we are living well. We'll win, for sure. They cannot win. So don't worry; we support you, Premier."

Enjoying such active support for and trust in him of the army and people, Kim Il Sung thwarted the machinations of the anti-Party, counterrevolutionary factionalists and achieved the Party's unity and cohesion.

He reviewed the inner-Party struggle to clear away the historical dross of factionalism, and put great efforts into the struggle to make a clean sweep of the remnants of factionalism.

At the WPK Conference held from March 3 to 6, 1958, he set out the tasks for strengthening the unity and cohesion of the Party.

First of all, he pointed to the need to continue to fight resolutely against factionalism, parochialism and nepotism, root out the after-effects of factionalism, wage a struggle against revisionism and strengthen the organizational life of Party members. He stressed that special efforts should be directed to defending the WPK Central Committee in the struggle against factionalism.

He said:

**"The most important thing in the struggle against factionalism is to defend the Party Central Committee in order to safeguard Party unity."**

The anti-Party, counterrevolutionary factionalists directed their main effort at vilifying the WPK Central Committee and undermining its authority in order to seize leadership in that body.

Kim Il Sung, stressing that a party cannot exist separated from its central committee, said that the struggle to defend the WPK Central Committee and support its leadership should be waged more dynamically.

After the conference he arranged that the WPK Central Committee provided intensive guidance to the local Party organizations with the aim of thoroughly liquidating the after-effects of factionalism. He himself went to Ryanggang Province and many factories and enterprises, specifying for their Party committees detailed orientation and ways of rooting out the after-effects of factionalism and rectifying the deviations manifested in the struggle.

As a consequence, the dross of factionalism was completely removed, and the factionalist cliques and their remnant forces ceased to exist.

As the socialist revolution progressed successfully, Kim Il Sung organized and guided the work of strengthening the struggle against counterrevolution.

As the foothold of all the class enemies crumbled with the successful promotion of the socialist transformation of the relations of production in the northern half of Korea, the overthrown exploiting classes manoeuvred still more viciously. The anti-Party factionalists who had wormed their way into judicial organs not only intentionally neglected the struggle against hostile elements but openly shielded and conspired with them and went so far as to acquit counterrevolutionaries. In order to promote socialist construction and reliably defend the revolutionary gains against the enemy's encroachment, it was necessary to thoroughly suppress the manoeuvres of the counterrevolutionary elements.

At a meeting of the Presidium of the WPK Central Committee held late in May 1957, Kim Il Sung clarified the principle and ways to be followed in the struggle against counterrevolution. In this struggle target of struggle had to be identified clearly, friend distinguished from foe, and the struggle waged against flagrant offenders on the principle of severely punishing the tiny number of vicious elements and embracing the majority of passive accomplices and educating them. The struggle had also to be waged not as a temporary undertaking but as a day-to-day political struggle, and not as an undertaking by certain officials but as a mass movement, and all fields and units had to

establish a revolutionary system and order in the course of this drive.

The struggle became an all-people undertaking, the class enemies were further isolated, and the covert counterrevolutionary elements were detected and exposed in time.

Through the struggle against counterrevolution, the masses of the people became more solidly united around the WPK and the driving force of the revolution enhanced, with the result that the socialist revolution and construction were successfully carried out.

## 7. Great Revolutionary Upsurge in Socialist Construction, the Chollima Movement and Its Development

The Korean people got down to executing the Five-Year Plan from 1957, after fulfilling the Three-Year Plan within two years and eight months.

For the successful fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan, production had to be increased at a high rate. However, it was faced with manifold difficulties.

The Five-Year Plan required huge investment and a high level of technology, but the country was short of equipment, materials, manpower and funds, and its technology was backward. Moreover, the people's living was still hard. To make matters worse, the situations both within the country and without were very tense and complex, on account of the unprecedentedly frantic "anti-communist" schemes cooked up by the US-led imperialists and international reactionaries, the "march north" racket raised by the Syngman Rhee puppet clique, the pressure and interference by great-power chauvinists, and the manoeuvres of the anti-Party, counterrevolutionary factionalists in the WPK.

In order to remove the obstacles in the way of the revolution and construction, Kim Il Sung called a plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee in December 1956.

The meeting discussed the national economic plan for 1957, the first year of the Five-Year Plan.

Some participants, overawed by the enormous long-term tasks and the difficulties in their way, claimed that some figures in the plan should be reduced and the pace of economic growth slowed down, and others proposed borrowing foreign capital.

At the meeting Kim Il Sung put forward a policy of bringing about a new upswing in socialist economic construction, saying that if the revolutionary zeal of the masses was mobilized the high goals of the national economic plan could certainly be attained. He set the high targets of increasing gross industrial output value by 21 per cent in 1957 over the estimated results of 1956, and producing 5 000-10 000 tons of steel, 50 000 tons of grain and commodities worth 4-5 billion *won* (in the old currency) over and above the plan. Saying that their successful implementation depended upon how efficiently all the officials conducted political work, work with the people, and gave full play to the activeness and creativity of the broad sections of the masses, he stressed that all Party members and other working people should tap all possible reserves and maximize the utilization of equipment under the slogan, **"Let us produce more and practice economy to fulfil the Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule!"**

After the plenary meeting he made strenuous efforts to rouse the entire Party and all the people to the struggle for a great upsurge in socialist construction.

He dispatched senior officials of the Party, including members of the Presidium of its Central Committee, and of the state to major factories, enterprises and rural areas across the country. He himself visited the Kangson Steel Plant in the early morning of December 28, 1956, in order to solve the acute steel problem.

His visit was aimed at finding more reserves for increased steel production by the 60 000-ton-capacity blooming mill, the only one of its kind in the country.

The steel plant had already been assigned by the state the task of producing 80 000 tons of steel in 1957. But 80 000 tons of steel could not satisfy the country's demand. That was why the December Plenary Meeting of the WPK Central Committee had called for the production of 10 000 tons more of steel on top of the plan figure, and in response to the call, the plant had been trying to find internal reserves, but in vain.

At the plant Kim Il Sung convened a consultative meeting of the leading officials and model workers, and delivered a speech titled, ***Let Us Exploit Internal Reserves to the Maximum and Produce More Steel***.

In the speech he explained the key spirit of the December Plenary Meeting of the WPK Central Committee, the huge tasks of the Five-Year Plan, the complicated situation within and without, and the obstacles in the way of fulfilling the national economic plan for the following year, adding: We should not despair in the face of the serious hardships besetting our revolutionary

struggle and construction work; The Party trusts you, the working class, the main force of the revolution, and is pinning its hopes on you; If you produce 10 000 tons more of steel than planned, it will greatly help the country; The solution to the country's problem of meeting the shortage of steel depends entirely on the workers at this plant; You alone are the ones who can solve the tense problem of steel; You should clearly understand the Party's will and do your best to solve the acute steel problem.

He concluded his speech with a moving appeal full of expectation and trust:

**"The workers of the Kangson Steel Plant should hold higher the torch of the collective innovation movement in accordance with the decision of the December Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. By so doing, they should make it an impetus which will rouse the working people across our country for a great upswing in socialist construction."**

The workers at the plant made great innovations in steel production, with a firm determination to repay with increased production the trust and affection of their leader, who had placed them in the van of the effort to bring about a revolutionary upsurge. They produced 120 000 tons of structural steel using a blooming mill with an annual rated capacity of only 60 000 tons by tapping all available reserves and maximizing the utilization of production equipment. In the course of this, the flames of a great revolutionary upsurge were lit in Kangson, and it became famous later as the historic place where the first torch of the grand Chollima march was kindled.

After kindling the flames of a revolutionary upsurge in Kangson, Kim Il Sung spent the greater part of 1957 giving on-site guidance at many factories, enterprises and farming and fishing villages across the country, including the Hwanghae Iron Works in January, and later the Hungnam and Sinpho areas and Mundok and Sukchon counties, rousing all the people to the grand Chollima march.

Inspired by his militant appeal and on-site guidance, the working class and other people all over the country effected a great revolutionary upsurge on all fronts of socialist construction by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance under the revolutionary slogan, **"Let us dash forward at the speed of Chollima!"**

At a plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee held in April 1957 Kim Il Sung took steps to effect new innovations in the fishing industry–the catching of fish all the year round by employing diverse methods such as medium- and small-scale, deep-sea and seasonal fishing; decisive improvement of fish processing; encouragement of young people to take to the sea; training

of technicians for the development of the fishing industry; and wide introduction of modern technology. At another plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee held in October that year, he adopted measures for bringing about an innovative change in the building industry–extensively applying the Party's policy of the prefab method; standardizing designing; putting the production of building parts on an industrial footing; widely introducing machinery in building operations; and improving the speed and quality of construction.

After the meetings Kim Il Sung visited the Chongjin, Nampho and many other fishing stations, and various construction sites including those in Pyongyang, inspiring the workers to labour feats and looking after their living needs.

Thanks to his wise leadership, an impressive change took place on all fronts of socialist construction, where world-startling miracles were performed one after another.

The workers at the Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Works produced 270 000 tons of pig iron by means of the equipment there with only an annual capacity of 190 000 tons, and the workers at the Hwanghae Iron Works built a large blast furnace in less than a year. In the midst of the revolutionary upsurge, the industrial production plan for 1957, the first year of the Five-Year Plan, was overfulfilled by 17 per cent, industrial production increased by 44 per cent as against the previous year, and the plan for grain production overfulfilled by 12 per cent.

This is how the revolutionary upsurge of socialist construction and its ensuing development, the Chollima Movement, started in Korea.

At a plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee held in September 1958 Kim Il Sung took measures to spur the great upsurge of socialist construction and step up the technical transformation of the national economy.

At this meeting he advanced the slogans, **"Iron and machine are the king of industry!"** and **"Make every effort to expand the irrigated area by one million hectares!"** and set out the tasks for rapidly developing the metallurgical and machine-building industries, and basically completing the rural irrigation system in the coming few years.

The plenary meeting issued a letter from the Party Central Committee to all its members, calling on them to keep up the upsurge in socialist construction.

After the September Plenary Meeting Kim Il Sung organized the struggle to implement the decision of the meeting.

He made sure that fresh progress was made in technical development through intensified creative cooperation between the producer masses and the scientists and technicians and through a wide-scale mass movement for technical innovation, and that economic management and production organization were improved to exploit all reserves and possibilities for the growth of production.

He made great efforts to rapidly develop the metallurgical industry.

He said:

**"The manufacture of modern machines and equipment is of paramount importance in industrialization and in the technical revolution. For the production of machines, we need iron."**

In order to increase the amount of steel to meet the need for machine production, he again visited the Kangson Steel Plant early in October 1958, and gave the workers there instructions on making continuous innovations in steel production. During his visits to the Songjin and Chongjin steel plants and the Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Works in March the following year, and to the Hwanghae Iron Works in September, he indicated the orientation of the development of the country's metallurgical industry and the ways for putting production on a normal footing.

Upholding the instructions of Kim Il Sung, the technicians and workers in the field of metallurgy built a new blast furnace with a capacity of 300 000-400 000 tons in less than a year, and produced and supplied iron and steel badly needed in various fields of the national economy.

Kim Il Sung paid close attention to the development of the machine-building industry.

At that time great-power chauvinists advised Korea to restrict itself to producing raw materials, and buy and use machines made in their country, claiming that it was too early for Korea to produce modern machines and that production of machines in small numbers would not pay off. If Korea had simply exported its ore to foreign countries in exchange for machines, as they advised, what would have remained would have been empty tunnels, and it could never have produced machines through its own efforts.

With an audacious plan to have modern machines and equipment necessary for the country's industrialization made through the efforts of the country itself, Kim Il Sung visited the Kiyang Tractor Plant and Tokchon Automobile Plant in October 1958, and gave the workers there the tasks to produce tractors and trucks by their own efforts, fully displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. In March 1959 he visited the Ryongsong Machine Factory, where he

instructed the workers in measures to produce large-sized machines and equipment on their own.

In particular, he devoted great efforts to the production of machine tools. During his on-site guidance at a small flax mill in Kyongsong County, North Hamgyong Province, in March 1959 he saw its workers using machine tools of their own making, and planned to launch a let-one-machine-tool-make-another movement. He kindled the torch of the movement at an enlarged meeting of the Presidium of the WPK Central Committee held in May that year. As this mass movement gained momentum, he developed it in the direction of producing large and specialized machine tools.

The machine-building industry workers made marvellous achievements by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude. They manufactured a *Chollima* tractor and a *Sungni-58* truck in a little more than a month and 40 days, respectively, an 8-metre turning lathe and a 3 000-ton press, a *Chollima* excavator, a large-sized *Ragwon 1* water pump and a *Pulgunbyol 58* bulldozer. As a result, in all parts of the country miracles were wrought: Machines produced machines, and factories gave birth to factories. Machine tools numbering 13 000 were produced in excess of the plan within a year.

Kim Il Sung attached primary importance to introducing irrigation systems in the course of the technical transformation of the rural economy, and organized the struggle to bring a million hectares of land under irrigation.

He visited the irrigation construction sites at Kiyang, Ojidon, Chongdan and other areas in high and low lands, as well as near the Military Demarcation Line to give detailed guidance.

Under his care, upwards of 9 900 irrigation facilities were constructed and 377 000 hectares of crop fields were brought under irrigation in only six months after the September Plenary Meeting of the WPK Central Committee.

Kim Il Sung pushed ahead with the work of effecting a revolutionary upsurge in all other branches of the national economy, too.

For the rapid development of the electric power industry, he gave on-site guidance at the Suphung Power Station in June 1958 and the construction site of the Jangjagang Power Station in August that year, encouraging the effort for building power stations all over the country. Consequently, the Jangjingang Power Station was rebuilt based on modern technology, and the Jangjagang and other big power stations, and medium- and small-sized power stations sprang up.

Attaching importance to the rapid development of the chemical industry, particularly the founding of the vinalon industry, Kim Il Sung initiated the

building of a vinalon factory, and went to its construction site in March 1959 to clarify the ways of hastening the project. In order to bring about innovations in the sphere of construction, he called a meeting of construction activists of Pyongyang in February 1958, at which he elucidated the concrete tasks confronting the construction sector. Afterwards, he visited many construction sites and solved the problems facing them.

These efforts resulted in the founding of the vinalon industry for the first time in Korea, and the creation of vinalon speed and Pyongyang speed, symbolic of the Chollima speed in socialist construction. The construction workers of Pyongyang built 20 000 flats with the materials and funds normally only enough for building 7 000 flats, and young railway workers laid in only 75 days 80 km of standard-gauge railway lines between Haeju and Hasong, which would have taken three to four years in other times.

In order to develop light industry Kim Il Sung set forth the unique policy of developing medium- and small-scale local industries in parallel with large-scale central industries, at a plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee held in June 1958, and ensured that at least one locally-run factory was built in each city and county through an all-people campaign.

As a result, more than 1 000 locally-run factories were built by local efforts within three to four months, and the number increased to over 2 000 in just over a year. These factories now could produce one half of the total consumer goods needed in the country.

This great upsurge was promoted in all spheres of socialist construction, and the country's economy developed rapidly. The total industrial output value grew by 40 per cent in 1958 compared with that in 1957, and again by 53 per cent in 1959 compared with the previous year.

Amid this great revolutionary upsurge the Chollima Movement was launched and developed into an all-people mass movement for the hastening of socialist construction to the limit.

Kim Il Sung made clear the essence of the Chollima Movement, defining it as the WPK's general line for socialist construction.

He said:

**"The Chollima Movement has become a great revolutionary movement of the working millions of our country, sweeping away everything old-fashioned from all spheres of the economy, culture, ideology and morality, and constantly making innovations and accelerating socialist construction at an unprecedented rate. The movement has become our Party's general line in the construction of socialism."**

He then developed the movement in an organized way into the Chollima Workteam Movement.

On February 17, 1959 he went to the Kangson Steel Plant, where the torch of the Chollima Movement was lit, and kindled the flames of the Chollima Workteam Movement.

The workers of the plant held high the torch of the Chollima Workteam Movement under the slogan **"One for all and all for one!"**

The Chollima Workteam Movement launched at the plant expanded to factories and enterprises across the country.

The National Meeting of Vanguards of the Chollima Workteam Movement held in August 1960 reviewed the brilliant achievements made in the movement, and took measures to expand the movement, conducted with the workteam as the unit, to workshops and factories, and from the industrial sector to all fields of the economy and culture. In this way, the Chollima Workteam Movement developed into a grand onward movement embracing the broad masses of the people of the country.

With the promotion of the great revolutionary upswing in socialist construction and the ensuing development of the Chollima Movement, the powerful bases of heavy industry, centred on the machine-building industry, and of light industry were created, and thus the solid foundations for socialist industrialization laid.

## 8. Fresh Changes in Party Work and Creation of the Chongsanri Spirit and Chongsanri Method

The new situation created in the country with the establishment of the socialist system and the great upsurge in socialist construction required a corresponding fresh change in Party work.

With keen insight into the requirements of the developing revolution, Kim Il Sung organized and led the struggle to bring about an upturn in Party work after the establishment of the socialist system.

While giving on-site guidance at various local Party organizations before and after the establishment of the socialist system, he made an in-depth study of Party work under socialism, and on the basis of this advanced a new theory of Party work.

He gave scientific solutions to the theoretical and practical problems of Party work in socialist society in his speech titled, ***On Improving Party Work*** delivered to the chairpersons of provincial, city and county Party and people's committees early in March 1958, in his speech titled, ***On the Method of Party Work*** made at a short course for Party organizational officials and chairpersons of the Party committees at production enterprises and chairpersons of provincial, city and county Party committees late in February 1959, and in many other works.

He explained the fundamental of Party work as follows:

**"Party work is work amongst people."**

The object of Party work is man, and the Party takes it as its mission to educate and unite its members and other working people around it, and mobilize them to the implementation of its policies. It is therefore the fundamental of Party work to direct its primary concern to work with the people and persist in it.

On the basis of the principles of Party work centred on man, Kim Il Sung evolved the idea of strengthening inner-Party work and Party guidance over administrative and economic work.

He classified Party work into inner-Party work and guidance over administrative and economic work, and stressed that proper guidance should be given to the latter, while directing the main efforts to the former.

With regard to inner-Party work, he stated that great efforts should be channelled into the qualitative consolidation of the Party, the whole Party should act as one, and work with cadres, Party members and other people should be conducted properly. For the provision of efficient Party guidance over administrative and economic work, he added, Party committees at all levels should become the General Staff of the relevant units and Party guidance over the administrative and economic work should be changed into political guidance.

He also enlarged on the method and style of Party work.

He put stress on eliminating the abuse of Party authority and bureaucracy.

In his report titled, ***On Eliminating Bureaucracy*** delivered at a plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee held in April 1955, he highlighted the importance of improving officials' method and style of work, particularly by eliminating bureaucracy, giving a comprehensive analysis of the essence, manifestations, harmful nature and ideological origin of bureaucracy and clarifying the ways to do away with it.

At a plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee held in February 1959

and at several other meetings, he reiterated the ways and methods of eliminating the abuse of Party authority and bureaucracy.

He said that, in order to eliminate the above abuse and improve the method of Party work, Party workers should do away with administrative and commanding methods, and employ persuasion and education as the basic form in their work, become standard-bearers for the masses in their work, behave like parents when they work with people, exhibit humble and unostentatious manners, and learn from the people unassumingly, so as to raise their ideological and theoretical levels, improve their cultural and technical attainments and possess sound moral qualities.

When bringing about radical changes in Party work, he established a new Party work system.

He set up a system whereby senior officials of the Party Central Committee could give explanations of the Party's lines and policies directly to the officials of their subordinate units, so that all Party workers could correctly understand the intentions of the Party Central Committee. When giving guidance to lower Party organizations, Party workers should not confine themselves to finding their shortcomings but help them there and then to correct their mistakes and come back with good experiences gained in this way. He organized intensive guidance for Party organizations at all levels, he himself going to many local Party organizations, including those in North Hamgyong Province, setting an example of giving guidance and popularizing it throughout the Party.

Under his leadership radical changes took place in Party work, and the militant strength and leadership ability of the Party were remarkably raised, with the result that it became able to play more creditably its role as an organizer and guide of all the victories of the people.

Kim Il Sung constantly improved and perfected the system and method of work of the Party, state and economic organs in keeping with actual developments and their working environment.

In those days the productive forces developed at a very high rate, with the result that the scale of production grew much larger. And the political enthusiasm of the masses ran very high. The new situation created in the country called for a fundamental improvement in the work system and method of the Party.

At a plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee held in December 1959, Kim Il Sung set out the tasks for improving the work system and method of the Party, state and economic organs to meet the requirements of the

changing situation. In February 1960 he stayed in Chongsan-ri and Kangso County for a fortnight to provide on-site guidance.

Through his talks with officials, Party members and farmers at Chongsan-ri, he got acquainted with their work and living conditions, and grasped closely the shortcomings and knotty problems arising in Party work and economic management of the ri cooperative.

He dispatched members of the guidance team to six other ri in the county, and learned that their situations were no different from those at Chongsan-ri.

Based on his detailed inquiry into the actual conditions of the county, he called a general membership meeting of the Party organization of Chongsan-ri and a plenary meeting of the Kangso County Party Committee. In the lead-up to the meetings, he gave instructions on the direction of working out the reports to the meetings, their contents, and the way of their proceedings, so as to ensure them a success.

During his guidance he employed various forms and methods to acquaint Party members and other people with the requirements of the developing revolution and the intentions of the Party, and thus encouraged them to fulfil their revolutionary assignments of their own accord. He taught the officials how to solve the problems arising in their work.

He gave a speech titled, ***For the Correct Management of Socialist Agriculture*** at the general membership meeting of the Party organization of Chongsan-ri on February 8, one titled, ***On Improving the Working Method of the County Party Organization in Accordance with the New Circumstances*** at the plenary meeting of the Kangso County Party Committee on February 18, and one titled, ***On the Lessons Drawn from Guidance to the Work of the Kangso County Party Committee*** at an enlarged meeting of the Presidium of the WPK Central Committee on February 23. In these speeches he gave comprehensive answers to all the problems related to the correct management of the socialist rural economy, and the radical improvement of the work system and method of the Party, state and economic organs.

The work system and method he established during his guidance to Chongsan-ri and Kangso County and the leadership method he employed represent the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method.

He said:

**"The Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method is the embodiment and development of the revolutionary mass line, a tradition of our Party, adapted to the new realities of socialist construction."**

The essence of the Chongsanri method is that the higher body helps the

lower, and the superior assists those under him and always visits the workplaces in order to have a good understanding of actual conditions and find correct solutions to problems, gives priority to political work, work with the people, in all undertakings and enlists the conscious enthusiasm and initiative of the masses so as to ensure the fulfillment of revolutionary tasks.

The basic demand of the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method is that the higher unit helps the lower units, and officials carry out their revolutionary tasks, always going among the masses and relying on them, give priority to political work, work with the people, in all undertakings, properly combine general guidance with specific guidance, and concentrate their efforts on the main link in the whole chain of work.

Kim Il Sung made great endeavours to popularize the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method throughout the Party and the country.

At an enlarged meeting of the Presidium of the WPK Central Committee held in February 1960 he reviewed the results of his guidance at Chongsan-ri and Kangso County, clarifying the principle and methods to be observed in the guidance of lower units by officials, and taking measures to popularize the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method across the country. He dispatched members of the Presidium of the WPK Central Committee and competent officials from the central authorities and provincial organs to every county and ri to give intensive guidance.

He set up a work system whereby officials of upper echelons could go directly to their lower units and the masses to find out in detail how matters were standing and give substantial help.

In particular, he defined the county as the lowest leadership unit of the Party and the state, and made it a rule for the personnel of the county-level organs to go down regularly to the ri and help it responsibly in its work while directly organizing and executing Party and economic work in cooperation with ri officials.

As a result of the nationwide popularization of the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method, a fresh change took place in the activities of the Party, state and economic organs. The work system whereby the central authorities help provinces, provinces help counties and counties directly assume the responsibility for guiding ri, a system whereby upper units help lower units, was established, and Party work was definitely changed into work with people, bringing about a considerable improvement in the officials' leadership level, increase of the Party's fighting efficiency and leadership ability, and remarkable consolidation of the blood-sealed ties between the Party and the masses.

The popularization of the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method throughout the Party gave a strong impetus to the Chollima Movement, leading to a fresh revolutionary upswing on all fronts of socialist construction.

The goal for total industrial output value of the Five-Year Plan was achieved in two years and a half, and the plans for major industrial products were fulfilled or overfulfilled in all indices in four years. The total industrial output value in 1960 was 3.5 times greater than that of 1956; it now became possible to turn out in only 40 days the total amount of industrial products put out in the pre-liberation year of 1944; industry accounted for 71 per cent of GNP. In the rural economy, the task of introducing irrigation systems was completed in the main, and grain production increased by 32 per cent in four years. In 1960 the national income was 2.1 times greater than that of 1956. Following the introduction of compulsory primary education in 1956, compulsory secondary education was enforced from 1958. During the period of the Five-Year Plan, the number of institutions of tertiary education increased from 19 to 78, and the numbers of engineers, assistant engineers and specialists were double those of 1956.

With the splendid fulfillment of the Five-Year National Economic Plan, the historic task of building the foundations for socialism was triumphantly accomplished in the northern half of Korea.

## 9. Policy of Independent and Peaceful Reunification of the Country and the Movement of Korean Residents in Japan

After the Korean war many difficulties and obstacles cropped up in the way of the Korean people's struggle for their country's reunification.

As soon as the truce was signed, the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique shipped into south Korea a large quantity of advanced weaponry, including atomic weapons and guided missiles, claiming that "military might alone is the key to the Korean issue," and even moved the UN Command to south Korea from Japan in July 1957. The Syngman Rhee puppet clique mercilessly trampled underfoot even the elementary human rights and the slightest degree of democratic freedom of south Koreans, and indiscriminately

arrested, jailed and murdered revolutionaries and patriots. Stepping up their colonial plunder of south Korea, the US imperialists subordinated its economy more and more to their own, and made its national industry totally bankrupt. South Korea literally turned into a hell on earth, and its people were writhing in a desperate economic plight.

With keen insight into the postwar developments in south Korea, Kim Il Sung advanced a number of proposals for the country's independent and peaceful reunification.

He said:

**"The question of Korea's reunification should be settled in accordance with the will of the Koreans themselves. To this end, all foreign forces should be withdrawn from Korea, and the people of north and south Korea should sit together to discuss the Korean question and set up a unified democratic government of their own free will."**

In his report to the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the August 15 liberation and his speech at the First Session of the Second Supreme People's Assembly in September 1957, he submitted active proposals that the truce be converted into a lasting peace, the US aggressor troops be withdrawn from south Korea, the military strength of the north and south Korean armed forces be reduced to 100 000 or even less, respectively, an agreement binding both sides to refrain from any use of arms against each other be concluded, free travel and correspondence between people, economic and cultural exchanges between north and south Korea and contacts between the political parties and public organizations and between individual figures be realized, and a standing committee authorized to take substantial measures to discuss Korea's reunification be set up. At the Ninth Plenary Meeting of the Cabinet held in September 1959, and on several other occasions, he advanced the proposals to offer relief goods to the south Korean people, particularly the jobless, starving peasants and victims of natural calamities, and take and bring up all the homeless orphans from the south.

In his report to the celebration of the 15$^{th}$ anniversary of the August 15 liberation he proposed a reasonable plan to speed up national reunification.

He proposed that if the south Korean authorities were not yet ready to accept free general elections in both north and south Korea, they should agree on the founding of a federal state as a transitional measure.

He said: Our proposal of a federation is aimed at setting up a supreme national committee composed of representatives of the governments of the

Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea to jointly solve matters of concern common to the whole nation, while leaving intact the present socio-political systems in north and south Korea and ensuring the independence of activities by the two governments.

These new proposals provided the entire Korean nation with a bright prospect of national reunification.

While energetically propelling the struggle for national reunification, Kim Il Sung paid close attention to the Juche-oriented development of the movement of overseas Koreans, particularly that of Koreans in Japan.

The Juche-oriented development of the movement presented itself as a pressing need because the movement was faced with serious difficulties.

Koreans in Japan formed the Democratic United Front of Koreans in Japan, a new, lawful national united front organization, in January 1951, through an arduous struggle after the Federation of Koreans in Japan.

The Federation of Koreans in Japan had been organized shortly after Korea's liberation, but forcibly disbanded by the US imperialists and Japanese reactionaries in September 1949.

Inspired by the formation of the Democratic United Front of Koreans in Japan, Koreans in Japan waged a determined struggle to defend the DPRK in defiance of the suppression by the US and Japanese reactionaries.

In his talk with a liaison official from the Democratic United Front of Koreans in Japan early in December 1952, Kim Il Sung advanced the Juche-oriented policy of the change of the line of the movement of Koreans in Japan.

The policy of the change of the line of the movement of Korean residents in Japan required that they should fight for the Korean revolution, not for the Japanese revolution, although they were living in Japan, that the movement should be conducted, to all intents and purposes, under the guidance of the Government of the DPRK, that it should fight to safeguard the democratic national rights of Koreans in Japan and to achieve national reunification and independence on the strength of its own forces, and that it should adhere to lawful methods.

In order to ensure this line, Kim Il Sung took measures to form a general association of the Korean residents in Japan, a Juche-type overseas compatriots' organization.

He defined the form and mission of the organization in accordance

with the nature of the movement of Koreans in Japan.

He stated that the new overseas compatriots' organization should be founded as a united front organization rallying behind it broad sections of fellow countrymen, disregarding idea, political view, occupation, property status and social affiliation, and as a mass political organization, not a pan-Korean organization.

In order to successfully build the new type of overseas compatriots' organization, he ensured that great efforts were directed to building the hardcore ranks, particularly the leadership core, ceaselessly expanding and strengthening the hardcore ranks in the practical struggle of the democratic patriotic movement, arming compatriots with the Juche-oriented policy of the change of the line, and ensuring the ideological and volitional unity of compatriots.

Under his leadership, Korean patriots, like Han Tok Su, and other compatriots in Japan stepped up the work of forming the new type of overseas compatriots' organization, and on the basis of this formed the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (Chongryon) in Tokyo on May 25, 1955.

Kim Il Sung always paid close attention to the work of Chongryon, and gave it active help.

At a talk to the congratulatory delegation of Korean residents in Japan on a visit to their motherland in September 1955 to celebrate the tenth anniversary of national liberation and on other occasions, he referred to the principles to be maintained in strengthening Chongryon and conducting the patriotic movement.

He explained that Chongryon should hold fast to the line of the patriotic movement, that Koreans in Japan should launch activities for their motherland and nation, and that in conducting patriotic activities they should not take the "Leftist" road, but act through lawful channels, abiding by Japanese law.

He stressed that Chongryon should rally the broad sections of the compatriots in Japan behind it, regardless of the differences in idea, political view, occupation, property status and social affiliation, so as to wage the struggle for the country's reunification and independence and their democratic national rights through joint efforts.

He paid primary attention to building up all levels of establishments under Chongryon.

As a result, organizations of youth, women and businesspeople and art,

culture and media organs were reorganized or readjusted in an overall way, and Koreans in Japan became able to devote themselves to their patriotic movement firmly rallied under the banner of the Juche idea.

Kim Il Sung always showed benevolent care in defending the national rights and dignity of Koreans in Japan and in developing the education in Korean nationality of their children.

He declared it to be a consistent policy and sacred duty of the Government of the DPRK to protect the national rights of Koreans in Japan, and resolutely exposed and denounced the schemes of the reactionary authorities of Japan to infringe on the national rights and dignity of those Koreans.

Meanwhile, he ensured that Chongryon waged a tireless struggle to protect the democratic national rights of all Koreans in Japan.

Regarding the education of the children of Koreans in Japan as Korean nationals as an important undertaking, he indicated the right path to be followed by Chongryon in this regard.

He ensured that a regular system of national education ranging from kindergarten to university was established in Japan. In January 1957, when the Korean people were going all out for postwar reconstruction, tightening their belts and practising the utmost economy, he had a new item of "educational aid funds and stipends for the sons and daughters of compatriots in Japan" included in the state budget at a plenary meeting of the Cabinet which was convened to discuss the draft state budget for that year. Thus every year from April that year enormous amounts of educational aid funds and stipends were sent to the children of Koreans in Japan.

Kim Il Sung ensured that active diplomatic steps were taken to start the repatriation of Koreans in Japan, and that all conditions were guaranteed for the realization of their repatriation.

Under his compatriotic care, the repatriation of Koreans in Japan, which was called an "exodus from capitalism to socialism," started in December 1959.

His idea and leadership of the overseas compatriots' movement and his affection and care encouraged the overseas Koreans to enhance their movement for promoting democratic national rights, supporting their socialist motherland and achieving the independent and peaceful reunification of their country with pride in being citizens of the DPRK, although they were living in alien lands.

## 10. Activities against Imperialism and for the Unity and Solidarity of the Socialist Countries

Entering the latter half of the 1950s, the US-led imperialists committed acts of war and aggression in various parts of the world, intensifying their counterrevolutionary offensive against the socialist countries. Meanwhile, modern revisionists, who had appeared in the international communist movement, schemed to hamstring the essence of the working-class ideology and force their misguided assertions on other countries, thus creating confusion in the socialist movement.

The international situation urgently demanded the stepping up of the struggle against imperialism to check and frustrate its policy of war and aggression and to expedite the world revolution by firmly defending the purity of the revolutionary ideology of the working class.

Kim Il Sung shed light on the problems of principle relating to the world revolutionary movement in the report delivered at an enlarged plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee early in December 1957, and many other works, including ***Friendship and Solidarity of the Socialist Countries***.

He characterized that time as an age of struggle between the imperialist forces and the socialist and democratic forces that were opposed to them on an international scale. He emphasized that the revolutionary peoples of the world should maintain a principled stand against imperialism, particularly US imperialism, under the banner of anti-imperialist struggle in line with the requirements of the times, and bring about a decisive turn in the struggle against imperialism by enlisting the broad ranks of the anti-imperialist forces.

He said: Since the US imperialists are trying to suppress the people's revolutionary struggle and persistently pursuing a policy of war and aggression in various parts of the world, it is necessary to intensify the struggle against US imperialism so as to hasten the world revolution; as they are attempting to threaten peace in Asia by reviving Japanese militarism, it is imperative to fight against this revival; in order to successfully carry on the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle, all the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces of the world should be united; to this end, the socialist countries should strengthen the unity and solidarity among themselves, render active support and encouragement to the

national liberation struggles in the colonies and the struggles of the peoples of the newly independent countries, and steadily solidify the solidarity with the peace-loving forces of the world; for the present, peoples of all countries should not be daunted by US "power politics" or be taken in by its deceptive double-dealing tactics, but resolutely wage an uncompromising struggle against it; revisionism, a reflection of bourgeois ideology, poses a major danger to the present international working-class movement, and to fight against it is the most important task facing the revolutionary peoples of all countries; no attempt to "revise" the fundamental principles of the revolutionary ideology of the working class should be tolerated; such attempts should not be approached in a dogmatic way, and these principles, the correctness of which has been confirmed in the course of revolution and construction, should be defended and carried out; in order to strengthen solidarity, the socialist countries should develop state relations on the basis of complete equality, mutual benefit, respect for national independence and mutual aid, irrespective of the size of their territories, and Communist and Workers' parties should adhere to the principle of mutual respect and cooperation on an even footing; furthermore, Communist and Workers' parties should counter under the banner of proletarian internationalism and on the strength of unity the imperialists' moves to create discord among them.

He built up unity and solidarity with the other socialist states and Communist and Workers' parties through fraternal contacts with them.

In the period between 1956 and 1958 he paid official visits to many socialist countries in Europe and Asia, and met with the leaders of the parties and governments of various socialist countries who visited Korea.

At these meetings he exchanged with them a broad range of opinions of the burning issues arising in developing the world revolution, such as expanding and developing the friendly and cooperative relations between Korea and the other socialist countries, combating aggressive moves of the imperialists through the united efforts of the socialist countries and giving more active support to the national liberation movements in the colonies. These occasions helped to deepen mutual understanding.

He attended the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries held in Moscow in November 1957 on the occasion of the celebration of the 40$^{th}$ anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution and other international meetings of Communist and Workers' parties, and made energetic endeavours for the unity of the socialist countries and the international communist movement.

At the meetings he said that he agreed that the representatives of Communist and Workers' parties should get together to share experiences, analyze the global situation, consult on the matters of principle arising in waging a joint struggle and adopt policies for the struggle, but opposed any plan to set up a "centre of the world revolution" to force its subjective opinion on other parties. He stressed that the revolution of each country should be carried out independently and creatively by its own party and people, and that Communist and Workers' parties should maintain the principle of complete equality, independence, mutual respect, noninterference in one another's internal affairs and comradely cooperation as the rules of their mutual relations, and observe it in good faith.

His fair and principled stand contributed to ensuring the adoption of a revolutionary declaration, a joint action programme of Communist and Workers' parties, and to defending the unity of the socialist countries and the solidarity of the international communist movement.

He dispatched a WPK delegation to another meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties held in Moscow in November 1960, instructing it to oppose the revisionists' separatist and big-power stance, and wage a principled struggle in defence of the revolutionary principles of the working class.

The delegation, firmly adhering to the stand of independence, worked energetically to defend the unity of all parties on the principle of proletarian internationalism.

Thanks to the positive activities of the WPK and other revolutionary parties, the opportunist stance was overcome, organizational separation of the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties was prevented, and a revolutionary declaration was adopted.

Kim Il Sung organized the work to give support to the worldwide anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle.

He saw to it that a resolute struggle was waged against the US imperialists, who were trying to expand their aggressive acts against China after seizing Taiwan, and that the struggle was stepped up against their policy of escalating the war of aggression in Vietnam. In 1956, when Britain, France and Israel, instigated by the United States, committed an armed intervention in Egypt after its government nationalized the Suez Canal, he took measures to give active support and encouragement to the Egyptian people in their struggle against the invaders. At the same time, he made sure that a staunch struggle was waged against the US imperialists, who were trying to revise the US-Japan Security

Treaty so as to accelerate the revival of militarism in Japan and militarize the country.

He paid close attention to intensifying support for the peoples in the colonies and semi-colonies in their national liberation struggles and for the peoples of the newly independent countries in their revolutionary struggles.

He gave sincere support to the south Vietnamese, Laotian and Congolese peoples in their struggles against imperialist aggression, and gave every assistance to the peoples of the developing countries which had thrown off the colonial yoke of imperialism, so that they could continuously advance along the road of anti-imperialist independence, consolidate their national independence and successfully build new societies. Particularly, he highly praised the Cuban people, who had overthrown a pro-American dictatorial government and founded a provisional revolutionary government early in January 1959. The DPRK established diplomatic relations with that country in August the following year, and invariably gave active support to the Cuban people in their effort to create a new life.

At the end of 1960 the DPRK had economic relations with over 40 newly independent nations and cultural exchanges with more than 70 countries.

The external activities Kim Il Sung conducted under the anti-imperialist, anti-US banner dealt a heavy blow at the US imperialists' moves of war and aggression and made lasting contributions to enhancing unity among the socialist countries and the solidarity of the international communist movement, and developing the overall world revolution, including the national liberation struggles in the colonies.

# CHAPTER 9. FOR THE ALL-ROUND CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

(January 1961–November 1970)

## 1. Fourth Congress of the WPK and the Tasks for the All-Round Construction of Socialism

Early in the 1960s the revolution and construction in Korea entered a new phase of development.

With the fulfilment of the task of laying the foundations of socialism, a socialist system was firmly established in Korea, which was turned into a socialist industrial-agricultural state based on the solid foundations of a self-supporting national economy.

As the Party and revolution greeted a fresh, historic turning point in their development, Kim Il Sung exerted great efforts for deciding on the new grand programme of all-round socialist construction.

At an enlarged plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee held in December 1960 he advanced the main tasks for the year 1961 and ways of their implementation by relying on the main orientation of the First Seven-Year Plan and, especially, the tasks to be carried out in the first three years of the plan. He elucidated in his New Year Address on January 1, 1961 details of the tasks to be carried out in the first year of the new long-term plan. At a plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee held between March 20 and 22 that year, he proposed to convene the Fourth Congress of the WPK in the following September. While preparing his report to the congress, he provided field guidance at several factories and enterprises such as the Ryongsong Machine Factory and Komdok Mine, reaffirming the scientific accuracy of his newly elaborated lines and policies and ascertaining the details of the new long-term plan.

The Fourth Congress of the WPK was held from September 11 to 18, 1961.

Kim Il Sung made a report to the Congress on the work of the Party Central

Committee, in which he reviewed the brilliant victory achieved in laying the foundations of socialism and set forth the main tasks for the all-round construction of socialism.

Advancing the main tasks of the First Seven-Year Plan (1961-1967), he said:

**"The fundamental tasks of the Seven-Year Plan are to carry out a comprehensive technological reconstruction and the cultural revolution, and to make radical improvements in the people's living conditions by relying on the triumphant socialist system."**

He clarified the concrete tasks of the Seven-Year Plan for each sector of the national economy.

He stressed that the main task for the industrial sector was to augment its production structure and technical foundations, thus establishing an independent industrial system which was comprehensively developed and equipped with self-supporting raw materials bases and the latest technology. He set forth the main task of the rural economy as to effect mechanization of farm work and increase agricultural production by vigorously pushing forward technical renovation. He also clarified the important tasks for the development of science and culture and improvement of the material and cultural standards of the people.

He explained that, for the successful implementation of the tasks of the First Seven-Year Plan, it was important to adhere to the Party's line on giving priority to heavy industry and developing light industry and agriculture in parallel. At the same time science and culture as a whole should be developed, and in particular the Grand March of Chollima should be accelerated to make continuous innovations and progress.

In the report, he also put forward the tasks for hastening national reunification in keeping with the prevailing situation in south Korea after the April Popular Uprising.

He reviewed the successes and experiences gained in Party building during the period under review, and advanced the tasks for consolidating the Party and enhancing its leadership role.

He brought to the fore the question of building up the ranks of cadres and decisively raising their level of leadership. He pointed out that the primary Party organizations, the base of Party life for its members and the basic organizations of the Party, and the Party committees at all levels should be further strengthened and the Party's monolithic leadership be ensured. He also stressed the need to improve the method and style of Party work and,

especially, to fully embody the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method in Party work.

He put major emphasis on strengthening the unity and cohesion of the Party.

In the report he reviewed the successes achieved in the field of external relations, and put forth the tasks arising in implementing the independent and principled foreign policy of the WPK.

Clarifying the WPK's resolute stand against the US imperialists and Japanese militarists, he appealed to the other socialist countries and the revolutionary peoples of the whole world to launch a vigorous anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle.

The congress adopted a decision on the First Seven-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy and a declaration on accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. It also amended and supplemented part of the Party Rules to meet the new requirements of the development of the Party and the revolution.

Reflecting the unanimous desire and will of all the Party members, service personnel of the KPA and the Korean people as a whole, Kim Il Sung was reelected Chairman of the WPK Central Committee.

With the Fourth Congress of the WPK as a turning point, the struggle of the WPK and the Korean people for the building of socialism entered a new phase.

## 2. A New Socialist Economic Management System

While mobilizing the entire Party and all the people for the drive to carry out the First Seven-Year Plan after the Fourth Congress of the WPK, Kim Il Sung channelled great efforts into improving economic management and Party work by fully embodying the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method.

He led the effort to establish a new socialist economic management system.

Already in the days of creating the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method he had elaborated a plan to give full play to them in the guidance and management of all the sectors of the national economy. On this basis, at an enlarged meeting of the Second Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK held from late November to early December 1961, he analyzed the defects manifested that year in the guidance of the industrial

sector and its management and operation, and advanced it as a priority task to enhance the level of economic guidance by ministries and management bureaus, and improve industrial enterprise management.

He paid close attention to establishing a new socialist economic management system in the industrial sector.

Early in December 1961 he gave field guidance at the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant, which played a leading role in developing the national economy and carrying out technological revolution. There he met workers, technical personnel and management officials, attended several meetings, and made the rounds of workshops, a hostel, a canteen and residential areas, getting a good grasp of all matters such as Party work, guidance of production, state of equipment, supply of materials, administration structure of the plant, role of its departments, work of technical personnel and living conditions of workers. In the course of this he found the defects in the management of the plant.

In order to ascertain whether or not such shortcomings were a common phenomenon, he studied the situation of the Pyongyang Textile Mill and the administration structure of the General Bureau of the Machine-Building Industry.

On this basis at an enlarged meeting of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the WPK held on December 15, 1961 he reviewed his guidance at the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant and proposed setting up a new industrial management system. And at an enlarged meeting of the Party Committee of the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant held on December 16, he took the revolutionary measure of establishing a new socialist industrial management system–the Taean work system.

He abolished the previous director's one-man management system and set up a system of collective guidance by the Party committee of the plant, a system of unified and intensive guidance for production, a system of materials supply by the higher echelons to the lower ones, and a regular supply service system.

While providing field guidance at the Anju Coal Mine late in December 1961, the Pyongyang Textile Mill and Hwanghae Iron Works in January and August the following year, respectively, and guiding a consultative meeting of officials in the sector of the machine-building industry in September that year, he pushed ahead with the work to establish the Taean work system in the industrial sector so that it could display its great advantages in practice.

He again visited the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant early in November 1962, and called an enlarged meeting of the Party committee of the plant. At the meeting he reviewed the successes and experience achieved in the year

since the creation of the Taean work system, and made a speech titled, ***On Further Developing the Taean Work System***.

In this speech and in several other works he clarified the essence and superiority of the Taean work system in a comprehensive way.

He said:

**"The Taean work system is a system of economic management admirably suited to the nature of a socialist system, for it stipulates that the factories and enterprises conduct all their management activities under the collective leadership of their Party committees and carry out their economic tasks by giving precedence to political work, infusing the producers with enthusiasm for work. It also demands that superiors do everything they can to help their subordinates and that the economy be managed and operated in a scientific and rational way."**

He established a new agricultural guidance system to guide the socialist rural economy by an industrial method.

At an enlarged meeting of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the WPK held in December 1961 he set out the task of establishing a new agricultural guidance system along with a new industrial management system. With the aim of creating a model unit, on December 18 he went to Sukchon County, South Phyongan Province, one of the major granaries of the country and overwhelmingly agricultural.

After acquainting himself fully with the state of agricultural work, its management and technical level, and the material and technical foundations of agriculture in the county, he had a county cooperative farm management committee (then known as the county agricultural cooperatives management committee) set up as a specialized organ of agricultural guidance, by separating the function of guidance for agriculture from the county people's committee. Agro-technicians and state enterprises in the service of agriculture were put under the control of the county cooperative farm management committee, and thus it was able to perform the function of both directing cooperative farms and bringing material and technical assistance to the rural economy.

While pushing forward the work to organize county cooperative farm management committees in the cities and counties throughout the country, he had a rural economy committee set up in every province. He also had the Ministry of Agriculture reorganized into the Agricultural Commission, so as to strengthen scientific and technical guidance to the rural economy. Thus a well-regulated socialist agricultural guidance system was established from the centre down to counties.

Kim Il Sung saw to it that a scientific planning system for the national economy was set up in conformity with the essential requirements of the socialist economy.

After the adoption of a decision by the Cabinet on reorganizing the planning system for the national economy in March 1964, at a general Party membership meeting of the State Planning Commission on September 23 the following year he gave comprehensive explanations of the problems arising in correctly setting up a unified and detailed planning system and giving full play to its advantages.

With the establishment of a unified and detailed planning system, a radical change was brought about in the planning work, and the socialist economic management system came nearer to completion.

## 3. Strategic Policy of Simultaneously Carrying On Economic Construction and Defence Building and the Strengthening of Self-Defence Capabilities

The US imperialists' blockade of Cuba in October 1962 precipitated the Cuban Missile Crisis, shaking the world.

While directing their spearhead of aggressive war at Asia, scheming to align the Japanese militarists with the south Korean fascist military clique, they made frenzied preparations for a new war against the DPRK. A touch-and-go situation in which a war could break out at any moment was created on the Korean peninsula.

The prevailing situation urgently demanded that decisive measures be taken for further strengthening the defence capabilities of the country while accelerating economic construction.

The Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK was held in December 1962, in order to cope with this situation.

At the meeting Kim Il Sung advanced the strategic policy of carrying on economic construction in parallel with defence building, saying: We must not look to others for help in safeguarding the revolutionary gains, but defend the country by our own efforts.

Then he clarified the main content of the military line of the Party, embodying the principles of attaching importance to arms and giving precedence to military affairs. At the meeting he put forth the militant slogan

**"Rifle in one hand and hammer or sickle in the other!"** and called on all the Korean people to turn out as one in the effort to implement the new strategic policy of the Party.

After the plenary meeting he energetically led the work to augment the country's self-defence capabilities.

Firmly adhering to the principle of self-reliance in national defence, he enlisted the entire Party, the whole army and all the people in the struggle to increase the national defence capabilities.

He channelled primary efforts into strengthening the KPA, the core force in national defence, into a revolutionary armed force, each of whose members would be a match for a hundred foes.

He inspected a KPA unit defending Mt. Taedok, on the front line, on February 6, 1963 and put forward the militant slogan **"A match for a hundred."**

He said:

**"'A match for a hundred' is a slogan which the People's Army should adhere to. In olden times a warrior who distinguished himself in battle was called a match for a hundred, which meant that he could beat a hundred foes. If our soldiers do their politico-ideological and combat training effectively and strengthen our defences, it will be possible for each of them to become a match for a hundred."**

The slogan was a policy that would make it possible to accelerate the development of the KPA into an army of cadres, modernize it, and train all the service personnel to become stout combatants well prepared in political, ideological, military and technical aspects.

He paid close attention to fully preparing all the soldiers politically and ideologically in order to make them a-match-for-a-hundred combatants.

With deep insight into the prevailing situation that the revolution had assumed a protracted and arduous character, and the younger generation, with no experience of being exploited and oppressed, had emerged as the masters of society and were taking responsibility for the defence of their country, he directed a great effort to intensifying education in class consciousness among soldiers.

In a speech titled, ***Our People's Army Is an Army of the Working Class, an Army of the Revolution; Class and Political Education Should Be Continuously Strengthened***, he delivered to the KPA unit cadres above the level of deputy regimental commander of political affairs and the officials of the local Party and government organs on February 8, 1963, he advanced education in class consciousness as one of the most important tasks in the political work

within the army. To this end, it was important to inform the soldiers, in conformity with the requirements of the developing situation, of the brutal atrocities committed against the Korean people by the US and Japanese imperialists in the past and their aggressive nature, and the exploitative nature of the landlords and capitalists, and intensify education to bring home to them the corruptness of the capitalist system and the superiority of the socialist system.

He ensured that the policy of developing the KPA into an army, each member of which would be "a match for a hundred," was implemented in an effective way by vigorously pushing forward the Red Flag company movement that started in the KPA in August 1960 under the slogan **"One for all and all for one!"**

In order to make every soldier fully prepared for a hundred foes, he saw to it that military training was further strengthened, and visited a large number of units, sub-units and training grounds of the KPA to give detailed guidance to the training.

Late in July 1964 he went to the Central Firing Range to inspect firing drills. Early in May the following year he visited a sub-unit on the front line and instructed it how to fight the enemy's airborne troops. In February 1966 he had a talk with the soldiers of the 1st Company of KPA Unit 865, stressing that the combat efficiency of the unit should be enhanced by conducting combat and political training in a proper way. Early in June the following year he inspected a tactical exercise of units of infantry, artillerymen, special forces soldiers and airborne troops, involving combat firing.

Under his leadership all the military posts of the units and sub-units of the KPA were strengthened into impregnable fortresses.

He led the work to modernize the armaments and other equipment of the army in line with the development of the KPA into an invincible revolutionary armed force.

Strengthening the military hardware of the KPA was the key to modernizing the whole army, and this had to be firmly guaranteed by the development of defence science and industry.

At an enlarged meeting of the Second Plenary Meeting of the Second KPA Committee of the WPK held late in December 1961, he set forth the task of bringing about a fresh turn in modernizing the military hardware of the KPA to put it on a mechanized and automatic footing in keeping with the full-scale development of socialist economic construction.

Thanks to his wise leadership, the defence industry of the DPRK, which had made its start with the production of submachine guns, was developed into a

self-reliant industry fully capable of manufacturing various kinds of state-of-the-art weaponry and other military hardware and equipment.

He exerted great efforts to effect the arming of all the people and the fortification of the whole country.

To this end, he strengthened the Worker-Peasant Red Guards, which had been organized on January 14, 1959, into a powerful militia of the WPK. He put forward the task and ways of strengthening the Worker-Peasant Red Guards at an enlarged meeting of the Central Military Commission of the WPK held late in December 1962, and called a joint conference of senior officers of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards of provinces, cities and counties in mid-January 1964, at which he took measures to intensify the work of the paramilitary force. He also made sure that the ranks of the paramilitaries were reinforced by admitting sturdy young and middle-aged people including discharged soldiers, and a well-regulated guidance system was established. He made himself well acquainted with the training of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards and solved difficult problems for them.

He saw to it that the Young Red Guards was organized on September 12, 1970, involving students, and that training camps were built at suitable places in cities and counties (districts) for their routine training.

As a result, members of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards and Young Red Guards became prepared as reliable combatants who could defend their socialist motherland with credit with arms in one hand, while vigorously pushing ahead with production, construction and studying with hammers, sickles or pens in the other.

Kim Il Sung exerted efforts to carry out the policy of fortifying the whole country and turning it into an impregnable fortress.

On several occasions, including in his speech delivered in October 1963 at the graduation ceremony of the seventh term of Kim Il Sung Military University, he put forward the main principles for fortifying the whole country. For its implementation, he pointed out that tunnels should be dug and strong defences be built throughout the country, both in frontline and rear areas, antiaircraft and coastal defences strengthened, and many factories built underground.

With the successful promotion of the work to arm all the people and fortify the whole country, the Korean people were fully prepared to fight the enemy in the same trench with the service personnel in case of emergency, and the whole country was turned into an impregnable fortress that could withstand any attack by the enemy.

Thanks to his Songun-based revolutionary leadership that strengthened the

KPA into a revolutionary armed force each member of which could match a hundred foes and established an all-people and nationwide defence system with the KPA as the core, the country's capabilities for self-defence were increased considerably, enabling it to frustrate every scheme of military provocation of the enemy and reliably defend the security of the socialist country and its revolutionary gains.

In January 1968 an armed spy ship of the United States, the *Pueblo*, which had intruded into the territorial waters of the DPRK and been committing acts of espionage, was captured by the Navy of the KPA. The US authorities made a fuss about it, dispatching numerous naval vessels, including a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier, and aircraft to the East Sea of Korea and south Korea, and threatening the DPRK that they would attack it in "retaliation" unless the captured ship and crew were returned without delay.

Kim Il Sung, with a firm belief in the might of the KPA and his people and the country's self-defence capabilities, was determined to meet the hard line of the US imperialists with a harder line, and solemnly declared in a speech on February 8, 1968 that the DPRK would return retaliation for "retaliation" of the United States and an all-out war for its "all-out war."

The United States, overpowered by the resolute warning of Kim Il Sung, an iron-willed brilliant commander, had no choice but to kneel down and apologize to the DPRK.

The KPA dealt resolutely with every act of espionage and sabotage committed by the US forces against the DPRK, including the intrusion of a large espionage plane, an *EC-121*.

These were brilliant victories of the Songun-based leadership of Kim Il Sung, and a powerful demonstration of the validity and vitality of the revolutionary line of the WPK to carry out economic construction and defence buildup simultaneously, and the might of the KPA as an invincible armed force.

## 4. *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* and the Struggle to Implement the Theses

Finding a correct solution to the rural question in socialist society is a law-governed requirement and a strategic problem in the course of socialist construction. Only when the peasant and agricultural questions are properly

solved will it be possible to quickly abolish the backwardness of the rural areas, ensure the rapid development of the national economy and systematic improvement of the people's standard of living, eliminate the distinctions between towns and countryside and class distinctions between the working class and the peasantry, and achieve the complete victory of socialism.

At a plenary meeting of the chiefs of departments of the Central Committee of the WPK held late in December 1963, Kim Il Sung clarified the matters of principle and ways for solving the socialist rural question. And he proved their validity and vitality by embodying them in socialist rural construction.

He made public the immortal work titled, ***Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country***, at the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK on February 25, 1964.

In the theses he shed light on the essence of the socialist rural question.

He clarified that the peasant and agricultural questions under socialism consist in developing the productive forces of agriculture to a high level, in making the peasants well off, in abolishing the backwardness of the countryside left over by the exploiter society, and in gradually eliminating the distinctions between towns and countryside, on the basis of the steady consolidation of the socialist system established in the countryside.

He clearly expounded the basic principles for a successful solution to the socialist rural question.

He wrote:

**"For the successful solution of the peasant and agricultural questions under socialism, it is imperative to adhere firmly to three basic principles in rural work:**

**"First, the technological, cultural and ideological revolutions should thoroughly be carried out in the rural areas;**

**"Second, the working-class leadership of the peasantry, the assistance of industry to agriculture, and the support of the towns to the countryside should be strengthened in every way;**

**"Third, the guidance and management of agriculture should continually be brought closer to the advanced level of enterprise management of industry, the bonds between all-people property and cooperative property should be strengthened, and cooperative property should be steadily brought closer to property of the whole people."**

He taught that for a successful solution to the socialist rural question it was necessary first of all to carry out the three revolutions–ideological, technological and cultural–in the countryside.

After the establishment of the socialist system the rural backwardness handed down from the exploiter society is apparent in the fact that agriculture is weaker than industry in its material and technological foundations, the rural inhabitants fall behind the urban population in their cultural level, and the peasants lag behind the workers in their thinking. As a consequence, cooperative property remains predominant in agriculture and there remain class distinctions between the working class and the peasantry. Therefore, in order to abolish the backwardness of the countryside quickly and solve the rural question correctly, it is imperative to vigorously carry out the three revolutions–ideological, technological and cultural–to free the peasants from the fetters of the outdated thinking, techniques and culture.

Kim Il Sung then pointed out that it was necessary to strengthen in every way the working-class leadership of the peasantry, the assistance of industry to agriculture, and urban support to the countryside.

He newly explained the fundamental principle that the working-class party and state should take responsibility for the development of cooperative farms and the betterment of the living standards of the peasants. He taught that in a once-backward agrarian country like Korea, funds for socialist industrialization had to be raised from the countryside for some time in the initial stage, but after the basis of socialist industrialization had been laid, industry should assist agriculture and countryside in every realm, and the working class should not only lead the peasantry politically and ideologically but also give it technological, cultural and financial aid.

He also stated that the guidance and management of agriculture should be elevated to the level of advanced enterprise management of industry, and cooperative property should be constantly brought closer to all-people property.

He indicated that the basic direction for improving the guidance and management of agriculture lies in continually bringing the method of managing cooperative farming closer to the advanced method of enterprise management of industry, and in order to switch cooperative property to all-people property, the organic combination between them should be realized by consolidating the direct production ties between industry and agriculture and enhancing the leading role of all-people property over cooperative property.

In his theses he advanced the idea of the regional base for the building of a socialist countryside.

After explaining the conditions required of the units and bases which would give unified guidance to the countryside, he pointed out that in Korea the county should serve as the regional unit and the centre to give direct, unified

and comprehensive guidance to rural work and other overall local affairs.

After making public the theses, he pushed forward the struggle for their implementation.

He paid primary attention to consolidating the countryside politically and ideologically. To this end, he made sure that the rural Party organizations were built up and their functions and role enhanced, and the ideological revolution intensified among the peasants to promote their revolutionary transformation and assimilation to the working class.

He exerted great efforts to consolidate the countryside in a material and technological way, and raise the cultural and technical attainments of the peasants.

The Third Session of the Third Supreme People's Assembly held late in March 1964 adopted an ordinance on consolidating the economic foundations of cooperative farms and making the peasants better off. It stipulated that agricultural tax in kind should be gradually abolished year by year from 1964 to 1966, and that capital construction and building of cultural and recreational facilities and dwelling houses in the countryside should be undertaken at state expense, and major production equipment and farm machinery supplied to farms by the state. Besides, the technological revolution in the countryside should be accelerated to complete an irrigation system which could overcome any drought or flood damage, to introduce electrification into all rural villages of the country and to produce in large quantities tractors and other modern farm machines, fertilizers and agrochemicals. A strong push was to be given to the cultural revolution in the countryside so as to elevate the level of general knowledge and technical and cultural standards of the peasants, and train technical personnel in rural areas in large numbers.

He paid close attention to improving the guidance and management of the rural economy.

He took steps to staff the county cooperative farm management committees with competent persons and constantly improve their guidance levels and methods, so that the committees would guide cooperative farms by the method of enterprise management. While providing on-the-spot guidance at the Phochon Cooperative Farm, Hoeyang County, Kangwon Province, on May 11, 1965, he created the sub-workteam management system, and took measures to popularize it throughout the country at the 12$^{th}$ Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK held in mid-November that year.

The sub-workteam management system is an excellent form of production and labour organization which enables the peasants to take an active part in the management of the collective economy with a high degree of consciousness of

being masters, and a most rational cell of collective life which instils in them the socialist ideology and collectivist spirit.

Kim Il Sung put great efforts into building up the county and enhancing its role in order to solve the overall problems arising in socialist rural construction.

On several occasions, including at a consultative meeting of the chief secretaries of the city and county committees of the WPK held in September 1968, he stressed the need to build up the county and enhance its role. To this end, he ensured that the county Party committees and administrative and economic organs were reinforced and their functions and role enhanced, local industry developed, commercial networks properly arranged and educational establishments and cultural and welfare facilities built up well.

As a consequence, the role of the county was further enhanced in the course of socialist rural construction and overall state affairs, and solid bases laid for a successful solution to the rural question.

## 5. Efforts to Improve the Activities of the Working People's Organizations and Enhance Officials' Loyalty to the Party, the Working Class and the People

As socialist construction developed in depth, Kim Il Sung organized and led the work to improve and develop the activities of the working people's organizations.

After the establishment of the socialist system in the DPRK, the exploiting classes were completely abolished and the masses of the working people became the masters of everything. These new circumstances urgently required that the duties and role of the working people's organizations be newly defined and their work system improved accordingly.

In several works, including ***On Improving and Strengthening the Work of the Working People's Organizations***, a concluding speech delivered at the Ninth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK held late in June 1964, Kim Il Sung threw fresh light on the character and mission of the working people's organizations, saying that they should enhance their role in socialist society.

He made it clear that the role of the working people's organizations should be enhanced more and more in socialist society.

He said:

**"Working people's organizations are the organizations of ideological education for the broad masses and constitute the auxiliary bodies of the Party."**

He led the work to improve the organizational form and work system of the working people's organizations in conformity with the requirements of the established socialist system.

He reorganized the Democratic Youth League into the League of Socialist Working Youth (LSWY).

With the victory of the socialist revolution, all the young people became socialist working youth, and the progress of socialist construction brought about radical changes in their life and ideological and spiritual traits. This demanded that the organization which had rallied the young people under the banner of democracy after the country's liberation be developed under the banner of socialism.

In May 1963 in front of the officials concerned he advanced the policy of developing the DYL into the LSWY, and reorganized the DYL into the LSWY at the Fifth Congress of the DYL in May the following year.

Attending the congress, he set forth the major task of the LSWY as the strengthening of the political and ideological education of the young people in order to arm them with the Juche idea and the Party's policies, stressing that they should all be boundlessly faithful to the Party's leadership.

He arranged the formation of the Union of Agricultural Workers (UAW), a new political organization of the farmers.

The Peasants Union, which had existed until that time, had been a peasant organization that had fought against the landlords and rich farmers, with the poor peasants as the main force. So it was out of keeping with the changed situation in which there were no longer any landlords or rich farmers, the former private peasants had become socialist working people, and socialist rural construction was the immediate revolutionary task.

At the Ninth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK Kim Il Sung put forward the policy of forming the UAW. Consequently, on March 25, 1965 the Peasants Union was dissolved and the UAW was formed.

The UAW was an entirely new, socialist political organization of the farming population, involving not only cooperative farmers but also office and shop-floor workers at state agrostock farms, as well as state organs and enterprises directly serving agriculture.

Kim Il Sung explained that the basic duty of the UAW was to conduct

ideological education among the peasants and actively enlist their revolutionary enthusiasm so as to successfully carry out the ideological, technological and cultural revolutions in the countryside. Its main task was to thoroughly implement the rural theses.

He made sure that a new work system was established in the General Federation of Trade Unions (GFTU).

He took measures to improve the work of the GFTU at the Ninth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK to ensure that the GFTU was entirely turned into an ideological educational organization for its members and other workers, thereby closely rallying them around the Party and enlisting them in the struggle to carry out the political and economic tasks put forward by the Party, and that a new work system was established accordingly.

In a speech delivered at the Third Congress of the Democratic Women's Union in September 1965, and on other occasions, he took measures to improve the work system of the women's union so that it could train women into genuine revolutionaries and fine educators of the rising generation, and actively enlist them in socialist construction.

He ensured that the working people's organizations further enhanced their role in conformity with the improvement of their organizational forms and work system.

In a speech titled, ***On the Further Development of the Role of Working People's Organizations***, made on October 11, 1968 to officials of the central committees of the four working people's organizations, he clarified the tasks for enhancing their role in keeping with the demands of the developing situation.

Likening the relationship between the Party and the working people's organizations, its auxiliary bodies, to that between the stone and flesh of a peach, he stressed the need for the Party organizations at all levels to strengthen their guidance of the working people's organizations so that the latter could enhance their independence and conduct more effectively the work to assimilate the working people to the revolutionaries and the working class, while building up their core ranks.

With the work of the working people's organizations improved and intensified, it became possible to rally the broad sections of the masses closely around the Party and vigorously advance socialist construction.

Kim Il Sung made every effort to enhance the officials' loyalty to the Party, the working class and the people, and improve their method and style of work.

He convened the Tenth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK in mid-December 1964. At the meeting he advanced the task for enhancing the officials' loyalty to the Party, the working class and the people and improving their method and style of work. He stated that this spirit should be manifested in their practical struggle for carrying out the Party's lines and policies and in the actual results of their work for the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. He pointed out that in order for the officials to enhance their loyalty to the Party, the working class and the people, they should faithfully lead their organizational life in Party bodies, particularly in the Party cells, and cadres, irrespective of their positions, should attend Party cell meetings and study sessions in good faith, willingly subject themselves to the control of their Party organizations, and take an active part in criticism and self-criticism.

He set forth the task for improving their work method.

Noting that the work method based on the mass line–the work method of mobilizing the masses by giving priority to political work–was necessary for both the revolutionary struggle and economic construction, he said that the leading officials should always keep political work ahead of all other work, rouse the masses to activity in tackling the revolutionary tasks in hand and always go down to the actual places of work and give advice and effective help to the people in the lower units as required by the Taean work system and the Chongsanri method.

After the plenary meeting, as part of his efforts to enhance the officials' loyalty to the Party, the working class and the people and improve their method and style of work, he presided over the general Party membership meetings of the Party committees of several ministries and bureaus under them, including the Ministry of Metal and Chemical Industries and the Ministry of Foreign Trade in January 1965, and the Ministry of Higher Education and the State Construction Commission in February and in March, respectively, at which he took measures for improving the officials' loyalty to the Party, the working class and the people.

Giving field guidance in company with leading officials at several factories and enterprises such as the Hwanghae Iron Works, Unryul Mine and Kangson Steel Plant in January 1965, he taught them by his personal example the principles and methods to be applied in guiding the lower units.

Under his wise leadership, the struggle to heighten the officials' loyalty to the Party, the working class and the people and establish the revolutionary method and popular style of work was waged on a Party-wide scale, and a fresh

turn was effected in the leading officials' ideological viewpoint, attitude towards work, and method and style of work, with the result that the all-round construction of socialism was accelerated.

## 6. Conference of the WPK and the Struggle to Establish the Party's Monolithic Ideological System and Transform the Whole of Society along Revolutionary and Working-Class Lines

In the mid-1960s the international situation for the Korean revolution became very complicated.

The US imperialists resorted ever-more frantically to machinations for aggression against the socialist countries, brutally suppressed the national liberation movements of the peoples in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and disturbed peace in all parts of the world. Meanwhile, the socialist countries and the international communist movement failed to achieve unity in their struggle against imperialism.

The prevailing situation urgently demanded that all Party members and other working people be firmly prepared ideologically so as to staunchly fight on along the road of the revolution closely rallied around the Party and firmly based on the Juche-oriented stand.

Kim Il Sung convened the Conference of the WPK between October 5 and 12, 1966.

He delivered a report titled, ***The Present Situation and the Tasks of Our Party***, in which he put forward the line and strategic policies for developing the Korean revolution as well as the world revolution.

As for the basic strategy for developing the international communist movement and the world revolution as a whole, he said:

**"The basic strategy of the world revolution today is to direct its main spearhead against US imperialism."**

He said that in order to implement this basic strategy the revolutionary peoples of all countries should take the principled stand of uncompromisingly fighting against US imperialism and struggle to oppose both Rightist and "Leftist" opportunism, which give up the fight against US imperialism. He

emphasized that the US imperialists should be vigorously prevented from acting recklessly in all parts and on all fronts of the world–in Asia and Europe, Africa and Latin America, and in all countries, big and small. The US strategy of destroying the international revolutionary forces one by one must be smashed, he said. He also pointed out that the struggle against the US allies, the Japanese and West German militarists in particular, should be waged and all the socialist countries and peace-loving peoples should render every possible support to the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America who were fighting face-to-face with US aggression.

He went on to clarify the principles and ways to overcome Rightist and "Leftist" opportunism and to achieve the unity of the socialist countries and solidarity within the international communist movement.

He explained that in order to achieve solidarity within the international communist movement it was necessary to effect joint anti-imperialist actions and build an anti-imperialist united front. What was most important in this regard, he said, was that independence should be maintained by each Communist and Workers' party.

With reference to this, he emphasized that fraternal parties should strictly observe the norms governing their mutual relations and under no circumstances impose their views or lines upon other parties or blindly follow them.

He stressed that it was the steadfast policy of the WPK in its relationship with the fraternal parties and countries to unite and cooperate on the basis of equality and independence, and to maintain independence while consolidating international solidarity.

He clarified important problems in pushing ahead with socialist construction and strengthening the revolutionary base in Korea.

Underlining the need to carry on the line of building the economy and national defence simultaneously, he put forward the immediate major tasks for this. To strengthen the country's defence capabilities in particular, he said, it was important to hold fast to and carry through the military line of the Party, the main content of which was to turn the entire army into a cadre army, modernize it, arm all the people and turn the whole country into a fortress on the basis of preparing the army and people politically and ideologically.

He put forward the policy of transforming the whole society on revolutionary and working-class patterns, underscoring the need to properly combine the work of strengthening the political and ideological unity of the masses of the people with the class struggle against hostile elements so as to build up the revolutionary ranks politically and ideologically. Stating that an

important revolutionary task of a working-class party and state after the establishment of the socialist system was the transformation of the whole society along revolutionary and working-class lines, he explained that the leadership role of the working class should be continuously enhanced, and the peasants and intellectuals be educated and remoulded with the working class as the model.

The whole process of socialist construction was readjusted and the defence buildup furthered in accordance with the requirements of the prevailing situation, and the Seven-Year Plan was extended by three years.

The 14th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK, held following the Conference of the WPK, reorganized the offices of chairman and vice-chairmen of the Party Central Committee into those of general secretary and secretaries.

The meeting elected Kim Il Sung General Secretary of the Central Committee of the WPK in reflection of the unanimous will and desire of the entire Party, the whole army and all the people.

After the Party Conference, Kim Il Sung devoted primary efforts to establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system.

At the consultative meeting of chief secretaries of provincial, city, county and factory Party committees held in March 1967, he stressed that the monolithic ideological system of the Party should be thoroughly established, and at the 15th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK held between May 4 and 8 that year, took measures to establish the monolithic ideological system throughout the Party. In a series of announcements, including the concluding speech at the plenary meeting and a speech he made before the officials in the field of the Party's ideological work on January 3, 1968 he gave comprehensive answers to the problems of principle concerning the establishment of the Party's monolithic ideological system.

Establishing such a system meant imbuing the whole Party with the revolutionary ideas of its leader and its policies, and carrying out revolutionary work by securing the solid unity of all the Party members centred on the leader.

The leader plays the decisive role in the revolutionary struggle and construction work of the working class. The leader is the top brain of a working-class party and the centre of its unity. He authors the guiding ideology of the revolution, works out lines and policies, and strategies and tactics, politically awakens and organizes the broad masses of the people to build up a powerful driving force for the revolution, and leads their struggle to victory.

The working-class party is founded and guided by the leader, and is an

instrument for realizing his ideology and leadership. Therefore, there must be only one ideology, single centre and monolithic leadership in the working-class party. If a party allows an alien ideology contrary to the leader's ideology to exist within it, or if it fails to secure unity and cohesion centred on the leader and ensure his unchallenged leadership, such a party cannot be called a party in the real sense of the word.

He went on to clarify the ways to establish the Party's monolithic ideological system.

He said that in order to establish such a system, it was imperative to step up education among Party members and other working people to imbue them with the Juche idea, so that they would hold the leader in high esteem, defend him politically, ideologically and at the cost of their lives, make the leader's ideology and its embodiment–the Party's lines and policies–their flesh and blood, and cherish the firm conviction that they would never be tainted with any ideas alien to their leader's ideology. Along with this, a revolutionary climate should be established of resolutely defending the Party's lines and policies and unconditionally carrying them through, and a rigid organizational discipline established whereby the entire Party, the whole country and the whole army would move as one under the unitary guidance of the leader.

Kim Il Sung pushed ahead with the work of establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system among Party members and other working people.

He took positive steps to intensify education in the Party's monolithic ideology among Party members and other working people.

At several meetings, including an enlarged meeting of the joint plenary meeting of the Party committees of North Hamgyong Province and Chongjin City held in mid-June 1968, he said that what was important in the work was to firmly arm Party members and other working people with the Party's ideology. To this end, priority should be given in the Party's ideological education to the work of equipping them with the Party's revolutionary ideology, the Juche idea, and implanting loyalty to the Party in their minds. The study programmes and the educational networks of the Party and other working people's organizations were readjusted so as to strengthen education in the monolithic ideology, and to improve the work of Party cadre training establishments. As part of this endeavour, a one-month course for in-service cadres was launched. In addition, bases for education in the monolithic ideology were built up and various revolutionary publications put out in greater numbers.

The work of establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system among Party members was conducted in close combination with their practical activities to improve their organizational life and implement their revolutionary tasks.

While pushing ahead with the work of establishing the monolithic ideological system of the Party, Kim Il Sung gave correct answers to the theoretical problems arising in the building of socialism.

In many of his works, including ***On the Questions of the Period of Transition from Capitalism to Socialism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat***, published on May 25, 1967 and ***The Democratic People's Republic of Korea Is the Banner of Freedom and Independence for Our People and a Powerful Weapon for Building Socialism and Communism***, published on September 7, 1968, he gave scientific and theoretical answers to those problems in comprehensive and profound ways.

He gave deep theoretical elucidations of the questions on the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

He said: When we have thoroughly won over the middle classes to our side by advancing socialist construction, and when we have eliminated the distinction between the working class and the peasantry and have built a classless society, we can say that the tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism have been accomplished.

Giving an exposition of the complete victory and the final victory of socialism, he explained the indices for a completely triumphant socialist society.

He said:

**"No society can be cited as a totally triumphant socialist society where the hostile classes persist in subversion; where retrogressive ideas have sway over the minds of the people; where there still remain anomalies between town and the countryside and class anomalies between the working class and the peasantry; where full-scale industrialization has not been attained; and where the material and technical basis of socialism has not been firmly laid."**

In order to win the complete victory of socialism, he said, it was imperative to strengthen dictatorship over the class enemies and transform the whole society along revolutionary and working-class lines through a thoroughgoing ideological revolution, find a final solution to the rural question, raise the cooperative ownership to the level of all-people ownership, and vigorously push ahead with socialist economic construction.

Explaining that the final victory of socialism could only be achieved when the menace of aggression and the danger of the restoration of capitalism by the imperialists from outside had been finally removed, he said that, to this end, it was important to build up one's own internal revolutionary forces and, at the same time, receive active assistance of other detachments of the world socialist revolution, and strengthen genuine international solidarity with the working class of all countries and oppressed peoples across the world.

He guided the struggle to transform the whole society along revolutionary and working-class lines, as part of his endeavour to build up the revolutionary ranks.

He vigorously pushed forward the work of transforming all the members of society into revolutionaries.

He gave priority to transforming along revolutionary lines officials, the hard core of the Party and the leading staff of the revolution.

In a speech delivered in mid-October 1966 to officials of the Organizational Leadership and Information and Publicity departments of the Central Committee of the WPK, he clarified in detail the problems of principle concerning the transformation of the cadres along revolutionary lines, and energetically led the struggle for its implementation. With the enlarged meeting of the 21st Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK, held from late June to early July 1970 as a launching pad, this work gained momentum.

He actively accelerated the effort to transform the working class into revolutionaries and assimilate the peasants to the revolutionaries and the working class.

He ensured that education was stepped up among the working class to imbue them with the Party's monolithic ideology. Their organizational life was intensified, and they were constantly trained through revolutionary practice. He gave field guidance in the Hamhung area in June 1967 and in the Taean and Kiyang areas in May the following year, leading the workers there to become models for the transformation of the whole society along revolutionary lines.

At the National Congress of Agricultural Officials held early in February 1967, he pointed out the concrete tasks and ways for assimilating the peasants to the revolutionaries and the working class. For the successful implementation of this, he taught that it was imperative to vigorously conduct the three revolutions–ideological, technological and cultural–in the countryside, and intensify the training of the peasants through organizational life and socialist

labour in order to bring their ideological and mental qualities and socio-economic status closer to those of the working class.

He paid close attention to remoulding the intellectuals on the revolutionary and working-class patterns.

He advanced ways for transforming the intellectuals along revolutionary lines in speeches delivered to university lecturers in Hamhung in June 1967 and intellectuals in North Hamgyong Province in June 1968. He ensured that the intellectuals were trained through intensified ideological education and revolutionary organizational life, while a thoroughgoing ideological struggle was waged among them for firmly establishing the Juche orientation and eliminating all the remnants of outdated ideas such as individualism and egoism with the aim of training them to be revolutionaries faithful to the Party.

He took measures to successfully promote the transformation of the whole society along revolutionary and working-class lines.

He made this undertaking a matter of concern of the masses themselves and society as a whole.

The Chollima Workteam Movement was launched with the remoulding of people as the central task, and pushed forward, and thus it was turned into a matter of concern of the masses themselves. Along with this, revolutionary transformation began first at families, neighbourhood units, sub-workteams and workteams, and then at workshops, villages, factories and cooperative farms.

Kim Il Sung also got school education improved and the role of art and literature enhanced as part of this undertaking.

On several occasions, including in a speech he made to educational workers in mid-March 1968, he defined the assimilation of the general public to the revolutionaries and the working class as the fundamental principle of socialist pedagogy, and took positive steps to get it fully applied in education.

As a result, the Party's monolithic ideological system and the Juche orientation were firmly established, and the working-class principle was strictly adhered to in educational work.

He clarified the orientation and ways for creating literary and art works, like establishing the Juche orientation, overcoming the imperialists' cultural infiltration attempts and reactionary tendencies, presenting proper themes and producing a detailed portrayal of the process by which people establish a revolutionary outlook on the world in the context of their real life, and correctly embodying the Party's class and mass lines and the working-class principle in delineating prototypes to emulate. He also established a new system for guiding

the creative process in order to further strengthen the Party's leadership of art and literature and thoroughly implement its policy in this regard, while inspiring the writers and artistes to produce revolutionary works of art and literature.

As a consequence, art and literature came to render greater contributions to the work of transforming the working people along revolutionary and working-class lines.

Thanks to the energetic leadership of Kim Il Sung, the transformation of the whole society along revolutionary and working-class lines was accelerated, bringing about a tangible improvement in the ideological and mental qualities of the Korean people, consolidating their revolutionary ranks, and providing a firm guarantee for pushing ahead with the revolution and construction more vigorously.

## 7. For Socialist Industrialization

Kim Il Sung organized and led the struggle to build an independent modern industry, and carry out a comprehensive technological upgrading of the national economy in order to effect socialist industrialization.

He directed great efforts to the construction of heavy industry, the leading sector in realizing socialist industrialization.

He ensured that in the first half of the period of the First Seven-Year Plan heavy industry was readjusted and reinforced by fleshing out the existing framework of heavy industry.

On several occasions, including at the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK held early in September 1963, he said that stress should not be laid on only expanding heavy-industry bases but on reinforcing them and making them more conducive to the development of light industry and agriculture and the improvement of the people's standard of living.

To this end, he defined the machine-building industry as the main link, and made sure that machine-building factories were properly readjusted and reinforced.

Laying out the tasks of the machine-building industry at a consultative meeting of officials in this field held early in January 1964, he underlined the

need to replenish and improve the equipment of machine-building factories, increase their production capacities, decisively enhance the quality of machine products, ensure proper coordination of cooperative production and improve designing.

While presiding over a consultative meeting of leading officials of the Ministry of the Machine-Building Industry and the Huichon and Kusong machine tool factories held in May 1963, he set forth the task of producing automatic machine tools on an extensive scale. In July that year, he visited the Kusong Machine Tool Factory, and assigned it the task of manufacturing larger numbers of various kinds of automatic machine tools high in precision and efficiency. On his visits to the Ragwon Machine Factory and another machine factory in October the same year, he took steps to get their production lines improved so that they could turn out more and better excavators and diesel engines.

He pushed ahead with the work of replenishing other branches of heavy industry with assistance from the machine-building industry.

Paying close attention to readjusting and reinforcing the metallurgical industry, he ensured that iron and steel works replenished their production facilities so as to increase their production capacities, set up new workshops for turning out second-stage processing products such as drawn pipes and wire ropes to perfect their production lines, and completed as early as possible the method of producing iron and steel based on domestic fuel.

He visited the Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Works and the Songjin Steel Plant in September 1962, and took concrete measures to put the production of iron and steel on a normal basis by putting production equipment in good order and ensuring their maintenance and repair in advance. He visited the Kangson Steel Plant in December 1964, where he took measures to get the construction of a workshop of drawn pipes, the first of its kind in Korea, finished as soon as possible.

During the period between 1961 and 1964, a number of construction projects were implemented in the metallurgical industry sector, including those of a blooming shop at the Hwanghae Iron Works, electric furnace No. 5 at the Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Works, a steel drawn pipe workshop and a workshop making rolled materials for steel pipes at the Kangson Steel Plant, a rolling workshop turning out new medium-sized sheets at the Songjin Steel Plant, and the Pyongyang Electric Wire Factory, thus increasing the rolled steel production capacity and setting up new facilities for turning out second-stage processing products.

Kim Il Sung channelled efforts into carrying on the expansion projects of existing chemical fibre and plastics factories, and building new production bases for caustic soda, agrochemicals and medicines so that a complete chemical industry could come into being.

The second-stage project of the February 8 Vinalon Factory, the expansion project of the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill and the construction of the Sinuiju Chemical Fibre Mill were brought to completion, and new factories producing fertilizers, herbicides and agrochemicals were constructed, thus expanding the scope of the chemical industry, the organic chemical industry in particular.

Kim Il Sung also strove to build up light-industry bases, step up the electrification of the railways, and develop science and technology.

As part of his efforts to build up light-industry bases, he ensured that bases were newly established for producing woolen textiles, knitwear, clothing, chemical plastic consumer goods, vinyl chloride and synthetic leather footwear.

While giving field guidance at the Pyongyang Children's Knitwear Factory in January 1962 he said that new knitwear factories should be built in various parts of the country. In October the following year he visited the Sinuiju Woolen Textile Mill, and set the task of doubling production there. Then he advanced the task for building a large woolen textile mill in the eastern coastal region to satisfy the growing demand for woolen cloth. On several occasions he suggested that bases for producing vinyl chloride and synthetic leather footwear be built and large-scale daily-necessities factories, including plastic goods factories, be built or expanded.

For the electrification of the railways, he took measures to have electric locomotives batch-produced from 1961. He also pointed out at an enlarged meeting of the Second Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK held between November 27 and December 1, 1961 and at a consultative meeting of transport officials held on January 22, 1964, that efforts should be directed to electrifying the trunk railway lines of the country.

The electrification of the railway lines between Kim Chaek and Tanchon was completed in 1962, followed by the electrification of the railway lines between Tanchon and Hongwon, Pyongyang and Sinuiju, and Pyongyang and Sinsongchon by 1965.

Kim Il Sung attached great importance to the development of science and technology. On many occasions, including at a conference of scientists and technicians held in March 1963, he showed the ways for raising the country's science and technology to a higher stage. He also took steps to enable the institutions of education and science to train more scientists and technicians

who could make active contributions to the industrialization and technological revolution in the country, and to bring about a comprehensive development of mechanical, radio and electronic engineering, scientific and technological realms indispensable to economic development.

While stepping up socialist industrialization, all-Party and nation-wide efforts were directed to radically improving the people's standard of living.

Measures were adopted to expand central light-industry factories and enhance their technical equipment, and to build locally-run factories across the country in order to boost the production of daily necessities on a large scale and drastically reduce their prices. Along with this, workshops for daily necessities were set up at heavy-industry factories and enterprises to turn out more of them in a short period of time without massive investment.

Kim Il Sung paid close attention to developing fruit-growing, stockbreeding and fisheries. He made Ryongjon-ri, Pukchong County, a model unit for the development of fruit growing. In April 1961 he convened the Pukchong Enlarged Meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the WPK, and advanced the task of creating 200 000 hectares of new orchards in the period of the First Seven-Year Plan, expanding the area of fruit culture to 300 000 hectares. At a national consultative meeting of the officials of the state agrostock farms held late in June 1963 he clarified the orientation and ways of developing stockbreeding as soon as possible. In 1965 the General Bureau of Poultry Farming was established for overall supervision of poultry farming. In February 1962 a national conference of activists in the fishing industry was convened, at which measures were taken to attain the goal of catching 800 000 tons of seafood. Consequently, the fishing industry of the country was put on a new footing to provide the people with fish all the year around.

Kim Il Sung directed special attention to improving the living standards of the people in mountainous areas.

He visited remote Changsong several times to make it a model and generalize its experience throughout the country. At the Changsong Joint Conference of Local Party and Economic Officials held in August 1962 he showed the ways for raising the standard of living of the people in mountainous areas to that of the people in plain areas. Afterwards, he paid visits to several mountainous areas to lead the people there to follow the example of Changsong. Thanks to his leadership, the mountainous areas, which had been regarded as unfit for human habitation, were turned into places with developed local industry and rural economy.

Kim Il Sung encouraged the whole Party and all the people to the struggle to bring about a new revolutionary upsurge in implementing the line of carrying out economic construction in parallel with defence building.

In January 1967, as a historic turning point was being made, he called the officials above the level of workteam leaders of a mine together and entrusted them with the task of producing more nonferrous metals to implement the line of simultaneously building the economy and defence. In mid-June that year he visited the Ryongsong Machine Plant, and inspired the workers there to stand in the van of the struggle to carry out the line of building the economy and defence simultaneously, and accomplish socialist industrialization, stressing that for this a great revolutionary upsurge should be brought about once again, as in 1957, when the Chollima Movement was launched.

At the 16th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK, held from late June to early July 1967, he set out the tasks for effecting a new great revolutionary upsurge in all the sectors of the national economy.

He said:

**"To implement this new revolutionary line of building up our economy and defences in parallel, cadres and working people in all branches and all units should first make thorough ideological preparations, and second, wage a forceful struggle against passivity and conservatism, backwardness and slackness, and increase their efforts many times over in all branches of the national economy. Thus, the great Chollima march must be sustained and a fresh revolutionary surge forward be made in each and every field of socialist economic construction and the building up of our defences."**

He stressed that a new revolutionary upsurge should be brought about by further developing the Chollima Workteam Movement and actively conducting the work of transforming all the working people along revolutionary and working-class lines.

He paid close attention to improving labour administration.

He ensured that labour administration was converted from a mere technical and administrative undertaking into political work, work with people, to establish a socialist attitude towards labour among them.

Major efforts were directed to technological revolution to ease labour shortages. At the same time manpower was allocated rationally, the principle of socialist distribution was observed, the workforce in nonproductive branches was reduced to transfer more manpower to productive branches, labour planning was improved and labour discipline was established.

Kim Il Sung led young people to play the role of vanguard and shock brigade in developing the Chollima Workteam Movement in depth.

At the National Youth Conference for General Mobilization held in mid-April 1968 he inspired young people, enthusiastic and brave, to be the vanguard in all posts of the building of the economy and defence. At the Second National Conference of the Vanguards in the Chollima Workteam Movement held in May 1968 he said that the central task of the movement was to do a proper job first with people, second, with equipment and materials and third, with books, that is, the ideological, technological and cultural revolutions. And he set forth the tasks for developing the movement so as to increase the number of Chollima-titled factories, cooperative farms and schools and the ranks of Chollima riders.

A great revolutionary upswing was brought about in socialist economic construction. In 1967 the Korean people boosted the gross value of industrial output by 17 per cent and grain output by 16 per cent, respectively, as against the previous year by overcoming unprecedented flood damage. In 1968 the gross value of industrial output increased by 15 per cent as against the previous year, and a bumper harvest was reaped.

Basing himself on the brilliant successes and practical experiences gained in building the socialist economy, Kim Il Sung gave scientific answers to the theoretical problems concerning the socialist economy.

On March 1, 1969 he published a classic work titled, ***On Some Theoretical Problems of the Socialist Economy***.

In this work he made a new analysis of the relations between the scale of the economy and the rate of growth of production in socialist society.

He taught that in socialist society the potential for production growth will always increase as long as the balance between the branches of the national economy is rationally maintained and the country's economy is well coordinated by strengthening the economic organizing functions of the state and improving the economic management capability of officials. He noted that it is a self-evident truth that in socialist society technology can be developed rapidly in a planned way, and accordingly labour productivity increases continuously and production grows at a high rate. He gave a scientific proof that the people's high revolutionary zeal is the decisive factor producing strong impetus for the development of the productivity in socialist society.

He also gave scientific answers to the problems of the means of production assuming the commodity form, and of making proper use of the law of value,

and to the reason for the existence of peasant markets in socialist society and the ways to abolish them.

He pushed ahead with the struggle to carry out the task of socialist industrialization by persevering with the great revolutionary upswing.

With the determination that construction must be continued until 12 o'clock at night even if a war might break out the next morning, he led the entire Party and all the people to keep up the great revolutionary upswing and launch a more dynamic struggle to scale the high peaks of the First Seven-Year Plan, and accomplish socialist industrialization.

In the New Year Address of 1969 he put forward the tasks for effecting a great leap forward in all the sectors of the national economy. At an enlarged meeting of the 20th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK held in December 1969, he appealed for the fulfilment of the First Seven-Year Plan ahead of schedule in the lead-up to the Fifth Congress of the WPK, to be convened in the autumn of 1970.

In hearty response to his call, all the Party members and working people achieved new miraculous successes and innovations in all branches of the national economy by waging a dynamic labour struggle.

In 1970 workers at the Kangson Steel Plant created the Kangson speed, a new Chollima speed, by doubling their steel output as compared with the same period of the previous year. As of October 1970, all the factories and enterprises of the country increased industrial production by 31 per cent as compared with the previous year. Furthermore, over 1 760 locally-run factories were built within half a year, sharply increasing the output of various consumer goods. In agriculture, the way of work of the Chongsan-ri people was generalized, so that a fresh upswing was brought about in all branches, including crop growing, stockbreeding, fruit growing and silkworm raising.

In the flames of the great revolutionary upswing, the First Seven-Year Plan was successfully fulfilled, and the historic task of industrialization was brilliantly accomplished.

As a result, Korea, once a colonial, agrarian state far removed from modern civilization, was turned into a powerful socialist industrial state with modern industry and developed rural economy.

This constituted a historic event of great significance in the 5 000-year-long history of Korea, and one of the greatest exploits Kim Il Sung achieved for the prosperity of his country and the well-being of all the generations to come.

## 8. Movement of Koreans in Japan and International Solidarity with the World Revolutionary Forces

Kim Il Sung paid keen attention to strengthening and developing the movement of overseas Koreans, the movement of Koreans in Japan in particular.

Entering the 1960s, the Japanese authorities persistently resorted to a double-faced policy towards the Koreans resident in Japan–repressing them at the same time as attempting to naturalize them. This laid great obstacles in the way of the progress of the movement of Koreans in Japan.

Kim Il Sung clearly showed the road ahead for the movement of Koreans in Japan on several occasions, including in his letter to the chairman of Chongryon (General Association of Korean Residents in Japan), late in January 1962, titled, ***Let Us Consolidate and Develop the Successes Achieved in the Work of Chongryon***. He pointed out that Chongryon should unite all the Korean compatriots in Japan more closely behind the WPK and the government of the DPRK, expand its organization as required by the prevailing situation, and intensify ideological education among its officials and other Korean compatriots to arm them with the idea of the WPK, the Juche idea. He also stated that it should resolutely defend the democratic national rights of the Koreans resident in Japan and strive to hasten the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

He ensured that full support and encouragement were extended to the struggle of Chongryon and of all the Koreans in Japan.

He paid primary attention to defending the democratic national rights of the Koreans in Japan.

While exposing and scathingly denouncing the schemes of the Japanese authorities to induce Koreans in Japan to apply for denizenship in Japan and south Korean nationality, the DPRK government instituted the Nationality Act of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on October 9, 1963, providing a legal guarantee of citizenship and other democratic national rights for Koreans in Japan. Seven representatives of Chongryon were elected as deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK in November 1967, demonstrating their legal status as overseas citizens of the DPRK.

The Koreans resident in Japan in their turn rendered active support and encouragement to the south Korean people in their struggle for democracy and against fascism, and launched a dynamic struggle to frustrate the traitorous south Korea-Japan talks. They vigorously conducted a movement involving all Korean compatriots to foil the Japanese reactionaries' crafty schemes to block their repatriation to the homeland, winning active support and encouragement of the Japanese people. Thus, the repatriation to the homeland that had been suspended for about three years was resumed.

Greatly inspired by the leadership and care of Kim Il Sung, officials of Chongryon and other Korean compatriots in Japan frustrated all sorts of manoeuvres of the enemy, consolidated the unity and cohesion of their ranks based on the ideological system of Juche, built up Chongryon organizationally, and developed the movement of Koreans in Japan to a new, higher stage.

In the early 1960s, frightened by the growth of the revolutionary forces throughout the world, the US imperialists, hoodwinking the world's peoples with a crafty double-faced trick, perpetrated frantic acts of aggression and war in various parts of the world. They triggered off the Tonkin Gulf Incident in August 1964, escalating their war of aggression in Vietnam and intensifying their aggressive manoeuvres against Laos and Cambodia. Meanwhile, revisionism and other forms of opportunism weakened the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle and had harmful impacts on achieving unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and accomplishing the revolutionary cause of the international working class.

With deep insight into the prevailing international situation and the demands of the developing world revolution, Kim Il Sung put forward strategic and tactical policies to oppose imperialism and all sorts of opportunism and to advance the world revolution.

He set forth the policy of rejecting opportunism, including revisionism, and achieving unity and cohesion of the international communist movement and the socialist countries.

In several works, including the concluding speech he delivered at an enlarged meeting of the Third Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK held on March 8, 1962, he exposed the true colours of opportunism, and expounded on the principled stand and attitude to be maintained by the revolutionaries in the struggle against it.

He said:

**"The sources of revisionism are acceptance of domestic bourgeois**

**influence and surrender to external imperialist pressure. Both old revisionism and modern revisionism are one and the same in essence and in aims: both deny the basic principles of Marxism and call for a renunciation of the revolutionary struggle on the pretext that times have changed."**

He pointed out that revisionism was an opportunist trend emerging in the labour movement, denying the leadership of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, abandoning the class struggle and opposing the liberation struggles as it preached compromise with imperialism, and that this was its reactionary and dangerous nature.

Clarifying the steadfast stand of the WPK towards opportunism, he stressed that the struggle against opportunism should be conducted on two fronts, and yet the principle of uniting while struggling and of struggling while uniting should be abided by wholeheartedly from the desire for unity.

He set forth a policy of stepping up the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle and conducting national liberation movements in the colonies.

He published his works ***Let Us Intensify the Anti-Imperialist, Anti-US Struggle*** in August 1967, ***The Great Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Cause of the Asian, African and Latin-American Peoples Is Invincible*** in October 1968, and a number of other works, in which he threw full light on the scientific strategy and tactics for the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle and the national liberation movements in the colonies.

He wrote that in order to carry out the basic strategy of the world revolution of directing the main spearhead against US imperialism, the revolutionary peoples of the world should join in dismembering it.

He gave a new scientific explanation that the national liberation movements in the colonies were not a reserve force of the working class of the developed capitalist countries but one of the two major revolutionary forces of the present times, the other being the revolutionary struggle of the international working class for socialism.

He clarified the truth that the oppressed peoples can liberate themselves only through an unyielding struggle against imperialism.

He indicated the road ahead for the peoples of the newly independent countries. He said that those countries, even after they had achieved political independence from imperialist subordination, must continue revolution until they won the ultimate victory of the cause of national liberation and that peoples who won their independence must fight to smash the subversive activities of foreign imperialism and domestic reactionary forces, destroy their

economic strongholds, set up a progressive social system and build an independent national economy and national culture.

He also explained that international solidarity should be strengthened between the peoples of the countries where revolution had already triumphed, and the peoples of the countries where revolution was yet to triumph, and that the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America should consolidate their militant unity.

He pushed ahead with the struggle to oppose imperialism and all sorts of opportunism and advance the global revolution.

He made energetic efforts to overcome opportunism of all hues and develop friendly and cooperative relations among socialist countries and Communist and Workers' parties.

He laid bare all the counterrevolutionary theories and divisive manoeuvres of the opportunists so that revolutionaries and revolutionary peoples of the world could clearly perceive their true colours. He also fought resolutely against the revisionists interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and pitting against one another the parties and countries which refused to accept their wrong lines and policies.

He paid visits to the USSR and China between late June and mid-July in 1961 leading a Party and government delegation, and concluded with those countries treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance, and exchanged opinions on the immediate and major international issues. He also had many delegations dispatched to socialist countries and their parties to intensify exchanges and contacts with them, and had a number of agreements concluded to take concerted action with them.

He worked energetically to realize joint action against US imperialism with Communist and Workers' parties in capitalist countries, democratic social organizations in other countries and international democratic organizations.

He made sure that the struggle against imperialism, US imperialism in particular, was waged dynamically worldwide.

Korea extended active encouragement to the other revolutionary peoples of the world in their struggles against the moves of aggression and war committed by the US imperialists in all parts of the world, and dispatched delegations to international organizations and conferences to actively wage the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle.

Kim Il Sung attended the International Conference on the Tasks of Journalists of the Whole World in Their Fight against the Aggression of US Imperialism held in Pyongyang in mid-September 1969, and encouraged the

progressive journalists and other representatives of the media in their anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle.

Regarding it as his noble obligation to internationalism to assist the peoples of all the countries that were waging revolution, he rendered selfless material aid and moral support to countries that were conducting anti-imperialist, anti-US struggles.

Korea gave active assistance to the struggle of the Vietnamese people, the then focus of the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle. It sent to them war materiel in large amounts. It also sent selfless political and military support to the Cuban people who were in a hard-fought face-to-face struggle against US imperialism. When the Israeli expansionists, at the instigation of the US imperialists, unleashed the June War in 1967, Korea expressed full support to and militant solidarity with the peoples of the Arab countries, and sent material and military assistance to Egypt and Syria. In this way, it extended active support and encouragement to the peoples of all countries who were engaged in the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle.

Kim Il Sung attached great importance to strengthening solidarity with the peoples of the developing countries.

He met senior officials at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in mid-February 1961, and put forward a policy towards the newly independent countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, advancing concrete ways to do so.

He had a number of delegations dispatched to the developing countries while inviting the heads of newly independent countries and their delegations, so as to develop political, economic and cultural ties with them.

He paid an official visit to Indonesia in April 1965 in order to set up a new milestone in strengthening friendship, unity and solidarity with the developing countries. During his stay there, he gave a historic lecture at the Ali Archam Academy of Social Sciences, making a profound analysis of the successes and experiences the WPK and the Korean people had achieved in their revolution and construction. He attended the tenth anniversary celebrations of the Bandung Conference, at which he met the heads of developing countries and encouraged them in their struggle for the building of a new society.

President Sukarno of Indonesia expressed his deep respect and reverence for Kim Il Sung. When he accompanied Kim Il Sung to the famous Bogor Botanical Garden, Sukarno showed Kim Il Sung a flower on display. It was a new orchid variety bred by a leading Indonesian horticulturist after making great efforts. Kim Il Sung looked at the flower for a while before saying that it

was beautiful indeed. Sukarno said that he wanted to name the flower after Kim Il Sung.

Kim Il Sung finally accepted his repeated suggestion, regarding it as an expression of the warm friendly feelings of the Indonesian people towards the Korean people. Kimilsungia, an immortal flower bearing the august name of a great man for the first time in the long history of mankind, was thus born.

Thanks to his energetic external activities, a radical turning point was brought about in the development of friendly and cooperative relations between Korea and the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the 1960s Korea established diplomatic relations with more than 20 newly independent countries and consular and trade relations with numerous others.

# CHAPTER 10. TO PUSH AHEAD WITH THE THREE REVOLUTIONS

(November 1970–October 1980)

## 1. Fifth Congress of the WPK and the Task of Vigorously Pushing Ahead with the Ideological, Technological and Cultural Revolutions

Early in the 1970s brilliant victories and successes were achieved in all fields of the revolution and construction in Korea. The WPK was faced with the task of accelerating the revolution and construction under the flying banner of the Juche idea and of Songun on the basis of the achievements gained previously.

In order to review the brilliant successes achieved in the revolution and construction and set forth a new programme and tasks of struggle for the WPK, the army and the people, the WPK convened its Fifth Congress from November 2 to 13, 1970.

At the congress General Secretary Kim Il Sung made a report on the work of the Central Committee of the WPK.

In the report he reviewed in a comprehensive way the successes gained in the revolution and construction during the period under review, including the historic victory of turning the country into a powerful socialist industrial state, and put forward a grand plan for hastening socialist construction.

Setting forth the tasks to be tackled in further consolidating the socialist system and expediting socialist construction by carrying out the ideological, technological and cultural revolutions, he said:

**"We must keep on developing our productive forces by carrying the technological revolution to a higher stage. We must bring about a further development and flowering of socialist national culture by speeding up cultural construction. We must vigorously push ahead with the**

**revolutionization and working-classization of the whole of society by giving priority to the ideological revolution."**

He set as the basic task of the Six-Year Plan (1971-1976), the central task of socialist economic construction for continuously developing the productive forces by carrying the technological revolution to a higher stage.

He pointed out that the basic task of the Six-Year Plan in the field of socialist economic construction was to solidify the material and technical foundations of socialism and free the working people from heavy labour in all fields of the national economy by consolidating and developing the successes gained in industrialization and advancing the technological revolution to a new, higher stage.

During the First Seven-Year Plan socialist industrialization was realized, and all sectors of the national economy were basically put on a modern technological footing. However, in order to hasten the complete victory of socialism, it was necessary to further strengthen the material and technical foundations of socialism and, to this end, to consolidate the achievements of industrialization and advance the technological revolution to a new, higher stage so as to rapidly develop the productive forces. The Six-Year Plan was, therefore, put forth as a task of economic construction to meet such requirements.

Kim Il Sung explained the tasks of the Six-Year Plan for different sectors of the national economy.

He said that the central task for the industrial sectors was to perfect their inner-structures and strengthen the Juche-based character of industry by relying for at least 60 to 70 per cent of raw materials on domestic resources. The central task for the rural economy was to make farming highly intensive.

He advanced the three major tasks of the technological revolution, which was aimed at considerably narrowing the differences between heavy and light labour and between agricultural and industrial labour, and freeing women from the heavy burden of household chores by launching a technological innovation movement in all fields of the national economy.

He presented the task of socialist cultural construction for pushing ahead with the cultural revolution.

The most important task of socialist cultural construction was to thoroughly prevent cultural infiltration by imperialism and overcome the tendency of restorationism.

He advanced the tasks for the various fields of socialist culture.

The main tasks facing education were to increase the number of technicians and specialists to more than one million in the near future, to raise the technical and cultural levels of the working people as a whole, and to develop the work of bringing up children under state and public care. Workers in the field of science were to solve in good time urgent scientific and technological problems and those in the field of art and literature were to create revolutionary works of art and literature in larger numbers. Other tasks were to develop the native language and physical culture.

Kim Il Sung set the task of developing in depth the revolutionary transformation of the whole society and its assimilation to the working class by giving priority to the ideological revolution. He emphasized the need to combine the ideological education of the working people closely with their revolutionary practice, strengthen their organizational life and establish a thoroughly socialist way of life in all spheres. He also stressed that the whole society should be gradually transformed along revolutionary and working-class lines by creating models and publicizing their experiences.

He put forward the task for further strengthening the country's defence capabilities to cope with the prevailing situation. He said that it was essential to adhere to the military line of the WPK and thoroughly implement the principle of self-reliant national defence, thus making full political, ideological and material preparations to crush any surprise attack by the enemy.

He said that the most important task in improving the people's living standards was to eliminate, as soon as possible, all distinctions between the living standards of workers and those of farmers, and between the living conditions of urban and rural inhabitants. He instructed that, to this end, counties should be developed and their role enhanced, bus and tap-water services introduced in all the rural villages, and clinics in rural ri developed into hospitals.

Setting the tasks for accelerating the country's reunification, he said that all social strata in south Korea that had a stake in the revolution should be welded into a single political force to form an anti-US united front, and that the mass struggle against the US imperialists and their stooges should be launched more actively. He continued that the most important task facing the south Korean people at that stage was to positively develop a mass campaign against the colonial rule of US imperialism and fascist suppression by its henchmen, and for the democratization of society.

He proposed the task of strengthening solidarity with the international revolutionary forces.

He stressed that the anti-US struggle should be waged more actively and more extensively in all parts of the world, and that all the peoples of the revolutionary, fighting countries of the world should firmly unite, and strongly support and encourage one another.

He clarified that the WPK and the Korean people would continue to staunchly fight against US imperialism and Japanese militarism, and for the triumph of the cause of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism in firm unity with the peoples of the socialist and all the other countries that opposed imperialism.

In the report he set forth the tasks for continuously consolidating and developing the WPK organizationally and ideologically, and further enhancing its leadership role.

He defined as the general task of Party work the thorough establishment of the Party's monolithic ideological system and, on this basis, the strengthening of the unity of its ranks in ideology and purpose.

Stressing that in order to improve and develop Party work it was necessary to put emphasis on work with people, he elucidated the concrete ways of working well with people, i.e., work with cadres, Party members and the masses. He instructed that the Party should intensify its guidance over socialist economic construction in conformity with the changing conditions and the prevailing situation, that it should improve its guidance and control so that the state and economic organs would run the economy in line with the requirements of the new management system of the socialist economy, that it should enhance the functions and role of the people's committees at all levels, and that it should enhance its leadership of the KPA and public security, judicial and prosecution organs.

The congress discussed and decided on the Six-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy on the basis of the main orientation of socialist economic construction, and made amendments to Party Rules to meet the new revolutionary requirements.

The congress reelected Kim Il Sung General Secretary of the Central Committee of the WPK by the unanimous will and desire of all the Party members, the KPA service personnel and other people.

The Fifth Congress of the WPK served as a momentum in pushing the Korean revolution onto a higher stage, and bringing about a fresh upsurge in carrying out the ideological, technological and cultural revolutions.

## 2. Three Major Tasks of the Technological Revolution and Promulgation of the Socialist Constitution

Following the Fifth Congress of the WPK, Kim Il Sung pushed ahead with the struggle to carry out the three major tasks of the technological revolution aimed at freeing the working people from heavy labour by advancing the technological revolution onto a new, higher stage.

He ensured that the main efforts were concentrated on the production of machine tools to make a breakthrough in carrying out the three major tasks of the technological revolution.

He said:

**"Our Party saw the main factor in the fulfilment of the three major tasks of technological revolution as the production of machine tools, and concentrated on this in the first year battle of the Six-Year Plan."**

He emphasized increasing the production of machine tools at a meeting of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the WPK early in 1971, and, while giving on-the-spot guidance at the Huichon Machine Tool Factory in February, he gave it a militant task of making a leap forward in production to turn out 10 000 machine tools by April 15 the following year. In September and October 1971 he visited the Kusong and Huichon machine tool factories, respectively, and encouraged the workers there to continuously make great technological innovations. At the Third Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Central Committee of the WPK convened in November, he put forth the specific tasks of the machine-building industry in carrying out the three major tasks of the technological revolution, including further increasing the numbers and types of machine tools.

The workers of the machine-building factories throughout the country reformed their organization of production, and launched a brisk mass technological innovation movement, performing a miracle of turning out 30 000 machine tools in a little over a year. They thus opened up a bright prospect for successfully carrying out the three major tasks of the technological revolution and the Six-Year Plan.

On the basis of the successes obtained in machine tool production, Kim Il Sung

directed all sectors and units of the national economy to carry out the three major tasks of the technological revolution.

Giving primary importance to narrowing the difference between heavy and light labour, he made sure that mechanization and further comprehensive mechanization were introduced into the mining industry, particularly into the coal-mining industry, where arduous and difficult conditions reigned.

At a meeting of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the WPK held early in December 1970 he stressed the need to bring about a decisive turn in mechanizing the coal-mining industry, and at the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Central Committee of the WPK held in September 1973 set forth the policy of replacing the existing coal-mining equipment with larger and more modern types. He visited South Hamgyong Province at the end of November that year, and called a consultative meeting of officials in the mining sector. To them he explained the tasks of expediting the technological revolution for comprehensive mechanization in the coal and ore mines across the country with Komdok Mine as a model.

He saw to it that the metallurgical, chemical and cement industries put their production lines on an automatic footing, while technologically upgrading parts of the lines that caused excessive heat, gas, dust and moisture. Late in May 1972, on a visit to the Hwanghae Iron Works, he saw the smelters working in intense heat in front of an open-hearth furnace, and then looked round the May 14 Workshop which was still infected with harmful gas. He thereupon gave instructions for realizing the automation of their work as soon as possible. In June that year, while providing on-the-spot guidance in North Hamgyong Province, he learned that the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill had failed to completely solve the problem of noxious gases. So he insisted that noxious gases should be eliminated by refurbishing all production lines with modern equipment.

As part of his efforts to narrow the difference between agricultural and industrial labour, he pushed ahead with the introduction of comprehensive mechanization and application of fertilizer in the rural economy.

While taking measures to sharply increase production at the existing tractor factory, he personally chose the site in November 1971 for a large, modern base for producing tractors, rice-seedling transplanters and other farm machines in large quantities. At an enlarged meeting of the Party Committee of the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex held early in June 1974 he gave detailed instructions on how to radically increase fertilizer production there.

In order to free women from the heavy burden of household chores, he

made sure that the food-processing and daily-necessities industries were further developed to produce various foodstuffs and modern kitchen utensils in larger quantities, and that introduction of tap water in rural villages was conducted as a mass movement.

On several occasions, including a demonstration held late in May 1971 for the introduction of tap water in rural villages and a talk to the officials attending a scientific film show in April 1973, he elucidated the tasks and ways to accelerate the project, and took measures for its implementation. He ensured that each member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the WPK took charge of a province, and each vice director of departments and head of sections of the Central Committee of the WPK and the chief secretary of each provincial Party committee took charge of some villages.

While pushing ahead with the three major tasks of the technological revolution, Kim Il Sung organized and led the work to consolidate and develop the political and ideological unity of the whole society and to enact the Socialist Constitution.

He paid close attention to consolidating the political and ideological unity of the whole society.

He set the tasks for this at a meeting of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the WPK and enlarged plenary meetings of the North Phyongan and South Hwanghae provincial Party committees held in August and September 1971, respectively, and other meetings.

Attaching prime significance to increasing the Party membership, he ensured that people who had been tested and qualified, especially young people who had grown into reliable reserves of the Party, were admitted to the Party in large numbers and that the Party admitted as its members all people who ardently desired to join the Party and were loyal to it and the revolution.

He led Party organizations and officials at all levels to avoid deviations in work with the masses of various social strata, and to educate as many as possible to firmly rally them around the Party.

When the entire Party, the whole army and all the people were united closely around Kim Il Sung as never before and a great revolutionary upsurge was being brought about in socialist construction, the Korean people and the revolutionary peoples of the world celebrated the 60$^{th}$ anniversary of Kim Il Sung's birth.

His 60 years of life was the brilliant revolutionary career of the outstanding leader who had rendered undying exploits to the times and the revolution, to his country and his fellow people.

The WPK, Korean army and all the other people built monuments and arranged the revolutionary battle sites, historic places and revolutionary museums in praise of his great exploits everywhere associated with his leadership in a reverential way. Particularly they set up a bronze statue of Kim Il Sung and the Korean Revolution Museum on Mansu Hill in Pyongyang.

All Party members, the KPA service personnel and other working people, expressing their boundless respect and ardent faithfulness, extended the highest honour and gratitude to him for his devotion over the previous 60 years to the freedom and liberation of the people, and sent congratulatory letters and presented gifts to him with their best wishes.

Kim Il Sung was awarded the title of Hero of the DPRK on the occasion of his 60th birthday for his distinguished services to the development of the Korean and world revolutions.

Many revolutionaries and other peoples all over the world held colourful celebrations, and various foreign mass media gave wide publicity to his revolutionary career. And party and state leaders, revolutionary organizations, fighting organizations, friendship associations, well-known social activists and other progressive figures of many countries sent him congratulatory messages and letters, dedicated poems and songs, and presented gifts.

Kim Il Sung delivered a speech titled, ***Revolutionary Unity Is a Guarantee for All Victories***, at the banquet given in his honour on April 15, 1972.

In the speech he looked back on the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle in which he had gone through thick and thin with his comrades, and said that although the love of parents is precious, the love of comrades is even more valuable, stressing the need to strengthen the unity based on revolutionary comradeship.

With the 60th birthday of Kim Il Sung as a momentum, the unity and cohesion of the Party, the army and other people was further consolidated as the most solid unity of ideology and purpose based on a noble sense of revolutionary obligation and comradeship.

In April 1972 he fixed the site for a revolutionary martyrs cemetery on Mt. Taesong, and instructed that the busts of the anti-Japanese revolutionary martyrs be erected in the cemetery. Under his guidance, the splendid Revolutionary Martyrs Cemetery was built on Mt. Taesong in October 1975.

To further cement the state and social system on the basis of the political and ideological unity of all the people, Kim Il Sung made sure that a new constitution was enacted and proclaimed.

The Constitution of the DPRK enacted in 1948 had codified the successes achieved in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, and thus accomplished its mission in a satisfactory way. The new situation, in which the socialist system had been established and socialist construction was being developed in depth, urgently demanded that a new constitution, the Socialist Constitution, be enacted.

Reflecting this demand, the First Session of the Fifth Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK adopted on December 27, 1972 the **Socialist Constitution of the DPRK**.

The Socialist Constitution codified the successes achieved, defined in a comprehensive way the principles for all fields of socialist society–political, economic and cultural–and stipulated the rights and duties of citizens, and the composition and duties of state organs with the President as head of state and the principles of their activities.

In a speech delivered at the session titled, ***Let Us Further Strengthen the Socialist System of Our Country***, Kim Il Sung elucidated the basic content and characteristics of the Socialist Constitution, and the significance of its enactment and proclamation.

The enactment and proclamation of the Socialist Constitution was of great significance in further enhancing the functions and role of the state and consolidating the socialist system centred on the masses of the people.

Kim Il Sung was elected President of the DPRK by the unanimous desire and will of all the Korean people.

## 3. Developing the Juche Idea in a Comprehensive Way

It was an urgent demand of the ongoing revolution to expound upon the profound principles and rich content of the great Juche idea and develop them in depth.

Around that time, the aspiration and desire to study the Juche idea was growing stronger among the revolutionary peoples throughout the world. They were greatly inspired by the Juche idea which was being put into practice in the Korean revolution and was displaying its victorious nature and vitality there, and were making energetic efforts to study and apply the idea in their own struggles. Moreover, many party and state leaders, social and political activists, scholars

and media workers visited Korea one after another to learn the Juche idea.

With keen insight into the requirements of the times and the developing revolution, Kim Il Sung fully elucidated the Juche idea in his answers to the questions raised by journalists of the Japanese newspapers *Yomiuri Shimbun*, in January 1972, and *Mainichi Shimbun*, in September 1972. He addressed the latter under the title, ***On Some Problems of Our Party's Juche Idea and the Government of the Republic's Internal and External Policies***. He did the same in the report to the commemorative meeting of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the WPK, and other works.

As for the essence of the Juche idea, he said:

**"In a nutshell, the idea of Juche means that the masters of the revolution and the work of construction are the masses and that they are also the motive force of the revolution and construction. In other words, one is responsible for one's own destiny and one has also the capacity for hewing out one's own destiny."**

As for its philosophical principle, he explained that the idea is based on the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything.

Since the relationship between substance and consciousness, between being and thinking, which had been regarded as the basic question of philosophy, had been scientifically clarified in the preceding philosophy of the working class, he raised as the fundamental question of philosophy man's position and role in the world and gave an original clarification of the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and that he decides everything. By doing so, he gave a perfect answer to this question.

He said that man holds the position of master dominating the world and plays a decisive role in changing and transforming it, because he is a social being with independence, creativity and consciousness, special attributes that are foreign to other beings.

On the basis of his scientific clarification of the essential attributes of man and his position and role in the world, Kim Il Sung shed light on the correct view of the world in relation to man; in other words, the law that the world is dominated and transformed by man.

He explained that the Juche idea demands that man be placed at the centre of all thinking and that everything serve him.

He explained that the Juche idea demands that the working masses assume the attitude of masters and solve all the problems arising in the revolution and construction from independent and creative stands.

An independent stand is the stand of deciding all matters independently in the interests of one's own people and carrying the decisions out by one's own efforts, while a creative stand is the one of enlisting the creative power of people to the utmost and settling all problems in conformity with the actual conditions of one's country. For this reason, the independent stand is the basic attitude that should be maintained in the revolution and construction, while the creative stand is the fundamental method that should be relied on in transforming nature and society.

His clarification of the philosophical principle of the Juche idea and, on the basis of this, the law of the progress of the world, i.e., that it is transformed and developed by man, established a new philosophical outlook on the world which is centred on man.

Kim Il Sung, based on his scientific elucidation of the law-governed process of social development and the principle of revolution with the working masses as the centre, pointed out that the working masses are the subject of history and the driving force of social progress, that human history is the history of their struggle for independence, and that their creative activity develops history and promotes social movement.

Proceeding from the philosophical principle of the Juche idea and the essential attributes of man, he clarified the law of socio-historical movement, whose motive force is the working masses, and established the socio-historical principles, the Juche outlook on history.

He shed light on the guiding principles for applying the Juche idea to the revolution and construction.

He said that it is important to adhere to the principles of Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy, and self-reliance in national defence.

Establishing the Juche orientation in ideology means having the attitude and viewpoint of taking part in the revolution and construction in one's own country as befits a master. As revolution and construction are man's conscious activities, establishing the Juche orientation in ideology is a precondition for maintaining an independent stand in politics, the economy, national defence and all other domains.

Maintaining independence in politics means working out all policies and lines in accordance with one's own decision and the interests of one's own people, and carrying them through by relying on one's own people. Politics is of decisive significance in social life. Juche in ideology is expressed, therefore, by independence in politics, and self-sufficiency in the economy and self-

reliance in national defence, too, are guaranteed by independence in politics.

Adhering to the principle of self-sufficiency in the economy means building an economy capable of fully meeting the material demands of one's own country and people on the strength of the resources and technology of one's own country and by the efforts of one's own cadres and people. Since the economy is the material basis of social life, economic self-sufficiency provides a material guarantee for Juche in ideology, independence in politics, and self-reliance in national defence.

Implementing the principle of self-reliant defence means defending one's own country by relying on one's own defence capabilities. Self-reliance in defence is a military guarantee for independence in politics and self-sufficiency in the economy.

Thanks to Kim Il Sung's scientific elucidation of the philosophical principle of the Juche idea, its socio-historical principles, and the guiding principles to be observed in the revolution and construction, the Juche idea became fully developed.

Kim Il Sung said that the principles of the Juche idea had been successfully evolved into an integral system by Kim Jong Il.

Kim Jong Il, based on his deep study of the fundamental principles and the main contents of the Juche idea, formulated the guiding ideology of the WPK as an integral system of idea, theory and method of Juche, and further enriched and systematized the Juche idea with new principles and contents as required by the times and the developing revolution.

Thanks to its evolution into an integral system, the Juche idea became further acknowledged as a great revolutionary ideology in the history of human ideology, and as a scientific guideline of the revolution and construction both in name and reality.

## 4. Solving the Problem of the Continuity of the Revolutionary Cause

Kim Il Sung paid close attention to solving the problem of ensuring the continuity of the revolutionary cause while organizing and leading the struggle to develop socialist construction onto a new, higher stage.

Inheriting the revolutionary cause is a fundamental problem that has a

bearing on the destiny of a revolution. The revolutionary cause of the working class cannot be accomplished within one generation; it is a long-term historic undertaking that should be continued down through generations. It is pioneered by a leader, and victoriously advances and is implemented under his leadership. The law of the revolutionary cause of the working class can be fully realized only when the position and role of the leader who pioneered the revolution are inherited properly.

Entering the 1970s, a correct solution to the problem of ensuring the continuity of the revolutionary cause emerged as an urgent demand of the development of the WPK and the Korean revolution. The revolutionary cause of Juche, which Kim Il Sung had pioneered by force of arms and advanced to victory, entered a new, higher stage of modelling the whole society on the Juche idea. The new generation, which had emerged as masters of the state and society, shouldered the honourable duty of carrying forward the revolutionary cause of Juche. The prevailing circumstances urgently demanded that the problem of the heir to the leader be solved for the accomplishment of the revolutionary cause of Juche from generation to generation.

The correct solution of the problem of succession to the revolutionary cause was also an important issue in the light of the historical lessons of the international communist movement, which showed that if the leadership of the revolution and construction was not inherited in a proper way in the period of the changeover of generations, the cause of socialism would undergo convulsions and be doomed to failure.

With scientific insight into the law-governed requirements of the development of the WPK and the revolution, and the lessons of the international socialist movement, Kim Il Sung gave primary attention to acclaiming a proper man as his heir.

He said:

**"In carrying forward the cause of the party it is essential to solve the problem of the heir to the political leader correctly."**

He emphasized the importance of solving the problem of the heir at a talk to anti-Japanese war veterans, titled, ***On Carrying Our Revolutionary Cause Pioneered in the Thick Forests of Mt. Paektu to the End*** on April 22, 1972.

In the talk he said that in order to carry the cause of the Korean revolution which had started in the thick forests of Mt. Paektu to the end, it was necessary to properly bring up the successor, for this was a pressing issue arising from the practical requirements of the Korean revolution–to provide the people with better living conditions by building socialism and to reunify the country–and

from the experience and prevailing situation of the international communist movement.

Stressing that, if the problem of the successor were not solved properly, it would bring irrevocable consequences to the WPK and the revolution, he said that a young person boundlessly loyal to the Party and the revolution and capable of inheriting and accomplishing the revolutionary cause through generations should be chosen as the successor and properly fostered.

In a talk to a congratulatory group of Korean youth and students from Japan late in June 1971, and on several other occasions, he elucidated the personal qualities and qualifications the successor should possess.

Defining loyalty and moral obligation to the leader and his cause as the basic hallmark of the successor, he said that it was the mission of the working-class leader to acclaim in his lifetime a genuine man of the people, who was boundlessly faithful to his predecessor and possessed of unexcelled ideological and theoretical wisdom, outstanding leadership ability and noble virtues, and to thoroughly establish his leadership system so that the revolutionary cause of the working class could be successfully inherited and accomplished.

He brilliantly accomplished the historic cause of acclaiming Kim Jong Il as successor to his revolutionary cause of Juche reflecting the unanimous will and desire of the WPK, the army and all the people.

Kim Jong Il had performed immortal achievements in leading the Party, the army and the revolutionary work already in his early days by dint of his outstanding leadership ability. In this historical course, he had demonstrated to the full his extraordinary qualities befitting a genuine leader of the people. Having started the Songun-based revolutionary leadership by inspecting Seoul Ryu Kyong Su Guards 105$^{th}$ Tank Division of the KPA on August 25, 1960, he had conducted energetic revolutionary activities at Kim Il Sung University and the Central Committee of the WPK. During this decade, with a grand plan for developing the WPK into the eternal party of Kim Il Sung, he had set establishing throughout the Party the ideological system of Kim Il Sung as the principal line that must be adhered to consistently in Party work and activities, and subordinated everything to the line. He had made great contributions to developing the WPK into an invincible, iron-willed party united in ideology and purpose. Particularly, he had strengthened the KPA into an invincible army and turned the country into a self-defensive power with a self-reliant defence industry by applying Songun politics from the end of the 1960s. This constituted the greatest of his achievements.

In those days, upholding the will of Kim Il Sung, he had given personal

guidance to the sector of art and literature, and brought about renovations in the cinema and opera, and then in all other fields of art and literature, including music, dance, acrobatics and fine arts, thus ushering in a heyday of the Juche-oriented art of the 20th century. He had also made great exploits in accelerating socialist construction and the country's reunification, and advancing the world revolution.

The Korean people, placing absolute trust in Kim Jong Il, a man possessed of outstanding political leadership ability, qualifications and traits becoming a leader, had expressed their unanimous desire to acclaim him as the only successor to Kim Il Sung.

The veterans of the anti-Japanese revolution were in the van in acclaiming Kim Jong Il as the successor to the revolutionary cause of Juche.

Early in 1974, when he had an opportunity to meet Kim Il Sung, Kim Il, one of the veterans, proposed that Kim Jong Il, who had inherited all the ideals of President Kim Il Sung and was possessed of all the qualities requisite for a leader, should be elected to the leadership of the WPK, saying that it was the unanimous wish of all the anti-Japanese revolutionary war veterans and all the people.

Around those days the KPA service personnel and the rest of the people absolutely trusted and followed Kim Jong Il, calling him "dear leader," created and widely disseminated songs in praise of him, and sent to the Central Committee of the WPK requests and letters containing their earnest desire to acclaim Kim Jong Il as the successor to Kim Il Sung.

In mid-February 1974, a year of historic turning point, when succession to the revolutionary cause became the order of the day, and the entire Party, the whole army and all the people were enthusiastic about acclaiming Kim Jong Il as the successor to the revolutionary cause of Juche, the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Central Committee of the WPK was opened.

The meeting discussed and decided on the problems related to achieving the ten long-term objectives of socialist economic construction, and, on February 13, the last day of the meeting, discussed the matter of reinforcing the leadership of the Party.

O Jin U, an anti-Japanese war veteran, took the floor and proposed electing Kim Jong Il, perfectly versed in the Juche idea created by Kim Il Sung and brilliantly applying his intentions to practice, as a member of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee. The other members of the Political Committee and the secretaries of the Party Central Committee proposed that he should be elected to the leadership of the Party.

The plenary meeting unanimously elected Kim Jong Il to the leadership of the WPK, as the heir to Kim Il Sung, reflecting the organizational wish of the entire Party, the whole army and all the people.

Kim Jong Il now became able to lead the WPK and the Korean revolution as the successor to Kim Il Sung and leader of the Party.

All the Party members, the KPA service personnel and people celebrated Kim Jong Il's election as a great auspicious event of the nation and a national blessing, and firmly pledged to support Kim Jong Il's ideology and leadership.

In ***On Further Strengthening Party Work***, a letter he addressed to the short course for the Party's organizational workers late in July 1974, Kim Il Sung elucidated the tasks for laying the solid foundations for the Party and establishing its leadership system as required by the developing situation of the Party and revolution, which had entered a new historic turning point with the election of Kim Jong Il to the leadership of the Party.

The election of Kim Jong Il to the leadership of the Party and the establishment of his leadership system provided a satisfactory solution to the problem of inheriting the revolutionary cause, the problem of the successor to the political leader in Korea.

## 5. In-Depth Development of the Three Revolutions and Struggle for Grand Socialist Construction

Kim Il Sung led the work of developing in depth the three revolutions–ideological, technological and cultural–in order to accelerate socialist construction and model the whole society on the Juche idea.

He directed primary efforts to improving the method of guidance over the three revolutions.

In those days the level of ideological consciousness and political and practical qualifications of officials lagged behind the fast-developing reality, in which the economy was growing in scope, all the sectors of the national economy were being equipped with modern science and technology, and, based on this, socialist construction was making rapid progress. The new reality demanded that guidance be brought closer to lower units and effective help given to subordinates through political and ideological, and scientific and technological guidance, as required by the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method.

To this end, Kim Il Sung organized in the autumn of 1972 guidance teams involving officials selected from Party organizations and university students, and dispatched them to the textile mills and other light-industry factories in Pyongyang and Sariwon to test their ability of guidance over the three revolutions. Then at an enlarged meeting of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the WPK held on February 1, 1973, he advanced a policy of launching the Three-Revolution Team Movement, and took measures to dispatch the teams to major factories, enterprises and cooperative farms.

The three-revolution teams included officials of the Party, state and economic organs and the working people's organizations, scientific and technological personnel and university students, who were prepared politically, ideologically, scientifically and technologically.

In February 1973 Kim Il Sung arranged a short course for the members of the three-revolution teams in the industrial sector and a consultative meeting of those in the agricultural sector, and set out detailed tasks for the teams.

Their most important task, he stressed, was to thoroughly carry out the ideological revolution, so as to arm all the working people with the revolutionary ideology of the Party, the Juche idea, and transform them along revolutionary and working-class lines. Referring to the important task of the technological revolution, he said they were to lead officials and working people to have a correct concept of the technological revolution and briskly conduct a mass technological innovation movement, while speeding up mechanization and automation of production lines. He also pointed out that they should rapidly raise the cultural and technical attainments of the working people and thoroughly establish cultured ways in work and life by hastening the cultural revolution.

He visited the Kim Jong Thae Electric Locomotive Factory in mid-February and the Nampho area in March 1973, acquainting himself with the living and working conditions of the team members sent there. In mid-March he convened the Kangso Enlarged Meeting of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the WPK, at which he instructed that the three-revolution team members should go deeper among the masses, and enlist their revolutionary enthusiasm and creative wisdom. At the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Central Committee of the WPK held in September 1973 he reviewed the work of the three-revolution teams dispatched to the industrial and agricultural sectors, and advanced the tasks for intensifying the three revolutions. On December 11 that year he adopted measures to dispatch three-revolution teams to the educational sector, and clarified the tasks and direction of their work.

At the Tenth Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Central Committee of the WPK and the Conference of Active Industrial Workers held in February and March 1975, respectively, he reviewed the successes and experience gained through the movement in carrying out the tasks of the three revolutions–ideological, technological and cultural–and took concrete measures to vigorously push ahead with the movement.

From time to time, he invited three-revolution team members to important national meetings and entrusted them with heavy tasks. When they achieved success, no matter how small, in the course of carrying out these tasks, he spoke highly of their achievements and encouraged them to further efforts.

With the Three-Revolution Team Movement vigorously under way, the three revolutions developed apace in all the places to which the teams were dispatched, and fresh innovations were made one after another in the transformation of the people along revolutionary and working-class lines, technological reconstruction and cultural development. At the same time, the role of officials in the Party, state and economic organs was further enhanced, and a large number of three-revolution team members grew up to be reliable vanguards of the revolution.

Now that socialist construction had entered a new stage of development under the banner of the three revolutions and the task of modelling the whole society on the Juche idea had come to the fore, a new, higher form of mass movement had to be launched as a development of the Chollima Workteam Movement.

At a consultative meeting of department directors of the Central Committee of the WPK held in February 1973 Kim Il Sung instructed that factories exemplary in conducting the three revolutions should be commended officially, and proposed launching the Three-Revolution Red Flag Movement in all factories and enterprises across the country.

On the initiative of Kim Jong Il, the movement was rapidly spread to all the units of socialist construction from November 1975.

While developing in depth the three revolutions, Kim Il Sung dynamically enlisted the entire Party and all the people to the struggle for grand socialist construction.

He set forth the policy of launching a campaign for grand socialist construction at the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Central Committee of the WPK held in mid-February 1974.

He said:

**“The whole Party and all the people must be mobilized to fight**

**dynamically for the great work of socialist construction, to attain all the goals of the Six-Year Plan next year, ahead of schedule, and then advance towards the ten long-term goals of socialist economic construction."**

The policy of grand socialist construction was to carry out the Six-Year Plan ahead of schedule and to attain in the near future the ten long-term goals of socialist economic construction in the fields of steel, nonferrous metals, coal, electricity, cement, machinery, seafood, chemical fertilizer and grain production, and tideland reclamation by mobilizing the entire Party and all the people. In order to successfully implement the policy, Kim Il Sung pointed out that all sectors and units must make a general onward march at the new Chollima speed. For the present, it was essential to concentrate efforts on five fronts–capital construction, industry, agriculture, transport and fisheries. And he clarified in detail the tasks facing the five fronts. The meeting adopted a letter from the Central Committee of the WPK to all Party members, calling on them to exert all their efforts to the work of grand socialist construction, and took historic measures to abolish taxation completely and sharply reduce the prices of industrial goods.

After the plenary meeting, Kim Il Sung led the struggle for grand socialist construction.

For smooth progress of the work, he ensured that Party guidance committees staffed with leading officials in the relevant sectors and workers engaged in production at the shop-floor level were set up in the ministries and commissions of the Administration Council. He insisted that these committees be run properly so as to decisively strengthen Party guidance of economic work, and took concrete measures for all the sectors and units to work as required by the Taean work system.

As main efforts were concentrated on the five fronts of grand socialist construction, he saw to it that an all-out charge was made, first of all, in capital construction.

The year 1974 was set as a year of construction, and all efforts were directed to that front. The expansion project of the Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Works was defined as the first target that should be attained in capital construction. Work on other large-scale projects, including the construction of the second-stage Pukchang Thermal Power Plant, Sunchon Cement and Youth Chemical factories, was also promoted.

For innovations in the industrial front, new coal and other mines were developed on a large scale, the existing ones were expanded, and the work to replace their equipment and transport vehicles with large, modern and high-speed ones was stepped up. The industrial sectors made great efforts to

introduce automation and remote-control systems to their production lines, so as to put themselves firmly on the basis of modern technology.

For a fresh upsurge in transportation, the capacity of rail transportation was increased, combined rail, road and water transportation intensified, and cableways, conveyor belts and pipelines widely introduced. In the fisheries sector, up-to-date fishing vessels were built in large numbers and the industry's material and technological foundations were strengthened.

Regarding it as a matter of key importance in achieving victory in grand socialist construction to successfully carry out the national economic plan for 1974, Kim Il Sung instructed at a meeting of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the WPK held early in October 1974 that the year's economic plan should be executed without fail.

Kim Jong Il, true to the President's intention, led a related 70-day campaign to victory. As a result, the national economic plan for 1974, the first year of grand socialist construction, was successfully fulfilled, opening up a sure vista for the fulfilment of the Six-Year Plan far ahead of schedule before the 30th anniversary of the founding of the WPK in October 1975.

Kim Il Sung led the struggle to bring about a great upsurge in agricultural production, defining agriculture as one of the main fronts.

Entering the 1970s, the world was facing a food crisis, a setback in agriculture, owing to the abnormal weather conditions sweeping the world. They also greatly affected agricultural production in Korea. In order to satisfy the increasing demand for raw materials for industry as well as for food, it was necessary to overcome the problems posed by the abnormal weather conditions and effect a radical turn in agricultural production.

While giving guidance at several rural villages in North and South Phyongan provinces from early 1973, he studied ways to boost agricultural production, and at a meeting of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the WPK in January that year and a consultative meeting of agricultural officials of South Hwanghae, North and South Phyongan provinces and Pyongyang, put forward the tasks for bringing about a great upsurge in agricultural production.

Directing agriculture in person from 1973, he made a close study of the climatic and physical features of the country, its farming conditions, advanced farming methods used in other parts of the world and the principles of scientific farming, gained rich experience through his own testing of crops and on-site guidance, and analyzed in a profound way the fundamental demands of developing agriculture and the influence the abnormal weather conditions had

on agriculture. On this basis, he created an advanced and scientific Juche farming method suited to Korea.

He made sure that new high-yielding strains suited to the climatic features and soil conditions of the country were bred on a large scale, seed breeding and selecting farms were built, and a well-regulated system of unified supply of seeds put in place. He also ensured that farming was done on the principles of growing the right crop in the right soil and at the right season, each plant was tended with great care, and a scientific manuring system was set up.

For the application of the Juche farming method, he visited many cooperative farms, acquainting himself with all types of farm work, from the preparations for farming, growing and transplanting seedlings, weeding and harvesting to threshing.

He led the work of consolidating the material and technological foundations of agriculture by accelerating the rural technological revolution.

He ensured that the expansion project of the Kumsong Tractor Factory was stepped up, tractor-mounted implements and spare-parts factories built, and small-tractor factories and a motor works expanded. Along with this, he took steps to construct fertilizer factories in various parts of the country, increase the production of herbicides and pesticides, train agricultural technicians and specialists in large numbers, and send to the rural areas the agricultural technicians formerly engaged in other sectors.

As a result, a great success was achieved in consolidating the material and technological foundations of agriculture. By 1979 the number of tractors per 100 hectares of cultivated land had reached seven in the flat areas and six in the intermediary and mountainous areas, and the number of technicians and specialists engaged in the rural economy increased sharply, ensuring better technological guidance.

As part of his efforts to develop agricultural production onto a new, higher stage, Kim Il Sung took measures to launch a vigorous campaign for transforming nature.

At a meeting of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the WPK held late in September 1976 he set forth the five-point policy on the transformation of nature–completion of field irrigation, laying out of terraced fields, rezoning of land and improvement of soil fertility, effective afforestation and water conservancy, and reclaiming of tidal flats. He also advanced in an all-round way the tasks for implementing the policy at the 12$^{th}$ Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Central Committee of the WPK held in mid-October the same year. After the plenary meeting he gave on-the-spot guidance at the rural areas in

North Phyongan, Kangwon, South Hamgyong and other provinces, leading the entire Party, the whole country and all the people to turn out as one in the struggle to carry out the five-point policy. Under his guidance great progress was made in all sectors of the national economy, and the Six-Year Plan was fulfilled successfully. In 1976 the industrial output increased to 2.5 times that of 1970, and it took only five days to turn out the same amount of industrial goods which had been produced in the whole year of 1944, before the country's liberation from the Japanese military rule. In agriculture rich harvests were reaped in succession, thus attaining the grain goal of the Six-Year Plan two years ahead of schedule.

## 6. Establishing Kim Jong Il's Leadership System in the KPA and Strengthening Its Fighting Efficiency

Kim Il Sung paid close attention to establishing Kim Jong Il's leadership system in the KPA.

He had entrusted Kim Jong Il with the state's military affairs already in the end of the 1960s, and attached great significance to establishing Kim Jong Il's leadership system in the army.

A meeting of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the WPK held on August 20, 1977 decided to establish a new system and order in order to strengthen Kim Jong Il's guidance of the General Political Bureau of the KPA.

Kim Il Sung devoted great efforts to radically improving the Party's political work in the army.

He said:

**"Whether political work is given precedence or not is decisive of the fighting results of a unit. In a unit where the political work is conducted properly, all the soldiers will fight valiantly in high spirits, clearly aware of their duties, and will always win the battle. But the unit in which political work is not given priority and in which there is no careful organization, will be unable to win the battle."**

On several occasions, including in May 1976, he took measures to bring all problems related to the Party's political work in the army to Kim Jong Il and deal with them according to his unified decision. He also ensured that the Party

organizations and political organs at all levels in the army were built up and their functions and role enhanced accordingly.

He saw to it that the Party's political work was conducted in a vigorous way in the army to meet the requirements of modelling the whole society on the Juche idea.

At a meeting of the Central Military Commission of the WPK held late in August 1977 he put forth the task of further improving the Party's political work in the army. In a speech titled, ***Let Us Build Up the Strength of the People's Army through Effective Political Work***, delivered at the Seventh Conference of Motivational Workers of the KPA held late in November, he emphasized intensifying education in the principles of the Juche idea, revolutionary traditions, class awareness and socialist patriotism among soldiers, saying that it was important to strengthen education in the Juche idea to meet the requirements of modelling the whole society on the Juche idea.

As a result, the Party's political work in the army was turned into the one of developing all the soldiers into genuine revolutionaries of the Juche type unfailingly loyal to the Party and the leader, and possessed of high revolutionary consciousness and class awareness.

At the 20th Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Party Committee of the KPA held in December 1979 Kim Il Sung delivered a speech on further strengthening the political and military power of the army, and put forward the principles and fighting tasks arising in this work, including those of strengthening the KPA politically and ideologically by placing major emphasis on the training of soldiers in Party spirit and building it up militarily through effective management of units and making full combat preparations.

After the meeting the work of discussing the document of the meeting was done in an effective way and in the course of this the leadership system of Kim Jong Il was established in the entire army.

Kim Il Sung organized and led the work to further increase the fighting efficiency of the army.

He set forth a five-point training policy and ensured that the combat training of soldiers was conducted to meet the requirements of modern warfare.

At the Tenth Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Central Committee of the WPK held in mid-February 1975, he put forth the five-point training policy in order to make all the service personnel cadres and modernize the army.

He said:

**"The People's Army will become stronger beyond compare if all its soldiers thoroughly implement the five-point policy of cultivating an**

**indomitable revolutionary spirit, skilful and clever tactics, steel-like physical strength and the capability of hitting every target without fail, and establishing iron discipline."**

He got the whole army to implement the five-point training policy to cope with the grave military and political situation created by the annual staging by the US imperialists of a nuclear war game–the Team Spirit joint military exercises–from 1976.

He had the review of field firing drills of infantry battalions conducted throughout the army, and, on the basis of this experience, ensured that all sub-units intensified firing practice and other combat drills. Late in March 1977 he organized a test of the field firing capabilities of various infantry sub-units, and personally went to firing ranges to give guidance on such drills with various kinds of rifles. He praised highly the sub-units with excellent results in firing, in the name of the KPA Supreme Commander and even posed for photographs with them. In the same month he inspected a sub-unit engaged in field firing drills for defence, and pointed out that it was necessary to practise firing with live bullets, whether it was windy, rainy, cold or dark and no matter what the terrain, for a war was not one for only fine days. In mid-February 1978, he instructed the commanding officers of the KPA to always study the maps to consider every possible circumstance they might encounter in case a war broke out and find out the most effective way to deal with such a situation.

He led the officers of the KPA to command and manage their units as required by the anti-Japanese guerrilla method and make the entire army replete with the revolutionary spirit of military service.

He issued an order in the name of the Supreme Commander in mid-February 1977 that commanders should improve their level of command and management of their units so as to further enhance the army's combat readiness and its fighting efficiency. To this end, he instructed that the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces and each corps should organize short courses for the commanders at all levels, and that the military academies at all levels should include in their curricula a course related to the command and management of units. He also took measures to launch a drive throughout the army to follow the example of O Jung Hup, commander of a regiment of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army, who had been excellent in this respect.

In order to establish steel-like discipline throughout the army in accordance with the military regulations and manuals, at the Seventh Conference of Motivational Workers of the KPA held late in November 1977 he set forth a ten-point code of conduct to be observed by the service personnel.

This ten-point code of conduct contained a set of principles to be strictly observed by the KPA service personnel during their military service–abiding by the military regulations at all times and in all places, handling weapons with care, taking an active part in combat and political training and political life, giving full play to revolutionary comradeship and the fine traits of unity between officers and rank and file, and between the army and the people, and so on.

Kim Il Sung paid close attention to strengthening the companies in order to further enhance the fighting efficiency of the army.

In a speech titled, ***Let Us Strengthen the Companies of the People's Army***, delivered at a meeting of the company commanders and political instructors of the KPA held in mid-October 1973, he set forth important tasks for strengthening the companies.

He stressed that education in the Juche idea, class awareness and socialist patriotism should be intensified in the companies. And setting it as an important task in building up the companies to fully prepare the soldiers militarily, technologically and physically, he pointed out that they should be trained into a-match-for-a-hundred combatants by conducting military training in a substantial way. He explained that company commanders and political instructors must acquire ten combat and moral qualities–courage, fortitude, the sense of responsibility, discipline, organization, patience, optimism, esprit de corps, revolutionary spirit and loyalty.

He showed scrupulous care for the efforts to strengthen the companies.

Late in August 1977 he proposed holding a large-scale short course for the company commanders and gave concrete guidance to it, so that the course could help the commanders and political instructors to acquire the methods of command and management of the sub-units and of conducting the political and organizational work of the Party. He also ensured that military educational institutions further improved their instruction to bring up excellent company commanders.

A short course was organized late in October 1979 for the sergeant-majors of the KPA. Kim Il Sung, who showed care for its successful progress, attended its closing ceremony, and clearly defined the position and duties of sergeant-majors. Afterwards, short courses were organized in the units for their deputy platoon leaders and squad leaders so as to enhance their military and practical qualifications and capabilities.

Kim Il Sung established a system of ensuring that commanding officers of higher levels could go to the companies now and then to work with them,

ensuring that senior officers took the lead in going down to the companies and helping them.

As a result, all the companies of the KPA developed into invincible military ranks, further enhancing the KPA's might.

Thanks to the wise leadership of Kim Il Sung, who strengthened the fighting efficiency of the KPA in every way under the banner of Songun, the KPA was able to emerge victorious in the military and political showdown with the US aggressive forces when they triggered off the Panmunjom Incident in 1976, and reliably safeguard the socialist motherland and the gains of the revolution amid the dark clouds of a threatened nuclear war the US imperialists brought about by staging Team Spirit joint military exercises from 1976.

## 7. Further Consolidating the People's Government and Putting the National Economy on a Juche-Oriented, Modern and Scientific Footing

Kim Il Sung paid close attention to strengthening the people's government, a powerful weapon for revolution and construction.

In a speech titled, ***Let Us Further Strengthen the People's Government***, addressed to the First Session of the Sixth Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK on December 15, 1977, he gave a scientific elucidation of the theoretical and practical problems arising in consolidating the people's government.

He newly defined the essence of state power, emphasizing that it is the main factor in determining the position and role of man.

He elucidated that socialist democracy should be given full scope in socialist state activity.

He explained that, in order to give full scope to socialist democracy, it was essential to encourage the working masses to participate widely in the work of the people's government, steadily enhance their role in the political activities of the state, and provide them with material and cultural life of a progressively higher standard by successfully constructing the socialist economy and developing socialist culture. It was also necessary to fight against the hostile actions of all kinds that hamper the interests of the working masses and harm socialist democracy.

He exposed the reactionary nature of bourgeois democracy and the imperialists' clamour about "defence of human rights." Bourgeois democracy, he pointed out, is not democracy for the masses of the working people, but "democracy" for the minority of the exploiting classes, and, therefore, is not democracy in the true sense of the word. The "human rights" mouthed by the imperialists are not for the people but for the enemies of the people to exploit the working masses, and the "freedom" they claim is not the democratic freedom of the people but the freedom of the imperialists and their stooges to perpetrate subversive activities.

Saying that the struggle against bureaucracy should be continued in order to strengthen the people's government, he put forward the concrete tasks needed for this.

After the meeting Kim Il Sung pushed ahead with the work of strengthening the people's government.

The ranks of the officials of the government organs were built up with those who were boundlessly loyal to the Party and the revolution, the function of state power of the government organs was further enhanced, and all the officials of the state and economic organs were encouraged to work as required by the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method. The people's government, in charge of the country's economic activities and the people's living, took upon itself the responsibility for guiding the economic and cultural development and improving the people's material and cultural standards of living. A meeting of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the WPK held from late February to early March 1977 decided to set up committees for guidance in socialist law observance, thus further enhancing the function of government organs of legal control and tightening law and order.

Kim Il Sung organized and led the struggle to put the national economy on a Juche-oriented, modern and scientific footing, while pushing forward socialist economic construction.

At the 15th Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Central Committee of the WPK and the First Session of the Sixth Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK held in mid-December 1977, he set forth the policy of making the national economy Juche-oriented, modern and scientific, and advanced the long-term objectives of the Second Seven-Year Plan (1978-1984).

He said:

**"The principal task of the Second Seven-Year Plan is to further strengthen the economic foundations of socialism and to raise the standard**

**of living of the people still higher by introducing Juche, modern techniques and science into the national economy at a rapid pace."**

The central task facing industry in the plan was to make the best use of its existing foundations and, at the same time, to expand them so that the Juche character of industry could be built up and continue to make all the sectors of industry modern and scientific. In agriculture it was to achieve the industrialization and modernization of farming, and to introduce intensive, scientific methods into agricultural production by carrying out the nature-harnessing projects on a large scale and accelerating technological revolution in the rural areas.

Kim Il Sung gave strong impetus to making the national economy Juche-oriented, modern and scientific, and executing the Second Seven-Year Plan.

He put forward the slogan **"Let us display more of the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance!"** in December 1977 to encourage all officials and working people to push forward economic construction by their own efforts, technology and resources, discovering what was lacking and making what was not available.

The 16th Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Central Committee of the WPK convened late in January 1978 adopted a letter to all the Party members, and established a well-regulated production guidance system from the Administration Council down to factories and enterprises. Kim Il Sung ensured that priority was given to political work, work with people, and economic work organized scrupulously. Along with this, he took steps to build up the departments of the Party in charge of economic affairs, and ensure that all Party organizations closely combined Party work with economic work, concentrating their efforts on the fulfilment of economic tasks.

He paid close attention to enlisting the entire Party and all the people in the struggle for the implementation of the new long-term plan and making the national economy Juche-oriented, modern and scientific.

For making the national economy Juche-oriented, the Musan and Komdok mines and other production bases of ferrous and non-ferrous metals in the country were consolidated to normalize production. At the same time, modern technical means, raw materials and manpower were provided intensively to the large-scale coal mines, including the Anju Coal Mine, to sharply increase their coal output, and that small and medium-sized coal mines and power stations were built everywhere.

Kim Il Sung directed efforts to strengthening the Juche character of industry. To this end, he ensured that the construction projects of hot and cold

rolling mills of the Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Works were completed at an early date and more bases for second-processing metal products established so as to perfect the country's metallurgical industry and further strengthen its independent character. He also saw to it that chemical factories relying on domestic raw materials were set up in large numbers to satisfy the growing demands for various chemical products.

As part of his efforts to speed up the modernization of the national economy, he had more machine factories, including the Taean Heavy Machine Factory, built to produce and supply modern heavy and specialized machine tools and small and medium-sized equipment for factories and enterprises by domestic exertions. He also put efforts into developing the electronics and automation industries so that various automation instruments, gauges and appliances needed for the modernization of the national economy were fully provided.

Attaching great significance to putting the national economy on a scientific basis, he energetically directed the work to develop the country's science.

On March 8, 1978 he called senior officials in the scientific research sector and instructed that scientists should be fully aware of the importance of their duty, and intensify scientific research to carry out the Party's policy of making the national economy Juche-oriented, modern and scientific. And on November 23 that year he convened a consultative meeting of officials in the sector of science and technology, at which he took practical steps to widely introduce into production the achievements of scientific research aimed at economizing on fuel and electric power.

As a result, the work of making the national economy Juche-oriented, modern and scientific was briskly stepped up, and a great success was achieved in carrying out the Second Seven-Year Plan. By September 1980 the assignments for the first three years of the Second Seven-Year Plan were successfully fulfilled: The total industrial output of 1979 increased to 3.8 times greater than that of 1970, and the grain output also increased remarkably.

While giving on-the-spot guidance to different sectors of the national economy in October 1979 Kim Il Sung got acquainted with the achievements made by certain scientists who had devoted themselves to the Party and the revolution, the motherland and the people, without seeking fame or reward, and praised highly their noble mental world, saying that they were unassuming heroes boundlessly loyal to the Party and the revolution. And he instructed that their examples should be popularized.

True to his intention, Kim Jong Il put forth as an important strategic policy of the Party the movement to follow the examples of the unassuming heroes, and encouraged the entire Party and all the people to launch the movement.

The movement was vigorously conducted in all sectors and in all units, producing a large number of heroes and persons of meritorious deeds of the times. In this process great progress was made in transforming the whole society along revolutionary and working-class lines, the method and style of work on the part of officials greatly improved, Juche-oriented science and technology rapidly developed, and a new upsurge effected in socialist economic construction.

## 8. *Theses on Socialist Education* and Struggle for Development of Socialist Culture

In the field of socialist cultural construction Kim Il Sung attached primary importance to education, and put great efforts into developing it.

He exerted great efforts for consolidating the socialist education system and improving higher education.

At the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Central Committee of the WPK held early in July 1972 he took a historic measure to introduce universal 11-year compulsory education, involving compulsory ten-year primary and secondary education and one-year preschool education. The system was introduced gradually from September that year, and enforced throughout the country from September 1, 1975. At the end of April 1976 the **Law of the DPRK on the Nursing and Upbringing of Children** was enacted to consolidate by law the system of bringing up all children at state and public expense. Along with this, Kim Il Sung took measures to expand the network of higher education, thereby training one million intellectuals during the period of the Six-Year Plan, so as to solve the problem of national cadres.

Education had attained a high level by the mid-1970s, bringing about a bright prospect for developing the national economy, science and culture at a high speed.

While leading the work of education for a long time, Kim Il Sung had advanced ideas and theories on socialist education and introduced them into practice. And on the basis of rich experience he had accumulated in the course

of this, he made public a work titled, ***Theses on Socialist Education***, at the 14th Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Central Committee of the WPK on September 5, 1977.

In this work he scientifically formulated the fundamental principle of socialist pedagogy.

He said:

**"The fundamental principle of socialist pedagogy is to make people revolutionary, working-class and communist. In other words, it is to equip people with the revolutionary ideas of communism and, on the basis of this, ensure that they acquire sound scientific knowledge and are in good physical condition."**

For socialist education to achieve its aim and fulfil its mission, it should equip people with socialist ideas and, on this basis, ensure that they acquire sound scientific knowledge and build up their physiques.

Kim Il Sung pointed out that in order to conduct socialist education properly it was essential to thoroughly embody loyalty to the Party and working class, firmly establish the Juche orientation in education, closely combine education with revolutionary practice, and maintain the principle of the socialist state assuming the responsibility for organizing and conducting education.

In the theses he defined political and ideological education as the most important items of socialist education, and wrote that it was imperative to equip students fully with the Juche idea so as to provide them with a scientific and revolutionary outlook on the world, and to intensify revolutionary education.

Pointing out that it was important to intensify the teaching of science and technology in socialist education, he stressed the need to provide general and specialized education. He added that physical training at school should be oriented to strengthening the students' physiques and making them physically well-proportioned.

Expounding on the method of socialist education, he stressed that what was important was to apply heuristic teaching, closely combine theoretical education with practical training, and education with productive labour, strengthen organizational life and socio-political activities and properly combine them with education, combine school education with social education, and conduct preschool, school and adult education simultaneously.

He also advanced the tasks of consolidating and developing the socialist education system, enhancing the functions of educational establishments and

role of teachers, and strengthening Party guidance, state support and social assistance to education.

After making public the theses, Kim Il Sung led the work to further develop education.

In a speech delivered at a national meeting of educational workers held early in October 1978 he set the tasks for the thorough implementation of the theses. He said that it was necessary to improve the quality of education, fully provide material conditions for education, exert active efforts for intellectualizing the whole society, and intensify Party guidance of education. He also designated the day on which the theses had been published as Education Day, and ensured that the implementation of the educational theses was reviewed on a regular basis on the occasion of the day.

Thanks to such measures, the fundamental principles of socialist pedagogy were correctly implemented, the quality of education improved, education system ranging from kindergarten to university further perfected, and the network of education further developed. In 1980 the number of universities had increased from 129 in 1970 to 170, and 481 colleges had been newly established in the same period, making it possible to train better-qualified technicians and specialists in larger numbers. The network of nurseries and kindergartens also was expanded throughout the country, making it possible to bring up all the children of the country at state and public expense.

Kim Il Sung gave strong impetus to the development of the country's science and technology.

In many of his works, including a speech titled, ***Some Tasks in Developing Our Country's Science and Technology***, delivered at a consultative meeting of natural scientists held early in December 1972, he indicated the basic direction and method of scientific research work.

He pointed out that main efforts should be put into finding solutions to the scientific and technological problems arising in making effective use of the existing economic foundation of the country, consolidating the self-supporting and Juche character of the national economy, elevating the technological revolution to a new, higher stage, and developing the country's science and technology to the world standard. He also stressed that the Juche orientation should be established in scientific research work and that scientists and technicians should be transformed into revolutionaries and assimilated to the working class.

He ensured that research groups involving scientists and technicians were dispatched to various sectors of the national economy to solve knotty scientific

and technological problems in production, that institutions were newly set up to research advanced science and technology and guide the work, and that all conditions and facilities needed for scientific research work were fully provided.

As a result, great successes were achieved in scientific research work.

In the sector of social sciences, the greatness and originality of the Juche idea was elucidated more profoundly, and many achievements were made in the political economy, history, literature, linguistics, law and all other sectors of social sciences.

Natural scientists and technicians invented the Juche-oriented metallurgical process, and manufactured modern machinery and equipment needed for grand nature-remaking projects and, also by relying on the Juche method, achieved a great success in the research work to develop the synthetic rubber industry using domestic raw materials and to establish a new chemical fibre industry. Many scientific and technological problems in areas such as seed production and crop cultivation, were also solved.

Kim Il Sung directed close attention to the all-round flourishing and development of art and literature.

In a speech titled, ***Education, Literature and Art Must Contribute to Forming the Revolutionary World Outlook***, delivered at a consultative meeting of scientific, educational, art and literary workers in mid-February 1970, and other works, he clearly indicated the direction of the development of socialist art and literature and ways of ensuring this.

He stated that writers and artistes should strive to create more revolutionary works of art and literature which would help the working people and youth and students to establish a revolutionary outlook on the world.

He instructed that in the field of art and literature the monolithic ideological system of the Party should be firmly established, the principle of loyalty to the Party, the working class and the people be maintained, works of art and literature be created in national form and as suited to modern aesthetic tastes, revolutionary works with a high level of ideological and artistic quality be produced by adhering to the creative method of socialist realism, and art and literature be developed on a mass scale.

He also offered clarification for specific problems arising in the creation of revolutionary art and literary works, like correctly defining themes, pushing ahead simultaneously with the creation of works dealing with the revolutionary traditions, socialist construction and revolutionary struggle, creating typical heroes of the revolution and construction, providing detailed

descriptions of the process by which people establish a revolutionary world outlook and assimilate themselves to the revolutionaries, and creating revolutionary masterpieces.

On several other occasions he advanced tasks of developing socialist art and literature by producing films that would contribute to the transformation of the KPA service personnel and the working people along revolutionary lines and the thorough implementation of the Party's military line, and of bringing about a fresh upturn in opera, literature, music, dance, fine arts, acrobatics and all other branches of art and literature by fully applying the Juche-oriented ideas on art and literature.

He energetically directed the creative work in all branches of art and literature, sometimes giving detailed guidance on the contents and even portrayal of characters. He himself wrote a poem, ***Mt. Myohyang on an Autumn Day***, which he published on October 15, 1979.

He directed the work of improving the public health service and establishing cultured ways of work and life.

After taking decisive measures for improving the public health service at the Second Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Central Committee of the WPK held in April 1971, he encouraged health workers to carry out the Party's policy of preventive medicine. The Fourth Session of the Sixth Supreme People's Assembly held in April 1980 adopted the **Public Health Law of the DPRK**, consolidating by law the successes achieved in the public health service and providing a powerful weapon for its development.

As a result, disease prevention and medical service were improved remarkably, hospitals in cities and county seats better furnished, and rural village clinics developed into hospitals. The health of the population was better protected and promoted, resulting in the average life span being increased to 73 years, 35 years longer than in pre-liberation days.

At the Kangso Enlarged Meeting of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the WPK held in March 1973 and other meetings, Kim Il Sung advanced the tasks of establishing socialist cultured ways of life and work. He visited the Pyongyang Electric Wire Factory and several other factories and enterprises, urban and rural communities and gave strong impetus to the work of thoroughly establishing the cultured ways of work and life, and the socialist way and mode of life.

Thanks to socialist culture being developed to full bloom, the overall cultural and technological levels of the working people were raised.

## 9. For the Fulfilment of the Three Principles and Five-Point Policy for National Reunification

In the early 1970s the prevailing situation on and around the Korean peninsula turned in favour of the Korean people's cause of national reunification.

The revolutionary base in the northern half of Korea was consolidated rock-solid, the struggle of the south Korean people to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country gained momentum, and there was increasing support and encouragement in the international arena for the Korean people's cause of national reunification.

The US imperialists' manoeuvres of aggression and war ended in failure not only in Asia, including in Vietnam, but also in other parts of the world. Inside the United States, the anti-war movement grew in intensity, and the economic crisis caused by economic stagnation and inflation deepened. In an attempt to find a way out in a deceptive "peace strategy," the US authorities announced a policy of switching over from "cold war" to "peace," and from "confrontation" to "dialogue" and "co-existence." The south Korean authorities had no other way but to put on a show of advocating "peace" and "negotiation" in order to escape from the serious political crisis caused by the strong resistance of the anti-fascist, democratic forces and from being isolated internationally.

In this situation, Kim Il Sung advanced the three principles of national reunification which he had been thinking over for a long time, and led the struggle for their implementation.

In a speech titled, ***The Revolutionary Peoples of Asia Will Win in Their Common Struggle against US Imperialism***, delivered on August 6, 1971, at a mass rally of Pyongyang citizens welcoming Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, head of state of Cambodia and chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, Kim Il Sung made it clear that the DPRK was ready to establish contact at any time with all political parties, including the Democratic Republican Party, and public organizations and individual personages in south Korea.

As a result of the measures he had taken to realize the new policy of negotiation, the south Korean authorities had no other choice but to come to the

dialogue table. Thus began preliminary talks between the north and south Korean Red Cross societies in September 1971, which led to high-level inter-Korean political talks.

Kim Il Sung stressed the three principles of national reunification as the basis of the settlement of the reunification issue in his talk to the south Korean delegate to the high-level political talks between the north and south Korea on May 3, 1972.

He said:

**"I believe that our reunification question should on all accounts be settled independently without foreign interference and peacefully on the principle of promoting great national unity."**

The three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity were a charter for Korea's reunification, which clarified the fundamental standpoint and ways to achieve the country's reunification in accordance with the desires and interests of the Korean nation and by its own efforts in a peaceful way.

On July 4, 1972 the North-South Joint Statement was published with the three principles of national reunification advanced by Kim Il Sung as its basic content.

After the publication of the North-South Joint Statement and the start of the inter-Korean talks, Kim Il Sung actively propelled the work to implement the three principles of national reunification.

At the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Central Committee of the WPK held in July 1972, he shed light on some principles to be observed in the inter-Korean contacts and talks, stressing that the DPRK delegates should approach the south Korean delegates with a warm compatriotic feeling and discuss all problems with sincerity and open minds so as to lead the talks to success. In his conversation with the south Korean delegates to the high-level political talks in November that year he indicated the important issues arising in achieving cooperation between the north and south in the fields of politics, the economy and culture, saying that the north and south should not confine themselves to dialogue, but go a step forward towards cooperation.

However, the south Korean ruling circles, instigated by the US imperialists, placed serious obstacles to the talks, flatly refusing all the fair and reasonable proposals of the north. From the very day when the North-South Joint Statement was published, they, asserting that it was an "unreliable scrap of paper," began to preach "confrontation and dialogue," "competition and dialogue" and "co-existence and dialogue." Meanwhile, they begged for the

permanent stationing of the US troops in south Korea and hastened war preparations behind the talks. They cooked up the fascist "Yushin Constitution" in October 1972, and brutally suppressed and murdered patriotic people who fought for independence, democracy and reunification. On June 23, 1973 they issued the so-called "special statement," the gist of which was "simultaneous entry into the UN" by the north and south, thus openly announcing a policy aimed at perpetuating the division of Korea. This led to the rupture of the inter-Korean dialogue for reunification that had been arranged with great difficulty, and the danger of permanent national division was created.

As a new measure for the prevention of permanent national division, Kim Il Sung advanced the five-point policy for national reunification, and vigorously pushed forward the struggle for its implementation.

He declared at home and abroad the five-point policy in a speech titled, ***Let Us Prevent a National Partition and Reunify the Country***, made at the Pyongyang mass rally to welcome a party and government delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on June 23, 1973.

He said:

**"Our five-point policy is: to remove military confrontation and lessen the tension between north and south, to achieve multilateral collaboration and interchange between north and south, to convene a Great National Congress comprising representatives of people of all levels, political parties and social organizations from the north and south, to institute a north-south Federation named the Federal Republic of Koryo, and to enter the UN under that name."**

He led the struggle to implement the five-point policy for national reunification.

Regarding convening a Great National Congress as an important way to reach a settlement of the reunification issue, he put forward reasonable proposals to this end.

In July 1973 the 59th Enlarged Meeting of the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea (DFRK) adopted an appeal to people of all strata, political parties and public organizations in south Korea, and the organizations of Koreans and individuals abroad for the convening of a Great National Congress, and in November the Workers' Party of Korea, Democratic Party of Korea and Chondoist Chongu Party sent to the political parties of south Korea a joint letter proposing the holding of the congress.

At a national meeting held in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the

founding of the WPK in October 1975 Kim Il Sung appealed to everyone who loved the country and nation and aspired after the country's reunification to turn out actively in forming an all-Korean national united front under the banner of national reunification, transcending differences in thoughts and ideas, social systems and religious beliefs.

He took active measures to smash the manoeuvres of the US and south Korean authorities to perpetuate the division of Korea, and to create favourable conditions for national reunification.

The Third Session of the Fifth Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK, held in March 1974, put forward a proposal for concluding a peace treaty between the DPRK and the United States, and sent a letter to this effect to the US Congress. Meanwhile, the WPK's policy of national reunification was given wide publicity abroad, and a memorandum of the DPRK government and a statement by the spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were made public to expose the moves of the internal and external separatists to perpetuate the country's division.

The DPRK meanwhile conducted brisk diplomatic activities through the UN to frustrate their evil schemes.

As a result, a heavy blow was dealt to the attempts of the US imperialists and the south Korean ruling circles for the perpetuation of Korea's divison, and the international solidarity movement was further strengthened in support of the Korean people's cause of national reunification. The 28$^{th}$ Session of the UN General Assembly, held in 1973, adopted a resolution on dissolving the UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, an instrument of the United States for aggression and interference in Korean affairs, and the 30$^{th}$ Session, held in 1975, adopted a resolution reflecting the DPRK's demand for the dissolution of the UN Command, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea and replacement of the Armistice Agreement with a peace treaty. It was an epochal event unprecedented in the history of the UN.

The fourth and fifth summit meetings of the non-aligned nations held in September 1973 and August 1976, respectively, adopted resolutions extending full support to the WPK's policy of national reunification. Moreover, committees for solidarity with the Korean people, committees for supporting the reunification of Korea and other solidarity organizations were formed in many countries and regions worldwide. In June 1977 the International Liaison Committee for the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of Korea was founded, followed by the holding of a world conference in support of the Korean people's struggle for national reunification.

Kim Il Sung made persevering efforts to have the inter-Korean talks, which had been in a state of stagnation due to the south Korean ruling circles' acts of treachery, resumed.

At a meeting held to mark the 30th founding anniversary of the DPRK on September 9, 1978, he proposed wider-ranging negotiations, saying that the DPRK was ready to hold dialogues with the United States and the authorities and political parties of south Korea. The Central Committee of the DFRK published a statement in January 1979 which contained a four-point proposal for hastening the country's independent and peaceful reunification, and suggested a new measure of setting up a preparatory committee for national reunification in place of the former coordinating commission, as a preliminary consultation apparatus for the realization of the proposal.

However, the south Korean ruling circles were dead set against the fair and reasonable proposals of the north, and again broke off the inter-Korean talks, which had been arranged after a long interval.

Encouraged by the policy and proposals for national reunification advanced by Kim Il Sung, the south Korean revolutionaries and other people stepped up the struggle against fascism and for democracy to cope with the enemy's manoeuvres.

The vigorous struggle waged by the people in Pusan, Masan, Seoul, Kwangju and other parts of south Korea, starting in October 1979, finally toppled Park Chung Hee regime and dealt a telling blow to the enemy of democracy and national reunification.

The people in Kwangju rose up in revolt in May 1980. More than 300 000 people, including youth and students, participated in the Kwangju Popular Uprising. The uprising gradually spread to 17 cities and counties in South Jolla Province and several areas in North Jolla Province. They gained complete control of Kwangju and fought in arms for ten days.

The Kwangju Popular Uprising shook the fascist rule in south Korea to its foundations, and fully demonstrated the indomitable heroic stamina of the south Korean people. It also proved that the enemy's suppression could not check the aspirations and desires of the masses of the people for freedom and democracy. In the 1970s the struggle of the WPK and the Korean people to settle the issue of national reunification by their own efforts, in a peaceful way and free from foreign interference was further strengthened through the efforts to implement the three principles and five-point policy for national reunification.

## 10. Consolidating Unity with the Peoples of the World Who Champion Independence

Entering the 1970s, new changes took place in the international arena.

The advance of the newly-independent countries gained in strength, and the struggle of the people for independence was waged in unprecedented scope and depth. Frightened by this, the imperialist and dominationist forces constantly indulged in acts of aggression, intervention, subversion and sabotage in various parts of the world so as to check the current of the times. Under the pretext of "aid" and "protection," they competed to engage in the disputes between the developing countries to meddle in their internal affairs. In particular, they struggled among themselves to get control of important bases of natural resources and strategic points, flagrantly trampling on the sovereignty of the countries in these regions. As a result, the cause of independence of the world's peoples was faced with grave challenges.

The prevailing situation urgently demanded a vigorous struggle to smash the schemes of the imperialist and dominationist forces that were trampling on the independence moves and to win victory in the cause of the independence of people all over the world.

In ***On the Occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the Foundation of the WPK***, ***Let Us Step Up Socialist Construction under the Banner of the Juche Idea*** and several other works, Kim Il Sung gave answers to the problems arising in hastening the world revolution under the banner of independence.

He pointed out that the common fighting goal of the world's peoples was to defend independence.

Independence is the life of man, as well as the life of a country and nation. Only when independence is safeguarded will it be possible to eliminate all sorts of domination and subordination in the world and build a new world in which all people lead an independent and creative life.

To this end, he pointed out, all forms of revolutionary struggle should aim at opposing all sorts of domination and subordination, and creating an independent and creative life.

He said that dominationism is a counterrevolutionary trend that runs against the contemporary move towards independence and a common target of struggle of all the revolutionary peoples of the world.

Trampling on the independence of other countries and oppressing and controlling other nations and peoples are all expressions of dominationism, regardless of their forms, and the size of the country concerned and its social system. Without overcoming dominationism it is impossible to achieve national independence, ensure independent development of the country and build a new, independent world free from all sorts of domination and subordination.

Kim Il Sung continued that all the revolutionary peoples of the world and of the developing countries that champion independence should direct the spearhead of attack at all sorts of dominationist forces.

In order to build an independent world, he said, the world's peoples should achieve unity under the slogan, **"Peoples of the world who advocate independence, unite!"**

The struggles for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, though different from one another in their characteristics, aims and tasks, are, in essence, struggles to safeguard independence. Unity of all the revolutionary forces advocating independence will ensure the decisive superiority of the forces of anti-imperialist independence over the dominationist forces, smash the latter's counterrevolutionary schemes and win victory for the cause of independence.

Kim Il Sung made consistent efforts to achieve the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries.

Even in the 1970s the socialist countries failed to overcome differences of viewpoint.

Kim Il Sung pointed out that it was imperative to adhere to the principle of independence in achieving the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, and explained that, to this end, all socialist countries should closely unite on the basis of opposing imperialism, supporting the national liberation movements in the colonies and the international working-class movement, continuously advancing towards socialism and communism, and abiding by the principles of non-interference in one another's internal affairs, mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit.

He conducted energetic external activities to consolidate the friendship and unity of the socialist countries.

He met with a party and government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania headed by the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party in June 1971, and other high-ranking party and government delegations from

Eastern European socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and East Germany, and assured them that the DPRK would promote relations of friendship and cooperation with them, to strengthen unity and cohesion with all the socialist countries.

Leading Party and government delegations, he paid official visits to the People's Republic of China from mid-April to late April 1975 and to Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and other Eastern European socialist countries in May and June, making efforts to narrow the differences of viewpoint among them and to build up the relations of friendship and cooperation, and achieve unity on the basis of independence.

Thanks to his efforts, the DPRK strengthened its relations of friendship and cooperation with socialist countries on a new, higher level.

Kim Il Sung exerted great efforts to develop the Non-Aligned Movement.

Having paid close attention to the development of the Non-Aligned Movement from the very first day when it appeared on the stage of history, he put forth, at an enlarged meeting of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the WPK held in May 1974, the policy of the DPRK joining the movement, and took detailed measures to this end.

The DPRK became a full member of the Non-Aligned Movement with unanimous approval at a meeting of the foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries held in Lima, Peru, in August 1975.

Kim Il Sung published several works, including a treatise titled, ***The Non-Aligned Movement Is a Mighty Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Force of Our Times***, published in mid-December 1975, in which he advanced important tasks for the development of the movement.

The most important task facing the non-aligned countries is, he explained, to strengthen the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, unite closely to wage a joint struggle against them, and ensure the independent development of the non-aligned countries by promoting economic and technological cooperation among them.

When the Non-Aligned Movement was experiencing serious difficulties owing to the manoeuvrings of the imperialist and dominationist forces to divide it, Kim Il Sung, on various occasions, including talks and meetings with leaders of several non-aligned countries, stressed that in order to achieve the unity and cohesion of the movement all member countries should defend their unique traditions and characteristics, firmly maintain independence, and allow themselves neither to be lured by the "aid" of the foreign dominationist forces or to be taken in by their schemes of alienation and division. He also said that they

should settle disputes between themselves through negotiations, proceeding from the ideal of unity, and form a broad united front on the principles of non-interference in one another's internal affairs and of seeking for no privileged position. In that way, they could withstand, united, the moves of all dominationist forces for aggression and interference. He continued that they should strive to establish a new international economic order and oppose the privileges and arbitrariness of great powers in the international political arena.

Paying close attention to promoting relations of friendship and cooperation with the developing countries and all those fighting against imperialism, Kim Il Sung extended active support and encouragement to their struggle.

In the 1970s he met heads of state and government of developing countries, including Cambodia, Algeria, Togo, Syria, Madagascar, Benin, Guyana, the Seychelles, Mozambique and Bangladesh, informing them of the valuable experience he had gained in consolidating national independence, building a new society and achieving the cause of anti-imperialist independence, and encouraging their struggle for independent development and national prosperity.

He paid visits to Algeria and Mauritania in Africa from late May to early June 1975, greatly contributing to the promotion of the ties of friendship and cooperation with these countries and the consolidation of the unity with the world's revolutionary peoples who champion independence.

Many Korean technicians and specialists in agriculture, construction, education, art, sports and other fields were dispatched to developing countries, including Cambodia, Madagascar, Namibia, Tanzania, Togo, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Guinea, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Benin, Ethiopia, Uganda and Guyana, to help them.

In May and October 1973, Korea rendered sincere support to the peoples of Egypt and Syria in their fight against the US imperialists and the Israeli aggressors.

The DPRK established diplomatic relations with 66 countries in the 1970s, and expanded economic and cultural exchanges and cooperation with many countries. Moreover, many organizations and groups in the DPRK joined over 150 international organizations, including international democratic organizations, agencies of economic cooperation and specialized agencies of the UN, and waged energetic struggle for anti-imperialist independence.

This further strengthened Korea's friendly ties with many countries around the world and increased the ranks of supporters for and sympathizers with its people's revolutionary cause.

# CHAPTER 11. MODELLING THE WHOLE SOCIETY ON THE JUCHE IDEA

(October 1980–December 1989)

## 1. Sixth Congress of the WPK and Defining the Modelling of the Whole Society on the Juche Idea as the General Task of the Revolution

Against the historical background of the 1980s when a fresh turn was taking place in the development of the WPK and the revolution, the Sixth Congress of the WPK was held from October 10 to 14, 1980.

At the congress Kim Il Sung delivered a report on the work of the Party Central Committee.

In his report he made a comprehensive review of the brilliant achievements and precious experience gained in the revolution and construction since the Fifth Party Congress, and set a new revolutionary line and fighting tasks for the WPK and the people.

He said:

**"Modelling the whole society on the Juche idea is the general task of our revolution. The working class's revolutionary cause of realizing the independence of the working masses can ultimately be completed only by modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea."**

If the whole society is to be modelled on the Juche idea, independent and creative stands must be firmly maintained and the line of the three revolutions–ideological, technological and cultural–be thoroughly implemented, he said.

To this end, he put forward a series of tasks for remoulding all the members of society on revolutionary, working-class and intellectual patterns and making the national economy Juche-oriented, modern and scientific.

Advancing the basic tasks of socialist economic construction in the 1980s, he specified ten long-term objectives; to turn out annually 100 billion kWh of electric power, 120 million tons of coal, 15 million tons of steel, 1.5 million

tons of nonferrous metals, 20 million tons of cement, 7 million tons of chemical fertilizers, 1.5 billion metres of fabrics, 5 million tons of seafood and 15 million tons of grain, and reclaim 300 000 hectares of tideland within the next ten years, and explained detailed tasks to be carried out in all branches of the national economy.

In his report he also referred to the question of stepping up the struggle for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

He put forward a new proposal for reunification, that of founding the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo based on the three principles of national reunification.

The DFRK would be a unified state of a federal type with a unified national government established on the condition that the north and south recognize and tolerate each other's ideas and social system, a government in which the two sides are represented on an equal footing, and under which they exercise regional autonomy with equal rights and duties.

Kim Il Sung dealt comprehensively with the problems concerning the establishment of a federal state and put forward the ten-point policy to be pursued by the DFRK, covering tasks for the federal state to enforce in all fields of politics, the economy, culture, the military, people's life and external relations. He made clear that the DFRK would be an independent, democratic, neutral, non-aligned and peace-loving country.

He also referred to some key issues arising in strengthening the unity of the anti-imperialist, independent forces and promoting the world revolution.

He stressed the need for all the newly-emerging nations in the world to maintain their independence and a principled stand against imperialism in order to oppose the policy of aggression and war pursued by the imperialists and dominationists and defend global peace and security, and indicated the matters of principle in expanding and developing the non-aligned movement.

He put forward the principles to be adhered to in achieving the unity and cohesion of the socialist forces and the international communist movement, and clarified once again the independent external policy of the WPK, the main ideal of which is independence, friendship and peace.

He said that it was necessary to continue with the independent foreign policy under the banner of the Juche idea, to work for the development of friendly relations with all countries that respect the sovereignty of the DPRK and for guaranteeing durable peace and security in the world and to give active support to the peoples of all countries who are struggling against domination and subordination and for national independence and the building of a new society.

He also presented a number of tasks for further improving Party work in keeping with the requirements of modelling the whole society on the Juche idea.

The most important task in Party work is to establish the monolithic ideological system more firmly throughout the Party, he said.

He underscored the need to hold fast to the work of establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system as the basic line of Party building and to continue with it unremittingly.

In order to establish the monolithic ideological system more thoroughly throughout the Party, all Party members should be firmly equipped with the Juche idea, the unity of thought and will and revolutionary cohesion of Party ranks should be strengthened on the basis of the Juche idea, and a revolutionary system of work and discipline should be established in the Party, he stressed.

He also said that an important task in Party work was to build up the ranks of the Party and the revolution by improving work with the people, carry forward the glorious revolutionary traditions of the WPK with credit, strengthen the Party's leadership over the revolution and construction and steadily improve the method of Party work.

The congress adopted new Party Rules reflecting the requirements of modelling the whole society on the Juche idea.

Kim Il Sung was reelected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the WPK in accordance with the unanimous desire and will of all Party members, the KPA service personnel and people.

## 2. General Advance for Implementing the Decisions of the Sixth Party Congress and the Creation of the Speed of the 80s

Kim Il Sung energetically mobilized the whole Party and all the people to a general advance for implementing the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the WPK.

The gigantic tasks advanced at the congress could be implemented successfully only when a fresh revolutionary upswing was effected on all the fronts of socialist construction.

In his New Year Address for 1981 he presented the militant slogan **"Let us begin a general march to carry out the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea!"**

He indicated the main direction for economic construction for 1981, the first year of the general march, and organized and led a drive to put it into practice.

He said:

**"The main direction of socialist economic construction this year is to make adequate preparations for attaining the ten long-term objectives of socialist economic construction, while waging a vigorous struggle to fulfil the Second Seven-Year Plan ahead of schedule."**

He vigorously roused the entire Party, the whole country and all the people to the general march, providing on-site guidance throughout 1981.

For 17 days from late May to early June 1981, he toured Rajin and Chongjin cities and Sonbong, Kyonghung, Onsong and Hoeryong counties in North Hamgyong Province, covering more than 400 km to provide on-site guidance.

In June that year he presided over a joint enlarged plenary meeting of the North Hamgyong Provincial Committee and the Chongjin City Committee of the WPK, at which he said that, despite feeling tired, he was continuing with his on-site guidance in order to provide a better life for the people and called earnestly on the participants to work faithfully for the sake of the people.

During his on-site guidance he specified the tasks facing every province and every sector of the national economy in fulfilling the Second Seven-Year Plan ahead of schedule and making preparations for attaining the ten long-term objectives.

He saw to it that a fresh upswing was effected in production and construction by improving the guidance and management of the socialist economy.

In his concluding speech at the Second Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the WPK in December 1980, ***On Improving the Guidance of Socialist Economic Construction***, he set it as an important task for economic officials to manage economic affairs efficiently; he stressed the need to give proper technical guidance, look after equipment properly, supply sufficient materials and manage the workforce, cooperative production and transport efficiently. In his concluding speech at the Third Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the WPK in April 1981, ***Let Us Thoroughly Implement the Taean Work System and Improve the Management of Factories***, he established the tasks for thoroughly implementing the Taean work system. Late in

August that year he convened a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the WPK, at which he ensured that the provincial committee for economic guidance was organized as a practical measure to improve and perfect the industrial guidance system in keeping with the requirements of the developing reality and bring economic guidance closer to local units.

He unfolded a grand plan for gigantic nature-remaking projects aimed at carrying out one of the decisions of the Sixth Party Congress.

At the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the WPK early in October 1981, he identified four major construction projects for transforming nature; reclaiming 300 000 hectares of tidal flats, bringing 200 000 hectares of unused land under cultivation, constructing the West Sea Barrage and building the Thaechon Power Station, and he appealed to the entire Party, the whole country and all the people to turn out as one to implement them.

He took the helm in the struggle to attain the ten long-term objectives of socialist economic construction advanced at the Sixth Party Congress.

He defined the grain production target as the main one to be hit first out of the ten long-term objectives, and saw to it that a drive was launched to make a breakthrough to this end.

He guided farm work, paying close attention to it at every stage of farming operations, with the result that the agricultural workers reaped a bumper harvest that year by doing the farm work as required by the Juche farming method, weathering the unfavourable natural and climatic conditions.

He energetically led the efforts to attain the goal for seafood production.

He gave on-site guidance at fishing stations in South Hamgyong Province in order to acquaint himself with their actual conditions and subsequently convened on the spot an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the WPK in mid-December 1980, at which he indicated ways and methods of developing the fishing industry. In mid-March the following year, he convened a joint meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the WPK, the Central People's Committee and the Administration Council, at which the matter of further developing the fishing industry was discussed as an independent agenda item. He presided over a consultative meeting of senior officials in the fishing industry and fish farming in mid-May, a consultative meeting of senior officials in charge of seafood production on the east coast early in June and various other meetings, at which he gave instructions for preparing thoroughly for winter fishing.

He ensured that innovations were brought about in light industry so that the

goal of fabrics production included in the ten long-term objectives could be met.

At a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the WPK held early in January 1982 he designated 1982 as a year of light industry and kindled the flames of innovation in light industry across the country. Early in February that year he convened a consultative meeting of senior officials in the chemical industry, at which he took steps to develop the chemical industry so as to effect a radical turn in producing raw and other materials for light industry, including vinalon, movilon and other chemical fabrics, and synthetic resin and rubber.

At a time when a great upswing was taking place on all fronts of socialist construction, Kim Il Sung greeted his 70th birthday.

Kim Jong Il saw to it that the Tower of the Juche Idea, the Arch of Triumph, Kim Il Sung Stadium and other monumental structures were built in order to ensure that Kim Il Sung's revolutionary career and undying revolutionary exploits were remembered through all the generations.

Kim Il Sung was re-elected President of the DPRK at the First Session of the Seventh Supreme People's Assembly in April 1982.

At a joint meeting of the Central Committee of the WPK and the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK on April 14 he gave a policy speech, ***Tasks of the People's Government in Modelling the Whole Society on the Juche Idea***.

In his speech he put forward the original proposition that the people's government plus the three revolutions make communism, and defined stepping up the three revolutions–ideological, technological and cultural–while consolidating the people's power and enhancing its functions and role as the general line for socialist construction and made clear the matters of principle to this end.

The WPK Central Committee and the DPRK government arranged a banquet on April 15 to mark his 70th birthday. At the banquet he made a speech, ***The Life of a Revolutionary Should Begin with Struggle and End with Struggle***.

Colourful events were held to celebrate his birthday. Artistes from home and abroad gave a joint performance at the Mansudae Art Theatre in Kim Il Sung's presence, singing his praises. In the following years, the performance developed into the April Spring Friendship Art Festival, a traditional event.

His 70th birthday marked a turning point in speeding up the general march of the Korean people to implement the decisions of the Sixth Party Congress, single-heartedly united behind the WPK and their leader.

Kim Il Sung organized and led the struggle to create the speed of the 80s by giving fuller play to the elated revolutionary zeal and creative activities of the masses.

He said:

**"In order to successfully carry through the gigantic tasks of socialist economic construction facing us, we must intensify the struggle for the speed of the 80s."**

In order to push ahead with the movement to create the speed of the 80s, he made sure that a national meeting of young activists and a congress of vanguards of the Chollima Movement were held in October and November, respectively, in 1982.

In leading this movement he paid primary attention to attaining the production goal for nonferrous metal.

Meeting the target for nonferrous metal output was the key to laying the foundations for successfully attaining the other long-term objectives, dynamically propelling overall economic development and rapidly improving the people's standard of living.

Late in June 1982, he convened a consultative meeting of officials in the mining industry, at which he took steps for increasing the output of nonferrous mineral ores in the Tanchon area. He found a breakthrough for attaining the production target for nonferrous metals by ordering that ore-dressing plant No. 3 be built at the Komdok General Mining Enterprise, and unveiled a bold plan for completing it within the first half of the following year by launching an all-out drive.

Deeply concerned about the supply of ore-dressing equipment, including a large cone-shaped crusher, which was a key issue in building the plant, he visited the Ryongsong Machine Complex in August 1982, and assigned the workers there with the task of producing the crusher.

He convened the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the WPK in Hamhung late in August that year in order to encourage the working class in the Komdok and Tanchon areas, and make the officials in charge of Party and administrative and economic work in South Hamgyong Province fully aware of the importance of their duties and inspire them with a fresh resolve.

Noting that the project for expanding the Komdok General Mining Enterprise could be completed in a short time if the struggle to create the speed of the 80s was vigorously launched while ensuring the timely supply of equipment and steel, cement, and other materials, he took decisive steps to this end.

After the plenary meeting the project progressed on a full scale and all the machines and equipment went into trial operation in June 1983. The builders successfully built the ore-dressing plant on a plateau 1 200 m above sea level in the short period of less than a year, thus setting an example as the vanguard in creating the speed of the 80s, a new speed of socialist construction.

Late in August that year Kim Il Sung visited the ore-dressing plant just before its inauguration, and commented that it was a miracle that it could be built in a year. He said that it was a great structure, a fruit of the movement to create the speed of the 80s, and that if all fields of the national economy advanced at the same speed as created in the construction of ore-dressing plant No. 3, the ten long-term objectives of socialist economic construction could be attained at an early date.

Ore-dressing plant No. 3 at the Komdok General Mining Enterprise was completed and went into operation in September, marking the 35$^{th}$ founding anniversary of the DPRK.

The construction of the ore-dressing plant ushered in secure prospects for reaching the nonferrous metal production target, gave strong impetus to the struggle to attain other targets of the ten long-term objectives, and fanned the flames of the movement to create the speed of the 80s across the country.

Kim Il Sung energetically led the struggle to build the West Sea Barrage.

He paid primary attention to fixing the location of the barrage. He held discussions on it with hydraulic engineers and thought about it over and over again. Late in May 1981, he went out on the West Sea aboard a ship and fixed the Kkutsalppuri-Phi Island-Kwangryang Bay section where less mire was heaped as the location for the barrage.

As soon as he disembarked, he convened a consultative meeting of officials responsible for the barrage project, at which he proclaimed the start of its construction, saying he placed full trust in the KPA service personnel, convinced that they would be able to build the barrage if they buckled down to it, however gigantic and challenging it was.

Many foreigners, hearing that a barrage would be built by damming up eight kilometres of rough sea in the DPRK, expressed their doubts whether such a small country could carry out the project, especially as it was mobilizing soldiers, not experts. A foreign marine architect even said that he would set off fireworks if Korea succeeded in building a cofferdam, a Herculean task in the project.

In mid-April 1984, Kim Il Sung visited the construction site and explained

some new Korean-style construction methods, including building up an earth dam, cofferdam and making impervious to water, which would make it possible to step up the complex and challenging project of walling off rough sea scores of metres deep.

Even during a visit to the Eastern European socialist countries thousands of kilometres away from the DPRK he gave instructions on finishing the foundation work of the lock gates and spillway dams before the rainy season, so concerned was he about the project. Accompanied by Kim Jong Il, he visited the construction site in September 1985 and indicated scientific ways for completing the final work of damming up the sea, having built lock gates and spillway dams through a concentrated effort.

True to his instructions, the soldier-builders finished the construction in the short period of only five years, to the admiration of the world. Thus they performed the heroic exploit of creating the speed of the 80s, a new construction speed of the West Sea Barrage.

In August 1983, Kim Il Sung held a consultative meeting of senior officials in charge of economic affairs, at which he said the five major regions where efforts in socialist economic construction should be concentrated the following year were Sunchon, Chongjin, Hamhung, Anju and Nampho. At the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the WPK held from late November to early December, he defined construction in the five regions as key tasks for the next year's national economic plan, and presented a detailed blueprint for implementing them.

Under his leadership the Second Seven-Year Plan was successfully completed in 1984, providing the foundations for attaining the new long-term goal. During the period, gross industrial output value increased 2.2 times, the output of the means of production 2.2 times, the production of consumer goods 2.1 times and national income 1.8 times.

In order to reach the high targets set under the new long-term goal, it was necessary to ensure the more balanced development of the national economy, further improve the standard of technical equipment in industry and fully meet the demands for iron and steel, fuel and power that had increased over the period of the long-term objectives.

Kim Il Sung set 1985 and 1986 as a period of adjustment to make preparations for attaining the high targets of the new long-term goal.

He enlisted the workers of Ragwon in the drive to build an oxygen plant factory and manufacture oxygen plant with a 6 000 $m^3$ capacity.

In view of the urgency of producing the oxygen plant and the mature

requirements of the development of the country's machine-building industry and science and technology, he decided to convene a consultative meeting of officials in the field of mining equipment production in North Phyongan Province late in October 1981 and he set the task of building an oxygen plant workshop in Ragwon. At the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the WPK he expressed his deep trust and expectation that the workers at the factory would carry out the task of producing the large oxygen plant without fail.

Once again inspired by his deep trust, the workers and technicians turned out as one to manufacture the oxygen plant. They finally manufactured oxygen plant No. 1, for the first time in Korea and, at the same time, built a majestic oxygen plant capable of mass-producing oxygen separators.

Early in May 1985, Kim Il Sung visited the Ragwon Oxygen Plant Factory under the Ragwon Machine Complex, where he expressed his warm thanks to the workers, in high appreciation of their labour achievements.

During the adjustment period he directed great efforts to developing the machine-building industry rapidly, and ensured that the let-each-machine-tool-make-more movement was launched dynamically.

While giving on-site guidance at the May 10 Factory, a powerful base for the production of mining equipment, late in June 1985, he learned of the low utility rate of machines and equipment, including the special machine tools, which the country had very few of. The discovery gave him the idea for a new mass movement to drive the whole country into performing great innovations. On June 25, he convened a joint conference of members of the Permanent Committee of the Administration Council, the executive committees of the North Hamgyong Provincial Committee and Chongjin City Committee of the WPK, and the administrative and economic guidance committees of North Hamgyong Province and Chongjin City, at which he presented the policy of launching on a wide scale the let-one-machine-tool-make-more movement, to be named the **June 1985 Let-One-Machine-Tool-Make-More Movement**, and organized a guidance team to oversee it.

Later, the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee adopted a decision on waging the movement on a mass basis.

The movement was galvanized into action across the country and, in the course of this, the Ryongsong Machine Complex turned out the country's first 10 000-ton press.

In the course of carrying out the movement miracles were wrought and the economic plan in the adjustment period was implemented in keeping with the

requirement of the speed of the 80s, with the result that firm material and technical foundations were laid for reaching the higher targets of socialist economic construction.

### 3. Strengthening the KPA Politically and Ideologically, Militarily and Technically and Establishing Kim Jong Il's Overall Leadership System in the Army

Following the Sixth Congress of the WPK, Kim Il Sung advanced the slogan of modelling the whole army on the Juche idea in tune with the requirement of modelling the whole society on the Juche idea, and organized and led the struggle to strengthen the KPA politically and ideologically, militarily and technically.

At the time the Team Spirit joint military exercises, which had started in 1976 and were being escalated every year by the US imperialists, were expanded on an unprecedented scale, bringing the country, militarily and politically, to the brink of war. The prevailing situation required that KPA be built up politically and ideologically, militarily and technically in order to frustrate the US moves for aggression at every step and safeguard the revolutionary cause of Juche by force of arms.

In view of the demands of the developing Korean revolution and the building of the revolutionary armed forces, Kim Il Sung made a speech, ***Let Us Firmly Guarantee the Fulfilment of the Revolutionary Cause of Juche by Force of Arms***, at a banquet to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the KPA on April 25, 1982. In his speech he set modelling the whole army on the Juche idea in line with the requirement of modelling the whole society on the Juche idea as the general task in army building and clarified the tasks and ways for building up the KPA politically and ideologically, militarily and technically.

He stressed the need for intensifying education in the Juche idea, Party policies and revolutionary traditions among the KPA service personnel, and for the army to remain unfailingly loyal to the Party's leadership. He said that combat and political training should be stepped up among soldiers and that the technical equipment of the KPA steadily improved to meet the requirements of modern warfare.

He directed primary efforts to increasing the political and ideological might of the KPA.

He consistently gave priority to the political and ideological education of soldiers, identifying as the main factor for victory in war not weapons but the political and ideological superiority of the soldiers.

On several occasions he underscored the need to energetically promote education aimed at establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system and Kim Jong Il's leadership system thoroughly in the KPA.

Kim Il Sung ensured that all soldiers were firmly armed with the Juche idea, the WPK's revolutionary ideology, and given intensive education in the Party's policies and revolutionary traditions so that they could staunchly defend the Party's lines and policies, implement them to the hilt and learn from the infinite loyalty to the leader and indomitable fighting spirit of the anti-Japanese revolutionary forerunners. He also saw to it that education in class consciousness was further intensified among soldiers so that they could arm themselves firmly with class consciousness, adhere to the working-class stand and attitude, harbour hatred for the exploitative system, imperialism and class enemies and fight mercilessly against them.

He showed particular concern for intensifying education in socialist patriotism among soldiers.

In September 1987 he called an officer of a KPA sub-unit and told him that only those soldiers who valued and loved every tree, inch of land and grain crop in their motherland could sincerely love their country and people and respect and defend their leader.

He made strenuous efforts to increase the military and technical might of the KPA.

He ensured that the modernization of the KPA was stepped up with the main emphasis on equipping it with light, handy and powerful weapons and other combat equipment, as suited to the constitution of Koreans and the country's actual conditions.

He devoted particular efforts to mechanizing and automating armaments so as to raise their mobility and strike capability, especially the mobility of the artillery.

In mid-November 1982, he attended a congress of KPA artillerymen, at which he stressed the need to implement the Party's Juche-oriented policy of building the artillery force, raise the fighting efficiency of the artillery in every way and develop new types of guns in large numbers.

He paid close attention to the modernization and automation of the

command system and to the preparations for conducting electronic warfare.

With the military equipment of all its arms and services put on a more modern footing, the KPA possessed a powerful military deterrent with which it could defeat at a single blow any attack, however formidable the enemy.

Kim Il Sung ensured that Kim Jong Il's command system was established in every possible way throughout the whole army.

On June 12, 1982, he convened a meeting of the Central Military Commission of the WPK at Samjiyon, a historic place at the foot of Mt. Paektu, at which he said in the following vein: The most important task facing the KPA is to establish a proper system under which all its service personnel support Kim Jong Il's leadership faithfully; at present he is directing the KPA through the WPK's channel alone, but it is necessary for him to give firsthand guidance to it in military terms, too; the present era is one of highly developed military science and technology, unlike the 1930s when we waged the anti-Japanese armed struggle or the 1950s when our people fought a war against the US imperialists; accordingly, it is quite natural that the command system of Kim Jong Il, who is well versed in the development trends of the present era and military affairs and is endowed with matchless courage, brilliant wisdom and a seasoned art of command, should be established at a new, higher stage.

After the meeting, Kim Il Sung led all the officers and men to uphold Kim Jong Il's leadership faithfully so that his command system could be established in an all-round way.

In particular, he led the commanding officers of the KPA to support Kim Jong Il faithfully. Late in February 1988, when he met Choe Kwang, an anti-Japanese war veteran who had been appointed Chief of the General Staff of the KPA, Kim Il Sung said as follows: We must thoroughly establish his leadership system and closely rally the whole Party, the entire army and all the people around him in order to accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche pioneered in the forests of Mt. Paektu; we should notify him of all matters arising in the KPA and deal with them according to his decisions.

He paid special attention to placing all military affairs under Kim Jong Il's unified leadership.

Early in 1983 he saw to it that a military exercise involving the whole army was conducted under the command of Kim Jong Il, with great success.

All the service personnel of the KPA, with a steadfast determination to defend Kim Jong Il by force of arms and even at the cost of their lives, and to implement his orders and directives without fail, established his command

system thoroughly, with the result that the revolutionary command system was established in an all-round way throughout the KPA, whereby all service personnel obeyed his orders and directives unconditionally, and acted as one.

## 4. Developing the WPK into a Juche-Oriented Revolutionary Party Forever

With a view to accomplishing the cause of the independence of the masses and developing the WPK into a Juche-oriented revolutionary party forever, Kim Il Sung saw to it that the work of thoroughly establishing the ideological system of Juche, the Party's monolithic ideological system, was stepped up continuously.

In his work, ***On the Korean People's Struggle to Apply the Juche Idea***, published in 1983, and in many other works he proved the validity and vitality of the WPK's lines and policies, the embodiment of the Juche idea, on the basis of the practical experience of the Korean revolution, and he ensured that Party members and other working people cherished a firm faith in the superiority and originality of the Juche idea.

While establishing the ideological system of Juche in a thoroughgoing way, he saw to it that the unity and cohesion of the Party and the revolutionary ranks were constantly strengthened.

He ensured that the unity of ideology and will of the whole Party centred on Kim Jong Il, leader of the WPK, was strengthened in every way.

In his speech at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee held late in December 1983 and in a talk to senior officials of the Administration Council in mid-March 1984, he said that a particularly important problem being faced by the Party was to rally the whole Party and all the people firmly behind Kim Jong Il, and he stressed the need for all officials and other Party members to defend the unity and cohesion of the whole Party centred on him and whole-heartedly support and follow him, just as the young communists had done with himself during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.

He set practical examples for establishing the revolutionary order and discipline of keeping Kim Jong Il informed of all affairs and handling them according to his unified decisions. Even when he was on his way to give on-site

guidance or was taking a rest for a while, he reported it to Kim Jong Il, and informed him first of the results of his visits to foreign countries.

As a result, a strict revolutionary discipline was established whereby cadres, Party members and other working people devoted themselves to the revolutionary cause of Juche as faithful supporters of Kim Jong Il's leadership.

In order to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the Party and revolutionary ranks Kim Il Sung ensured that broad sections of the masses were firmly rallied around the Party by doing the work with the masses properly.

He improved the work of working people's organizations to this end.

In his address, ***Our Youth Should Be Dependable Heirs to the Revolutionary Cause of Juche***, at the Seventh Congress of the League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea late in October 1981, his speech, ***The Working Class Should Become the Pivotal Force in the Struggle to Model the Whole Society on the Juche Idea***, delivered at the Sixth Congress of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea late in November that year, and various other speeches, he laid out in an all-round way tasks and ways for enhancing the role of the working people's organizations in keeping with the requirements of the Party and the developing revolution, and at meetings of the Presidium of the Political Bureau, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the WPK Central Committee adopted measures for further strengthening Party guidance to those organizations.

He made sure that Party officials enhanced their role decisively in uniting broad sections of the masses behind the Party.

For the Party to play its role as the mother party which bore responsibility for the destiny of the masses, he ensured that Party officials established the revolutionary outlook on the masses, became true servants of the people, shared life and death, good times and bad with them, educated and learned from them and solved all problems by relying on their strength. All mistakes in work method and style including the abuse of authority, bureaucratism, subjectivism and expediency were thoroughly eliminated among officials and relentless ideological education and campaigns were waged to establish the traditional revolutionary work method and style of the WPK, with the result that the leader, the Party and the masses were single-heartedly united into a socio-political organism and could successfully carry out even the most difficult and gigantic tasks arising in the revolution and construction.

Kim Il Sung made sure that the glorious revolutionary traditions of the WPK were defended and brilliantly carried forward.

He saw to it that such educational bases of revolutionary traditions as revolutionary battle sites and other sites were well laid out.

In October 1982 he indicated the orientation and ways for rebuilding and expanding the Revolutionary Martyrs Cemetery on Mt. Taesong and ensured that the Secretariat of the WPK Central Committee adopted a directive on promoting the project on a Party-wide and nationwide scale. In April 1984 he initiated the building of the Patriotic Martyrs Cemetery.

The Revolutionary Martyrs Cemetery on Mt. Taesong was admirably expanded in October 1985 and the Patriotic Martyrs Cemetery was built in September 1986.

In those days Kim Il Sung paid special attention in carrying forward the revolutionary traditions to locating the Paektusan Secret Camp, a pivotal leadership base of the Korean revolution in the period of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.

In August 1986 he visited the Mt. Paektu area to look round the revolutionary battle sites associated with the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. One day in the middle of the month, he halted while crossing a bridge in the Sobaeksu Valley and asked the officials accompanying him to survey the valley, saying that the place looked familiar. Through an ensuing field investigation performed by anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans, the place was confirmed as the Paektusan Secret Camp where the Headquarters of the Korean revolution had been located, and the site of the log cabin where Kim Jong Il was born was eventually discovered.

Late in July 1988 Kim Il Sung examined a relief map of the master plan for laying out the revolutionary battle sites in the Mt. Paektu area and gave instructions on building the area into a base for the education in the revolutionary traditions.

On August 10, 1988 he visited the Paektusan Secret Camp which had been restored to its original state. There he offered historical information concerning the priceless revolutionary relics and stressed the need to intensify through them the education of Party members and other working people further in the revolutionary traditions. He said it would be a good idea to call the peak behind Kim Jong Il's birthplace **Jong Il Peak** in reflection of the unanimous will and desire of the whole Party, the entire army and all the people, and had the words **"Jong Il Peak"** carved on it.

He made sure that education in the revolutionary traditions was conducted among Party members and other working people in various forms and by various methods so that they were firmly equipped with the Party's glorious

revolutionary traditions and defended them resolutely. He saw to it that the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese war were thoroughly embodied in all realms of society under the revolutionary slogan **"Let us produce, study and live like the anti-Japanese guerrillas!"**

In order to develop the WPK into a permanent Juche-oriented revolutionary party he ensured that the historical experience of Party building was incorporated comprehensively and that cadres and Party members equipped themselves with it.

On May 31, 1986 he published the work, ***The Historical Experience of Building the Workers' Party of Korea***.

In this work he comprehensively reviewed and analyzed the experience of building the revolutionary Party and provided scientific answers to the matters of principle arising in building the WPK into a revolutionary party of a Juche type and the guide for socialist society.

He clarified the essential character and basic mission of the WPK, and defined it as fundamental in building a working-class party to effect political guidance over the whole society, with the main emphasis on work with the people.

The basic principles which the WPK maintains in its building are, he said, first, to establish a monolithic ideological system in it; second, to ensure that it forms a harmonious whole with the people; and third, to guarantee continuity in its building.

He also referred to the experience gained in Party building and Party activities, including building up the Party's ranks organizationally and ideologically, regarding it as the main aspect of Party building and the key task in Party work; successfully achieving the unity of the Party and the masses, considering it to be an important principle in Party building and a decisive guarantee for strengthening the Party and the revolutionary ranks; and mapping out correct lines and policies for the revolution and construction and skillfully organizing and leading the struggle to implement them. He referred to the principled requirements and main content of the system, method and style of Party work, generalizing the experience in the WPK's struggle for establishing the Juche-oriented art of leadership.

He clarified the issues in developing the Party into the guide of socialist society in a far-sighted way. To this end, he said, it is necessary to carry forward the cause of the Party through the generations, and he analyzed the Party's experience in admirably solving the key question of the heir to the political leader and in defending the purity of its revolutionary traditions.

He added that it was necessary to model the whole Party on the Juche idea in order to build the Party under a long-range programme and further develop and perfect the Juche-oriented ideology and theory of Party building in keeping with the intrinsic requirements of socialist society.

## 5. Defending and Implementing the Principles of Socialist Economic Management and Laying the Solid Material and Technical Foundations for Socialism

In the mid-1980s Kim Il Sung, with a clear insight into the critical situation in which the international communist movement found itself, declared that Korea would always hold fast to the revolutionary banner of Juche.

The day before the First Session of the Eighth Supreme People's Assembly was convened late in December 1986, he told the related officials that he was going to advance a programme for the complete victory of socialism at the forthcoming session. He pointed out that some socialist countries were taking the road of revisionism and reformism which were fundamentally contrary to the socialist principles, and added that Korea should never abandon the banner of the revolution but should continue to strive for the victory of socialism.

In the policy speech titled, ***For the Complete Victory of Socialism***, at the First Session of the Eighth Supreme People's Assembly held late in December 1986, he clarified the principles and ways for holding fast to the revolutionary banner of Juche.

Noting that to achieve the complete victory of socialism was a lawful demand of socialist construction and a historic task to be carried out in the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism, he said that a completely victorious socialist society was a perfect socialist society in which all its members and all the social relations had been transformed along working-class lines and all its people were leading an independent and creative life as equal masters of the state and society. This society is a classless and developed society where all its members enjoy complete social and political equality and are provided with the conditions for a rich material and cultural life, he said.

Indicating that the basic task in achieving the complete victory of socialism was to transform the people and social relations along working-class lines so as to liquidate class differences and realize a classless society, he said that, to this

end, it was necessary to carry out in full the theses on the socialist rural question and convert cooperative ownership into all-people ownership, thereby ensuring the undivided sway of all-people ownership over the means of production.

In hearty response to his speech, the KPA service personnel and people stepped up the grand advance towards the complete victory of socialism under the revolutionary banner of Juche. In doing so they sang the *Song of the Red Flag*, which reads in part, *Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer, we'll keep the red flag flying here*.

Kim Il Sung energetically led the struggle to defend and implement the principles of socialist economic management under the banner of the Juche idea.

Noting that the Juche-oriented economic management system, including the Taean work system the validity and vitality of which had been proved through practice, should be firmly adhered to and thoroughly implemented, he paid primary attention to ensuring that officials cherished the Party's economic lines and policies as their unshakable faith.

At the joint meeting of the First Session of the Eighth Central People's Committee and the First Session of the Plenum of the Administration Council held in January 1987, he said that, even though other countries were vacillating to the right or to the left in their socialist construction, Korea should never waver, but hold higher the banner of the Juche idea, and he stressed the need to maintain the principle of Korean-style economic management. At a consultative meeting of senior officials in charge of the chemical industry held in March that year he emphasized that it was necessary for them to arm themselves firmly with the Juche idea and combat flunkeyism in order to oppose revisionism and reformism and live their own way. He said that if one becomes obsessed with flunkeyism, one will look up to others and follow them, and ultimately fall prey to revisionism, dogmatism and reformism, and that, therefore, officials should guard strictly against being infected with sycophancy. If they fail to make the Party's lines and policies their faith, they will vacillate and be imbued with revisionism and reformism, he said, and stressed that they should never harbour any illusions about the revisionist and reformist policies pursued by other countries but implement the Party's lines and policies to the letter, keeping them as their conviction.

In the report, ***Let Us Accomplish the Cause of Socialism and Communism under the Revolutionary Banner of Juche***, which he made at the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the DPRK on September 8, 1988, and in

many other works, he offered further clarification of the basic principles of socialist economic management and provided specific solutions for the problems arising in defending and implementing the Juche-oriented system of economic management. Underscoring the need to combine political guidance properly with economic and technical guidance, the unified guidance of the state with the creativity of each unit, democracy with undivided control, and political and moral incentives with material incentives, he explained to officials the steadfast political stand with which to adhere to the principles of socialist economic management without the slightest vacillation.

He directed particular efforts to improving the guidance and management of industry.

The new reality in which the scale of the national economy was expanding and the ties of production between its sectors were becoming more complicated required the setting up of enterprises in such a way as to manage and operate the economy in a more reasonable way.

At meetings of the Permanent Committee of the Administration Council and the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee, held in mid-November 1984 and mid-November 1985 and on other occasions, Kim Il Sung took steps to establish a system of industrial complexes as a new form of setting up Korean-style enterprises. He had been planning such a move for a long time and had gained experience in it by applying it to some enterprises on a trial basis. Subsequently he ensured that complexes were organized in various forms so as to meet the specific features of given sectors.

This made it possible to ensure collectivism in business management, conduct business activities in a creative way while organizing production under a unified state plan, and implement the Juche-oriented economic management system more effectively.

Kim Il Sung saw to it that the Juche-oriented socialist agricultural guidance system for the guidance and management of agriculture was implemented to the letter.

At the 12th Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the WPK on December 27, 1986 and on other occasions he stressed the need to strengthen the system of the cooperative economy as indicated by the ***Theses on the Socialist Rural Question***, move towards creating a system of large-scale farms under all-people ownership, adhere strictly to the principle of managing and operating the cooperative economy in a collectivist way to suit the intrinsic requirements of the socialist system, guard strictly against the slightest manifestation of an individualistic management method contrary to that

principle, improve the level of management and operation at cooperative farms, introduce a proper workteam premium system and further strengthen the sub-workteam management system based on the collectivist principle, and enhance the role of sub-workteams so as to give full play to their advantages as the systems of management and distribution which properly combine the interests of the collective with those of individuals.

He paid close attention to arming officials fully with the knowledge of socialist economic management.

He visited the University of National Economy in June 1989 and looked round the newly-built rooms for studying different fields of the national economy. There, he stressed that the planned economy should be maintained, noting that it was possible neither to develop the national economy steadily at a high rate nor to defend the socialist economic system if a socialist society did not enforce the planned economy.

Kim Il Sung organized and led the work of laying sound material and technical foundations for a complete socialist society by dynamically stepping up socialist economic construction.

He wisely led the drive to fulfil the Third Seven-Year Plan (1987-1993) successfully.

The basic tasks of this plan were to lay solid material and technical foundations for the complete victory of socialism by continuously promoting the work of making the national economy Juche-oriented, modern and scientific. It was an ambitious plan which envisaged fully equipping all the sectors of the national economy with modern technology, carrying on capital construction on an extensive scale so as to increase production capacities, and increasing output at a high rate.

But there were various obstacles in the way to implementing this long-term plan. The US imperialists attempted to prevent the latest science and technology and strategic materials from reaching the DPRK, in a bid to stifle it economically. Meanwhile, the revisionists and reformists took the road to capitalism and abandoning the principle of internationalism, and put economic pressure on the DPRK since it did not follow their revisionist policy. International cooperation was unthinkable under such circumstances.

In order to cope with the prevailing situation at home and abroad, Kim Il Sung ensured that the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude was displayed more fully.

In a talk to senior economic officials in January 1987, he advanced the militant slogan **“Let us reach the ambitious goals of the Third Seven-Year**

**Plan ahead of schedule by displaying a higher degree of the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude!"** From the outset of 1987, the first year of the new long-term plan, he gave on-site guidance to different sectors and units of the national economy, inspiring all the working people to turn out in the drive to carry out the Third Seven-Year Plan by fully displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. Late in October 1987 he visited the Namhung Youth Chemical Complex and spoke highly of it as a model unit of self-reliance.

The flames of self-reliance spread all across the country, with the result that the tasks set for the first year of the Third Seven-Year Plan were successfully carried out and a breakthrough for fulfilling the plan was achieved.

Kim Il Sung initiated the launch of a 200-day campaign and vigorously roused the whole Party and all the people to undertake it.

In his New Year Address for 1988, the second year of the plan, he called for a great upsurge in all fields of socialist construction once again so as to mark the 40th founding anniversary of the DPRK as a grand festival of victors. The meeting of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee held in February that year decided on launching a 200-day campaign to this end, and sent a letter from the Party Central Committee to all Party members and published slogans from the Party Central Committee. Then Kim Il Sung specified the general direction and goal of the campaign and the ways to achieve them, and established a command system for it. He stood in the forefront of the campaign.

During the campaign he worked day and night: Every day he received reports on the construction of major projects and in the fields of electric power, steel, coal and cement production and transportation, and solved any problems arising. He gave on-site guidance at the construction sites of numerous major projects in Pyongyang to inspire the builders there.

The whole Party and all the people celebrated the 40th founding anniversary of the DPRK as a grand festival of victors by successfully concluding the 200-day campaign.

In his report at the celebrations for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the DPRK, Kim Il Sung called on the whole Party and all the people to attain all the targets of the Third Seven-Year Plan by dynamically launching the mass innovation movement without slackening the elated spirit displayed in the 200-day campaign.

In response to his call they conducted another 200-day campaign and thus completed more than 500 major projects, which represented a remarkable

contribution to raising the Juche-oriented, modern and scientific standard of the national economy, and successfully fulfilled their high, militant assignments in all fields of the national economy.

Kim Il Sung vigorously led the drive to develop the national economy into a Juche-oriented economy where all sectors were placed on a modern basis and provided with perfect structures.

He ensured that the production capacities of the coal-mining, metallurgical and other key industries were given a decisive boost.

He ensured that the equipment at existing factories and enterprises in the key industrial sectors were renovated and made more efficient, precise and modern so as to increase their production capacities to the maximum and, at the same time, that new, modern industrial establishments were built on a large scale.

In order to develop the machine-building, electronics and automation industries in keeping with the requirements of the new phase of technological development, Kim Il Sung, at the 14$^{th}$ Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the WPK held in November 1988, put forward the orientation for the development of the machine-tool, electronics and automation industries, a key to stepping up the technological revolution and socialist economic construction. He explained the ways to develop them and called on the whole Party and all the people to launch the drive to implement the decisions of the plenary meeting.

As a result, the Anju Area Coal Mining Complex, the Musan Mining Complex, the Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Complex and many other industrial establishments were rebuilt and expanded and the construction of the Wiwon Power Station, May 18 Large-Scale Forging Shop at the Chollima Steel Complex, and other modern factories and enterprises was successfully carried out. Also, great strides were made in the production of various kinds of sophisticated electronic devices, automation gauges and appliances.

Kim Il Sung saw to it that the electric power industry and rail transport, the vanguard sectors of the national economy, were developed onto a new, higher stage to meet the requirements of putting the economy on a Juche-oriented, modern and scientific basis.

He indicated the basic orientation for the development of the electric power industry by putting the main emphasis on the construction of hydroelectric power stations and properly combining it with that of thermal power stations, and ensured that new large-scale hydroelectric power stations and a large number of small and medium-sized power stations were built in various parts of

the country. He entrusted the gigantic projects of tunnelling the waterway and building the dam, the main tasks in building the Thaechon Power Station, a large-scale hydroelectric power station, to the KPA, and gave instructions on over 300 occasions so that the soldiers could push ahead with the project in a big way.

Subsequently, Thaechon Power Stations No. 1 and No. 2 started operation in August 1988. In addition many other large power stations were commissioned completely or partially and hundreds of small and medium-sized power stations and several barrage power stations were built in the 1980s.

Kim Il Sung saw to it that, with the rapid growth of production in all fields of the national economy, priority was given to rail transport. Having already advanced the policy of electrifying the railways, he promoted the electrification of the railways throughout the country on the basis of the success already achieved. In August 1988 the construction of the Hyesan-Manpho Youth Railway was completed, followed by the production of 8-axle electric locomotives and 100-ton-class freight wagons to make the railways heavy-duty, ushering in the prospect for easing the strain on transport in the country.

He stepped up the technological revolution in the countryside.

Promoting the rural technological revolution was a pressing demand for industrializing and modernizing agriculture in keeping with the requirements of laying the material and technical foundations for socialism.

In a talk to senior officials in the economic sector held late in October 1987, ***On Carrying Out the Tasks of Technical Revolution Set by the Socialist Rural Theses***, he said that the immediate task for implementing the rural theses was to push ahead with the rural technological revolution, and he specified ways of doing so.

Noting that it was the unshakable determination of the WPK to fulfil in the next few years the four tasks of the technological revolution set under the rural theses–irrigation, electrification, mechanization and chemicalization–he focused first of all on the completion of the rural irrigation system.

In order to solve the problem of water supply once and for all, he initiated the construction of 800 kilometres of waterways in the western region, a huge project to supply the water of the large reservoirs created after the construction of the West Sea Barrage and the Thaechon Power Station to the farms in the breadbasket regions of North and South Phyongan and North and South Hwanghae provinces.

Having personally examined the diagram of the waterway courses, he gave detailed instructions for the project, took measures to supply the equipment and

materials needed and solved all the outstanding problems, while acquainting himself with progress in the project.

Construction of the waterways extending 800 kilometres in all, one half the main waterway and the other half branches, made successful headway.

Kim Il Sung pushed ahead with electrification, mechanization and chemicalization in the countryside, along with the development of the irrigation system.

For the electrification of rural areas, he ensured that the state supply of electric power was increased and small and medium-sized power stations were built through a mass movement. In this way the demand could be met for the electricity needed for such farming operations as threshing, drying and crushing. In order to realize the comprehensive mechanization of the rural economy he saw to it that more tractors, lorries, rice-seedling plucking machines, rice-seedling transplanters, harvesters and fertilizer and agrochemical sprayers were produced and supplied to the countryside. For its chemicalization, he took steps to increase the production of chemical fertilizers and agrochemicals.

With the tasks of the rural technological revolution set in the socialist rural theses authored by Kim Il Sung being translated into practice, the material and technical foundations of the DPRK's socialist rural economy became more solid.

## 6. Improving the People's Material and Cultural Life

Kim Il Sung paid close attention to improving the people's standard of living while promoting socialist economic construction.

He set it as the supreme principle of the WPK in its activities to improve the people's standard of living steadily and directed great efforts to solving the problems of food, clothing and housing to meet people's daily-increasing demands, in line with the progress of socialist construction.

He paid primary concern to the development of agriculture in order to solve the food problem, which was fundamental to the improvement of the people's standard of living.

He indicated tasks and ways for radically increasing grain production at the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the WPK in October

1981, a meeting of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee in December 1982 and other meetings. He took steps to develop the rural economy and boost agricultural production during visits to the Chongsan Cooperative Farm in Kangso County, the Pobu Cooperative Farm in Kaechon, the Wangjaesan Cooperative Farm in Onsong County and other cooperative farms.

The state increased investment in the rural economy, the rural technological revolution was stepped up; at the same time, the area of arable land was decisively increased by dynamically launching the movement to reclaim tidal lands and bring unused land under cultivation and grain production was constantly boosted by putting breeding and cultivation methods on a more scientific basis. Livestock breeding and fruit cultivation were developed and vegetable growing, that in greenhouses in particular, was done well, so as to bring about a radical improvement in the people's diet.

Kim Il Sung made sure that fish catches were increased by developing the fishing industry.

At an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee held early in December 1980 he put forward the task of conducting winter fishing operations and processing fish well, and dispatched members and alternate members of the Political Bureau to the fishing stations on the east coast. He gave important instructions on effecting a revolutionary transformation in the production and processing of fish during his on-site guidance at several fishing stations in South Hamgyong Province, including the Sinpho Fishing Station. At an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee in mid-February 1982 and at other meetings he specified the tasks and measures for developing the fishing industry, in such areas as fish catching and processing and shallow-sea culture.

The building of modern fishing vessels was stepped up, the material and technical foundations of the fishing industry were strengthened, scientific fishing methods were widely introduced so as to catch more fish, the processing bases for marine products were expanded on a large scale and the processing was decisively improved so that plenty of tasty and highly-nutritious processed fish could be supplied to the people; shallow-sea culture, with its great prospects for development, was widely promoted so as to produce and supply a variety of seaweeds and shellfish.

Kim Il Sung ensured that the Party's policy of developing light industry was carried out to the letter so that the people's demands for consumer goods could be fully met.

By paying close attention to increasing the production of cloth so as to settle the problem of the people's clothing, he initiated the building of vinalon, movilon and orlon factories and ensured that the entire Party and the whole country vigorously stepped up their construction, with the result that solid bases for producing various chemical fibres, including vinalon, movilon and orlon, were built and the output of cloth boosted.

He also gave his all to increasing the production of consumer goods.

He ensured that samples were first made when producing some goods and then used in mass-production.

In August 1988, when examining a collection of sample designs of consumer goods, he said that their variety should be increased on the principle of expanding the main items. In his spare time he examined the collection page by page and perfected the collection, and he ensured that factories and enterprises in all fields and units organized workshops and workteams for producing daily necessities as suited to their specific conditions so as to produce consumer goods in large quantities.

In addition to this, the mass movement to produce "August 3 consumer goods" initiated by Kim Jong Il was briskly conducted, boosting markedly the production of a variety of consumer goods, including sundry and daily necessaries.

Through the drive to carry out the Party's policy of effecting a revolution in light industry, a large number of modern light-industry factories were built and the technical renovation of the existing equipment promoted actively, thus further cementing the production and technological foundations of light industry.

Kim Il Sung ensured that the people were provided with more cultured living conditions by building many houses and cultural establishments.

He ensured that modern apartment blocks were laid out in Pyongyang and other big cities, and modern dwellings built on a large scale in rural areas so as to solve the problem of the people's housing.

To this end, steps were taken to build large-scale modern bases for building-materials production, including the Sangwon Cement Complex and a silicate brickyard. Houses suited to the features of the urban and rural areas were built on a trial basis and a mass campaign was unfolded to build houses that suited the people's way of life and taste.

Changgwang, Munsu, An Sang Thaek, Kwangbok and other modern streets sprang up in Pyongyang, achieving a major turning point in settling the problem of the people's housing. Silicate brick houses and other modern houses

were built extensively in urban and rural areas, too, and the work of introducing central heating and gas into houses not only in the cities but also in the countryside was actively promoted.

Kim Il Sung made sure that the people were provided with more cultured living conditions by building many cultural establishments, and that their demands for commodity supply, public catering and other welfare services were fully met.

Under his guidance, the Grand People's Study House, the Mangyongdae Schoolchildren's Palace, the May Day Stadium and many other cultural and sports establishments and welfare service facilities such as the Changgwang Health Complex were built as monumental edifices in Pyongyang. Complete sets of welfare service facilities modelled on the Changgwang Health Complex were built in mountainous counties as well as in provincial seats and local cities so as to give all the people access to a more cultured way of life.

Kim Il Sung established a well-knit system of commodity supply by which goods could be equitably distributed to the people and devoted his all to meeting the people's growing material and cultural demands by decisively improving public catering and other welfare services.

He made sure that various existing people-oriented policies in the country were maintained and developed.

In the mid-1980s some officials argued that, in order to heighten the working people's enthusiasm for production, it was necessary to give them material incentives by means of such economic levers as salary, bonus and premium, and some proposed abolishing the food rationing system and introducing a grain marketing system on the excuse of the difficult economic situation in the country and the heavy burden on the state.

Kim Il Sung ensured that the people-oriented policies of the WPK were strictly maintained and developed, holding higher the banner of socialism.

In his talk, ***On Further Developing the Communist Policies***, to senior officials of the Administration Council late in October 1985, he clarified the principles and ways for adhering to and further developing people-oriented policies.

In the talk he said that any attempt to abolish the most advantageous people-oriented policies in the world, including the food rationing system which had been in force since the severe period of the Fatherland Liberation War, should never be allowed; instead they should be further developed and perfected.

He said: Now that we have established a good system and built a beautiful land for the people, we should never remove them; if we introduce a system

of receiving tuition fees and medical fees, restore the tax system and the system of selling grain at market prices, we cannot build socialism successfully; we should work harder with a single focus on how to defend and develop this admirable system under which all the people are equally well-off.

He ensured that various people-oriented policies were enforced and that the expenditure on social services for the good of the people was increased in a systematic way.

He saw to it that the state bought grain from the farmers at a high price and supplied it to blue- and white-collar workers at a low price and that free compulsory education and free medical care were fully enforced.

He ensured that such people-oriented policies as the social insurance system, social security benefits, the paid leave system, the rest and recuperation systems and the maternity leave system were thoroughly implemented so that the Party's benefits found their way to the people more effectively. He made sure that expenditure on social services for the good of the people was further increased. On October 4, 1985 he saw to it that cooperative farmers were granted social security benefits, and that they were provided free of charge with houses built at state expense.

In this way all the Korean people, free from any worries about food, clothing and housing, the education of their children and medical care, led a happy life, and the advantages of the socialist system were given fuller scope.

## 7. For a Fresh Turn in Scientific and Technological Research and Education

Kim Il Sung ensured that a new turn was brought about in the country's scientific and technological development to meet the requirements of modelling the whole society on the Juche idea.

In his speeches, ***On Conducting Scientific and Technological Research in Keeping with the Situation in Our Country***, at a consultative meeting of officials in the field of science and technology in mid-February 1982, ***On Making a Fresh Advance in Scientific Research***, delivered to scientists at the Academy of Sciences late in March 1983, and other works, he clarified the

orientation and ways for decisively improving and intensifying scientific and technological research.

He said:

**“Scientists and technicians must forge ahead more energetically with scientific research work in order to make a great contribution to raising the scientific and technological level of the country to a higher stage and developing the national economy at a rapid pace.”**

He defined it as the basic orientation of scientific and technological research to solve the scientific and technological problems arising in stepping up the work of putting the national economy on a Juche-oriented, modern and scientific basis from a firm Juche-oriented standpoint, in attaining the long-term objectives of socialist economic construction and in improving the people’s standard of living. He underlined the need to intensify Party guidance to scientific research work so as to carry it out in the direction required by the Party, improve the administration of science and technology and improve the qualifications of scientists and technicians and develop their sense of responsibility.

He took active measures to promote scientific and technological research.

He built up the ranks of scientists and technicians and provided them with the research conditions they needed for raising their qualifications, and ensured that Party organizations intensified their guidance of scientific research institutes and encouraged scientists and technicians to carry out their research tasks without fail. The state systematically increased investment in scientific and technological research work, provided scientific research institutes and universities with sufficient modern experimental facilities and means, strengthened the forces needed to build intermediary pilot plants, briskly conducted scientific and technological exchange with many countries around the world and widely introduced the latest achievements of science and technology by collecting information.

Kim Il Sung ensured that scientific and technological research work was conducted with the main emphasis on solving the scientific and technological problems facing socialist economic construction.

At a consultative meeting of senior officials of the Administration Council in April 1983 he gave instructions on perfecting a method of producing iron and steel based on domestic raw materials, as a way of developing the metallurgical industry. In November 1986, when he was talking to senior economic officials, he stressed the need for scientists and technicians, from a firm Juche-oriented stand, to conduct research work to solve the scientific and

technological problems arising in developing the light-metal industry by relying on domestic raw materials resources.

During visits to the experimental farm and fields of the Academy of Agricultural Science in mid-September 1982 and late in August 1987, he underscored the need to intensify research into agricultural science and raise agricultural production in the country to a new, higher stage by stepping up the industrialization and modernization of agriculture.

The 13th Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the WPK held in March 1988 adopted the three-year plan for the development of science and technology (1988–1990), and put forward tasks for concentrating efforts on research to develop electronics, biological and heat engineering. At the 16th Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the WPK held in June the following year, Kim Il Sung stressed the need to find a solution to the problem of thermal energy by using domestic fuel, and took measures to mass-produce boilers that could be easily made using domestic materials and fuelled by the low-calorific coal that is abundant in the country.

True to his instructions, scientists and technicians successfully solved the scientific and technological problems arising in developing a variety of new crop strains, producing biochemicals, promoting the chemical and light industries by relying on domestic raw materials, and developing shallow-sea culture. They succeeded in studying new types of boilers and developing the know-how to fuel large boilers with low-calorific coal, thus making it possible to save thermal energy and use it effectively. They also provided answers to the scientific and technological problems arising in the leading sectors of the national economy, including the mining and metallurgical industries and rail transport.

Kim Il Sung organized and led the drive to effect a fresh turn in education work.

He viewed education work as the key to enhancing the overall technical and cultural standards of society, rapidly developing the nation's science and technology and pushing ahead with the intellectualization of the whole society.

Having identified the demands of the developing reality, Kim Il Sung presented tasks and ways for bringing about a turn in education by implementing the ***Theses on Socialist Education*** to the letter in his report to the Sixth Congress of the WPK, in his concluding speech, ***On a Fresh Advance in Science, Education and Health Services for the People***, at the 13th Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the WPK in March 1988, and in other speeches.

He said that in order to bring about a fresh change in education it was necessary, first of all, to improve the quality of education radically.

He stressed the need to establish the revolutionary world outlook of Juche among students, enhance the level of scientific and technological education in keeping with the trend of developing science and technology, intensify the teaching of the latest science and technology, build up the ranks of teachers and improve their qualifications, systematically increase investment in education work and provide adequate conditions for education.

He paid primary attention to raising the quality of universal 11-year compulsory education.

Primary and secondary schools designed their teaching curricula in a reasonable way to suit the students' ages and their levels of intellectual development so as to give them sound foundations for acquiring modern science and technology and build up a great store of general knowledge. Lessons were given in straightforward, understandable language, visual aids were introduced into teaching programmes and a variety of advanced teaching means were widely applied, so as to intensify visual education and object lessons, and students' ability to cognize the principles of what they had learned and to apply them was cultivated through effective experiments and practical education. Students endowed with outstanding aptitude and talents were identified and trained systematically so that they could grow into dependable pillars of the nation's science and technology who would push forward the boundaries of the sophisticated science and technology. Along with this, normal education was intensified to bring up well-qualified teachers in large numbers and a system of education by correspondence and a refresher course system were established so as to improve the scientific, theoretical, teaching and practical qualifications of teachers.

Kim Il Sung ensured that a turning point was achieved in overall education work by founding Secondary School No. 1 and generalizing its experience across the country.

He visited Pyongyang Secondary School No. 1 late in February 1985 and indicated tasks for improving the quality of education. He underscored the need to establish similar schools and enhance the quality of universal 11-year compulsory education, based on the example of the school.

He saw to it that a larger number of able technicians and experts were trained by raising the quality of higher education.

The subjects and teaching content at universities were improved and their teaching means put on a more modern basis so as to raise the scientific and

technical level of education rapidly in keeping with the trend of modern science and technology and the requirements of the developing national economy. Meanwhile, the universities were expanded in scale and new colleges were established to train able scientists and technicians more successfully.

As a result, the bases for training technicians and experts in the latest technological engineering were reinforced, and they produced able scientists and technicians in greater numbers and many doctorate holders in their 20s or 30s who would play the pivotal role in developing the country's science and technology.

Kim Il Sung ensured that the work of making the whole society intellectual was vigorously promoted on the basis of the rapid development of education.

He attached great importance to the development of the higher education system of studying while working, which had proved its vitality in practice, and saw to it that the existing factory colleges were run better and their number was increased. The Party and state adopted various measures to send the best teachers there and provide them with proper conditions. New farm and fishermen's colleges, such as Chongsan College of Agriculture and Sinpho College of Fisheries, as well as the College of TV Broadcasting were founded and their teaching level raised. The example of the miners at the Kumsan Pit of the Ryongyang Mine and the members of the Youth Workteam of the Sangso Cooperative Farm in Anju County who studied hard at their factory and farm colleges was widely popularized as a way of elevating the working people's level of knowledge to that of university graduates.

Kim Il Sung saw to it that social education was intensified by effectively operating the Grand People's Study House, a major base for intellectualizing the whole society and a correspondence university, and that libraries were built in different parts of the country. He energetically led all the working people to make it their daily routine and habit to study and raise their technical and cultural levels by positively encouraging a revolutionary attitude towards studying throughout society, under the slogan **"Let the entire Party, all the people and the whole army study!"**

Through the dynamic promotion of the work to radically improve the quality of education and make the whole society intellectual, the general level of the scientific, technical and cultural knowledge of the whole society was enhanced and the undertaking to train technicians and experts improved, resulting in great progress in the preparations for introducing a system of higher compulsory education.

## 8. Realizing the Proposal for Founding the DFRK

Kim Il Sung devoted his all to realizing the proposal for founding the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo.

The proposal he advanced at the Sixth Congress of the WPK was that, in the situation where different ideas and systems exist in the north and south of Korea, the country should be reunified into a single state by merging the two autonomous governments with their systems left intact, on the principle of co-existence, with neither of the two sides trying to conquer or overpower the other.

In order to translate the proposal into practice Kim Il Sung directed primary efforts to achieving the great unity of the whole nation.

He said:

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

He advanced reasonable proposals for closely rallying the entire nation under the banner of national reunification, thus heightening the climate of aspiring for national unity.

In November 1980, all the political parties and public organizations in the northern half of Korea held a joint conference, at which a proposal was adopted for forming a preparatory committee for founding the DFRK, as a joint consultative body of the nation, with representatives from all walks of life at home and abroad. As a step to find a way to found a federal state, in August 1981 they published a joint declaration which called for a congress to be held for promoting national reunification, to be attended by representatives of political parties and public organizations in the north and the south and those of overseas Koreans. In February the following year the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of Korea issued a statement and proposed holding a joint meeting of 100 renowned politicians from the north, the south and abroad. The Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea and the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of Korea convened a joint meeting in November 1987 to put forward a five-point proposal for national unity and, in January 1989, they made a proposal for holding a political

consultative meeting of figures in the leadership of the north and south to reach a national agreement on the ways to achieve national reunification reflecting the aspirations of all Koreans.

These proposals received the unanimous support and approval of broad sections of Koreans in the north, in the south and abroad, and significantly enhanced their enthusiasm for reunification and their aspirations for national unity.

Under the difficult situation where the separatist moves of the US imperialists and the south Korean ruling quarters made it impossible for the time being to unite the patriotic forces in the north and the south, Kim Il Sung made sure that the forces in the north and abroad joined hands first to lay the foundations for realizing a great alliance in the future and, on that basis, promoted dialogue between the Korean compatriots in the north and abroad.

Consequently, the Koreans in the north and abroad held several meetings to discuss the issue of national reunification. In July 1989, in particular, they held a meeting for promoting national reunification in Pyongyang, at which they discussed the issues relating to national reunification and decided to hold a pan-national rally to be attended by representatives from the north, the south and abroad at Panmunjom on August 15, 1990, which would mark the 45$^{th}$ anniversary of Korea's liberation.

Kim Il Sung led a dynamic struggle to ease the tension on the Korean peninsula and create a peaceful climate for Korea's reunification.

With a view to alleviating the tension, removing the military confrontation and creating preconditions favourable for national reunification, he advanced, at a joint meeting of the Central People's Committee and the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly in January 1984, a new proposal for holding tripartite talks which would allow the south Korean authorities, which were responsible for the aggravated tension on the Korean peninsula, to participate in the DPRK-USA talks.

While making patient efforts to realize this proposal, he made various other reasonable proposals for consultations and took a series of steps to create preconditions for the peaceful reunification of Korea.

In 1986 he advanced a proposal for holding inter-Korean high-level political and military talks. The DPRK government proposed holding talks between the military authorities of the north and the south and creating a nuclear-free, peace zone on the Korean peninsula, and mobilized over 150 000 KPA soldiers for peaceful construction. In 1987, he made a proposal for the phased reduction of armaments, and ordered a unilateral 100 000-man reduction in the KPA's strength as a step towards implementing it. In 1988 he made a proposal for

convening an inter-Korean joint meeting to be attended by representatives from all political parties, public organizations and prominent figures of all social standings including the authorities of both sides. The DPRK government proposed an inter-parliamentary joint meeting and DPRK-US parliamentary talks. These were substantial measures to ease the tension and secure durable peace on the Korean peninsula.

Out of warm love for his fellow countrymen and the nation, Kim Il Sung did all he could to open the channel of frozen inter-Korean dialogue and breathe life into national reconciliation and unity.

In September 1984, when hundreds of thousands of south Korean people suffered from a flood disaster, he ensured that steps were taken, out of a sense of compatriotism, to send them relief goods.

And so, 50 000 *sok* of rice (one *sok* equals about 140 kg–Tr.), 100 000 tons of cement, 500 000 metres of cloth, and large quantities of medicines were sent, the first time such a thing had happened in nearly 40 years of Korea's division.

This compatriotic assistance encouraged a climate of national reconciliation and unity, inter-Korean contacts and dialogue.

In line with this favourable situation Kim Il Sung took the initiative to organize multifaceted dialogue, including Red Cross talks, economic talks and sports talks.

As a result, the inter-Korean Red Cross talks which had been suspended for 12 years were resumed, along with other channels of dialogue. Visits by Red Cross art troupes and home-visiting groups were exchanged between the north and south of Korea to mark the 40$^{th}$ anniversary of the country's liberation, linking the bloodlines of the fellow countrymen and sharing compatriotic feeling. This further elevated the aspirations of all Koreans for reconciliation and unity and gave stronger impetus to their enthusiasm for reunification.

Kim Il Sung received with paternal feelings south Korean figures and other compatriots who visited Pyongyang out of a desire for reunification, putting them forward as emissaries of reunification and encouraging the aspirations for national reconciliation and reunification.

In March 1989 he met Rev. Mun Ik Hwan, adviser to Jonminryon (Coalition for the National Democratic Movement), a united front organization of the democratic forces in south Korea, who was visiting Pyongyang, and called him an envoy of reunification. When he met a representative from Jondaehyop (National Council of Student Representatives), an association of student organizations across south Korea, who was visiting Pyongyang to take part in the 13$^{th}$ World Festival of Youth and Students, he spoke highly of her patriotic

act and hailed her as a praiseworthy daughter of the Korean nation.

With such Pyongyang visits as the momentum, the tendency towards national reconciliation and unity among all Koreans was further enhanced and their desire for reunification grew stronger.

The south Korean people and overseas Koreans launched dynamic struggles for national reunification, extending their unconditional support to the proposal for founding the DFRK advanced by Kim Il Sung.

The south Korean people waged a determined struggle for independence, democracy and reunification.

With the popular uprising in Kwangju in May 1980 as the momentum, the south Korean youth and students and other people turned out in an anti-US struggle, accusing the US imperialists of being aggressors, plunderers and murderers.

The south Korean students burnt down, blew up or occupied the US cultural centres in Pusan, Taegu, Seoul and Kwangju. They gradually unfolded their struggle against the United States and for independence into a more extensive, mass-based struggle, strongly demanding the withdrawal of the US aggressor troops and nuclear weapons from south Korea, as well as denuclearization and disarmament.

In June 1987, the struggle of the south Korean people finally developed into popular resistance against the United States and fascism. The June Popular Resistance, a mass struggle involving over three million people from all walks of life in Seoul and other parts of south Korea, delivered a fatal blow to the US imperialists and the pro-American rulers of south Korea and marked a turning point in the anti-US, anti-fascist struggle for democracy of the south Korean people.

In 1988 Jondaehyop roused south Korean students to the struggle to hold the June 10 and August 15 inter-Korean student meetings and a grand cross-country march.

Jonminryon defined it as its general objective to wage a struggle for democracy, independence and national reunification with workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals as its driving force, and pushed forward the struggle to hold a pan-national rally.

The Revolutionary Party for Reunification enhanced its leadership role in the south Korean people's struggle for independence, democracy and reunification.

The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification renamed the party Hanminjon (National Democratic Front of South Korea) in July 1985, in keeping with the requirements of the developing reality to unite broad sections of patriotic people from all political parties, factions and social standings and inspire them to the nationwide movement against the United

States and for national liberation, and it published the *Declaration of National Independence of South Korea*, as its fighting programme for accomplishing the cause of national independence.

Hanminjon established missions in Pyongyang, Japan, Cuba and Syria and intensified the solidarity between the south Korean people and the progressive peoples of the world. It actively launched political and information campaigns to equip the broad masses with the immortal Juche idea through the radio *Voice of National Salvation*, the newspaper *National Salvation Front* and other information means, and developed the south Korean people's struggle onto a new stage under the banner of the Juche idea, looking up to Kim Il Sung, the sun of the nation, and Kim Jong Il, the guiding star of the nation, as the beacons of hope for national reunification.

Overseas Koreans and peace-loving peoples around the world, too, waged a vigorous struggle for Korea's reunification.

The General Association of Korean Residents in Japan and Korean compatriots living in Japan and other parts of the world, out of a lofty sense of national mission, made persevering efforts to oppose the outside forces' moves for aggression and war, to turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free, peace zone, to foil the schemes of the separatists inside and outside the country, and to realize the founding of the DFRK.

From March 1981 to March 1982, the world's peace-loving peoples unfolded an international signature campaign in support of the proposal for founding the DFRK and the ten-point policy for a reunified state and rapidly developed the international solidarity movement for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea into a mass movement.

The struggle to realize the proposal for founding the DFRK was waged vigorously not only among Koreans in the north, in the south and abroad but on a worldwide scale, with the result that a favourable situation was created for hastening Korea's reunification.

## 9. For the Cause of Global Independence

Entering the 1980s, global peace and security were disturbed everywhere and the sovereign rights of countries and nations were flagrantly infringed upon in some regions, so that the people's cause of independence was facing a severe trial.

The prevailing situation urgently required that a vigorous struggle be launched to frustrate the schemes of the US imperialists and other international reactionaries and build a new, independent world free from domination and subjugation under the banner of anti-imperialist independence.

Kim Il Sung advanced the policy of making the whole world independent in the policy speech he made at the joint meeting of the WPK Central Committee and the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly in April 1982, and in other speeches.

He said:

**"The progressive peoples of the world must further intensify the trend towards independence in our times and thus win independence across the whole world."**

He defined the world's peoples who championed independence as the driving force in making the whole world independent, and the US and other imperialist forces as the main targets of the struggle. In order to make the whole world independent, he stated, all countries and nations should strictly maintain their independence, oppose imperialist domination and subjugation, establish an equitable international order based on independence, oppose aggression and war, defend global peace and security, frustrate the imperialists' schemes for division and estrangement and strengthen the unity of the anti-imperialist, independence forces.

He directed great efforts to cementing the unity of the world's peoples who championed independence, and the other anti-imperialist, independence forces.

He paid primary attention to developing friendly and cooperative relations with the socialist countries.

He visited China in September 1982, November 1984 and May 1987, where he worked energetically to develop the traditional Korea-China friendship.

From mid-May to early July 1984 he paid official goodwill visits to the Soviet Union and other Eastern European socialist countries as the head of a Party and state delegation. During the visits he had talks with the heads of party and state of these countries, and clarified the WPK's principled stand on achieving unity with the socialist countries and firmly defending the principles of socialism, and he concluded agreements on friendship and cooperation with them. He toured various cities, rural areas, factories and enterprises, inspiring the workers there to greater feats of labour.

During his foreign trip he also met Y. T. Novichenko and showed him great kindness. Novichenko had defended the leadership of the Korean revolution by covering with his own body a blasting hand grenade hurled by reactionaries at

a mass rally to commemorate the March First Popular Uprising of 1919 held in the square in front of Pyongyang Railway Station in 1946. Kim Il Sung's warm care and benevolence were also extended to other people in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European socialist countries, whom he had met in the past.

Late in October 1986 he visited the Soviet Union again, and made clear the matters of principle arising in defending the socialist cause from the imperialists' moves against socialism. He paid a friendly visit to Mongolia from late June to early July 1988, and spoke highly of the achievements it had made in socialist construction, and expressed active support for it.

His historic visits to the socialist countries made an undying contribution to strengthening international solidarity with the Korean revolution, safeguarding global peace and security, and making the whole world independent.

While developing friendly and cooperative relations with the socialist countries through his visits to them, he invited the heads of party and state and other leading officials from those countries to Korea so as to develop the relations of friendship, unity and cooperation with them further.

In 1983 he ensured that 100 000 automatic rifles and a large quantity of ammunition were sent to Cuba in active support for its anti-US, anti-imperialist struggle. In March 1986 he invited Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, president of the Council of State and president of the Council of Ministers, to visit the DPRK, and reaffirmed with him the will to invariably adhere to the revolutionary stand and principles in carrying forward the cause of socialism, and signed an agreement on friendship and cooperation.

He invited the head of party and state of the German Democratic Republic in October 1986, the Romanian President in October 1988, as well as the leaders of party and state of several other socialist countries, and discussed with them matters of mutual concern, including those of developing friendly and cooperative relations and defending socialism to the last.

He directed close attention to strengthening the unity and cohesion of the Non-Aligned Movement and developing friendly and cooperative relations with the non-aligned and other developing countries.

Strengthening the unity and cohesion of the NAM, a powerful anti-imperialist, independence force of the present era, was a prerequisite for making the whole world independent. It presented itself as a particularly important problem under the circumstances where the imperialists were making vicious attempts to divide the non-aligned countries and encourage feuds among them and where there still remained disputes between them.

In order to cement the unity of the NAM, Kim Il Sung made a concluding speech, ***For the Development of the Non-Aligned Movement***, at a joint meeting of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee and the Central People's Committee of the DPRK in June 1986, and published other works. He made clear the matters of principle to be maintained by the NAM, including those of remaining faithful to its basic ideals and principles and settling disagreements and disputes through negotiations and on the principle of promoting unity.

He invited many state leaders of non-aligned countries to the DPRK and inspired them in their struggle, explaining the need to overcome the difficulties created in the NAM, strengthen its unity and cohesion and hasten the cause of global independence.

He dispatched delegations to the conference of foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries held in New Delhi in February 1981, the 7$^{th}$, 8$^{th}$ and 9$^{th}$ summit meetings of the non-aligned countries held in March 1983, September 1986 and September 1989, and other major international meetings so as to encourage the member nations of the NAM to work sincerely to overcome antagonism, stand-offs and disputes and promote their unity.

He helped the non-aligned and other developing countries in their efforts to abolish the old international order of domination and subjugation, establish a new one based on independence, and develop south-south cooperation in such fields as politics, the economy and culture on the principle of collective self-reliance.

On his initiative Pyongyang sponsored various significant international meetings that served to develop south-south cooperation and promote the economic independence of the non-aligned countries.

A symposium of the non-aligned and other developing countries on increasing food and agricultural production was held in Pyongyang in August 1981, followed by the First Conference of Ministers of Education and Culture of the Non-Aligned and Other Developing Countries in September 1983 and an extraordinary ministerial conference of non-aligned countries on south-south cooperation in June 1987.

Kim Il Sung provided solutions to the problems facing the peoples of the non-aligned and other developing countries in their struggle to build a new society in the speech, ***The Non-Aligned and Developing Countries Should Solve the Agricultural Problem through Their Own Efforts***, which he made at the banquet to welcome the delegations attending the Symposium of the Non-Aligned and Other Developing Countries on Increasing Food and Agricultural

Production, the speech, ***For the Development of the National Culture of the Newly-Emerging Countries***, which he delivered before the ministers attending the First Conference of Ministers of Education and Culture of the Non-Aligned Countries and Other Developing Countries, and the congratulatory speech, ***Let Us Develop South-South Cooperation***, which he made at the Extraordinary Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Countries on South-South Cooperation.

Kim Il Sung provided wholehearted assistance to the struggle of the peoples of the non-aligned and other developing countries.

He paid primary attention in rendering assistance to them to developing agricultural productivity. The DPRK set up institutes of agricultural science in Tanzania and Guinea, established experimental farms in Ghana and other countries in Africa, sent highly-qualified agricultural scientists and technicians there and helped them with irrigation projects. The DPRK also gave the non-aligned and other developing countries unselfish assistance and cooperation so that they could develop their industry and national culture.

He vigorously led the struggle to oppose the policy of aggression and war pursued by the US and other imperialists and to defend global peace and security.

With a view to preventing war and safeguarding peace, he clarified such principled issues as arms reduction, nuclear disarmament, the withdrawal of troops of aggression and military bases from foreign countries, heightened vigilance against the imperialists' attempts to disarm the socialist countries and gain sway over them under the signboard of "disarmament" and "detente," and the struggle against the imperialists' armed intervention and military invasion of other countries.

He made energetic efforts to turn the Korean peninsula and other regions in the world into nuclear-free, peace zones.

He advanced the proposal for establishing a nuclear-free, peace zone in northeast Asia, including the Korean peninsula, in mid-March 1981, when he met a delegation from the Japan Socialist Party. In September 1984, when he met another delegation from the party, he stressed the need for all ruling and opposition parties, social organizations and broad sections of the people in all countries to pool their efforts and work with increased vigour in order to wage the struggle to establish a nuclear-free, peace zone in Asia. In June 1986 he put forward a proposal calling for practical measures to be taken to turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free, peace zone and secure its status as such.

He rendered active support and encouragement to the efforts to establish nuclear-free, peace zones in vast regions of the world including Africa, the

Middle East, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific, the Balkan Peninsula and other parts of Europe. In this way he greatly inspired the peace-loving peoples of the world in their anti-war, anti-nuclear and peace movement.

He made energetic efforts to ensure the success of international meetings, festivals and political events against imperialism and for independence, peace and friendship.

He defined the guidelines to be followed in the movement to oppose war and nuclear weapons and defend peace in the speech he delivered at a banquet in honour of delegates to the World Conference of Journalists against Imperialism and for Friendship and Peace in July 1983 and the speech he made at a banquet to welcome the participants in the Pyongyang International Conference for Denuclearization and Peace on the Korean Peninsula in September 1986.

He ensured that the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students, held in the DPRK in July 1989 under the slogan of anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship, was the greatest in its history. He attended the opening ceremony and made a congratulatory speech, ***Young People and Students, Be the Vanguard of Our Times***.

Kim Il Sung pushed ahead with the struggle to accomplish the cause of global independence, and thus made the international environment more favourable for modelling the whole society on the Juche idea and achieving the independent reunification of Korea, and he made immortal contributions to realizing the cause of anti-imperialism and independence.

For these achievements he enjoyed the deep respect and trust of the revolutionary peoples of the world as a great, outstanding leader of the era of independence and the world revolution.

# CHAPTER 12. TO DEFEND AND ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF SOCIALISM

(January 1990–July 1994)

## 1. Fundamental Principles and Fighting Tasks for Defending and Advancing the Cause of Socialism

The late 1980s and early 1990s witnessed the tragic situation in which socialism collapsed and capitalism revived in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries.

Taking advantage of this, the US and other imperialists and reactionaries made desperate efforts to stifle the DPRK, the bulwark of socialism, politically, economically and militarily, clamouring about the "crisis of socialism." The renegades of socialism, riding on the crest of the situation, meddled in and put pressure on the DPRK in a bid to inveigle it onto the road of betraying socialism.

In these circumstances it posed itself as a matter of vital importance to the destiny of socialism to frustrate the frantic anti-socialist moves of the imperialists and reactionaries and defend and advance the cause of socialism.

In this period of rapid change in the situation, Kim Il Sung resolutely took the road of defending socialism, holding higher the banner of socialism. In his New Year Address on January 1, 1990, the first year of the 1990s, and his policy speech, ***Let Us Bring the Advantages of Socialism in Our Country into Full Play***, addressed to the First Session of the Ninth Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK on May 24, 1990 and other speeches he gave a scientific and theoretical explanation of the invincibility and advantages of Korean-style socialism and comprehensively explained the fundamental principles and fighting tasks for defending and advancing the cause of socialism.

He stated that it was necessary to have a correct guiding ideology for the revolution in order to defend and advance the cause of socialism.

He said that socialism was making uninterrupted and triumphant headway in Korea despite the complex situation because the Juche idea was the correct guiding ideology for the Korean revolution.

In order to safeguard and advance the cause of socialism it is necessary to strengthen the motive force of the revolution and enhance its role, he stated.

He said:

**"Strengthening the motive force of the revolution is the fundamental matter in the struggle for socialism. Unless they are fully prepared as the motive force of the revolution, the masses will be unable to emerge victorious from the struggle for political power; unless the motive force is consolidated steadily, it will be impossible to build a socialist society and bring its advantages into play."**

He said that what was important in strengthening the motive force of the revolution was to consolidate the Party, which is its backbone, and enhance its leading role and, at the same time, unite the working masses around the Party with one mind and purpose.

He said that it was necessary to give fullest play to the advantages of socialism in order to defend and advance its cause.

Socialism in the DPRK is, in short, man-centred socialism, the embodiment of the Juche idea. The principal characteristic of the DPRK society is that it is a truly people-oriented society in which the masses are the genuine masters and everything serves them. Socialism is the lifeblood of the people; the Juche idea is that of socialism.

Saying that the advantages of Korean-style socialism find clear expression in the happy and worthwhile lives led by the people under socialism, he made clear the essence of a socialist life; it is an independent and creative life for the masses as the masters of the state and society, and a collectivist life for the people who share weal and woe with one another, helping and leading one another forward.

He clarified the advantages of the socialist political, cultural and material lives of the Korean people.

He explained that the main advantage of a socialist material life lies in that it is sound, contributing to the fulfilment of the people's desire for independence and to the provision of creative activities for them, and that it is equitable, providing everyone with equal happiness without differences between rich and poor. He said that the essential characteristic and advantage of a socialist cultural life distinguishing it from a capitalist cultural life that makes people degenerate and poisons them with maladies lie in the fact that it enables

people to meet their intrinsic desire for continuous mental and physical development and encourages them to create and enjoy culture. The essential characteristic and advantage of a socialist political life lie in the fact that all the people are provided with genuine political freedoms and rights as the masters of the state and society and with valuable socio-political integrity, to which they add lustre, he said.

He stated that in order to give fullest play to the advantages of socialism it was important to cement the people's power and vigorously launch the three revolutions–ideological, technological and cultural.

Noting that primary efforts should be directed to the work of securing the ideological fortress and developing all the members of society into people of a Juche type, he said that, to this end, the ideological and cultural revolutions should be stepped up so as to transform the whole of society along the revolutionary and working-class lines and assimilate all the members of society to the intelligentsia. Stressing the need to step up socialist economic construction and the technological revolution to capture the material fortress, he said that the line of making the national economy Juche-based, modern and scientific, the basic strategy of the WPK, should be adhered to and fully implemented.

Socialist democracy should be embraced in the state's activities in order to consolidate the people's power and enhance its functions and role, he said, and went on to give a profound explanation of its essence and advantages and to lay bare the deceitfulness and anti-popular nature of the "democracy" much trumpeted by the imperialists. He stressed that in order to embody socialist democracy it is essential to thoroughly crush the anti-revolutionary and anti-socialist schemes of the imperialists and enemies of the people, cement the socialist system more firmly and steadily develop it.

He stated that socialism can be built only on socialist principles and by socialist methods. All problems arising in the building of socialism should always be solved on the basis of socialist theories, he stressed, on the principle of bringing the advantages of socialism into play, and by giving rein to the inexhaustible creativity of the masses, the motive force of the revolution.

He instructed that in order to carry out economic construction in a proper way by giving full play to the advantages of socialism, the Juche-based principle and system of economic management should be strictly adhered to and implemented to the letter to suit the intrinsic nature of socialist society.

Because he advanced the fundamental principles and fighting tasks for defending and advancing the cause of socialism, the Juche-based socialist

theory could be put on a more perfect basis and a powerful ideo-theoretical weapon could be provided with which to crush the counterrevolutionary sophistry spread by the imperialists and reactionaries and their anti-socialist schemes, and achieve victory in the struggle to defend socialism.

## 2. Consolidating the Socialist Ideological Position and Adding Lustre to Socialist Culture and the National Cultural Heritage

Kim Il Sung directed primary efforts to consolidating the socialist ideological position in order to defend socialism and add lustre to it.

He said:

**"Having witnessed the unexpected events that have taken place in the international arena over recent years, we have all the more keenly felt that ideology is the lifeblood of socialist society and that nothing is more important in the revolution and construction than raising the level of the masses' ideological consciousness."**

The collapse of socialism in some countries in the early 1990s highlighted the serious lesson that socialism will emerge victorious if ideology is firmly adhered to, and it will be ruined if ideology is abandoned; the degeneration of socialism starts with that of ideology and the collapse of the ideological position will lead to that of all the positions of socialism and, in the long run, socialism will be brought to utter ruin. Moreover, in the situation that the anti-socialist moves of the imperialists and reactionaries against the DPRK were becoming ever-more pronounced, whether to hold fast to ideology as the lifeblood or not presented itself as a vital question of whether to defend socialism to the end or not.

Kim Il Sung paid primary attention to developing the WPK further.

In the speech, ***Strengthening the Party and Enhancing Its Role Is the Basic Guarantee for the Victory of Revolution***, which he made at the banquet given in honour of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the WPK on October 10, 1990, he advanced the tasks for further consolidating the WPK and steadily enhancing its leadership role.

In consolidating the Party and enhancing its leadership role he paid special attention to strengthening Party cells and increasing their fighting efficiency.

At an enlarged plenary meeting of the North Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee held in September 1992 he said that it was important to build up Party committees at all levels and enhance their role, but it was all the more important to strengthen Party cells.

In a letter of congratulations, ***Five Major Tasks of Party Cells***, sent to the delegates attending the National Conference of Party Cell Secretaries late in March 1994, he advanced tasks for Party cells: First, to support the unified leadership of the Party Central Committee with loyalty; second, to organize and guide Party life effectively to transform each Party member into a revolutionary of the Juche type; third, to work effectively with the masses in order to strengthen the blood-sealed ties between the Party and the masses; fourth, to expedite the three revolutions–ideological, technological and cultural–to promote socialist construction; and fifth, to defend the security of the country and its socialist gains.

He explained the guiding principle for consolidating the socialist ideological position by enriching socialist ideology and theory.

In several works, including ***Ours Is the Socialism of Juche*** published in April 1994, he clarified the matters of principle arising in defending socialism and advancing it triumphantly, including the essential characteristics and superiority of socialist society, the law of its birth and development, the motive force of socialism, the basic mode of politics in socialist society and the people's democratic dictatorship.

Proceeding from the practical experience of the WPK and the serious lessons of the international communist movement, he clarified that the issue of succession to the leadership was decisive to the ultimate victory of the cause of socialism, and advanced the idea of consolidating the single-hearted unity of the Party and the revolutionary ranks centred on the heir to the leader, thus enriching the socialist ideology and theory.

He promoted the education to arm the masses of the people with the socialist ideology.

Regarding it as his sacred duty to inform the rising generations of how he had carved out the revolutionary cause of Juche and led the unprecedentedly arduous and severe Korean revolution to victory, he wrote his reminiscences, ***With the Century***. The idea running throughout the reminiscences is **"The people are my God."**

He ensured that theoretical education in the Juche idea was conducted effectively in close combination with education in the spirit of loyalty and the education in Party policies.

He paid close attention to educating Party members and other working people to establish the Juche-based revolutionary outlook on the world firmly, acquire the superiority of Korean-style socialism fully and make devoted efforts to defend and add brilliance to it without any vacillation whatever the adversity, with the firm faith that they would win when they defended socialism and fall when they abandoned it.

In particular, he saw to it that vigorous education was conducted for inspiring all the people to work with devotion true to the plan and intention of Kim Jong Il for the accomplishment of the socialist cause with the conviction that they would surely emerge victorious as long as they were led by Kim Jong Il, to brave all the difficulties and trials by their own efforts with the faith that self-reliance was the only way out, under the slogan **"Let us live our own way!"** and to push ahead with socialist construction, filled with confidence and optimism.

He paid special attention to education aimed at safeguarding the revolutionary traditions of the Party and carrying them forward brilliantly.

To safeguard and add lustre to the revolutionary traditions is vital to the destiny of socialism. It was a serious lesson left by the international communist movement that if one abandoned revolutionary traditions one could not defend the gains of the revolution and give continuity to the vitality of the revolution, making a mess of the revolution and construction.

In August 1990 he visited the Kanbaeksan Secret Camp after it had been unearthed and restored and Ryanggang Province in August the following year. Saying that the province was a sacred place of the Korean revolution where there were located Mt. Paektu, the sacred mountain of the revolution, and the Paektusan Secret Camp, Pochonbo and numerous other revolutionary battle sites, he instructed that the revolutionary battle sites and historic sites in Ryanggang Province, including the Hyesan, Samjiyon, Pochon, Sinpha (now Kim Jong Suk County) and Phophyong areas should be spruced up so that education in the revolutionary traditions could be intensified through them. Looking round the Korean Revolution Museum late in July 1993, he gave detailed instructions on the issues relating to how materials could be displayed there, stressing the need to intensify the education of the masses to arm them firmly with the revolutionary traditions by arranging effective visits to the museum.

Education to arm people with the revolutionary traditions was conducted vigorously in various forms and by different methods, including study tours and visits to revolutionary battle sites and historic sites and revolutionary museums.

Kim Il Sung saw to it that class education was intensified so as to equip Party members and other working people and the new generations, in particular, firmly with class awareness and revolutionary spirit of the working class and make them always abide strictly by class principles and fight uncompromisingly against the imperialists and class enemies.

He ensured that the noble traits of helping and leading one another forward were brought into full play throughout society by firmly arming Party members and other working people with the idea of collectivism and intensifying education in socialist morality, thus turning the whole country into a large, harmonious socialist family, united with a single heart.

He paid attention to overcoming non-socialist practices of all hues and building up the ideological defensive position so as to prevent the infiltration of the imperialist ideology and culture.

In several addresses, including the speech he delivered at an enlarged plenary meeting of the North Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee in September 1992, he underscored the need to get rid of all non-socialist practices and build up the ideological defensive position so as to prevent the infiltration of the capitalist ideology.

To this end, he made sure that struggle to combat individualism and selfishness was waged among Party members and other working people and ideological education was intensified to equip them with the socialist ideology so as to prevent the infiltration of reactionary ideology including the capitalist ideology and the bourgeois way of life.

He led the work to push ahead with the construction of socialist culture.

He ensured that education work was further developed.

In 1992, to mark the 15th anniversary of the publication of the ***Theses on Socialist Education***, the education sector further improved the content and methods of teaching and its qualitative level in keeping with the requirements of the developing reality, and thus achieved major strides in the education of the rising generation and the training of national cadres.

Kim Chaek University of Technology was developed into a comprehensive base for training scientific and technical personnel of the country which was equipped with up-to-date teaching facilities.

Kim Il Sung took steps to have a modern, new university building erected in May 1989, and construction forces, materials and huge funds provided for the construction. When the building was completed he wrote the nameplate, ***Kim Chaek University of Technology***, in January 1993. Looking round the magnificent new building in May that year, he instructed that now that an

excellent education environment had been created a fresh turn should be brought about in the training of technical personnel by modernizing the experimental and practical facilities and steadily improving the teaching content and methods.

He acquainted himself with the work of Kim Hyong Jik University of Education in July 1994, wrote a nameplate for it and led the university to carry out its mission and duty properly as a “pedigree farm” for training teachers. Along with this, he paid close attention to putting all the universities on a modern footing and ensuring that they brought about a great advance in the training of national cadres.

As a result, the compulsory free education system was thoroughly enforced, even though the country was experiencing a difficult economic situation, and a large number of able scientific and technical personnel were produced. By 1994, the DPRK had a large contingent of intellectuals 1.7 million strong, which marked the attainment of a high level of intellectualizing the whole society.

Kim Il Sung paid close attention to developing science and technology onto a new, higher stage in the shortest period of time.

For the development of science and technology he, in spite of his great age of 80, read many technical books related to all fields of the national economy, various magazines on science, information on economics and science, and scientific and technological materials, as well as listening to recordings so that he could inform the officials concerned of the necessary data for them to be introduced into production.

He made sure that scientists and technicians launched a drive to carry out the Three-Year Plan for the Development of Science and Technology by displaying a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm and creative activity.

Late in October 1990 he announced the commissioning of the Korea Computer Centre and visited its exhibition hall. He gave valuable instructions concerning issues for developing computer technology, examined the computers in operation and listened to an explanation about the achievements in research.

When he visited a field at the Kyongsong branch under the Academy of Agricultural Science in August 1992, he called on the scientists and technicians in the field of agriculture to produce many new, high-yield varieties of crops suited to the climatic and soil conditions in the country.

In 1993 he took fresh steps for improving the unified guidance of the state over scientific research institutes.

He led scientists and technicians along the road to success, valuing the buds of their scientific discovery.

Early in August 1992 he learned that a research institute under the Academy of Sciences had been studying nitrogen bacterium fertilizer for several years, and he took measures to complete it at the earliest possible date.

Thus, the country's science and technology made rapid progress even under the difficult and complicated circumstances of the 1990s, providing sure guarantee for the prosperity of socialist Korea by dint of science and technology.

Kim Il Sung directed close attention to developing the socialist art and literature.

On February 11, 1991 he visited the Mansudae Art Studio and viewed the large-scale Korean paintings and other works of art, praising them as masterpieces worthy of national treasures and putting forward tasks for producing more works of popular fine arts. On February 12, 1993 when he met with creators and artistes who had distinguished themselves while working in the field of art and literature for a long time, he showed them warm affection and earnestly asked them to make strenuous efforts to carry out the Party's policy on art and literature more creditably.

He also directed great efforts to developing public health and physical culture and sports.

He made sure that the free medical care system was enforced constantly in the public health sector and that the Party's line of preventive medicine was thoroughly implemented, even though the country was facing difficult economic circumstances. He also ensured that physical training for national defence and mass physical culture were strengthened along with physical education, and that social acclaim was given to the sportsmen who won international championships and had the flag of the country hoisted.

He ensured that the national cultural heritage was preserved, managed and reclaimed in a proper way from a Juche-oriented standpoint.

He had the tomb of King Tangun, the father of the Korean nation, splendidly rebuilt into a mausoleum and his identity confirmed.

Owing to the Japanese imperialists' scheme to stamp out the history of Tangun's Korea, he had been known as a mythical being, and his history had not been verified in a scientific way. Historians, too, were still bound by the ready-made idea that Tangun was a mythical being.

In January 1993 Kim Il Sung, out of his noble ideal of loving the country and nation and with far-sighted wisdom, put forward the task of excavating the tomb of King Tangun in Kangdong County.

As a result, the remains of Tangun and relics associated with him were unearthed from his tomb in February 1993. State-of-the-art equipment was used to survey his remains, which were identified as dating back 5 011 years. Thus, it was scientifically proved that Tangun was not a mythical being but a real person and that he fixed Pyongyang as his capital and founded Kojoson, the first ancient state in Korea.

With Tangun proved as having been a real person, Kim Il Sung gave instructions in September 1993 on splendidly rebuilding his tomb as befits the mausoleum of the founding-father of the nation. He personally visited the site to designate the place where the mausoleum should be rebuilt and gave instructions on scores of occasions concerning the reconstruction of the mausoleum. In July 1994 he examined the final blueprint of the mausoleum and said that it should be rebuilt at the earliest possible date so that south Korean people and overseas compatriots, too, could visit it.

The tomb discovered thanks to his devotion was reconstructed magnificently into a national treasure and a grand monumental edifice that would shine forever in history under the energetic guidance of Kim Jong Il, and Pyongyang became the sacred land, in which the time-honoured history of the Korean nation and its brilliant culture originated.

Kim Il Sung ensured that the Mausoleum of King Tongmyong, the founding-father of Koguryo, and the Mausoleum of King Wang Kon, the founder of Koryo, were renovated in a magnificent way.

On several occasions he gave instructions on excavating and identifying the whole of the mausoleum of King Tongmyong located in Ryokpho District, Pyongyang, and its surrounding relics, and ensured that it was renovated magnificently. He personally wrote its epitaph in Chinese characters, **Monument to the Renovation of the Mausoleum of King Tongmyong**. He visited the newly renovated mausoleum in mid-May 1993 and expressed great satisfaction at the fact that it had splendidly been rebuilt fully reflecting the sentiments in the period of Koguryo on the principle of fidelity to historical truth.

On a visit to the Mausoleum of King Wang Kon in Kaesong on May 5, 1992, Kim Il Sung said that it would be good to rebuild it better, as King Wang Kon was the founder of the first unified state in Korea, and specified the orientation and ways for reconstructing it. When the project was completed he personally wrote its epitaph in Chinese characters, **Monument to the Renovation of the Mausoleum of King Wang Kon, Founder of Koryo**.

He ensured that the time-honoured history of the Korean nation was

correctly understood and systematized from the Juche-oriented standpoint.

In his speech to a consultative meeting of officials in charge of the reconstruction of Tangun's Mausoleum on October 20, 1993 and in other speeches he assigned the task of deepening the historical studies of Tangun and Kojoson and said earnestly that the distorted or mistaken history of the past should be corrected from the Juche-oriented viewpoint.

As a result, the whole history of primitive Korean society was fully brought to light, a system of ancient history with Kojoson as the centre and that of medieval history with Koguryo as the centre were established, and thus the 5 000-year-long history was formulated on the basis of the legitimacy of the Korean nation.

Kim Il Sung made sure that the country's educational and cultural heritage was preserved and managed better.

In order to add brilliance to the long history of national education he visited Kaesong in May 1992 and looked round Songgyungwan, which had been turned into the Koryo Museum. Pointing out that Songgyungwan meant an institute for training talents, he stressed the need to lay it out as a university. He noted that there was no point in turning it into the Koryo Museum and explaining to visitors that it had been the supreme educational institute in the period of Koryo. Saying that it would be a good idea to show people in a practical way that the country had a university inheriting the traditions of Songgyungwan, he continued that the university that was to be founded should be called Koryo Songgyungwan and that it should specialize in light industry.

Later, he took practical measures for setting up Koryo Songgyungwan University and wrote its nameplate, **Koryo Songgyungwan**. He also fixed the year of its establishment as 992 when *Kukjagam*, its predecessor, was founded, and the date of its establishment as September 1.

This is how Koryo Songgyungwan University was founded in Korea as a university with a long history spanning over 1 000 years.

Kim Il Sung ensured that the numerous volumes of *Rijo Sillok* (Chronicles of the Ri Dynasty) and the 80 000 Blocks of the Complete Collection of Buddhist Scriptures, which had been preserved as precious cultural heritage of the country, were translated and published in Korean, and that the national customs and mode of life peculiar to the Korean people were inherited and developed to meet the requirements of the present times.

He also took measures for legally consolidating and adding lustre to the achievements made in the efforts to inherit and develop the cultural heritage of the nation.

He had the Sixth Session of the Ninth Supreme People's Assembly held in December 1993 discuss the issue of further improving and intensifying the work of inheriting and developing the national cultural heritage. The Law of the DPRK on Protecting Cultural Relics was adopted at the Seventh Session of the Ninth Supreme People's Assembly early in April 1994, thus providing a legal guarantee for preserving and managing cultural heritage and inheriting and developing it correctly.

President Kim Il Sung celebrated his 80th birthday in April 1992.

In accordance with the unanimous desire of all the KPA service personnel and the Korean people he was conferred the title of Generalissimo of the DPRK on April 13. In a speech at a banquet given by the government of the DPRK on April 15, ***Enhancing the Role of the Popular Masses Is the Guarantee for Victory in the Cause of Independence***, he reviewed his career of 80 years during which he had devoted himself for the sake of the people, as their son. Noting that nothing was worthier and more glorious for a revolutionary than to devote his whole life for the people, he added that he would dedicate the rest of his life to the people's cause, being loved and trusted by them.

## 3. Building Up the Defence Capabilities of the Country and Frustrating the Nuclear Uproar of the US Imperialists

After the world socialist system collapsed in the early 1990s, the Cold War between East and West was condensed into the DPRK-USA standoff, and the US and other imperialist forces began to direct the brunt of their isolation and suffocation strategy at the DPRK.

Based on a clear understanding of the prevailing severe situation, Kim Il Sung channelled great efforts into building up the country's defence capabilities in order to safeguard and glorify by force of arms the cause of socialism which was pioneered and advanced by dint of arms.

The 19th Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the WPK held on December 24, 1991 adopted a decision on appointing Kim Jong Il Supreme Commander of the KPA, and the Fifth Session of the Ninth Supreme People's Assembly held on April 9, 1993 elected him Chairman of the DPRK National Defence Commission.

Kim Il Sung ensured that the might of the KPA, the main force for accomplishing the revolutionary cause of Juche, was increased in every way under the leadership of Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il.

He said:

**"Comrade Kim Jong Il has unbreakable will, audacity, outstanding strategic intelligence and the art of military leadership worthy of the supreme commander of the revolutionary armed forces. This is the guarantee for the continuous development of our revolutionary armed forces and their victory in every battle."**

In his speech, ***On the Duties of the Company Political Instructors of the Korean People's Army***, made at the meeting of the company political instructors of the KPA on December 25, 1991 he stressed that all the officers and men should obey Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il's orders without question, regarding them as his own, and follow Kim Jong Il's leadership loyally.

He ensured that sectional meetings, including the Congress of Officers and Political Workers of the KPA, were held on a dozen occasions in the period from 1992 to 1993, and underscored the need to hold Kim Jong Il in high esteem.

On April 25, 1994 he conferred "Paektusan" pistols bearing his name on the commanding officers of the KPA and gave important instructions that the whole army should faithfully support Kim Jong Il and be loyal to his leadership. That day he said with deep emotion to the following effect: It was 1949 when I conferred on Kim Chaek, Choe Yong Gon and others the first submachine guns made by the Korean working class; today, when 45 years have passed since then, I am conferring pistols on you; this expresses my expectation that you will surely accomplish our revolutionary cause which started on Mt. Paektu by faithfully supporting Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il in the future, just as you have remained faithful to me up to now; the entire army should thoroughly establish the revolutionary discipline of carrying out the orders of the Supreme Commander without question in the KPA, closely united as one around him.

He saw to it that political and ideological education was intensified in the army with the main emphasis on raising the sense of loyalty to Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il.

In his talk to veterans of anti-Japanese revolution and children of revolutionary martyrs on March 13, 1992 and on January 20 and March 3, 1993, ***For the Accomplishment of the Socialist Cause***, he explained the

greatness of ideology, leadership, traits and exploits of Kim Jong Il. As the song says, without Kim Jong Il both you and the socialist country would not exist, he said, adding that only when all the people are united single-heartedly around Kim Jong Il can they resolutely crush any anti-socialist offensive of the imperialists and defend and add lustre to socialism.

Kim Il Sung composed a poem dedicated to Kim Jong Il on the occasion of his 50th birthday in 1992 and signed a decree of the Central People's Committee of the DPRK on constituting Kim Jong Il's birthday as one of the greatest national holidays. He also ensured that education was conducted effectively in various forms and by various methods among the KPA service personnel to bring home to them the greatness of the Supreme Commander and enable them to cherish loyalty to him deep in their hearts, and that education in the revolutionary traditions, including a study tour to the revolutionary battle sites on Mt. Paektu and an oath-taking meeting of service personnel at the Paektusan Secret Camp, was intensified.

He made sure that the fine traits of unity between officers and men and unity between the Party and the youth league were fully displayed.

He ensured that the commanding officers of the KPA rid themselves of such practices as misusing power or putting on airs, treated the rank and file as their true revolutionary comrades, went among them to share board and lodging with them and took responsible care of their lives. He also saw to it that the rank and file respected and followed their officers. He made sure that Party members were exemplary in military service and gave daily assistance to the members of the youth league, and that the latter followed the former's examples by establishing the habit of unity between the Party and the youth league to suit the characteristic that the KPA was composed of Party members and members of the youth league.

He led the work to build up the KPA in its military and technical aspects.

He saw to it that combat training was conducted according to the training policy and principles advanced by Kim Jong Il. To begin with, the training of commanding officers and the general staff was intensified so as to raise their ability to organize operations and combat. Meanwhile, service personnel conducted their combat training in a real-war climate and learned and mastered what would be useful in actual fighting.

While guiding the exercises of KPA units on the spot on April 26, 1991 and on April 25, 1994, Kim Il Sung spoke highly of their training success, and encouraged them.

He ensured that the modernization of the KPA was carried out thoroughly in

conformity with the country's situation, as required by the Juche-oriented military ideology and tactics.

Fully aware of the importance of the position and role to be played by the artillery in modern warfare he advanced, at the Second Conference of the Artillerymen of the KPA held on October 29, 1992, important tasks for putting artillery and communications on a modern footing and further developing them. Along with this he took measures for boosting the mobility and striking power of the overall armaments of the KPA.

He paid close attention to strengthening the company, the basic organization and main combat unit of the KPA.

He ensured that the congress of company commanders of the KPA, the congress of company political instructors of the KPA and the congress of sergeant-majors of the KPA were held in 1991 and the congress of chairmen of company primary organizations of the LSWYK in 1992, and gave important instructions to serve as guidelines in strengthening the fighting efficiency of the company. The level and abilities of company commanding officers were improved decisively through the re-education of officers and different forms of training courses, and higher-ranking officers regularly went down to the companies to help them in consolidating their fighting efficiency.

Kim Il Sung ensured that the work of arming all the people and fortifying the whole country was conducted at a higher level in order to cement the defence capabilities of the country in every way.

Noting that all this work should be carried out by mobilizing the whole nation at a joint meeting of the Central People's Committee and the Administration Council of the DPRK held in mid-December 1992, he said that there would be nothing to fear even if the enemy invaded, if all the people were armed and the whole country was turned into a fortress. On several occasions he put forward tasks for reinforcing the ranks of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards and the Young Red Guards, enhancing their command and management, further improving the military equipment of the militias, strengthening training, stepping up defence projects, building up major areas of strategic importance, and various other tasks, and took measures for their implementation.

In particular, he attached great significance to developing the defence industry. He made sure that the WPK's policy of giving priority to the defence industry was implemented completely and unconditionally, saying at several meetings including the 21st Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the WPK held in December 1993 that nobody would dare to provoke it if the

whole country was turned into an impregnable fortress by developing the defence industry.

He ensured that the traditional traits of army-people unity were fully displayed in order to cement the defence capabilities of the country.

He made sure that the KPA service personnel valued and took good care of the people, respected their interests, protected their lives and property, and took an active part in the socialist construction.

The service personnel performed immortal feats at socialist construction sites which would remain forever in the history of the country in order to translate the intention and will of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il under the slogan, "Let us take charge of both national defence and socialist construction!"

Kim Il Sung made sure that the rising generations and the other people armed themselves with the Juche-oriented viewpoint on war and the spirit of national defence, and that all the people valued and took good care of the KPA service personnel as their own flesh and blood and rendered active assistance to them.

He organized and led the struggle to crush the frenzied nuclear racket of the US imperialists and defend the socialist country.

With a view to suffocating the DPRK, the US imperialists invented the alleged "nuclear suspicion" and, clamouring about a "special inspection" and "sanctions," put the situation on the Korean peninsula under extreme strain. In January 1993 they announced the resumption of the previously suspended Team Spirit joint military exercise, and threatened the DPRK militarily by mobilizing huge aggressive forces 200 000 strong and a nuclear strike capability and even setting in motion a nuclear weapons command system. In consequence, a touch-and-go situation where war might break out at any moment was created in Korea and the supreme interests of the DPRK were faced with a serious threat.

To cope with the prevailing situation, Kim Il Sung saw to it that a semi-war state was announced throughout the country in March 1993 in order to defend the security and sovereignty of the socialist country, and saw to it that the DPRK took the resolute step of declaring its withdrawal from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

He explained: We declared the semi-war state across the country and the withdrawal from the NPT as a measure to cope with the unjustifiable behaviour and pressure from the United States and the International Atomic Energy Agency and to defend the dignity of the nation and the sovereignty of the country.

The US imperialists hurriedly stopped the Team Spirit 93 joint military exercise and were forced to abandon the racket about the "special inspection."

In a crafty move to internationalize the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula they attempted to submit it to the UN and have collective sanctions imposed on the DPRK.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the DPRK issued a statement in April 1993, in which it laid bare and denounced the US imperialists' nuclear racket, made clear that the best way to solve the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula was to settle it peacefully through DPRK-USA talks and clarified that it would regard any sanctions against it as a declaration of war and take strong self-defensive measures. Finally, the United States had no other option but to come to talks with the DPRK.

The first round of DPRK-USA talks was held in New York in June 1993 and a DPRK-USA joint statement was published for the first time in history which fully reflected the former's assertion and intention. The second round of DPRK-USA talks held in Geneva in July reaffirmed the principles agreed in the New York joint statement. Thus the attempts by the US imperialists and reactionaries to stifle the DPRK were frustrated.

The US imperialists, however, contrary to the agreed terms of the joint statement, made further manoeuvres to apply "pressure" and "sanctions" on the DPRK through the UN, presenting an unjustifiable precondition that they would continue the next round of the talks only when the DPRK accepted inspection by the IAEA and reopened north-south dialogue.

The DPRK resolutely countered the US pressure with a tougher stance.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement in January 1994, expressing the resolute stand of the DPRK that it had no intention of having talks with the United States if the latter thought that there was no need for such talks and that it would take countermeasures if the latter selected any other option. The DPRK took the resolute measure of immediately withdrawing from the IAEA through a statement of a spokesman for the ministry in June that year.

The United States sent its former President Jimmy Carter to the DPRK in a bid to settle the issue of its relationship with the DPRK and end the stand off caused by the nuclear issue.

In June 1994 Kim Il Sung received Carter and his party in Pyongyang and held serious discussions with him.

On the first day he said: The United States is planning to bring the "nuclear issue" of our country to the UN in an attempt to impose sanctions on us; we are

not afraid of sanctions; we have always been under sanctions; however, we have lived without much trouble up to now; do you think we cannot manage to exist if we are placed under further sanctions now?

The following day when Carter informed Kim Il Sung that the United States had decided to withdraw its planned sanctions against the DPRK, Kim Il Sung thanked him and continued: We do not care whether the United States cancels or sticks to its planned sanctions against us; in spite of your pressure on us and harassment of us we can certainly manage to survive.

Thus, with his unswerving courage and fortitude, he provided favourable conditions for realizing DPRK-USA talks to settle the nuclear issue, and an inter-Korean summit.

The United States officially withdrew the discussion about sanctions against the DPRK at the UN Security Council and attended the third round of DPRK-USA talks held in Geneva in August 1994. The DPRK-USA Agreed Framework was adopted at the talks held in October 1994, and US President Clinton sent to Kim Jong Il a letter of assurance guaranteeing the implementation of the agreed framework which had been concluded at the talks. Thanks to the steel-strong faith and will, unparalleled courage and stratagem possessed by Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il and the invincible military strength of the DPRK, the US imperialists' nuclear racket and their extreme moves to isolate and stifle it were frustrated, and the DPRK emerged as a powerful bulwark on the anti-imperialist military front.

## 4. Pushing Forward Dynamically with Socialist Economic Construction As Required by the Changed Situation and the Developing Revolution

In the 1990s socialist economic construction in the DPRK was faced with severe difficulties and obstacles. Owing to the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries and of the world socialist market, transactions with those countries according to long-term and short-term trade agreements were undermined, their implementation suspended and economic cooperation and trade transactions stagnated. Meanwhile, the US and other imperialist reactionaries resorted to economic sanctions and blockade that were even more vicious against the DPRK while applying political and military

pressure in a bid to isolate and stifle it at any cost as it advanced under the unfurled banner of socialism.

To cope with the changed situation Kim Il Sung organized and led the efforts to dynamically push ahead with socialist economic construction.

At the 17th Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the WPK early in January 1990, he took measures to perfect the structure of the economy in the direction of building up the economic independence of the country and make a turn in the external economic relations to suit the changed circumstances.

At the plenary meeting he underlined the need to effect a great revolutionary upsurge once again in socialist construction by vigorously launching the movement to increase production and practise economy.

Calling for a great revolutionary upsurge in socialist construction by giving full play to the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, just as the December 1956 plenary meeting marked the beginning of the great Chollima upswing in socialist construction through the campaign to increase production and practise economy, he specified tasks and ways to do so. He stressed the need for all fields and units of the national economy to wage a vigorous campaign to increase production and practise economy and continue to thoroughly implement the line of three revolutions–ideological, technological and cultural. He said that socialist construction should be carried on in a Korean style by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude and that all Party members and other working people should launch a vigorous drive to create the speed of the 90s.

He led the efforts to bring about a great revolutionary upsurge in socialist construction and carry out the Third Seven-Year Plan.

The national conference of production innovators held late in February 1990 inspired all the people across the country to give a fresh spur to the all-people movement for a grand socialist advance by creating the speed of the 90s under the slogans, **"Let us make the economic foundations already established pay off through increased production and economy!"** and **"Let us live our own way!"** Conferences and meetings of several sectors, including the national conference of young activists held in April that year, encouraged all Party members and other working people to conduct a fresh movement for a grand advance.

As a result, the Korean people, with confidence in the justness and victory of the socialist cause, vigorously turned out in the drive to create the speed of the 90s and effect a fresh revolutionary upsurge.

Kim Il Sung ensured that economic work was organized in a scrupulous way in line with the mounting enthusiasm of the masses. He attached particular

significance to enhancing the role of the Administration Council as the headquarters of the economy in the country. At the First Session of the Ninth Central People's Committee and the First Plenary Meeting of the Ninth Administration Council held in May 1990, and a joint meeting of the Central People's Committee and the Administration Council held in December 1992, he clarified that the Administration Council should directly organize and perform the overall economic affairs of the country and supervise and control the work of all economic entities. What was important in socialist economic construction, he said, is to thoroughly carry out the tasks of doing farm work well, putting production on a normal footing in the industrial field, developing external economic relations and promoting capital construction.

He paid close attention to conducting in a Korean style the guidance and management of the economy to suit the nature of the socialist economy. In a talk to economists in April 1990 he underscored the need to carry out in a continuous and thoroughgoing way the Juche-oriented principle and method of managing the socialist economy advanced by the Party, improve planning work, the work of supplying raw and other materials under contract and the organization and command of production on the basis of the Taean work system, manage complexes in a Korean style, perfect the self-balancing system and the socialist labour payment system, steadily consolidate and develop the socialist agricultural guidance system, intensify the sub-workteam management system, manage the rural economy by industrial methods and take the direction of organizing large farms. At the Second Session of the Ninth Central People's Committee held in June 1990, he said that there was no other way than to carry out the rural theses of the WPK in solving the socialist rural question and underlined the need to continue to advance vigorously and with steadfast confidence along the road indicated by the rural theses.

While pushing ahead with the drive to hit the major targets of the Third Seven-Year Plan he directed great efforts to attaining the goal for grain production.

He had already advanced the slogan, **"Rice means socialism"** and led the entire Party and all the people in implementing the agriculture-first policy. Even in the first half of the 1990s when the economic blockade of the imperialists reached its height he set it as the foremost task to do farming well, saying that agriculture is the mainstay of the country.

Attaching great importance to increasing soil fertility, he said at the Third Session of the Ninth Central People's Committee held late in November and early in December 1990 that the entire Party, all the people and the whole army should be mobilized to launch a dynamic nationwide campaign for carpeting

the farmland with fresh soil. He specified the method of soil carpeting, the targets by stages and even the ways to this end.

In order to boost fertilizer production by putting the equipment at the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex on a large and modern basis he called a consultative meeting of senior officials in charge of economic affairs in South Hamgyong Province in mid-July 1991. Noting that the food problem could not be solved unless the equipment at the complex was enlarged and modernized, he roused the officials and working class to focus all their efforts to this end. He stayed for many days in North and South Hamgyong provinces, acquainting himself with the progress of the expansion project at the complex every day and even on several occasions in a day, and took necessary measures, giving energetic guidance so that the project could be completed ahead of schedule.

Late in November 1991 he visited the expanded Hungnam Fertilizer Complex and inspected all its large and modern equipment. The following day he attended its inauguration ceremony and posed for a photograph with labour innovators, and even arranged a grand banquet for the workers, scientists and technicians who had taken part in the project.

He took charge of the work of the agricultural sector again from the outset of 1993 and gave energetic guidance to it.

He scrupulously drew up the schedule for a consultative meeting of leading officials in the agricultural field and consultative meetings of officials in the agricultural field in all provinces for the 12 days from March 2 to 13, and guided the meetings day by day.

He paid special attention to giving guidance in the work of the agricultural field to farming on the Yonbaek Plain in South Hwanghae Province, a breadbasket region of the country. He attached great importance to the farming on the plain, which takes the lion's share in the country's agricultural production and, without relaxing despite his fatigue from his field guidance to the northern area, travelled by train throughout the night on August 30, 1993 and arrived at Paechon Station at dawn the next day. From dawn to midday he visited five farms one after another in Paechon, Yonan and Chongdan counties under the burning August sun without having even a moment's rest, so as to acquaint himself with farming conditions and discuss matters related with the farming. He convened a consultative meeting of officials in the agricultural field on the spot and gave important instructions which would serve as guidelines in developing agriculture in South Hwanghae Province onto a new, higher stage.

The Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee made a decision on ensuring some rest for Kim Il Sung, who was continuing his trip of

devotion for the sake of the people in spite of his advanced age.

But he said: As the old saying goes, "The King feels at ease if his subjects work hard." I'm a subject of the people and the people are my King; therefore, only when I work hard can the people live comfortably. So, he never thought of taking a rest.

A foreign politician said: This saying is quite the opposite in the DPRK, as President Kim Il Sung knows no rest but his subordinates take regular rests; I think that the saying should be "As the King works hard, his subjects feel at ease."

Thanks to Kim Il Sung's devoted guidance the WPK and the Korean people successfully carried out the Third Seven-Year Plan, with the result that the might of Juche-oriented industry was built up and big strides were made in the irrigation, mechanization and chemicalization of the rural economy. Many modern houses were built in the cities and rural areas, including Thongil Street in Pyongyang. Modern means of public transport such as trolley buses and tube trains were provided in the capital city. The first-stage project for tramcars between Mangyongdae and Songsin was completed, and the 12-km tram route between Munsu and Thosong was opened to traffic on the occasion of the 80th birthday of President Kim Il Sung. Environmental pollution was eliminated from Pyongyang and other cities, and parks, pleasure grounds and welfare service facilities were given a facelift.

Kim Il Sung put forward a revolutionary economic strategy reflecting the changed situation and the demands of the developing reality and pushed ahead with the drive to implement it.

At the 21st Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the WPK held early in December 1993 he set the following three years as a period of adjustment and put forward a revolutionary economic strategy on carrying out the agriculture-first, light industry-first and foreign trade-first policies, giving definite precedence to the coal industry, electric power industry and rail transport, leading sectors of the national economy, and continuously developing the metallurgical industry.

The main objective of this strategy were to bring about a marked improvement in the people's living standards by concentrating efforts on the development of agriculture, light industry and foreign trade in the following two to three years, put production in all sectors on a normal track by giving precedence to the leading sectors of the national economy, and give free rein to the might of the economic foundations already established.

In his New Year Address for 1994 Kim Il Sung stressed that all officials, Party members and other working people should make continued innovations and uninterrupted progress in the spirit of Chollima, spurred on by the speed of the 90s, holding aloft the militant slogan, **"Let us hasten the general march of**

**socialism in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude!"** in order to carry out the revolutionary economic strategy of the WPK. The Seventh Session of the Ninth Supreme People's Assembly held early in April that year discussed and decided the problem associated with successfully carrying out the tasks in the period for adjustment in socialist economic construction and took decisive steps for implementing the revolutionary economic strategy.

A fresh turn was brought about in agriculture, light industry and foreign trade, and the coal industry, electric power industry, rail transport and metallurgical industry were given top priority.

In order to implement the agriculture-first policy he took measures for improving farming in the Yonbaek, Jaeryong and Ongjin areas of South Hwanghae Province, the country's breadbasket areas, at a consultative meeting of officials in the agricultural sector held in January 1994. In February he sent a letter, ***For an Ultimate Solution of the Rural Question under the Banner of Socialist Rural Theses*** to the National Agricultural Conference.

In the letter he underlined the need to deal successfully with such problems as decisively raising the ideological, technological and cultural levels of farmers to those of the working class by developing the ideological and cultural revolutions in greater depth, raising the industrialization and modernization of agriculture to a higher level by consolidating and developing the successes of the rural technological revolution, steadily boosting agricultural production by thoroughly implementing the Juche farming method, stepping up assistance to the rural areas, eliminating the distinctions in the standard of economic management between industry and agriculture, and gradually transforming cooperative ownership in the countryside into all-people ownership.

He convened a national meeting of activists in the stockbreeding sector in April that year, and took measures for increasing agricultural production while giving guidance at the Kumdang Cooperative Farm in Onchon County on June 19 and a cooperative farm in Taesong District on June 21.

In order to carry out the light industry-first policy he made sure that the drive to boost the production of consumer goods and improve their quality was dynamically launched by stepping up the revolution in light industry.

Positive measures were adopted for adjusting, reinforcing and modernizing light industry factories and increasing the production of raw materials for light industry, including chemical fibres and synthetic resin, so that all light industry factories could run at full capacity and keep their production on a high level. In particular, the bases for producing cultivated and natural raw materials were built up, bringing about a fresh turn in the development of locally-run industry.

In order to implement the foreign trade-first policy Kim Il Sung saw to it that greater access to foreign markets was opened and foreign economic transactions expanded and developed, to suit the changed circumstances, that bases for producing export goods were built up so as to increase their output and improve their quality, and that the Rajin-Sonbong Economic and Trade Zone was developed in conformity with socialist principles.

In order to develop the coal-mining and electric power industries he ensured that the production of coal and electric power was decisively increased by making effective use of the existing production foundations and boosting their production capacities. He made sure that the increasing demands of the national economy for transport were met in full by strengthening the material and technical foundations of rail transport, organizing and commanding transportation in a scrupulous way and actively making the railways heavy-duty, and that the production of iron and steel was increased by directing great efforts continuously to the development of the metallurgical industry.

In order to carry out the revolutionary economic strategy to the letter he convened a consultative meeting of senior economic officials on July 5 and 6, 1994 and indicated tasks and ways to effect a fresh revolutionary turn in socialist economic construction.

He said:

**"The revolutionary economic strategy of the Party will frustrate the imperialists' and reactionaries' anti-DPRK moves and their attempts to suffocate and impose sanctions against our country, brightening our style of people-centred socialism all the more. We must continue to advance under the uplifted banner of socialism, and implement the Party's revolutionary economic strategy to the letter, thus bringing about a new upsurge in socialist economic construction."**

A key issue in thoroughly implementing the revolutionary economic strategy of the Party is, he said, to find a quick solution to the problem of electricity, put the production of chemical fertilizers, vinalon and cement on a steady basis, boost steel production by developing the metallurgical industry and build many large cargo ships. Then he put forward major tasks before all sectors.

Officials must enhance their sense of responsibility and role in order to effect a turn in socialist economic construction, he said.

He said that if economic officials were deeply conscious of their duty and made persistent efforts by making the most of their wisdom and energy, putting their shoulders to the wheel in finding a solution to the problems in economic

work, there would be nothing they cannot deal with. Noting that officials should regard the people as their teachers and learn from them, he underlined the need for officials to go deep among the people, sharing life and death, the sweetness and bitterness of life, with them and make active efforts to defend and materialize their interests as required by the Juche idea.

The instructions he gave at the consultative meeting served as a guideline which the WPK and the people should firmly adhere to in socialist economic construction, as they were the programme for economic construction which would make it possible to implement the revolutionary economic strategy to the letter and develop the national economy into an independent national economy of a strong Juche character, unperturbed by any economic blockade by the imperialists.

## 5. For a Radical Phase for National Reunification by Dint of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation

The desire of all Koreans to realize the cause of national reunification by achieving national unity gained momentum in the 1990s.

With respect to their desire for national reunification, Kim Il Sung devoted his heart and soul to achieving the great unity of the whole nation so as to bequeath a reunified country to his fellow countrymen.

He said that, in order to tide over the obstacles and difficulties in the way of national reunification and effect a fundamental change in settling the reunification question, it was imperative to take a decisive save-the-nation step to make the cause of national reunification the cause of the entire nation both in name and in reality.

In those days the south Korean authorities, availing themselves of the opportunity presented by the anti-DPRK racket of the US imperialists, talked about “unification by absorption” and “unification under a liberal democratic system” and doggedly impeded the way for the Korean people to realize national reunification.

To cope with the prevailing situation, at the First Session of the Ninth Supreme People’s Assembly held late in May 1990 Kim Il Sung elucidated a five-point policy for national reunification as a measure for developing the cause of national reunification into the cause of all Koreans.

The five-point policy is: First, tension on the Korean peninsula must be eased and a peaceful climate for the country’s reunification be created; second, the

barrier of division must be removed and free travel and a full-scale open-door policy effected between the north and the south; third, the north and the south must develop their foreign relations on the principle of creating an international climate favourable for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country; fourth, dialogue for national reunification must be developed; and fifth, a nationwide united front for the country's reunification must be established.

In his work, ***Let Us Achieve the Great Unity of Our Nation***, published early in August 1991 and several other works Kim Il Sung said that what was of cardinal importance in realizing the historic cause of national reunification was to achieve great unity of the whole nation, and he indicated the tasks and ways to do so.

He said that, for the realization of great national unity, compatriots from all social strata in the north, in the south and abroad must place their common national interests above all else and subordinate everything to national reunification, transcending differences in thoughts, social systems and religious beliefs, that contacts and visits should be widely encouraged among the fellow countrymen in the north, in the south and abroad and dialogue be promoted actively among them, that nationwide solidarity should be strengthened and that all political parties, organizations and compatriots of all strata in the north, in the south and abroad that were struggling for the reunification of the country must ally themselves with one another.

He led the struggle to unite the whole nation into a political force under the banner of great national unity.

He ensured that the work to achieve an alliance of the north, the south and abroad and form a pan-national organization for the reunification movement was actively promoted by holding a pan-national rally.

Under the great expectations and concern of the whole nation the opening ceremony of the Pan-National Rally for National Reunification and the starting ceremony of the Paektu-Halla Grand March were held on Mt. Paektu, the ancestral mountain of the Korean nation, on the occasion of the 45$^{th}$ anniversary of national liberation in August 1990. On August 15, 1990 the first Pan-National Rally for the Peace and Reunification of the Country was held in grand style at Panmunjom.

In mid-August Kim Il Sung received the delegates to the Pan-National Rally and said that, in order to reunify the country, all Koreans, whether they live in the north, in the south or abroad, must turn out in the reunification movement and all compatriots from all walks of life must solidly unite as one on the principle of great national unity, regardless of their thoughts and ideals, political views and religious beliefs.

With the historic August 15 Pan-National Rally as the momentum, reunification-oriented events were held one after another, demonstrating the wisdom of the Korean nation as a homogeneous one. Joint cheering squads supporting the north and south Korean teams that took part in the 11th Asian Games, the Reunification Football Match, the Pan-National Reunification Concert, and the Reunification Concert of Traditional Music to Bid Farewell to 1990 were held successfully. The north and south formed a single team to participate in the 41st World Table-Tennis Championships and the Sixth Under-20 World Cup Finals. Women from the north and south held contacts, and working-level contacts for the exchange of student study tours in the north and south were also held.

According to the decision of the Pan-National Rally on forming an association embracing the reunification-oriented patriotic forces in the north, in the south and abroad, in November 1990 the Pan-National Alliance for Korea's Reunification (Pomminryon) was founded. It was a patriotic organization with the mission of realizing national reunification on the basis of the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity, and representing the common will of all Koreans in the north, in the south and abroad. In August 1992 the Pan-National Alliance of Youth and Students for Korea's Reunification (Pomchonghakryon) was formed. The formation of the two organizations was an event of epochal significance in strengthening the driving force for national reunification and expanding and promoting the reunification movement.

After Pomminryon was founded, patriotic forces for reunification from the north, the south and abroad gathered in Pyongyang, Panmunjom, Seoul and Tokyo on the occasion of August 15 every year to hold the Pan-National Rally together or in their regions, stirring up the enthusiasm for reunification on a nationwide scale.

In a talk to the overseas compatriots who attended the Third Pan-National Rally in August 1992, Kim Il Sung proposed strictly adhering to the principle of national independence and frequently organizing dialogue between compatriots from the north, the south and abroad and meetings involving the whole nation, in order to realize the unity of the whole nation.

He made sure that inter-Korean high-level talks were held so that practical measures could be taken for removing the military confrontation between the north and the south and securing peace.

As a result, inter-Korean high-level talks finally opened in September 1990, after eight rounds of preliminary talks at Panmunjom.

At the talks the DPRK side made proposals for substantially removing the military confrontation, including the issue of nonaggression, and made sincere efforts to this end. The south Korean side, however, placed factitious obstacles in

the way of the discussions of the issues and, at the same time, waged the Team Spirit joint military exercises with the US troops, which led to the hard-won talks being broken off, and persistently pursued its single entry to the UN.

Given the situation, the DPRK took the initiative and decided to enter the UN before south Korea. As a result, the DPRK became a member of the UN with the unanimous approval of all the participating states at the 46th Session of the UN General Assembly in September 1991.

The south Korean side was compelled to come to the negotiating table again and the inter-Korean high-level talks, which had been suspended for ten months, resumed. At the fifth round of the talks, held in December 1991, the Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, Cooperation and Exchange between the North and South was adopted, followed by the adoption of the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, reached after three rounds of contacts by delegates from the north and the south. The signing of the agreement and the joint declaration was made public at the sixth inter-Korean high-level talks held in Pyongyang in 1992.

Kim Il Sung received the delegates to the inter-Korean high-level talks from both sides on February 20, 1992 and clarified the basic problems arising in translating the two documents into practice. He expressed his conviction that, as the agreed documents were a pledge made by the authorities of the north and the south before the nation, if the north and the south built up mutual confidence by working on the details, adhering to the principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity, they would be able to achieve the reunification of the country without fail.

While enhancing the climate of national unity and reunification through contacts and dialogues, he took every possible step to realize the repatriation of unconverted long-term prisoners from south Korea.

Finally, Ri In Mo, an unconverted long-term prisoner known as the incarnation of faith and will, returned to the embrace of the socialist country in March 1993.

His return home was a historic victory on the part of the patriotic forces for reunification, which greatly encouraged and inspired his fellow countrymen in the north, in the south and abroad in their struggle for national unity and reunification.

Kim Il Sung led the struggle to open up a decisive phase for national reunification under the banner of the Ten-Point Programme for the Great Unity of the Whole Nation.

Entering 1993, the situation on the Korean peninsula, which had been advancing towards detente through contacts and dialogues, turned back to the brink of war due to the wicked anti-DPRK moves of the separatist forces at home and abroad.

The Korean nation was faced with the serious issue of whether to engage in fratricide, becoming the victim of the big powers and suffering the ravages of thermonuclear war, or to defend the dignity of the nation and open up the way for national reunification through the unity of all compatriots.

Kim Il Sung, deeply aware of the pressing demands of the prevailing situation, drew up the ***Ten-Point Programme for the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for the Reunification of the Country*** in April 1993, aimed at raising the work of achieving great national unity onto a new, higher level. The programme was discussed and adopted at the Fifth Session of the Ninth Supreme People's Assembly.

In the programme he stressed the need to achieve the great unity of the whole nation for the sake of the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

He said:

**"All those who are concerned about the destiny of the nation, whether they be in the north, or in the south, or overseas, and whether they be communists or nationalists, rich or poor, atheists or believers, must unite as one nation, transcending all their differences, and together pave the way for national reunification."**

He advanced it as the general target for great national unity to found a reunified state that was independent, peaceful and neutral, identified patriotism and the spirit of national independence as the basis of unity and defined it as the basic principle of unity to promote co-existence, co-prosperity and common interests and subordinate everything to the cause of national reunification. He also specified ways to achieve great national unity. They include: All political disputes should be ended; the north and south should believe in each other and unite; the north and south should join hands on the road to national reunification irrespective of differences in ideals and principles; the north and south should protect all the wealth of individuals and organizations and encourage their use for the promotion of great national unity; understanding, trust and unity should be built up across the nation through contacts, exchange visits and dialogue; the whole nation, north, south and overseas, should strengthen its solidarity for the sake of national reunification; and those who have contributed to the great unity of the nation and to the cause of national reunification should be honoured.

He conducted energetic activities to bring about a radical phase for national reunification under the banner of the ten-point programme, and did his utmost to bring about the north-south summit.

With regard to the fact that the new ruler of south Korea, under the signboard of "civil government," advocated that no allied country could be better than the nation and that he recommended holding "summit talks," Kim Il Sung proposed

the exchange of special envoys of the north and south authorities in May 1993 and took measures for its realization. As a result, working-level contacts were held on eight occasions from October that year.

Though the south Korean authorities made vicious attempts to hamper the realization of the exchange of special envoys he called the south Korean ruler to the negotiating table in order to put an end to the tragic history of national division and open the gates to national reunification.

As a result, a preliminary contact for the inter-Korean summit was held at Panmunjom in June 1994 and an agreement on holding the summit in Pyongyang from July 25 to 27 was signed.

Prior to the summit Kim Il Sung gave scores of instructions and signed more than ten documents. On July 6 he discussed with Kim Jong Il the details of the summit. The following day, even though it was past midnight, he reviewed a historic document which would serve as a programme for great national unity and reunification. And he wrote on this document his autograph, which reads **"Kim Il Sung, July 7, 1994."** This historic document was his last instruction on national reunification.

## 6. Restoring the Socialist Movement and Building a Free and Peaceful New World

In the 1990s the imperialists and reactionaries, advertizing the collapse of socialism in some countries as the "end of socialism," attempted to wipe socialism from the popular memory. The renegades of socialism claimed that the ideal of socialism itself was mistaken. Meanwhile, the US-led imperialists, directing the spearhead of their attack against the DPRK, the bulwark of socialism, manoeuvred to arrest the revival of socialism in those countries where socialism had been frustrated and to prevent the countries which had set about building a new society from following the road to socialism.

With keen insight into the urgent demands of the developing world revolution Kim Il Sung conducted energetic activities to restore the socialist movement and advance the cause of socialism.

In several works, including a talk to a delegation from the Portuguese Communist Party early in July 1991 and the answers to questions raised by a delegation of journalists from the *Washington Times* from the United States in

April the following year, he identified the principled problems to this end.

He said:

**"There are several reasons for the frustration of socialism in some countries, but it was caused above all by the fact that these countries failed to adhere to the basic principle of socialism."**

The basic principle to be adhered to in building socialism is independence, he stressed.

As situations, customs and traditions differ from one country to another, the building of socialism should be carried on in their own way and to suit the aspirations and demands of their people. The collapse of socialism in the Eastern European countries was caused mainly by the fact that they blindly danced to the tune of others, practising flunkeyism and dogmatism.

Kim Il Sung also said that the basic principle to be adhered to in building socialism was to ensure that the people held the position of masters of the country and society and played their role as such.

In order to implement this principle, it is necessary to educate the people in socialist ideas, unite them in a socialist collective and apply socialist democracy in state management in a thoroughgoing way along the mass line and under the Party's guidance. Otherwise, subjectivism and bureaucracy will emerge, with the result that the people cannot play their role as masters of the country and society and socialism will not display its advantages. One of the main causes of the frustration of socialism in the Eastern European countries lay in that officials indulged in bureaucracy, thus divorcing themselves from the masses of the people.

Kim Il Sung made clear that the collapse of socialism in some countries resulted from their failure to solve the issue of the continuity of leadership in implementing the cause of socialism.

As the cause of socialism is of a protracted nature and must be carried out through generations, it will suffer twists and turns and will be unable to avoid failure unless the leadership of the revolution and construction is inherited correctly when the generations of the revolution change, he said.

He clarified that revolutionaries must not give way to defeatism but be confident in the victory of socialism in order to revive the socialist movement. Noting that even though there may be temporary frustrations and twists and turns in the course of the progress of history it is an irresistible law that humankind advances along the road of independence and socialism, he stressed the need to carve out the road of history with firm faith in the cause of socialism.

He ensured that the socialist movement could be restored and advanced under the banner of the Pyongyang Declaration.

In order to dynamically advance the movement to restore socialism it was necessary to have a joint fighting programme which would serve as a guideline in the struggle of the revolutionary peoples aspiring to socialism. This was the common aspiration and demand of the revolutionaries fighting for socialism and the progressive peoples around the world.

The representatives of the Communist, Workers' and other progressive political parties the world over who visited Pyongyang in April 1992 witnessed the true appearance of Korean-style socialism and were deeply convinced that only the people-centred socialism which embodied the Juche idea is the genuine society desired by mankind and they would be able to emerge victorious only when they built socialism as Korea did. They held bilateral and multilateral talks to discuss the ways for defending and advancing the cause of socialism and unanimously proposed publishing a common fighting programme for the revival of socialism with the Juche idea as its guideline.

Finally, the Pyongyang Declaration, *Let Us Defend and Advance the Cause of Socialism,* a great charter for the revival of socialism, was adopted and made public in Pyongyang on April 20.

The main idea of the declaration was to restore the socialist movement and fight resolutely to defend socialist principles.

It pointed out that socialism is an ideal society representing the future of mankind, and the cause of socialism is sure to emerge victorious because of its truthfulness and validity. It also stressed that in order to defend and advance the cause of socialism the parties of all countries should strictly adhere to their independence, build up their forces, advance forward under the unfurled banner of socialism without abandoning revolutionary principles in all circumstances and strengthen international unity in the struggle for socialism. It called on progressive political parties and peoples the world over to fight to the end to carve out the future of mankind with steadfast confidence in the cause of socialism.

The revolutionary parties and peoples across the world expressed their absolute support for the declaration, praising it as a "great Communist Manifesto heralding the revival of the socialist movement and the international communist movement." At that time the declaration was signed by 70 parties. By July 1994, the number of signatories had grown to 215.

Kim Il Sung made sure that the DPRK played the guiding role as the bulwark of socialism in restoring socialism and advancing the cause of socialism.

The DPRK set an excellent example in all fields of socialist construction including politics, the economy and culture to suit its special position in implementing the cause of socialism, and dynamically encouraged and inspired the

world's progressive peoples in the struggle to revive socialism through its brilliant achievements and valuable experiences gained in the revolution and construction.

When he received party and government delegations and figures in the political, public and press circles from various countries on visits to Pyongyang, Kim Il Sung told them about the greatness of Kim Jong Il, who was boundlessly loyal to the cause of socialism, and led officials to conduct foreign activities with the main emphasis on enhancing his international prestige.

He actively encouraged and inspired the parties and peoples of various countries to advance along the road of socialism.

In the period from 1992 to June 1994 he received many delegations and individual figures including party delegations from Cuba, Vietnam, Sweden, Germany, Canada and other countries, and dispatched many Party and other delegations and special envoys to various countries where they could render wholehearted assistance to the progressive peoples in their struggle for socialism.

He waged energetic activities to frustrate the dominationist moves of the imperialists, build a free and peaceful new world, and intensify the anti-war, anti-nuclear peace movement of the world's peace-loving peoples.

In the speech, ***For a Free and Peaceful New World***, that he delivered at the opening ceremony of the 85th Inter-Parliamentary Conference held in Pyongyang late in April 1991, he presented it as the common task of mankind to build a free and peaceful new world, and he put forward ways to do so.

In order to safeguard peace all countries and nations should maintain their independence, oppose power politics and develop a powerful joint international struggle to prevent aggression and war, he said. Noting that disarmament and the abolition of nuclear weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction are the most pressing task in ensuring peace at present, he underlined the need to ban the testing and production of nuclear weapons, reduce the number of existing nuclear weapons and completely abolish them, create nuclear-free and peace zones, render active support to the movement for championing peace, and strengthen unity and cooperation between peoples.

While receiving many heads of state and party and government delegations from various countries on visits to the DPRK, he dispatched delegations to many international meetings so as to positively launch external activities against war and nuclear weapons and for peace.

He sent delegations to the disarmament conference in the Asia-Pacific region for confidence-building held in Nepal in January 1992, the conference on disarmament and security in the Asia-Pacific region held in China in March and the world conference against atomic and hydrogen bombs held in Japan in

August. The DPRK delegations waged energetic activities for the reduction and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and for confidence-building in the Asia-Pacific region and the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and played a pivotal role in laying bare and denouncing the nuclear racket of the US imperialists and the scheme of Japan to equip itself with nuclear weapons.

In order to cope with the frenzied nuclear racket of the US imperialists and their followers to impose a "special inspection" and "sanctions" on the DPRK, he humbled the US imperialists by adopting a hard line against them, thus greatly inspiring and encouraging the anti-war, anti-nuclear and peace movement of the world's progressive peoples.

He channelled great efforts into strengthening the struggle for independence in the Asian region.

It was a key demand for ensuring security and common prosperity in Asia and contributing to the cause of global peace to build a new Asia that was independent, peaceful and prosperous.

In several works, including ***Replies to the Managing Editor of Mainichi Shimbun*** in April 1991, Kim Il Sung elucidated the principles for building an independent and prosperous new Asia.

He said that Asia must naturally become the Asia of the Asian people and the people of Asia must fulfil their responsibility and play their role as masters in building a new Asia. He stressed that the Asian countries must no longer tolerate the arbitrariness and interference of the imperialists in the settlement of Asian affairs, maintain a firm independent stand, cooperate closely in spite of their differences in thoughts, systems and religious beliefs, and remove military bases of aggression and foreign troops from the region.

He paid close attention to expanding and developing the political, economic and cultural relationships and cooperation with countries in the region in order to realize the plan of building a new Asia. The DPRK expanded and developed its friendly and cooperative relations with Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia through visits by a government delegation to those countries between January and February 1991 as the momentum.

He saw to it that the DPRK-Japan relations were improved to meet the aspirations and desires of the peoples of the two countries and thus to make contributions to peace and security in the northeast Asian region.

In consequence, tripartite talks were held in Pyongyang in September 1990 between the Workers' Party of Korea, the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan and the Socialist Party of Japan, and produced a joint declaration for promoting the improvement of the DPRK-Japan relationship and peace in Asia.

Kim Il Sung directed considerable efforts to the steady strengthening and development of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The Non-Aligned Movement was confronted with a new challenge after the Cold War was brought to a close in the 1990s. Taking advantage of the end of the Cold War and the destruction of the balance of power in the international arena, the US imperialists attempted to weaken and stamp out the fundamental ideals and character of this movement, which had fought against imperialism and war and for peace, independence and progress. With regard to the change in the international situation, some people advocated such mistaken assertions that the movement had lost the validity for its existence or that it should divert the orientation of its activities from political affairs to economic matters.

In ***Answers to Questions Raised by the Editor-in-Chief of the Indonesian Newspaper Media Indonesia*** early in September 1992, he clearly indicated the path to be followed by the Non-Aligned Movement.

He said:

**"Since the imperialist forces of domination remain, and since the ideal of non-alignment has yet to be realized, the Non-Aligned Movement must continue to exist and to strengthen and develop."**

He said that the movement should achieve its unity and cohesion, oppose imperialism, dominationism, colonialism and racism and take concerted action, guided by a common strategy, in the UN and other international forums. The non-aligned nations must cooperate closely with one another in all fields of politics, the economy and culture, smash the old international order and work to establish a new, equitable one, and work hard to develop South-South cooperation on the principle of collective self-reliance, he stressed.

For the strengthening and development of the Non-Aligned Movement he invited the heads of state of the non-aligned countries and other delegations to the DPRK and advanced the strategic and tactical problems facing this movement. He sent special envoys and delegations to summit meetings of the non-aligned nations and other major conferences so that the DPRK could play a pivotal role in strengthening and developing the movement.

Out of his deep concern for information work in the non-aligned countries, he made sure that the Fourth Conference of the Ministers of Information of Non-Aligned Countries was held in the DPRK in mid-June 1993, and that this conference served as an important international gathering conducive to the common cause of building an independent, new world.

Thus, Kim Il Sung rendered immortal service to the movement for restoring socialism, the Non-Aligned Movement and the movement against war and for peace.

# THE GREAT LEADER COMRADE KIM IL SUNG WILL ALWAYS BE WITH US

Kim Il Sung, whom the Korean people had acclaimed for the first time in their long history, passed away from a sudden illness caused by excessive mental fatigue at the age of 82 at 2 o'clock on July 8, 1994.

His death was the bitterest grief, an irrevocable loss and the greatest calamity ever experienced by the Korean nation in its 5 000-year-long history.

Kim Jong Il said:

**"The passing of the great leader, who led our people along the road of victory and was always among them throughout the 80 and more years of his life, was the bitterest grief ever experienced by our nation in its 5 000-year history and the greatest loss, which nothing can ever make up for."**

The news of Kim Il Sung's death was the greatest shock to the Korean people. It seemed that the sun had gone out, the earth had shattered and the sky had fallen.

Kim Il Sung worked hard and single-mindedly for the freedom and happiness of the Korean people throughout his eight decades without a moment's rest, experiencing all hardships and sufferings, and died suddenly at work in his office. That was why the grief and regret of the Korean people were beyond control.

At noon on July 9, the sad news of his passing was reported in a special radio and TV broadcast. It came like a bolt from the blue to the whole of Korea and the rest of the world, casting a universal pall of sadness.

All the Korean people revered the memory of the late Kim Il Sung with the bitterest grief.

The 70 million Koreans wailed over his death, beating the ground and their chests, for they could not suppress this, their bitterest, sorrow.

All the people, KPA service personnel, youth and students and children writhed with indescribable grief.

All the people became mourners. They went day and night to his bier, his statues, monuments to his field instructions, monuments to his revolutionary activities and his portraits to keep vigil there, and expressed heartfelt tributes to his memory. The sad news drove the whole country into a sea of lamentation and tears, and even shook mountains and rivers, trees and grass, making them writhe with grief.

During the mourning period (July 8-20) alone, all the Korean people from various walks of life, including the KPA service personnel, expressed their deep condolences. On July 19 a funeral ceremony was solemnly held in Pyongyang, the capital of the revolution. Two million Pyongyang citizens lined up along the 40-km-long route and burst into wailing, bidding their last farewell to the President. That day memorial ceremonies took place in all provinces, cities and counties, and the units of the KPA and the Korean People's Security Forces. On July 20 a national memorial service was solemnly held in Kim Il Sung Square.

Overseas Koreans, too, were overwhelmed by grief, together with the people in the homeland, at the loss of the father of the nation. They visited the mourning halls arranged by the Chongryon and other overseas Koreans' organizations to pay their tribute of tears. Many compatriots came to the homeland to pay tribute to the bier of the President and his statues, and present wreaths and bouquets.

The south Korean people from all walks of life, including pro-reunification patriotic figures, too, in spite of fascist repression by the authorities, expressed their deep regret over his death.

The whole world expressed deepest condolences at his death.

During the mourning period over 3 480 messages of condolence were sent to the DPRK from heads of state and government and political parties in 166 countries around the world, public organizations, Juche idea study organizations, organizations of friendship and solidarity with the Korean people and personages of various strata. Over 60 heads of state, over 170 leaders of political parties and more than 2 000 other distinguished foreigners visited DPRK missions in their countries to offer their condolences. The UN Secretary-General visited the DPRK mission at the UN to express his deep sympathy. US President Clinton issued a statement of condolence three hours after the announcement of the DPRK's special broadcast. The UN Security Council session held on July 11 paid a silent tribute to his memory prior to its opening, at the suggestion of its chairman, published a statement of the spokesman for the chairman of the UN General Assembly, and a mourning flag was hoisted at the UN Headquarters.

During the mourning period, 700-odd mass media organs in over 120 countries published special editions to Kim Il Sung's memory, and 200 news agencies and radio stations put out special programmes introducing his exploits on some 2 200 occasions.

This period was one during which the Korean people keenly realized what a great leader they had had, and how much they had been blessed by having him as their leader.

Although he passed away, Kim Il Sung remains immortal as the sun of Juche in the minds of the Korean people, the Korean nation and mankind.

Kim Jong Il said:

**"Although his heart has stopped beating, the great leader is with our people as ever. As the brain of the unity of the leader, the Party and the masses and as the sun of the nation, he is immortal."**

Kim Il Sung is immortal for his undying exploits performed for achieving the independent cause of the people.

The immortality of a leader is guaranteed by the greatness of his exploits.

Kim Il Sung shed a bright light on the road of mankind for carrying out the cause of independence by evolving the immortal Juche idea.

The Juche idea authored by him through his energetic ideo-theoretical activities in reflection of the demands of the era and the revolution, the aspirations and demands of the masses, serves as the eternal guiding ideology of the revolution representing not only the 20$^{th}$ century but the future of mankind for its absolute truthfulness and immortal vitality.

The classic works he wrote for about 70 years from the day when he worked out the programme of the Down-with-Imperialism Union in October 1926 up to July 1994 amount to more than 10 800. His works have been translated into 63 languages and printed by publishing houses in 108 countries.

In the protracted period of leading the revolution and construction with outstanding leadership ability, Kim Il Sung performed epoch-making leadership exploits which are valuable, rich and eternal in vitality.

He defeated Japanese and US imperialism in one generation, and opened up a new era of national liberation war in the colonies and a new age of upswing for the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle.

He brought the two stages of social revolution–the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and the socialist revolution–to successful completion, built up a socialist power, independent, self-sufficient and self-reliant in national defence, and defended the people-centred socialism of Korean style.

He turned the whole society into a harmonious revolutionary family in which the leader, the Party and the masses are united single-heartedly, and made steady progress in the revolution and construction by dint of its invincible strength.

He performed the most outstanding exploits on behalf of the era and mankind by perfectly solving the question of continuity of leadership for carrying forward the revolutionary cause.

He laid firm foundations for achieving national reunification on the strength

of great national unity, and opened up a bright prospect for it.

The number of units, including KPA units and different sectors of the national economy, he visited from right after Korea's liberation to the last days of his life amounted to over 20 600. And the days of his field guidance totalled 8 650, involving travelling a total of more than 578 000 km.

Kim Il Sung put the world revolution on the track of independence and carved out a historic road of advance to make the whole world independent.

After he liberated Korea he visited 87 countries in total for 685 days on 54 occasions, travelling 522 460 km. The distance he travelled by train to visit units in the country and various countries across the world totalled 368 000 km. In this period he met over 70 000 foreign personages in total, including 400 heads of state and government and leaders of political parties of 136 countries.

With warm love for and noble obligation towards the people, he built an earthly paradise for them, and a grand flower garden of loving human beings on this land by administering benevolent and all-embracing politics.

For his imperishable exploits performed for carrying out the Korean revolution and the cause of global independence, he was awarded the titles of Generalissimo of the DPRK, Hero of the Republic (three times) and Labour Hero of the Republic, and received 180-odd supreme orders and medals from more than 70 countries and international organizations, titles of honorary citizenship from over 30 cities, and the titles of honorary professor and honorary doctor from a score of renowned foreign universities. He was also presented with 165 920 congratulatory gifts from party leaders, heads of state and government and progressive peoples of 169 countries as well as from south Korean and overseas compatriots. He received 569 000 gifts from the north Korean people. His statue has been set up in China, the International Kim Il Sung Prize instituted and awarded, and some 480 streets, institutions and organizations in over 100 countries are named after him.

Many countries and progressive figures are continuing to present gifts and confer orders, medals and honorary titles to him even after his death.

Kim Il Sung remains alive forever with the Korean people and the world's progressive peoples as the lodestar for the emancipation of mankind for his extraordinary image of greatness and his immortal exploits.

He lives an eternal life thanks to the noble sense of revolutionary morality and duty of Kim Jong Il, heir to the revolutionary cause of Juche.

The immortality of a leader is firmly guaranteed on the highest level by a successor boundlessly loyal to the cause of the leader.

Representing the faith and will of the WPK, the army and the people to

carry forward the revolutionary cause pioneered by Kim Il Sung, Kim Jong Il put forward the slogans, **“The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung will always be with us!” “Let us uphold the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung for all ages!”** and **“Let us arm ourselves firmly with the revolutionary ideas of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung!”**

The slogans are the revolutionary slogans and the banner of struggle the WPK, the army and the people should hold aloft down through generations.

In order to put into effect the revolutionary slogans, Kim Jong Il saw to it that the Kumsusan Assembly Hall was rebuilt into a memorial palace and that President Kim Il Sung was laid there in his lifetime appearance.

The Kumsusan Assembly Hall was a gift house built by the Korean people with sincerity for the President, a historic building in which he worked for a long time to lead the Korean revolution and the cause of independence of mankind.

Kim Jong Il ensured that the Kumsusan Assembly Hall, where the President had worked in his lifetime, was rebuilt into the Kumsusan Memorial Palace on the highest level and that Kim Il Sung was preserved there as in his lifetime appearance.

Foreign guests on a visit to the memorial palace express their admiration, saying that though there are many sanctuaries in the world, it is difficult to find such a sacred place as the Kumsusan Memorial Palace, which is visited by endless streams of people.

Kim Jong Il made sure that the Juche era was instituted with 1912 as the first year, and April 15, the President’s birthday, was designated as the Day of the Sun to be observed as the greatest holiday of the nation in order to glorify forever the revolutionary life and immortal exploits of Kim Il Sung.

He had the Kim Il Sung Constitution newly enacted and legalized so as to hold Kim Il Sung as the eternal President of the DPRK.

In this way he realized most perfectly the cause of immortalizing the leader from such a sense of noble morality and obligation, and thus ensured that Kim Il Sung would always be with the Korean people and his ideas and revolutionary exploits shine down through generations.

The ideas and exploits of Kim Il Sung that glorified the 20$^{th}$ century are being carried forward in an all-round way century after century thanks to the Songun-based leadership of Kim Jong Il. His revolutionary history will go on together with the prosperous Kim Il Sung’s Korea and Kim Il Sung’s nation, where his noble will and desire are coming into full bloom.

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