

Defending the Principles of Independence and Equality

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Preface

Having begun to be written with the emergence of states, the time-honoured history of mankind's diplomatic activities records many events and episodes which left an indelible mark on the rise and fall of different nations, as well as on the development of the international situation.

The 5 000-year-long history of the Korean nation tells numerous episodes of their diplomatic activities to demonstrate the prestige and dignity of their nation.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which emerged in the international arena in the mid-20th century as an independent and sovereign state, has left facts worthy of record in history in defending its independence and establishing and consolidating its unity and cooperation with other countries.

President Kim Il Sung clarified the truth that independence is the lifeblood of a country and nation, and he rejected pressure and interference by outside forces and held fast to the independent stand in leading the Korean revolution.

Under his leadership, the DPRK analysed, judged and resolved all the problems in conformity to the requirements and interests of the Korean people.

Today the DPRK is demonstrating its dignity as a country strong in the independent character and the Korean people, as an independent people.

This book is dedicated to the immortal exploits of Kim Il Sung, who developed his country's external relations on the principles of independence and equality.

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1. On the Principles of Mutual Respect and Equality

From the late 1940s to the mid-1950s President Kim Il Sung visited the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China and socialist countries in Eastern Europe on several occasions. His visits to those countries were of historic significance in that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea demonstrated its position as a fully-fledged sovereign state that resolves all problems concerning the international relations from an independent standpoint.

In those days the country was faced with manifold trials and difficulties as everything was in short supply in all realms of society including the economy and culture.

After the Korean war, the difficulties became graver as everything had been reduced to ashes.

Placing his absolute trust in the inexhaustible mental strength and creativity of the people and relying on them, Kim Il Sung braved the trials facing the Korean revolution.

Self-reliance and one's own strength is the fundamental

thing and foreign aid is secondary—this was his consistent creed.

As the country conducted external activities on equal terms with other countries, be they big or small, on the principles of mutual respect of sovereignty, equality and good-neighbourly relations, as indicated by Kim Il Sung, it could receive active support for its revolution from fraternal countries.

First Agreement Concluded on Equal Terms

When the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was founded in September 1948, the USSR established diplomatic relations with it at an ambassadorial level ahead of any other countries in the world.

In December 1948 the DPRK ambassador was dispatched to Moscow, and from February 22 to April 7, 1949 Kim Il Sung paid an official visit to the USSR leading a delegation of the DPRK government.

His visit to the USSR drew the world's attention for it was his first visit to a foreign country after the DPRK was

founded.

Korea can be said to be located in a place of strategic importance for the USSR.

During the Second World War the weakest point for the USSR in defending itself was its eastern part. From this point of view, it had to station its huge armed forces there in order to defend its Far East and Siberia from the aggression by Japanese and other imperialists though it was fighting a hard-fought war against fascist Germany.

In those days Kim Il Sung put forward the slogan “Let us defend the Soviet Union with arms!” out of an ennobling sense of internationalist obligation, and harassed the enemy behind their lines, thus making a tangible contribution to crushing Japan's attempts to invade the USSR.

Thus, Stalin could move the huge armed forces to the western front, dealing a telling blow to the German aggressors.

After the end of the Second World War the USSR's strategy towards the East changed.

It was because with the birth of the DPRK the eastern post of the socialist camp was fortified.

Stalin and other Soviet leaders warmly greeted the DPRK delegation, respecting Kim Il Sung as a comrade-in-arms in the eastern post of socialism.

On March 5, 1949, Kim Il Sung met Stalin in the Kremlin.

After shaking hands with Stalin, Kim Il Sung asked him if he was in good health and introduced the members of his delegation to him. And he expressed his thanks for having kindly invited the DPRK government delegation and for giving a cordial treatment.

When Stalin asked him about the then situation in Korea, Kim Il Sung said:

Everything goes well. Thanks to the positive cooperation by the Soviet people, the Korean people have achieved many successes in their efforts for building an independent and sovereign state; and based on this, the country has embarked on the road of carrying out a Two-Year National Economic Plan in 1949.

After offering him a cigarette, Stalin expressed his admiration over the fact that under the seasoned leadership of Premier Kim Il Sung the Korean people had done a great deal of work in the situation, in which their country was in ruins, and in particular, they had restored in a short period of time the country's economy devastated by the Japanese imperialists. He continued that it was a natural internationalist duty for the Soviet people, who carried out

the socialist revolution ahead of other countries, to give active support to the fraternal Korean people in various ways, who had taken power in their hands and turned out in the effort to build a new society.

Acknowledging Stalin's friendly remarks, Kim Il Sung said: During our current visit to the USSR, I think it is necessary for the two countries to conclude an agreement on mutual trade and commercial relations and also to sign an agreement on technical assistance and cultural cooperation for resolving a series of problems including the matter of inviting Soviet technicians to Korea. In consideration of the prospect of the economic and cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union, which will be conducted in a brisk way, our delegation plans to discuss the matter of laying railways in the border area between the two countries and organizing an aviation company.

Saying that Kim Il Sung raised very important and urgent matters and that as the DPRK was in the initial period of building up the state, many difficulties would be cropping up, Stalin agreed entirely on all matters raised by him.

That day's talks Kim Il Sung had with Stalin marked the first external activities he conducted after the founding

of the DPRK with heads of state of foreign countries.

From the outset, his external activities aroused warm feelings among the officials of the Soviet side and members of the DPRK government delegation.

On March 17 the second-round talks were held between the DPRK government delegation led by Kim Il Sung and the Soviet government delegation in the Kremlin. After the talks were over and the agreement was completed, the ceremony of signing the Agreement on Economic and Cultural Cooperation between the DPRK and the USSR was held.

The agreement consisted of five articles, stipulating that both countries would develop trade relations on the principles of cooperation, equality and mutual interests, apply the most favoured nation status on each other in foreign trade and navigation, develop the relations the two countries had already established in the field of culture and promote swapping of experiences in the industrial and agricultural fields by dispatching experts and technicians and in other ways.

Based on this agreement, an agreement on commodity circulation between 1949 and 1950, an agreement on loan, an agreement on technical cooperation and an agreement on

cultural exchanges and cooperation were concluded.

In his speech at the signing ceremony, Kim Il Sung said:

The conclusion of the agreement on economic and cultural cooperation between the two countries is an important political event. This is the first-ever agreement the independent DPRK government concluded in the history of Korea with a foreign government on completely equal terms.

Thanks to these agreements, the mutual cooperation, which was established between the two countries, could further develop in different fields including the economy, culture, science and technology and further strengthen friendship and solidarity between the peoples of the two countries for the victory of justice and peace.

A grand banquet was given in the Kremlin that day.

At the banquet Stalin said: The Korean people have greeted Comrade Kim Il Sung, national hero, as their leader, taken power in their own hands before anyone else in the colonized East, and vigorously embarked on the road of building a new society. With the birth of a new, democratic Korea, a reliable guarantee has been created for the safety of the eastern border of the Soviet Union. In view of this, the Soviet Union's aid to the DPRK is not aid in its

strict sense, but expenditure for itself. The Soviet comrades present here should clearly understand this.

Earlier, owing to the corrupt and incompetent feudal government's sycophancy and submission to neighbouring big powers, the Korean people were forced to conclude unequal treaties by the foreign invaders and thus their country was reduced to their colonial slave.

The Kanghwado Treaty, which totally violated the sovereignty and interests of the Korean nation, was signed in February 1876 by the feudal government under the threat and blackmail of the Japanese imperialists. This unequal treaty stipulated the Japanese rights to exercise "extraterritorial jurisdiction," "duty-free status" and "offshore survey" in Korea.

The Korea-US Treaty, forced on the feudal government by the United States in 1882, was also an unequal treaty, which violated the sovereignty of Korea by defining one-sided obligations for Korea and only rights for the United States. The treaty stipulates the approval and protection of the US merchants' unlimited trade, residence of its diplomatic officials, its consular jurisdiction, enforcement of low-rate customs for it, approval of export of Korean rice to it, and treatment of the United States as a most-favoured nation.

Conclusion of the Agreement on Economic and Cultural Cooperation between the DPRK and the USSR put an end to Korea's shameful history of diplomacy, stained with submission and sycophancy and characterized by unequal treaties forced upon the country by aggressive big powers, and served as an occasion for the DPRK to appear on the world political arena on an independent and equal stand and write a new chapter in the history of its external activities.

Real Friendship Manifests Itself in Bad Times

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in February 1956 shocked the whole world and brought about a great ideological confusion in the international communist movement and socialist countries.

At the congress Khrushchev totally denied Stalin's exploits in his secret report to the congress, titled, *On Personality Cult and Its Aftermath*.

In fact, the question of "personality cult" and "personality worship" was not simply a matter of evaluating Stalin as an individual. It was a serious matter related with defending

the exploits and traditions achieved by the leader and inheriting the leader's ideas and leadership. Accordingly, it was a fundamental matter that had a direct bearing on the future destiny of a party and revolution.

Khrushchev's behaviours supplied grist to the imperialists' anti-communist racket mill.

In June 1956 the imperialists and local reactionaries caused the Poznan incident in Poland and in October the Hungarian incident, thus creating a great obstacle to the international communist movement.

In July 1956 Khrushchev, openly interfering in the internal affairs of Hungary, dismissed Rakosi, the party and government leader of Hungary, for the reason that he was delaying the implementation of the decisions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This great-power chauvinistic act caused confusion in the Hungarian party and government. Imre Nagy and his group that had been lurking in the leadership of the Workers' Party usurped power by taking advantage of the counterrevolutionary demonstrations, which the reactionaries, egged on by the imperialists, staged in October that year. They then dissolved the National Security Forces, released counter-revolutionaries and state criminals from

prison, declared their withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact and brought the Hungarian issue to the UN.

Kim Il Sung's visit to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in Eastern Europe in June and July 1956 drew the attention of the world for it was made in this situation.

The first leg of his visit was East Germany.

The East German leaders told Kim Il Sung that now that Germany was divided into east and west, the two had no other option but to acknowledge the existence of two states.

When Kim Il Sung visited the office building of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on June 8, 1956, Walter Ulbricht, first secretary of the party, told him that the SUP intended to have the German Democratic Republic recognized and recognize the Federal Republic of Germany at the UN.

Kim Il Sung said that the German issue should be solved in accordance with the will and interests of the German people.

On June 13, 1956, Kim Il Sung arrived in Bucharest, Romania, to pay a visit to the country.

The Romanian people warmly welcomed him along the four-km-long road from the airport to the guest house.

That day Kim Il Sung met Chivu Stoica, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Romania and premier of the Cabinet of Romania. At the meeting he said that it was his pleasure to visit Romania, meet the leaders of the Romanian party and government and witness the achievements the Romanian people had made in their struggle to build a new society and continued: Today the Romanian people accorded the DPRK delegation a very impressive welcome. I would like to extend my thanks to the Romanian people for their warm welcome through you.

The first secretary said that the ardent friendly feelings of the Romanian people towards the Korean guests represented their respect for the Workers' Party of Korea led by Kim Il Sung, a seasoned party which was advancing without vacillation along the road it had selected.

After expressing his thanks, Kim Il Sung said: Through the practical experience of a long-drawn-out revolutionary struggle we have been keenly aware that only when we establish the Juche orientation, can we successfully carry out our revolution and construction. If one fails to establish the Juche orientation, one will sway to right and left with the wind and end up spoiling everything.

Next morning Kim Il Sung visited several factories,

all of which were producing special machines needed by the country.

In the friendly conversation he had just before the talks with the leaders of the party and government of Romania in the office building of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Romania, Kim Il Sung said: While looking around the factories in Bucharest, I had the impression that Romania is developing its economy on a steady basis. If your country advances in this way, it will soon catch up with industrially developed countries. According to our experience, it is very important to attain self-reliance in the economy though it may be somewhat challenging, if one is to fend for oneself without relying on others and maintain political independence. It is very good that the Romanian party is paying attention to building the economic foundations of its own.

When Kim Il Sung visited Czechoslovakia, its leaders asked him if the DPRK would join the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). Kim Il Sung expressed his independent position and view through the logical and figurative explanation that the DPRK would participate in the international division of labour only after it grew more to be on the same height with other grown-up nations in

the CMEA.

During his visit to Albania he said that the WPK would develop the relations of friendship and cooperation with all the fraternal countries on the principle of respecting the others' complete equality and independence.

When Kim Il Sung visited Hungary on June 17, 1956, Matthias Rakosi, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party, told Kim Il Sung that the situation in Hungary was fluid and there were bad omens.

Kim Il Sung encouraged him, saying: It is natural that the imperialist and reactionary forces would make last-ditch efforts to survive as they approach their doom. But no matter how hard they may try, they cannot block the road the Hungarian people had chosen.

When Kim Il Sung arrived in Warsaw on July 2, 1956, for a visit to Poland, the situation in the country was very tense.

When Boleslaw Bierut, president of Poland, died following the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the leadership of the ruling United Workers' Party was divided and the opinion that "personality cult" created by Bierut should be abolished grew more vocal in the party.

As the wind of "democracy" and "liberalization" started to sweep the country, reactionaries who had been imprisoned were released, and social disorder and confusion were created. The reactionaries at home slandered the party, and the imperialists outside instigated counterrevolution in the country.

Several days before Kim Il Sung arrived in Poland, a revolt broke out on June 28 in Poznan, where an international trade fair was going on.

But Kim Il Sung visited the country in spite of the danger so as to give revolutionary encouragement to the Polish party and government.

When he met Kim Il Sung, Edward Ochab, first secretary of the United Workers' Party of Poland, extended thanks to the DPRK leader for visiting his country even though the political situation of his country was very complicated.

Kim Il Sung said with a broad smile on his face: As the Korean saying goes, real friendship manifests itself in bad times. You would feel disappointed if we did not visit your country because its situation is tense. It is not appropriate for the fraternal countries to stop exchange of visits just because of a difficult situation. It is good that your country took a decisive stand towards the Poznan incident instigated

by the reactionaries and straightened the situation in a short period. Because the imperialists and reactionaries always look for a weak point, pursuing reactionary schemes whenever the possibility arises, you should always maintain sharp revolutionary vigilance and never weaken the functions of the proletarian dictatorship.

When the first secretary expressed his worries about the political situation and economic hardships in his country at a welcome banquet, Kim Il Sung said: We communists have no right to hesitate or vacillate in the face of hardship. The only road we should take is to overcome the hardship and trials with an indomitable fighting spirit and firm confidence in victory. Whenever the situation is complicated, we should firmly believe in the masses of the people and overcome the difficulties by relying on their strength.

Kim Il Sung's visit to the East European socialist countries in the mid-1950s was a historic event, through which he reminded the leaders of those countries of the truth that only when all countries, whether they are big or small, have relations with one another from the standpoint of independence and on the principle of complete equality and mutual respect, can they contribute to strengthening the socialist forces and consolidating world peace.

2. With Independent Judgment and Decision

The period from the 1950s to the 1980s witnessed many upheavals in the world political situation that were rooted in the differences in ideas, political views and social systems.

They included the disputes that started in the socialist camp, the Caribbean missile crisis created by the US imperialists, the escalation of the Vietnam War by the US imperialists and the failure of the socialist countries to take concerted action to it and Nixon's visit to China that coincided with it.

However complicated the situation was, Kim Il Sung maintained the independent stand in the international relations, solved all problems with an independent judgment and decision in line with the revolutionary and socialist principles and strived for the unity of the international communist movement regarding it as his internationalist obligation to help the fraternal countries.

Refined Political Comment

The history of world diplomacy has seen cases in which a refined political comment coordinated diplomatic disputes between countries and stabilized the situation.

A typical example was the political comment that drove a power into a tight corner and at the same time made another power the victor.

In those days, the United States was struggling to pull out of the deep quagmire of the Vietnam War (August 1964-January 1973) and revealing strategic weakness in the military confrontation with the Soviet Union. Under such circumstances the United States, judging that it could not afford bad relations with both the Soviet Union and China, expressed its intention to improve its relations with China through diplomatic channels.

In the face of the new international situation, the Chinese leadership, too, decided to adjust its diplomatic strategy and tried to approach the United States to open the door of the Sino-US relations while developing its relations with Western Europe, Japan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

Richard Nixon, the then US president, thought that the United States would not be able to deal with the offensive of the Soviet Union if it continued to cling to the policy of containing and isolating China, and advocated power politics, partnership and dialogue as the three pillars of his foreign policy.

He ordered Henry Kissinger, his national security advisor, to find a possibility for contact with China and officially asked French president Charles De Gaulle on a visit to the United States to convey the new China policy of the United States to the Chinese leadership. And he sent through the Pakistani president his private verbal message to the Chinese leadership that “the United States would not be involved in any action to isolate China.”

On receiving the signals from Richard Nixon, China expressed its intention that it could reopen the disrupted Warsaw talks.

Thus in January 1970 the two countries simultaneously made public that they would reopen the Warsaw talks. But the talks were disrupted again because of the US invasion of Cambodia. Getting impatient, the United States sent various signals to China through diplomatic channels, decreased the movement of its 7th Fleet in the Taiwan Straits

and cancelled its opposition to China's entry into the United Nations.

In October that year Richard Nixon publicly expressed his intention to visit China for the first time by saying in an interview with a journalist of *The Times* that the only thing he had to do before he died was to go to China.

In December Mao Zedong said in his answer to the question by Edgar Snow, an American journalist and his old friend, about the possibility of Richard Nixon's visit to China: If Nixon has an intention to visit China, you can convey our message to him that he could come to China if he gets on a plane quietly. We don't care whether he picks a quarrel with us or not, whether he comes as a tourist or as a president.

Subsequently, Richard Nixon made public some measures to narrow the gap in the relations between the two countries, and in late April 1971 Zhou Enlai sent through Pakistan China's clear reply that its government was ready to receive either a special envoy of the US president or the US Secretary of State or even the US president himself openly in Beijing and have direct talks with them.

Upon receiving the message, Nixon hurriedly informed the Chinese side that Henry Kissinger would arrive in

Beijing on July 9, 1971 as his special envoy.

On July 15, 1971, Beijing and Washington simultaneously made public a PRC-USA joint communiqué.

The joint communiqué read that Zhou Enlai and Henry Kissinger held talks, at which Zhou Enlai invited US president Richard Nixon, who wished to visit China, in the name of the People's Republic of China, and that Richard Nixon welcomed the invitation with pleasure.

The communiqué shocked the world. There was no example of the head of a state visiting another country which it had no diplomatic relations with. Moreover, the president of the United States, which had been extremely hostile towards China, would visit China, which had no diplomatic relations with it.

Newspapers, radios and news agencies of the world commented on the purpose of China to invite Richard Nixon and Nixon's objective in visiting China.

They wondered why China took the road of compromise with the United States after having been at loggerheads with it over the latter's military aid to Taiwan.

Some socialist countries criticized China for shaking hands with the United States, and some capitalist countries commented that there was a change in China's socialist

lines and that the US president's visit to China was like an event that moved the world.

Such comments were not only very unfavourable for China but they also affected the unity of the socialist countries.

Kim Il Sung saw through the international political situation, which had been made complicated due to different views on the whole process of the Sino-US contacts and the PRC-USA joint communiqué. In his historic speech at the mass rally of the Pyongyang citizens held on August 6, 1971 to welcome Samdech Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia on his visit to the DPRK, Kim Il Sung said:

This means that the hostile policy towards China which the US imperialists have recklessly pursued for more than 20 years to check by "force" the great revolutionary changes in China, a country with nearly a quarter of the world's population, has finally collapsed. It means that the US imperialists have at last succumbed to the pressure of the mighty anti-imperialist, revolutionary forces of the world. His visit will not be the march of a victor but a journey of the defeated, and it fully reflects the decline of US imperialism. This is a great victory for the Chinese people and a victory

for the revolutionary people of the world.

As soon as Kim Il Sung's objective and scientific comment on Nixon's visit was broadcast, the newspapers, radios and news agencies of the world shut their mouths.

No politician and no commentator had ever analysed Nixon's visit as a visit the defeated would make with a white flag after 22 years of hostility.

Kim Il Sung's speech on August 6 reversed the situation at once, making Mao Zedong the winner and Richard Nixon the loser.

Nixon's motive for visiting China was to overcome the economic crisis of his country.

There are two ways to overcoming the imperialist economic crisis: one is a war and the other is to secure commodity market.

So far, the United States had failed to secure commodity market by means of war. In order to obtain raw materials, fuel and commodity market needed to maintain its economy which had got fattened after the Second World War, the United States had fought wars of aggression and plunder all over the world including those in Korea and Vietnam from the 1950s to the 1970s, but it had only sustained repeated defeats, far from

overcoming its economic crisis.

So it tried to overcome the economic crisis through trade with China. It judged that there was no reason why it alone should go hungry when Canada, France, Britain and other countries were exploiting the Chinese market, so it should overcome the economic crisis through trade with China, which had a large land, an enormous population and rich resources.

Inter-state relations consist of political ones and economic ones in the main, and it is common to have political relations for the sake of economic relations.

Nixon thought that economic crisis would lead to political crisis and the latter would bring bankruptcy of the US world strategy. That was why he decided to visit China.

Kim Il Sung saw through all this and led the world public opinion with a short but refined political comment, thereby rendering a decisive help to China and further strengthening friendship and unity with it.

Peaceful Coexistence with Imperialism Is No Way

In the beginning of the 1970s powers which had been in irreconcilable relations of contradiction with one another showed growing signs of rapprochement while advocating peaceful coexistence.

China and the United States started talks for normalizing their relations after Nixon's visit to China, and the Soviet Union and the United States entered negotiations to conclude the ABM Treaty.

Influenced by these changes in the foreign policies of China and the Soviet Union, some countries revealed the tendency of maintaining good relations with the US imperialists.

This was evident even in some socialist countries and developing countries.

In the meantime, capitalist countries claimed that an era of "dialogue" and "detente" had finally arrived.

And some communist and workers' parties in the capitalist countries were inclined to abandon the

revolutionary principles.

A communist party of a West European country advocated “structural reform,” aimed at giving up the revolution, whereas a communist party of a capitalist country in Asia abandoned revolution and went as far as revising its programme. They advocated peaceful coexistence and would not even talk about imperialism, claiming that imperialism no longer existed in the world.

When visiting several foreign countries in May and June 1975, Kim Il Sung energetically encouraged the socialist countries to carry out their revolutions from the standpoint of independence, united with one another and on the anti-imperialist stand.

In his talks with the Romanian president and a speech at a mass rally in May 1975, Kim Il Sung said: Our principle of unity with the socialist countries remains unchanged. We will continue to encourage unity, not division. To prevent the danger of another war and maintain durable peace and security of the world, all the anti-imperialist, peace-loving forces including the socialist countries should firmly unite and frustrate the imperialists’ moves for aggression and war. The DPRK is the eastern outpost of socialism and one of the fronts where the anti-imperialist struggle is

the fiercest. The Workers’ Party of Korea will defend this front with credit and contribute to the accomplishment of the socialist cause.

In a speech he made at a mass rally of Sofia citizens in Bulgaria on June 5, Kim Il Sung said: The imperialists are finding themselves ever more hard-pressed at home and abroad. As their situation worsens, they are intensifying their moves for aggression and war and are resorting to placatory and deceptive tricks in an attempt to find a solution to their problems. The socialist countries must continue with the anti-imperialist struggle in order to check and frustrate the imperialist moves for aggression and war and maintain and consolidate world peace, and give their full support to the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples in their liberation struggle against imperialism. As in the past, so in future, the Korean people will continue to fight for peace, democracy, national independence and the common cause of socialism in unity with the international revolutionary forces.

On June 6, he visited Yugoslavia and had one-on-one talks with President Josip Tito.

Tito said:

As yours is an independent country without foreign

military bases in it, it is entitled to join the ranks of non-aligned countries.

At the talks held on June 7 between the delegations of the parties and governments of the two countries, Kim Il Sung said that he was happy to have an opportunity to meet the leading officials of Yugoslavia and have open-hearted and comradely talks with them, adding: Our two parties have no disagreement in opinions but have firm foundations on which they can unite, that is, the independent principle maintained by the two parties. You use the term *to oppose hegemony* while we use the term *to oppose worship of big countries*. The two terms are different with each other only in the way they are expressed but the same in meaning. When a man indulges in a servile attitude towards the great powers, he becomes a fool; when a nation adopts this attitude, the country will come to ruin; and when a party adopts it, it will make a mess of the revolution and construction. Every party should have its own ideology and hold fast to it. If any party follows others' ideology blindly, this will give rise to factionalism, which eventually leads it to ruin. That is why our Party stresses the need to arm all the people with the Party's monolithic ideology. A party could be loyal to internationalism by conducting the revolution in

its country well, and waging the revolution effectively does not contradict internationalism.

Agreeing with Kim Il Sung, Tito said with pleasure that he realized more keenly the truth that independence is displayed in maintaining the stand and attitude of masters in the revolution and construction, and that communists can emerge victorious when they fight for the benefits of the people of their countries.

Kim Il Sung said: Unity in the international communist movement can be realized only when priority is given to the principle of noninterference in each other's affairs. There can be neither senior nor junior parties among the fraternal parties and no one likes to live a subordinated life. All problems can be resolved only when independence is maintained.

In August 1977, two years later, Tito visited the DPRK at the advanced age of 85, and consolidated the friendly relations between the two countries, praising Kim Il Sung as an outstanding leader of the international communist movement.

3. 20 000km-long Journey to Foreign Countries

In mid-May 1984 a special train of the DPRK ran through the vast territory of the Soviet Union.

The train enjoyed warm welcome everywhere in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Reports on the successful talks and agreements in many countries struck the world with admiration.

The long journey to foreign countries Kim Il Sung made for over 50 days by the special train in the mid-1980s brought about a fresh turn in the development of friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in Eastern Europe, strengthened the world socialist forces and inspired the people of the developing countries with confidence in the cause of global independence.

Improving the Unhappy Relationship

Unhappy about the fact that the DPRK was following the road of independence, not toeing its line, the Soviet Union gave a wide berth to the DPRK, making the relations between the two countries estranged.

When Kim Il Sung visited the Soviet Union in 1961, Khrushchev said that he would make sure that the DPRK could use electricity generated by the newly-built hydroelectric power station near Lake Baikal if the former joined the CMEA.

Saying that his country was too far away from the lake, Kim Il Sung declined his offer and continued: You say that we should join the CMEA, but the level of economic development of the European socialist countries is high, whereas ours is not. When these countries can be likened to university students, my country can be likened to a kindergarten pupil. So how can we match them in the CMEA? If we build socialism by ourselves without your assistance, it would mean relieving you of the burden that much, and this is also an expression of internationalism. We

will build socialism by our own efforts without joining the CMEA. This is by no means an expression of nationalism.

In May 1984 the DPRK's Party and government delegation led by Kim Il Sung passed through several places such as Chita, Ulan Ude, Krasnoyarsk, Novosibirsk and Omsk along the Trans-Siberian Railway. Wherever it went, it was accorded a warm welcome by the local citizens, who turned out with the slogans "Warm welcome to the Party and state delegation led by Comrade Kim Il Sung!" and greeted by senior officials of the provinces and cities. The flags of the two countries fluttered at the railway stations.

On May 23, 1984, when the special train arrived at the Yaroslavl Railway Station in Moscow, a grand welcoming ceremony was held in the presence of the senior officials of the Party and government of the Soviet Union.

A large number of the Moscow citizens warmly greeted him at the railway station plaza and on the streets, holding the portraits of Kim Il Sung and waving bouquets and flags of the two countries.

Kim Il Sung was greeted by Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the Kremlin.

Mass media of different countries headlined his visit as special news every day.

A newspaper carried an article, reading, "The Soviet Union's reception of President Kim Il Sung showed the highest level of welcome to a foreign head of state. The reception by its leadership was unprecedented."

Some reported that it would be a new historic occasion in strengthening friendship and solidarity between the two countries, while some others schemed to alienate the DPRK from other countries. Still others carried articles that the DPRK would ask for military aid from the Soviet Union.

At that time, the Soviet Union was strengthening its nuclear forces and modernizing the military hardware of its army units stationed in the East European countries in response to the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear missiles by the United States in the West European countries. Some countries spoke ill of the Soviet Union, describing its actions as a pursuit of hegemony.

Saying that the main thing in the development of the DPRK-Soviet relations was whether the two countries fight against the US imperialists or not, Kim Il Sung supported the Soviet Union in its countermeasures.

The Soviet side was very satisfied.

During one-on-one talks with Kim Il Sung, Chernenko made a promise that if the DPRK leader sent a special envoy or delegation to the Soviet Union in the future, he would meet them in person no matter how busy he might be.

On His Visit to East European Countries

Kim Il Sung continued his foreign visits receiving warm welcome at all his destinations—East Berlin, Frankfurt and Dresden in East Germany, Sofia in Bulgaria, where a music and dance performance was held in welcome of him, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Romania.

On June 1, he had one-on-one talks with Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and discussed about the development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and parties and other matters of mutual concern.

At the talks, Honecker expressed his will to strive for unity and cohesion of the socialist countries.

Janos Kadar of Hungary and Gustav Husak of

Czechoslovakia also warmly welcomed Kim Il Sung and discussed problems arising in socialist construction.

The two countries, as member nations of the CMEA, were experiencing difficulties in their economic construction. The visit by the leader of the DPRK, which did not join the CMEA but was pushing ahead with socialist economic construction invariably with its own independent national economy, could serve as a golden opportunity for those leaders to learn from the DPRK's experiences.

Kim Il Sung told them that though his country did not join the CMEA, it was able to advance by its own efforts because it had built an independent national economy by itself by tightening its belts. He continued to say that the WPK judged and approached all problems arising in each period by itself, citing some examples.

During his visit, Kim Il Sung concluded treaties on friendship and cooperation with East Germany and Bulgaria.

He was the first to stir such a great sensation in the countries he visited crossing the large continent and enjoy such unanimous respect from the heads of state of the socialist camp.

According to public opinions on his visit to the Soviet Union and socialist countries in Eastern Europe, high-

ranking officials of the United States wondered why the Korean leader had been greeted so warmly in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in Eastern Europe.

In retrospect, the socialist countries in Eastern Europe had never mobilized their people to welcome a visiting foreign head of state on the streets. The Soviet Union had been no exception.

But not fettered by the convention, they accorded Kim Il Sung such a grand and warm welcome.

4. For Unity and Cooperation

After the Bandung Conference in the mid-1950s the developing countries emerged as a separate political force in the international political arena.

Kim Il Sung conducted external activities to strengthen it as an anti-imperialist independent force that could not be neglected on the international arena.

On May 6, 1969, when he was meeting Salvador Allende, president of the Senate of Chile, he said:

This is not an era when the international issues are decided upon by a few powers. Such an era has gone. The destiny of imperialism will be decided by the revolutionary struggle of the world people.

In May 1975, when he was visiting Romania, he again clarified the position of the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

On May 24 a Romania-DPRK friendship mass rally was held in the State Soviet Palace in Bucharest. In the speech he delivered at the rally, Kim Il Sung said:

The socialist countries, while fighting against imperialism

and for the common cause of socialism, should render positive support and encouragement to the Asian, African, Latin-American and other peoples in the world, who are opposed to imperialism, in their liberation struggle. If the people of the socialist countries, Asian, African and Latin-American countries and all other peace-loving people of the world, be they in big or small countries, fight in firm unity, they can hasten the final victory in their struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and the common cause of socialism.

His speech caused a great excitement among the leaders and people of the developing countries.

It looked as if a corridor to Pyongyang had been built in the 1960s; leaders of the developing countries made a beeline for it.

From the 1960s to the early 1990s, Kim Il Sung met them, explaining the Juche idea to them and giving answers to their questions on building a new society.

The leaders expressed their reverence for the DPRK leader for trusting their countries as an ally of the socialist force and for helping them strengthen their countries into an anti-imperialist, independent force propelling the development of progressive humankind.

With Peaceful Coexistence, Friendship and Cooperation as a Basis

On April 18, 1955, the Asian-African Conference, attended by delegates of 29 countries, opened in the Independence Palace in Bandung, Indonesia.

In the opening speech, titled, *Birth of a New Asia and Africa*, President Soekarno of Indonesia said: This is the first conference of the coloured races after human history began and the starting point of world history. Colonialism has not died yet, and it must be wiped out without fail. To this end, we Asian and African people must unite.

Smashing the obstructive moves of the United States and its followers, on April 24 the conference approved its 10-point principle unanimously and made it public through a joint communiqué. The conference confirmed that observing the principle, which constituted the basis of peaceful coexistence, friendship and cooperation among countries, would render a positive contribution to maintaining and promoting global peace and security.

It was Indonesia that played an active role in organizing

the conference that served as an occasion for the Asian and African countries to emerge in the international political arena as an independent political force.

The United States, which was unhappy with the conference from the outset, stood in its way, claiming that it could not be called an “important event” and “no agreement would be produced.”

In resolute response to the West’s propaganda, Indonesia organized and hosted the conference in a short period.

Having followed with keen interest the country’s tendency towards anti-imperialist independence, Kim Il Sung, on November 23, 1958, during his visit to China, met the Indonesian ambassador to China who came to see him in his lodgings.

The Indonesian ambassador said to Kim Il Sung that his country was desirous of establishing diplomatic relations with the DPRK as soon as possible.

Kim Il Sung answered: We are also desirous of establishing diplomatic relations with Indonesia. Both countries can understand each other, so we had better wait until the time is right for it. What is important is that the developing countries should unite with one another.

On April 16, 1964, the two countries established

diplomatic relations.

And on November 1 the same year, President Soekarno of Indonesia visited the DPRK.

After receiving him at the airport, Kim Il Sung held talks with him at the office building of the Central Committee of the WPK.

At the talks, he said: We think that the Second Summit of the Non-Aligned Countries was successful. It was quite progressive. Your Excellency President Soekarno made an excellent speech at the summit. You spoke well about anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism.

Thanking him for the praise, Soekarno said: But newspapers of the imperialist countries carried articles defaming me.

Wearing a broad smile, Kim Il Sung replied: If the imperialists are happy with a meeting, the meeting is not a good one. If a meeting is displeasing to the imperialists, it is a good meeting.

Brightening his face, Soekarno said that Premier Kim Il Sung’s remarks were something like a philosophy which he would teach his people, and profusely thanked him for the excellent remarks.

Explaining that Ganefo was sports games of the

developing countries and Conefo was a conference of the developing countries, he told Kim Il Sung that Conefo was planned to be held in Indonesia in 1965. Then he said: I hope you will attend the meeting.

Readily accepting his invitation, Kim Il Sung said that such a meeting, if organized, would be very beneficial, and supported his endeavour to host the meeting.

In April 1965 Kim Il Sung visited Indonesia.

On April 10 a ceremony of welcoming Kim Il Sung on his arrival at Jakarta Airport was held. At the ceremony Soekarno said: After hearing that your Excellency Premier Kim Il Sung would visit my country, I have looked forward to the day of your arrival with delight. Today you have at last come to my country, and my heart brims over with a great emotion. All the 105 million Indonesian people welcome you. During your stay in my country, you will feel how ardently my people are desirous of strengthening friendship with the Korean people. I once again welcome you to Indonesia.

In the speech he made in return, Kim Il Sung said: Your visit to my country in autumn last year left an indelible impression in the mind of the Korean people as it made a historic contribution to the development of friendly

relations between the peoples of our two countries. I am convinced that our current visit will be conducive to the effort to further improve the relations of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of our two countries and, furthermore, to consolidate the solidarity among the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples on the basis of the spirit of the Bandung Conference.

When conferring on Kim Il Sung the Republic of Indonesia Order First Class, the highest order of his country, Soekarno said: Your Excellency Premier Kim Il Sung, you are a friend of the Indonesian people, of the Republic of Indonesia, as well as of mine. Please receive this order as a token of the eternal friendship between the peoples of our two countries and gratitude of the Indonesian people to the Korean people.

In the speech he delivered at the banquet Soekarno arranged at the State Palace, Kim Il Sung noted the successes the Republic of Indonesia had achieved in the field of foreign policy, and continued: Indonesia is a co-sponsor of the Bandung Conference. President Soekarno and the Indonesian government have rendered an outstanding contribution to strengthening the unity of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples based

on the spirit of the Bandung Conference. I think that the forthcoming functions to be held in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Bandung Conference, organized by the Indonesian government, will render a fresh contribution to applying and further developing the spirit of the conference. The imperialists challenged Indonesia even by enlisting the UN, but the Republic of Indonesia withdrew from the UN, dealing a resolute blow at them. I express full support to, and solidarity with, this righteous struggle.

Soekarno felt encouraged.

In Bandung the Third Session of the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly of Indonesia was held. Kim Il Sung attended the meeting as an observer.

In the policy speech at the meeting Soekarno quoted Kim Il Sung as saying that an independent country cannot be built without a self-supporting economy, and continued: The Korean people are not subordinated to any forces politically and economically as they have built a strong self-supporting national economy under the wise leadership of Premier Kim Il Sung. Indonesia should also build a self-supporting economy in the spirit of self-reliance like Korea. Premier Kim Il Sung's presence at this meeting will serve as great encouragement to the Indonesian people who are

desirous of building a self-supporting economy.

Later, pointing at a bronze statue in the garden of the Bogor Palace, he said to Kim Il Sung that he had that "Chollima Statue" erected as he loved Korea.

On April 14, while meeting the leading personnel of Indonesia at the guest house in the Presidential Palace, Kim Il Sung told them: Indonesia is a rich country; there are many fruit trees; the landscaping is excellent; the houses look good; the people are well clad, and they have done a lot of things, like irrigation. The country has a wide area of land. President Soekarno said that it would be alright even if the total number of population reaches 200 million or 250 million. Yes, you have things to eat, you have marine resources, and you have not surveyed all the underground resources yet. Indonesia should follow the road of attaining economic self-sufficiency.

As we have heard what you had to say, the Indonesian leaders said, we grow confident that our country can attain economic self-sufficiency.

On April 15, according to a joint resolution of the government of Indonesia and the academic degrees and titles deliberation committee of the University of Indonesia, a ceremony was held of conferring the title of honorary

doctor of engineering on Kim Il Sung.

At the awarding ceremony Kim Il Sung said: Today I was awarded the title of honorary doctor after receiving the highest order of the Republic of Indonesia a few days ago. This is an expression of the Indonesian people's friendly feeling for the Korean people. President Soekarno appealed to his people to struggle to build a new Indonesia by their efforts. He is quite justified and his appeal is very significant for the future development of the country. Self-reliance is one of the basic principles to be maintained without fail in the revolutionary struggle and construction work. The oppressed nations can win their genuine freedom and independence only through their own struggle, and the countries liberated from the colonial yoke can consolidate their political independence and achieve national prosperity only when they follow the road of building an independent national economy on the principle of self-reliance.

On April 18, Kim Il Sung met in his lodgings the first deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Indonesia.

The Indonesian visitor said that he was afraid that he might fall behind the times unless he visited the DPRK as soon as possible, saw its reality and learned from its experience.

Kim Il Sung told him: Please come. The future is ours. Asia and Africa are a new force. If one is to build a new society, one must carry out the ideological, technological and cultural revolutions. After winning political independence, one must win economic independence as well.

On April 20, when he met Kim Il Sung, Soekarno said: I tell my people to respect and revere you, Your Excellency Premier Kim Il Sung, and learn from the model of Korea. I tell them that leaders should always have their eyes and ears open. This means that they should learn from what they have seen and heard. I have seen and learned a lot with your help.

Kim Il Sung said: Rather than speaking about learning, let's advance hand in hand.

In April 1965 functions in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Bandung Conference was held in Bandung. It was attended by heads of state and government and delegates from 38 Asian and African countries.

During his stay in Indonesia Kim Il Sung attended the celebrations and conducted diplomatic activities, bringing about a fresh turn in the DPRK's relations with the developing countries in Asia and Africa.

On April 15, he went to the airport and greeted Samdech Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, who was coming to

attend the celebrations.

The following morning Sihanouk called on Kim Il Sung in the latter's lodgings before anybody else. Leaders of the two countries held talks in an amicable atmosphere.

At the talks, the Cambodian leader said that he would visit Pyongyang in the forthcoming October and thanked the DPRK leader for sending presents (lathes) to his young people.

The DPRK leader said he would welcome his visit, and said that the presents were small in number, adding that though his country was not advanced in mechanical technology, it would send more if Cambodia needed them.

Sihanouk said that even though his country could not keep in step with the DPRK, it would follow the road the DPRK had chosen for itself.

Kim Il Sung replied: Please don't say about who follows whom. Let's advance hand in hand. Let's advance together, helping and learning from each other, in such a way as we obtain from you what we lack and you obtain from us what you lack, and we learn from you what we are ignorant of and you learn from us what you are ignorant of. It is necessary for the newly-emergent Asian countries to develop quickly by cooperating with one another. It is all

the more so for the small countries.

Norodom Sihanouk was so moved that he thanked Kim Il Sung profusely. This is the start of friendship between Kim Il Sung and Sihanouk.

On April 16, Kim Il Sung met Premier Pham Van Dong of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam during celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Bandung Conference.

As the Vietnamese premier requested him to help him with adopting a joint statement of the Asian and African countries on the Vietnamese issue, Kim Il Sung said to him that the statement should emphasize that the US troops should withdraw from south Vietnam, and that the Vietnamese issue should be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves.

Next day Kim Il Sung met the Vietnamese premier again and analysed the complicated situation in Vietnam, which was fighting against the US imperialists.

The Vietnamese premier said he was wondering what to do while listening to the foreign media report that the military aid from the Soviet Union was fake and had an ulterior motive.

Kim Il Sung said: My country will send Vietnam, fighting against US imperialism, every support without

hesitation. You'd better receive the Soviet aid.

Pham Van Dong said he would convey the DPRK leader's principled stand to his leadership members.

After that Kim Il Sung had the pilots of the Korean People's Army dispatched to Vietnam to help the Vietnamese people.

On April 17 Kim Il Sung met the chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia at the DPRK embassy in Jakarta, and explained about the principled stand of the Workers' Party of Korea on the differences of opinion within the international communist movement, the original independent line the WPK was maintaining in the struggle against all sorts of "Leftist" and Rightist opportunism including revisionism and dogmatism, and the principled issues arising in the revolution and construction.

On April 18 Kim Il Sung met Souphanouvong, chairman of the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front, who paid a courtesy call to him and said: We absolutely support the patriotic struggle of the Laotian people; victory is definitely on the side of the Laotian people. If you need our assistance, we will not spare anything in our support for the struggle of your people as we did in the past.

Souphanouvong thanked him, and said that their difficulty was nothing in comparison to those the Korean people had experienced while fighting against the US imperialists during the Korean war.

Kim Il Sung said: The Fatherland Liberation War was devastating. The US imperialists attempted to remove our country from the Earth, but they could not do so or discourage our people. Postwar rehabilitation was difficult from the beginning. Only three buildings were left intact in Pyongyang. The country was totally levelled, but we have built it more beautifully than it was in the past. Of course, we received international assistance, but the most important thing was that our people were strong. We will remain faithful to our international obligation. I hope you will convey my best regards to the leaders and people of Laos.

That day Kim Il Sung met the vice-president of the United Arab Republic and said: We support your policy of opposition to the Israeli aggressors. I hope the leaders of the United Arab Republic would visit our country. Your visit would support and encourage the developing countries in their struggle for freedom and independence. As we are comrades-in-arms, we trust you and you can fully trust us.

The vice-president said that he would convey

Kim Il Sung's words to President Gamal Abdel Nasser without fail, and that he would make positive efforts for the development of friendly relations between the DPRK and the United Arab Republic.

Earlier, on his way to Indonesia, Kim Il Sung dropped in at Rangoon, the capital of Myanmar, and met San Yu, general secretary of the Burma Socialist Programme Party, foreign minister and other high-ranking officials.

He told the general secretary: I hope you will visit my country. Exchange of visits would make our relations closer, and we can get acquainted with each other, exchange experiences and learn from each other. You could make an unofficial visit if an official visit would be inconvenient. Both our peoples were all oppressed in the past. Our two countries are not powers and we are not arrogant towards others. We can develop quickly through mutual visits and learning from each other.

When he met the foreign minister of Myanmar, the latter was envious of the fact that the DPRK had become a developed country that built modern machinery including tractors and machines.

Kim Il Sung said: There was a fear of technology in the past. Many Asian people thought that the countries

that can build machines were only the European capitalist countries and Japan. We struggled against the mysticism of machinery. The people of Myanmar can also make them once they are determined to do so.

On April 20, after his visit to Indonesia, Kim Il Sung visited Myanmar again, and met Ne Win, chairman of the Revolutionary Council of Myanmar.

At the talks, speaking highly of the great successes the people of Myanmar achieved in their state building, he said: It is good that they have carried on social reforms and are struggling to build the foundations of a national economy. That is the way to develop the economy. I have visited your country not to discuss any political problem, but to get acquainted with you, share experiences in building the national economy and promote mutual support and friendly relations. Each country is better informed of the problems facing it, and is capable of resolving them. What you are doing is all progressive. My country was under colonial rule for a long time and so it is backward. It is in the same situation as Myanmar. Without the national economy, we cannot talk about any political independence. My country is striving to build a national economy and concentrating its efforts on it. Myanmar can lay solid foundations of its

national economy as it is comparatively a big country and abounds in natural resources.

During his visit to Indonesia Kim Il Sung established friendly relations with over ten countries.

Helping and Learning from One Another

Since Kim Il Sung's visit to Indonesia in April 1965 the number of leaders and delegations of the developing countries visiting Pyongyang increased conspicuously.

Between 1966 and 1970 a parliament delegation of Somalia, government delegation of Guinea, delegation of the National Assembly of Cambodia, president of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, premier of the People's Republic of Albania, president of the Senate of Chile, president of South Yemen, government delegation of Congo, delegation of the People's Assembly of Bulgaria, delegation of the Great People's Hural of Mongolia, Sejm delegation of Poland, delegation of the Grand National Assembly and the State Council of Romania and parliament delegation of Sri Lanka visited Pyongyang,

and met Kim Il Sung.

With regard to this, the world media reported that a big change had taken place in the world's view of the DPRK in the latter half of the 1960s.

The fact was that the line of independence followed by the Workers' Party of Korea and the DPRK government on the basis of the Juche idea drew the attention of leaders of many countries around the world.

Now they began to find the theory of struggle and the road to socialism in the Juche idea and respect and follow Kim Il Sung, who had authored the idea and built socialism of Juche.

When he met a military delegation of the DPRK in his country, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat said: Your country has an experience of defeating the United States as well as fighting the Japanese for a long time. We are going to learn from these experiences. If we send many military delegations to your country, please teach them the good experiences of the Korean People's Army.

And to a DPRK delegation, the Tanzanian president said: We want nothing from the DPRK, but we would like to learn from its experiences in education policy, security policy and army building.

Vietnam said that the DPRK had more experiences in building regional-industry factories and building socialism than it, proposing that it would send Party secretaries of nine provinces to learn from the DPRK's experiences in building the regional industry and socialism.

It was a trend that people from the countries struggling for national liberation, newly-independent countries and even socialist countries visited the DPRK.

Kim Il Sung met the visiting heads of state of foreign countries, and encouraged them to follow the road of independence.

In his talks in March 1974 with Houari Boumedienne, president of the Council of Revolution and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic, who had visited the DPRK, Kim Il Sung said: Self-reliance means that one lives on one's own without relying on others. Some people think that as we strive to become self-reliant, we produce everything on our own. Mine is a small country, so it cannot produce everything it needs on its own. We buy technology and factories from other countries, and this does not run counter to the line of self-reliance and the Juche idea.

Boumedienne said: You are great as you have never

compromised with the imperialists. The world admires you for having put forward your own lines and for having never vacillated.

In May the same year Kim Il Sung met President Leopold Senghor of Senegal, who visited the DPRK.

President Senghor said: We are going to learn from the DPRK. It is advancing towards socialism and developing it in a creative way. I tried to find something to refer to in state building in the books from some socialist countries, but in vain. I have found them only in the books from the DPRK. The DPRK is a beacon for the developing countries; it is the only country that we have to learn from.

When he met President Hafez Assad of Syria in September 1974, Kim Il Sung said that there were more than 80 non-aligned countries and his country was going to join their ranks.

Assad said that it was a very good idea, and that the DPRK's joining the ranks would be approved unanimously as many countries were now trying to learn from the ideas of President Kim Il Sung.

Kim Il Sung told him: We helped you during the war in October last year. A friend in need is a friend in deed. A friend made of while drinking is not a real friend.

Assad replied: I respect you, President Kim Il Sung, most as you render a great help to Syria when it was in the greatest difficulty. On my way to your country I dropped in at a country and asked it for some weapons, but it refused. You have said that without realizing industrialization, it is impossible to achieve political independence, and you are quite right. While visiting your country, I have become more fully convinced that my country should realize industrialization.

In April and May 1978 a good many heads of state of foreign countries visited the DPRK to see with their own eyes the successes the Korean people achieved in socialist construction over the past years under the banner of the Juche idea and learn from their experiences.

All these brought about a great change in the external relations of the DPRK in the beginning of the 1970s.

Almost all the heads of state of the African countries visited the DPRK to seek Kim Il Sung's opinions on building a new society.

President Samora Machel of Mozambique visited the country several times between 1971 and 1984. Once when Kim Il Sung asked him to learn from each other and advance hand in hand, he was so moved that he said he

would respect him as he would do his own elder brother.

In October 1967 and September 1974 President Moktar Daddah of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania visited the DPRK. Kim Il Sung went to the airport to receive him, and accompanied him to several places, telling him experiences in various fields.

In order to discuss the ways for realizing global independence and cooperation, Kim Il Sung visited Algeria and Mauritania in May 1975.

During his visit to these countries, he emphasized at one-on-one talks and extended talks with their leaders and speeches made at banquets and mass rallies that the people in the developing countries became a master of the world and were vigorously propelling the advance towards a new world free from exploitation and oppression under the banner of anti-imperialist independence, that they were a great ally of the Korean people, and that he became confident through his experience that even a backward country could build a prosperous new society in a short span of time if it maintained independence and bravely struggled in the spirit of self-reliance.

On May 28, at the mass rally held in Algiers to welcome the Party and government delegation of the DPRK,

Kim Il Sung said: Today people of the developing countries have become a great driving force of human history. The fact that these countries have emerged on the world arena as independent political forces and great anti-imperialist revolutionary forces of our era heralds the start of a new glorious era in the history of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who were under exploitation and oppression in the past. If the developing countries firmly unite politically and strengthen economic and technical cooperation on the principle of mutual benefit, they can achieve common prosperity by realizing economic self-sufficiency without the assistance of big powers. When the people of the developing countries, which account for the greater part of the world populations and territory, form a broad united front and fight resolutely, they can exert a decisive influence on the development of the overall international situation.

This speech evoked a great response in Algeria and other African countries; news agencies, radio broadcasts and newspapers reported the speech in full text, commenting that it was a grand political programme indicating the road the developing countries including the African countries should take.

At the second one-on-one talks with Boumedienne on May 29, Kim Il Sung told him about his experience of building a new society, saying that the Algerians should make the revolution of their country with the attitude of the masters as they knew the Algerian issue better than anybody else. And he suggested sharing opinions with him on a more effective way of mobilizing the non-aligned movement for the unity of the developing countries, and mentioned about the issue of the DPRK's joining the ranks of the non-aligned states.

Boumedienne said: I think you are a leader who could play a big role in the non-aligned movement. You achieved national independence by dint of self-reliance and are maintaining independence without vacillation under the complicated international situation.

Kim Il Sung arrived in Mauritania on May 30. When he met President Moktar Daddah, he said: There are two priorities in Mauritania. The first is to solve the water problem as almost all its territory is covered with desert. The second is to build a port to make vessels call at. Then everything will be resolved easily. If you, President, love your people and your people follow you, then everything will go smoothly. These are the decisive factors in settling

problems. Economic self-sufficiency is of great significance in consolidating political independence. According to my experience, what is important in achieving economic self-sufficiency is to build one's own industry. Mauritania could be better off if it builds its own industry and a port.

The Mauritanian president said: Your words are truly inspiring. We will build a new society with hope and conviction as you have said.

Kim Il Sung's words helped the leaders of the developing countries of Asia and Africa learn the great truth that independence is the lifeblood of a country and nation.

Both in 1993 and 1994, Kim Il Sung met a parliamentary delegation from Thailand, the president of Palestine, a delegation of the National People's Congress of China, a delegation of the Belgian Labour Party and other delegations, expressing his opinions on achieving world peace and independence.

The immortal exploits Kim Il Sung performed by meeting figures of different countries of the world and instilling in them confidence and courage to follow the road of independence until the last days of his life, still inspire the progressive mankind to the completion of the cause of global independence.

5. Seeing Through the Trend of the Era

The start of the new millennium witnessed a rapid change in the relations between the DPRK and the West European countries.

Italy established diplomatic relations with the DPRK on January 4, 2000, and almost all Western countries including the UK, Spain, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Canada followed suit in one or two years.

It was a noteworthy event that the Western countries that had been toeing the US line on the international arena established diplomatic relations with the DPRK.

But this was not the fruition of an initiative of one country or of an outside factor.

Lying beneath it were the exploits of Kim Il Sung who saw through the trend of the political situation in the European capitalist countries already in the 1970s and saw to it that the DPRK developed relations with the influential socialist parties in these countries.

Entering the 1970s the trend of the political situation in

the European capitalist countries began to change.

The socialist parties gained the upper hand in these countries, exercising increasing political influence. Among the communist parties in the European countries, only those in France and in Italy had popular newspapers, but many socialist parties also had their own organs of considerable circulation and had sound mass foundations. What was worthy of note was that they advocated independence.

On the other hand, the communist parties in some socialist countries did not treat these socialist parties properly as they thought that if they had diplomatic relations with those bourgeois parties, their prestige would be blemished. They would invite the leaders of these socialist parties not in their name, but in the name of friendship organizations, and their high-ranking officials would not even meet their delegations. These socialist parties were not happy with it, and were not willing to accept their invitations.

However, Kim Il Sung maintained that although the socialist parties of the capitalist countries were different from the working-class parties in character, they should be treated on an equal diplomatic footing because the communist parties and socialist parties were all political parties alike.

In the 1970s the delegations of the Workers' Party of Korea visited Belgium, France, Sweden, Norway and other West European countries and strived to develop relations with their socialist parties.

The Socialist Party of Belgium offered the conference room of its office building for an international press conference by the WPK delegation, saying that such an event would contribute to increasing the number of supporters of and sympathizers with the DPRK in Europe.

After the conference many people said that they could have a better understanding of the DPRK and the journalists of major media organs including UPI and AFP invited the WPK delegation to their offices in Brussels.

As the left-wing social democratic and socialist parties in many European capitalist countries emerged victorious in parliamentary elections in the late 1970s and early 1980s and came to power, Kim Il Sung paid attention to the work with the socialist parties of France, Portugal and West Germany and sent WPK delegations to those countries whenever the parties held their congresses.

A WPK delegation visited France on three occasions, and held talks with the leadership of the Socialist Party of France.

When a WPK delegation visited Nanterre, France, at the invitation of the Socialist Party of France to its congress, Francois Mitterrand, leader of the party, met a delegate of the WPK on the second day of the three-day congress. At the meeting Mitterrand said: I would like to thank President Kim Il Sung for sending a WPK delegation to the Congress of the Socialist Party of France. I know well about the Juche idea created by President Kim Il Sung. I will visit the DPRK before the presidential election in France and meet him.

Mitterrand visited the DPRK in February 1981, when he had to focus an all-out effort on the presidential election scheduled in May.

But as he put it forward as his campaign pledge to enforce a series of social policies for freedom and democratic rights of the working masses, he thought it was extremely important for him to visit the DPRK and see with his own eyes the reality of the DPRK, where people-oriented policies were enforced.

When he met President Kim Il Sung, Mitterrand said: My party reached a consensus of opinion that I must meet you, President Kim Il Sung, to have an understanding of the DPRK. You are a prestigious statesman recognized

throughout the world.

Kim Il Sung said to him that if the European countries maintained independence, it would be a great help to preventing another world war and maintaining peace in Europe, Asia and the rest of the world.

Mitterrand told that if he became president, he would work with the developing countries well and assist their development.

Kim Il Sung said: I hope your country will lead other developed European countries in helping the developing countries and in establishing a new international economic order after you have become the president of France. I am very glad that you have visited my country and I have had a friendly talk with you. I am convinced that your party will exercise influence and thereby make a great contribution to realizing the cause of independence in Europe.

Mitterrand said: I really appreciate that you have explained many issues in detail today. You, as head of state, have given clear-cut analysis and judgment of many issues, Mr President. I have never heard such valuable statements as you have said.

After returning home, Mitterrand won the election held in May and took power. The emergence of a socialist

government in France after 23 years of conservative rule greatly encouraged the socialist parties in the European capitalist countries to go independent.

The United States and Japan were nervous about Mitterrand's ascension to power. The United States complained that France was the first among its Western allies to admit persons of communist origin to its government as ministers. And on the other hand, many African and Latin-American countries, to say nothing of Japan, France and West Germany, did not listen to the United States after Ronald Reagan came to power in the United States. The reality showed that the US influence was becoming weakened.

When a WPK delegation went to Portugal, West Germany and other European capitalist countries in early May 1981 to attend the congresses of their socialist parties, leaders of the socialist parties expressed their willingness to visit the DPRK.

When he met the head of a WPK delegation, the general secretary of the Portuguese Socialist Party said that he was told by Mitterrand that President Kim Il Sung was a great man. And he promised to visit the DPRK and said that Willy Brant, leader of the Social Democratic Party of

West Germany, was his friend, who had fought with him underground during the Second World War, and that he, too, would be happy to visit the DPRK.

Kim Il Sung met the visiting leaders of these parties, and actively encouraged them to strive to make Europe independent.

6. There May Be Big and Small Countries, But Not Senior and Junior Ones

In the early 1990s the United States emerged as the only superpower in the world after socialism collapsed in the Soviet Union and other East European countries owing to its persistent strategy of “peaceful transition” and “power politics.” Exultant with its success, the United States, while clamouring about the “victory” of capitalism and the “end” of socialism, buckled down to establishing a new world order under its leadership.

The DPRK, however, held higher the banner of socialism, instead of putting it down.

Bordering on big countries like China and Russia, the Korean peninsula is a geographical springboard to a continent.

Regarding the Korean peninsula as a strategically important base in the Asia-Pacific region, the United States, after socialism collapsed in the former Soviet Union and several other countries, intensified its moves to

crush the DPRK.

In the beginning, it spread the theory of “the DPRK’s self-destruction,” but when the theory proved groundless, it kicked up a new fuss over the latter’s “suspicious nuclear programme.”

It insisted on “nuclear inspection” of the DPRK in a bid to isolate and suffocate it.

As this fuss cut no ice with the DPRK, it staged the joint military exercise *Team Spirit 93*, forcing it to accept special inspection. This created a touch-and-go situation on the Korean peninsula.

The DPRK was at the crossroads of whether to fight against the United States, the only superpower in the world, or kneel down before it.

The attention of the world was focused on the DPRK.

To cope with the prevailing situation, Kim Il Sung ensured that resolute self-defensive measures were taken to defend the security and sovereignty of the country.

On March 8, 1993, the Supreme Commander of the Korean People’s Army issued the order to declare a state of war readiness for the whole country, all the people and the entire army, and on March 12, the DPRK government released a statement declaring that the DPRK would

withdraw from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

It was a bombshell declaration for the United States. It feared that the withdrawal could fatally disrupt the US monopoly of nuclear weapons, a major means of realizing its strategy for world supremacy.

The best option to prevent this from happening was to hold a dialogue with the DPRK. Eventually, water of diplomatic solution started to flow under the thick layer of ice of the DPRK-US confrontation.

With this as a background, former US President Jimmy Carter visited the DPRK in June 1994.

As the 39th president of the United States, he was still exercising some influence after his retirement, supporting incumbent President Bill Clinton.

As Jimmy Carter became the first US president, former or incumbent, to visit Pyongyang and he was in close relations with the sitting US president, his visit drew the attention of the world.

The world media commented that his visit to the DPRK coincided with the declaration of the DPRK to withdraw from the NPT, and that his visit had both symbolic and sombre aspects and the United States was sending Jimmy Carter, one of its influential, high-ranking figures, for the

temporary recovery of its diplomatic clout.

The world's attention was focused on how President Kim Il Sung would receive Jimmy Carter and how he would address the DPRK-US confrontation over the nuclear issue, which had gone to extremes.

It was a general understanding that although his visit had been announced as a private one, it could not be seen irrelevant to the US administration.

On June 15, 1994, Carter and his party arrived in Pyongyang via Panmunjom.

The following day Kim Il Sung met him, his wife and his party at the then Kumsusan Assembly Hall, had a photo session with them and held talks with them.

Kim Il Sung expressed his expectation that Carter's visit to Pyongyang would be the first step in building mutual confidence, saying that if they met again, the confidence would increase.

After expressing his deep thanks to Kim Il Sung for letting him visit Pyongyang, Carter said: Although I am here in my own capacity, I am visiting your country under the agreement with many high-ranking government officials of the United States including President Bill Clinton and with a full understanding and authorization of the US government.

I think it is a serious mistake that the UN and the secretariat of the International Atomic Energy Agency have recently created a crisis regarding the DPRK. I hope we would be able to find a solution to the crisis during my current visit. I will do my best for the establishment of peaceful relations between the two countries and for peace in the Korean peninsula.

Kim Il Sung said to Carter: There may be big and small countries, but not senior and junior ones. The United States should neither despise nor look down on the DPRK, but it should approach the DPRK on an equal footing.

Referring to the “special inspection” and “sanctions” the United States was much clamouring for, he said: It is now attempting to impose sanctions on us. We are not afraid of sanctions. We have so far lived under sanctions. Not a day has passed for us to live outside sanctions. The United States, Japan and other countries have imposed sanctions on us. But we have lived on without much trouble up to now. Do you think we cannot manage to exist if we are put under further sanctions?

In fact, since it adopted the Trading with the Enemy Act in December 1950, the United States imposed ceaseless economic and military sanctions upon the country by

invoking the law on regulating arms export, the foreign aid act, the regulations on international arms dealings and others.

This was what Carter himself admitted.

Carter acknowledged that the DPRK leader broached without hesitation the subtle and acute issues between the DPRK and the United States and spoke frankly about them.

Carter called the White House on the night of the 16th.

It was on the morning of June 16 in the United States, later than in Korea, when Carter called.

That morning Clinton was holding a meeting of the National Security Council at the White House, reviewing the Korean question to finally decide countermeasures including war preparations, irrespective of Carter’s visit to Pyongyang. Still, the DPRK was a communist state hostile to the United States.

On June 15, the United States submitted a draft resolution on sanctions against the DPRK to member states of the UN Security Council, and at the meeting held at the White House on the morning of June 16, President Bill Clinton gave final approval to the demand that the UN Security Council impose sanctions on the DPRK. It was at this time that the phone from Carter in Pyongyang rang.

After explaining in detail about the talks with the DPRK leader, Carter emphasized his opinions that sanctions cut no ice with the DPRK, that its demand for the provision of light water reactor was reasonable, and that it was necessary to continue talks with the country. Then he said that when he was meeting President Kim Il Sung again, he would tell him that the sanctions measures against the country would be cancelled, asking Clinton if it was alright.

Though he had already given the final approval on the matter of sanctions, Clinton admitted through the telephone conversation that sanctions would not work at all. He could not but agree with Carter.

When President Kim Il Sung met Carter and his delegation again on June 17, the former US President told him what he had told the White House over the phone last night, and informed him that the demands of the DPRK on a series of issues for improving the DPRK-USA relations were satisfied, including the US decision to cancel its planned sanctions on the DPRK.

Kim Il Sung thanked Carter for it and continued: We do not care whether the United States cancels its planned sanctions or not. We are not to blame for being opposed to

the United States; it is the United States that provokes our hostility. We do not trust the Americans because they do not trust us. You have harassed us, and in spite of your pressure and harassment, we can certainly manage to exist.

That day Kim Il Sung went to the West Sea Barrage with him on board a vessel.

Filling Carter's glass with Paektusan Bog Bilberry Wine, he had a talk with him in a free atmosphere.

He talked in detail about different fields, including the miraculous story of building the West Sea Barrage, one of the largest of its kind in the world, an estimated crop harvest in the country, the development trends of the international relations and so on.

Kim Il Sung explained to Carter without rigid formality the Korean people's heroic struggle for applying the Juche idea, his view on global peace and the future of humankind.

After returning to his country, Carter said that President Kim Il Sung was full of vigour and wisdom, that he not only was possessed of a detailed and profound knowledge of everything but also generous, adding that he was greater than George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln, the most illustrious in the founding and

development of the United States, put together.

The sensation of the world was great.

The Indonesian newspaper *Indonesian Observer* wrote: President Kim Il Sung and his country have become great victors due to Carter's visit to Pyongyang. His visit turned out to be helpful in improving the image of the DPRK. The US efforts to pressurize Pyongyang into disclosing its nuclear programme have failed.

The Portuguese newspaper *O Pubico* wrote: Availing itself of Carter's visit to Pyongyang, the DPRK has caused a great confusion in the US diplomacy and rendered their attempt at sanctions ineffective. The recent course clearly demonstrated Kim Il Sung's stratagem as a great strategist.

After Carter's visit to Pyongyang, the United States formally withdrew its planned sanctions against the DPRK, which had been presented to the UN Security Council, and came back to the DPRK-US talks.

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