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80 Years with the Original Ideals and Spirit

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Preface

The 80th founding anniversary of the Workers' Party of Korea falls on October 10, 2025.

The Korean people look back upon the past eight decades over which the WPK has led them along the road resplendent with victory, going through thick and thin with them.

Korean revolutionaries accomplished the historic cause of founding the Party on October 10, 1945, less than two months after their country's liberation.

This was an event that brought about a dramatic turn in the destiny of the nation.

The past eight decades of modern Korea are run through with the spirit of independence and creativity, with which the WPK has led the people to achieve national prosperity, developing the country in the political, economic and defence fields.

Then how has the WPK maintained its revolutionary and peopleoriented character without degenerating or vacillating in the face of trials and tribulations of history?

"Become competent officials of the Party and the state, who work always with the people among them, standing in the van of the people, for the independence and sovereignty of the country and the freedom and happiness of the people.

"August 1948"

This is a message sent by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, founder of the WPK, to the graduates from the then Central Party School.

Encapsulating the WPK's original ideals and spirit, this message gives an answer to the question of "Why have the people absolutely supported and trusted the Workers' Party of Korea?"

Over the long years the WPK has remained faithful to its original ideals and spirit, enjoying absolute support and trust of the people and performing great exploits for the country and people, the times and history.

This book is dedicated to the Workers' Party of Korea in honour of its 80th founding anniversary.

1. "Political Commissar" of the Guerrilla Army

At noon on August 15, 1945, all the radios and loudspeakers in Korea broadcast the pitiful murmur of Japanese king Hirohito.

"... If we continue this war, the Yamato nation will never avoid the fate of perishing. Then, how can we face the dynasty and its forefathers?"

The brigandish Japanese imperialists that had subjected the Korean nation to indescribable misfortunes and pains for more than 40 years were defeated, and the achievement of the historic cause of national liberation opened a wide avenue for the Korean people to build a new country.

There were quite a few who claimed to be patriots or leaders, but none of them could indicate proper ways for building a new country and ensuring a free and happy life for the people. Their theories, both conflicting and misleading, threw the masses into confusion.

In September 1945 General Kim Il Sung, saviour of the nation, returned to the country quietly. In those days all the Korean people were looking forward to seeing him, as they absolutely admired and trusted him and pinned all their hopes on him.

However, he introduced himself as the Political Commissar of

Kim Il Sung's guerrilla army.

Days before his return to Korea, he discussed with the officers of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army how to build the party, state and armed forces in the liberated homeland. When he suggested introducing himself as the Political Commissar of Kim Il Sung's guerrilla army, all the officers objected to the idea.

Stressing that they should always be realistic in their thinking, he recounted the situation in the homeland.

The stationing by Soviet and US troops in the Korean peninsula created the danger of it being turned into a site of fierce showdown between socialism and capitalism.

To make matters worse, when the country was liberated, a great number of self-proclaimed patriots and revolutionaries appeared one after another from nowhere, trying to avail themselves of the confused political situation to win their popularity.

Kim Il Sung said: Under the prevailing situation we have only one way ahead of us. Only by achieving the unity and cohesion of all the people, can we develop Korea, once a weak colony, into a great, powerful state. It is urgent to go among the people in order to unite them and learn about their aspirations and demands.

The officers of the KPRA had presumed that even though it might be hard to build a new country, the endeavour would not be so challenging as the struggle for regaining national independence.

Kim Il Sung resumed:

In fighting to win back the lost country, we always believed in the people and relied on them. So, we won victory after victory. Likewise, by relying on the people, we should take the first step towards building a new country. By doing so, we can build a people's country to the envy of the world.

After returning back to the homeland, the officers became better aware of his intentions while witnessing what was happening there.

They were confronted with numerous challenges in making preparations for founding the party, which was the basis of nation building.

The most pressing task facing them was to found a party, the General Staff of the Korean revolution, in order to consolidate the internal forces of the revolution and step up the building of a new country.

At that time the Korean communist movement was not making smooth progress, mainly owing to the factionalists' moves.

Most of the self-claimed revolutionaries, who had been active in the country, were infected with factionalism, and the pseudo-Marxists and careerists, who had returned from abroad, were throwing obstacles in the way of building a unified party.

Each group of factionalists and regional separatists formed a party overnight with its own faction as the centre, scheming to build its mass base in the region under its influence.

Kim Il Sung put forward a policy of founding a party with the

communists who had been trained and tempered in the protracted anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle as the core and by embracing other communists who had been active at home and abroad.

There were some who suggested forming a party only with those who had been involved in the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. Their opinion was not unfair.

The First Secretary of the then South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee was the first revolutionary, whom Kim Il Sung met in Pyongyang.

The following is part of a conversation between them, which offers a glimpse of Kim Il Sung's views.

. . .

First Secretary: In my view, the so-called communists in the country are not trustworthy. Each faction has proclaimed its own party centre and those of the provincial party committees are seeking their selfish interests.

Kim Il Sung: We believe that they can all become our comrades, and we decided to join hands with them to found a unified party central committee.

First Secretary: I think that it is a good idea to form a new party with those who participated in the guerrilla struggle.

Kim Il Sung: We object to the idea. We should believe in them and achieve unity with them. We have already dispatched our comrades to work as deputy chiefs of their parties.

First Secretary: Do you mean you recognize them as your comrades?

Kim Il Sung: You are right.

First Secretary: I can't understand you.

Kim Il Sung: If we form a separate party, the existing communist party organizations will end up being torn apart. So, we have decided to embrace them all.

First Secretary: As far as I know, Lenin expelled opportunistic Mensheviks to preserve the purity of the revolutionary Bolshevik party.

Kim Il Sung: It was part of the decisions adopted at the Sixth All-Russia Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party. We do not view that the communists in the homeland are on a par with Mensheviks. We believe in them and we will work together with them.

First Secretary: But they are keen on hegemony.

Kim Il Sung: We will achieve unity on the basis of recognizing their existence and vested rights.

. . .

Kim II Sung suggested that the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee make preparations for holding a meeting of representatives of provincial party committees, and gave detailed advice on how to do so.

On the other hand, he met many officials of the regional party

organizations and the communists who had returned from abroad, and explained to them the Juche-oriented policy of founding a party.

On the basis of these preparations, a preliminary meeting for founding a party was opened in Pyongyang on October 5, 1945.

Kim Il Sung took part in the meeting in the capacity of Political Commissar of Kim Il Sung's guerrilla army.

The First Secretary of the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee presided over the meeting, saying:

"We, senior officials of the five provincial party committees, have gathered here today in the presence of Comrade Political Commissar of Kim Il Sung's guerrilla army to discuss the agenda to be submitted to the Inaugural Congress of the Party, which is to be convened a few days later, and the matter of who should be entrusted with the writing of the reports on the agenda items. The reports will deal with the party's political and organizational lines and the work of the regional government organs and provincial party committees. If there is an opinion, please submit it."

As soon as he asked for opinions, some participants, who had been wearing complicated looks obsessed with winning power, began to reveal their true nature, arguing that the delegates from their respective provinces should be entrusted with writing the reports.

The chair of the meeting stood up, and said:

"We were in hiding in the homeland while being engaged in

underground activities. Do we know enough about a party? In my opinion, the report on the party's political and organizational lines should be made by Comrade Political Commissar of Kim Il Sung's guerrilla army."

Now silence settled over the meeting hall.

As the participants calmed down, the Political Commissar suggested, as a way of encouraging the revolutionaries at home to open their hearts at the preliminary meeting, that the report on the work of the regional government organs and provincial party committees be prepared by the first secretaries of the South Phyongan and South Hamgyong provincial party committees, and the report on the party's political and organizational lines, by himself.

His reasonable proposal won unanimous approval, and the preliminary meeting proceeded smoothly.

The historic Inaugural Congress of the Party was held from October 10 to 13, 1945.

It was attended by more than 70 persons including the anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans and leaders and activists from the five provincial party committees.

When the congress was declared open, some participants repeated what they had insisted at the preliminary meeting, the point of which was how the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee and its first secretary could convene the meeting of a "central" nature.

The meeting proceeded with arguments without entering the

stage of discussion of the main agenda items until lunchtime.

At last, the Political Commissar motioned to the delegates to be quiet.

He said that the congress was not called by the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee or its first secretary, pointing out that picking a quarrel over somebody's entitlement to convene the congress was tantamount to a personal insult.

Many felt ashamed of themselves for losing their decorum.

The Political Commissar went on to say:

The political situation is grave, but we, communist revolutionaries, are still arguing with one another over isms and assertions of all hues, instead of working to achieve the unity of action. Today's meeting was not organized according to somebody's subjective opinion or with his permission. It was convened in line with the requirements of the current situation. As for the matter of who called this meeting, I can say that it is none other than you all, who are present here, as demanded by our working class and all other people. We should focus on how to form the Central Organizing Committee of the Party.

Listening to what he had to say, the delegates reflected on the significance of party founding.

He resumed:

We must not forget the bitter lesson taught by our communist movement in the past. Whoever is truly desirous of unity and cohesion and wants to build a dignified and strong Marxist-Leninist party, must refrain from saying anything that might provoke others. The cause of founding a party as the guide of the Korean revolution is by no means something that can be achieved by a few people. Nor can this cause be accomplished by its "central committee" being proclaimed first before building its grassroots organizations. This is clearly evidenced by what we have witnessed today. We should join efforts to achieve unity and create a sound atmosphere. Squabbling in a meeting is not a manner befitting revolutionaries. I suggest that all the delegates refrain from arguing with one another and adopt a more serious approach to ensure this Inaugural Congress a success.

Now the delegates' mood turned serious, and, with the first agenda item on forming the Central Organizing Committee of the Party passing with unanimous approval, the morning session ended.

As the afternoon session began, the Political Commissar made a report, titled, *On Founding a Marxist-Leninist Party in Our Country and Its Immediate Tasks*.

The report that went on for nearly two hours was, rather than a written speech, a programme illuminating ways and means for advancing the Korean revolution on the basis of an in-depth analysis of its concrete situation

Several delegates took the floor, denouncing the factionalists and regional separatists for their moves and supporting the forming of the Central Organizing Committee of the Party.

The meeting adopted a resolution *On the Political Line and the Organizational Expanding and Strengthening*. The second agenda item was the election of members of the Executive Committee and Auditing Commission of the Central Organizing Committee of the Party.

The congress adopted the Party's political and organizational lines.

The political line defined establishing a Democratic People's Republic as the Party's main political mission and put forth four immediate tasks to this end-first, to rally the broad patriotic and democratic forces by forming a democratic national united front embracing all patriotic and democratic political parties and groups and, on this basis, to work for the establishment of a Democratic People's Republic to ensure complete national independence and sovereignty of the Korean people; second, to liquidate the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism and all other reactionaries, who constitute the biggest obstacle to the building of a democratic state, thereby facilitating the development of the nation along democratic lines; third, to form a people's committee, a genuine organ of people's power, in each locality, carry democratic reforms into effect, reconstruct and develop the economy and raise the people's material and cultural living standards, thus laying the main foundations for the building of a democratic, sovereign state;

and fourth, to expand and strengthen the Communist Party and dynamically promote the work of social organizations in order to carry out all these tasks.

Before the closing of the congress, the Political Commissar proclaimed the founding of the Central Organizing Committee of the Party, and made a concluding speech on the tasks to be urgently carried out by the committee.

Many delegates shed tears. It was a moment when a genuine unified party was founded embracing all the communists at home and from abroad, a party they had failed to organize until the country's liberation owing to factional strife, poverty of theories and incompetence.

As for the compositions of the Central Organizing Committee of the Party and its Executive Committee, they were made up of the communists at home and from abroad, and this highlighted the character of the unified party.

The congress closed on the 13th.

Every delegate asked for a copy of the report delivered by the Political Commissar

As there was no sufficient means of printing so many copies, Kim Il Sung decided to organize a meeting and deliver a speech before those who had attended the congress. He told an anti-Japanese revolutionary veteran beforehand that it would be good to let the participants know who he really was.

As the meeting began, the veteran came to the speaker's table and said, "Now General Kim Il Sung, a peerless patriot and the outstanding leader of our nation, will make a speech, titled, *On the Building of a New Korea and the National United Front.*"

All of a sudden, silence fell over the meeting hall, some inside rising to their feet and some others outside standing on tiptoe to look in.

To their astonishment, it was the Political Commissar who took the floor.

He said.

What a hard time you have had so far in the homeland! I am Kim Il Sung.

All exclaimed with delight and burst into enthusiastic cheers, many stamping their feet and many others rushing towards the table.

Kim II Sung motioned to them time and again to calm down and take their seats. Yet, the participants kept shouting "Long live General Kim II Sung!" Unable to suppress the excitement of seeing General Kim II Sung in person, the great man whom they had been yearning to see for so long, they raised loud cheers. Even those who had been so arrogant and impudent clapped warmly.

Only then did the anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans realize keenly why Kim Il Sung had worked as the Political Commissar of Kim Il Sung's guerrilla army since the day of his return to the homeland. He had left out of account his achievements, the greatest in the history of the nation, to go among the people and hear their opinions so as to build a party and new country desired by them and to implant in all the Korean communists a steadfast will for founding a party as a united revolutionary vanguard.

On November 1, 1945, *Jongno* (predecessor of *Rodong Sinmun*) was launched as the organ of the Party.

2. Let Us Unite under the Banner of Democracy!

It happened immediately after the historic Inaugural Congress of the Party was over.

Someone took the platform and proposed holding a nationwide mass rally welcoming General Kim Il Sung's triumphant return to the country.

From then on, the whole country began to bubble over with enthusiasm for welcoming General Kim Il Sung.

Urged repeatedly by his comrades and other people, Kim Il Sung began to write a speech he would make at the rally. The speech was run through with his appeal for national unity and the iron truth that if one believes in the people and relies on them, one will win the world and always emerge victorious.

On October 14, 1945, Pyongyang livened up from early morning. As time went by, the streets in Pyongyang, among them Yokjon, Jongno, Hwanggumjong, Somun and Chilsongmun, were crowded with the people who were heading for the public playground in Pyongyang (the present Kim Il Sung Stadium), the venue of the mass rally.

The rally began at 13:00.

Amid the thunderous cheers and applause, Kim Il Sung mounted the platform with more than 30 representatives of the anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans, officials of the Central Organizing Committee of the Party, the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee and the South Phyongan Provincial People's Political Committee, workers and peasants and other people of all strata.

The MC announced that General Kim II Sung would deliver a speech. When Kim II Sung took the floor, all the people exclaimed with surprise and astonishment.

Recalling the day, Kim Won Gyun, who later composed *Song* of General Kim Il Sung and National Anthem of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, said:

"It was because the General standing before us was so young. Until then, the people had thought that he might be an old man with a long white beard like a famous veteran commander as the legendary tales about him had said. It was a great surprise for us that the General was in his thirties."

The people kept raising stormy cheers.

After a long while, when the cheering subsided, Kim Il Sung delivered a speech, titled, Every Effort for the Building of a New, Democratic Korea.

He said:

Dear fellow countrymen, I should like to express warm thanks to you for giving us such an enthusiastic welcome today.

The abated enthusiasm of the crowd exploded into applause again.

Kim Il Sung continued:

The time has come when our Korean nation should pool its efforts to build a new, democratic Korea. All the people from all walks of life should turn out in the building of a new Korea by giving full play to their patriotic enthusiasm. Those with strength dedicating strength, those with knowledge devoting knowledge and those with money offering money, all of you should positively contribute to nation building, and all people who truly love their country, nation and democracy must unite closely to build an independent and democratic state.

Kim II Sung concluded his speech with an ardent appeal:

Let all the Korean people fight courageously in unison for the building of a new, democratic Korea with great hopes for a bright future and a firm faith in victory.

Long live the independence of Korea!

Long live the unity and cohesion of the Korean people!

Later, Kim Il Sung recollected the feelings he felt at that time in the following vein:

It may be said that the cheers of the people resounding in the Pyongyang public playground on October 14, 1945 were the acknowledgement and reward for the arduous struggle we had waged for the first half of our lifetimes for our country and fellow countrymen. I accepted this reward as the people's love for and trust in me.

The absolute criterion for him to measure the greatest happiness and pleasure of life was just the love, support and trust of the people.

That is why, since the early days of its founding, the Workers' Party of Korea founded by him has regarded it as its political ideals and climate to make selfless, devoted efforts for the good of the people.

Even after the founding of the Party, there were persistent manoeuvres against its political line.

Contrary to the Party's line of building a people's power, the Rightist and "Leftist" elements advocated waging the socialist revolution immediately and founding a "people's republic."

Kim Il Sung advanced a line of building a new, democratic country of the Korean style, not the American style nor the Soviet style.

This line reflected the specific situation in the country after liberation. Actually, in building a new country, it was unreasonable to set out a requirement below or above the level of its historical development. In addition, it was a cherished desire of the Korean people who, being deprived of freedom and rights, had long been exploited and maltreated under the feudal system and then in the days of the Japanese imperialists' military occupation.

In order to lead the masses along the road of progressive

democracy, which would make all the people genuine masters of the country and provide them with freedom and happiness, not in words but in practice, mass organizations had to be organized, which could embrace all classes and strata of society and represent their interests.

The Party focused on uniting the people of different social strata.

Immediately after liberation, many mass organizations of different social strata, together with various political parties, were formed spontaneously in the country, which caused unnecessary duplication and conflict, meaningless rivalry and competition. This made the political situation all the more complex.

Most complicated was the youth movement. Without a unified centre, organizations were formed in provinces or in regions, with such different names as Young Communist League, Nation Building Youth League, Peasant Youth League and Young Men's Christian Association. In particular, the Young Communist League organizations, which were formed in Pyongyang and other parts of the country in a dispersed way and acted in their own way, embraced only a handful of advanced elements. The YCL proved to be too small to unite all the progressive young people of liberated Korea.

In order to put this political situation to rights and make the young people take the lead in building a democratic nation, the Party put forward the line of founding a Democratic Youth League. To this end, it took measures for reorganizing the YCL into a mass youth organization, the DYL, which would embrace not only workers and

peasants but also students, intellectuals and other young people of the broad strata

The conference of active democratic youths, held on October 29, 1945, clarified the necessity of founding the DYL, and discussed what needed to be done to carry out the line of organizing it.

The DYL was a large "vessel" that could not be compared with the YCL. The Party intended to embrace all the Korean youth in this "vessel."

However, this work was not all plain sailing.

Not a few YCL members even obstructed it, forming separate organizations for their own sake.

To make matters worse, the "Leftist" elements in the Party opposed the line of founding the DYL, clamouring about "retreat of the youth movement" and "deviation to the right." When adopting the decision on reorganizing the YCL into the DYL, they raised their hands, but behind the scenes they persisted in obstructing the implementation of the line. Their argument was rooted in the mistaken view of the masses that the revolution should be waged by elite elements and the rest should serve them.

It was Kim II Sung who put all these things right and united the young people under the banner of democracy.

At the conference of active democratic youths, he put forth concrete tasks and ways for making preparations for the founding of DYL. And at the meeting to form the democratic youth organization

of South Phyongan Province, held in late November that year, he set the direction for organizing the DYL and pointed to the necessity of generalizing the experience across the country.

His ennobling patriotic will to rally all the Korean youth for the great cause of building a new country under the uplifted banner of unity was fully supported by the young people including students, who were sensitive to the new and enterprising.

In January 1946, a conference of representatives of the DYL organizations was held in Pyongyang, in which the forming of the Democratic Youth League of Korea was declared. This was a youth league embracing broad sections of young people in a large "vessel." After the forming of this youth league, the Korean youth movement greeted a new heyday.

In the days of building a democratic country, the youth league members fully displayed the stamina of the Korean youth, and during the Fatherland Liberation War many of them, including Ri Su Bok and Jang Thae Hwa, fought heroically in defence of their country.

These glorious traditions are now being carried forward thanks to the Workers' Party of Korea's idea and line of attaching importance to the youth.

On November 18, 1945, before the forming of the youth league, the Democratic Women's Union of Korea was formed.

It was quite surprising that, before any other social organizations,

the women's union was formed a little more than a month after the Party was founded as the General Staff of the revolution.

In the country women accounted for half of its population. For thousands of years they had been subjected to all manner of political, legal and feudal oppression. They had not been granted freedom of marriage and right to learn; as victims of early marriage and concubinage, they had regarded unconditional obedience as their fate.

However, after the country was liberated, these women turned out in the building of a democratic state, in defiance of all the social fetters that had bound them hand and foot.

What served as a turning point in correcting the misguided public view of women was the First Conference of the Democratic Women's Union of Korea, held in May 1946. The Party hosted a fortnight-long special workshop for the participants in the conference.

At that time the Pothong River improvement project was underway in Pyongyang to prevent the city from being flooded in the rainy season. When the ranks of women came to the project site, singing songs and beating drums and gongs, the thousands of men working there wondered who they were. They were surprised to learn that as participants in the conference of the women's union, the women were from different parts of the country and came to the site on the initiative of the anti-Japanese war heroine Kim Jong Suk.

The people pooled efforts and completed the project in a little more than 40 days, a project which had remained unfinished for ten years under Japanese imperialist rule.

The strength of unity was so great. The Korean people realized through firsthand experience that the strength of the masses, who believed in themselves and turned out in the struggle with the consciousness of being masters, was inexhaustible.

In the post-liberation days, with the Communist Party becoming a ruling party and democratic political parties and social organizations having been formed, the Party worked to organize the national united front in the form of a coalition of political parties and social organizations, unlike in the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.

It paid close attention to the work with the nationalists and religious people as well.

In a talk with the nationalists in November 1945, Kim II Sung said that in order to build a democratic, independent and sovereign state, all the people should be firmly united under the banner of democracy, and that the nationalists should not reject communists but cooperate with them with a correct understanding of them.

When he met religious believers, he advised that they should believe in a Korean God, if they believed in one, emphasizing that this meant that they should believe in Korea. This brought many religious believers to their consciousness; later, the Christian Federation of Korea was formed and it joined in the united front movement.

In addition to the democratic youth league and the democratic women's union, other organizations of various social strata-among them, the Federation of Labour Unions, the Federation of Peasants Associations and the General Federation of Art-and several democratic political parties were formed one after another.

In establishing the people's government and carrying out democratic reforms, the Party took the initiative in cooperating closely with the democratic political parties and social organizations.

On the basis of these achievements, the Democratic National United Front, a united front organization, was formed in July 1946.

It comprised four political parties—the Communist Party, Democratic Party, New Democratic Party and Chondoist Chongu Party—and 13 social organizations—the Federation of Trade Unions, Peasants' Union, Democratic Women's Union, Democratic Youth League, Christian Federation, General Federation of Art, Buddhist Federation, etc.

This united front played a major role in building a new country, embracing more than six million people from all walks of life who accounted for the majority of the country's population at that time.

3. For the Building of a New, Democratic Korea

The liberation of Korea brought great joy to its people, yet every one of them was worried about their future.

The major concern for workers was who would manage their factories and give them wages, and for peasants, whether they should continue to work as landlords' tenants. Intellectuals were at a loss for what to do and entrepreneurs feared that they might be liquidated.

To cope with the situation, the Party decided to enforce land reform first and then other democratic reforms.

Immediately after liberation, peasants made up almost 80 per cent of the country's population.

The landlords, who made up only 4% of the total number of households in the countryside, owned 58.2% of the total area under cultivation, but the poor peasants, who accounted for 56.7%, possessed only 5.4% of the total crop area.

It was a wish of all the peasants to till their own land, but it was still a wishful thinking. It was necessary to enhance their political awareness so that they could realize how unreasonable the longstanding feudal exploitation was.

On October 16, 1945, some days after its founding, the Party adopted a decision on the land problem at the First Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of its Central Organizing Committee, and at the Second Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting, organized a relevant commission as a standing apparatus for land reform.

According to this decision, the peasants waged a struggle for 3:7 tenancy system, and the mass media launched a publicity campaign for the purpose.

The peasants were awakened and grew conscious of the exploitative nature of the landlords.

As a result, the 3:7 tenancy system was basically carried out, remarkably raising the political awareness of the peasants; from February 1946, the movement of the peasants petitioning for land was waged throughout the countryside.

This large-scale petition movement encouraged the peasants to commit themselves to the struggle against the landlords with a correct understanding of their class status, disheartening the reactionary forces.

The terror-stricken landlords gave up their ownership of land one by one. For example, 24 landlords in Sinuiju gave up the ownership of a combined total of 19 hectares. Similar things happened in many parts of the country including Kaechon, Sunchon and Phyongwon counties.

One of the most critical issues in implementing the land reform was to observe the principle of free confiscation and free distribution. This was to be accompanied by a fierce class struggle. Even those who were advocating "immediate socialism," were worried so much as to say that the landlords would attempt to retaliate if their land was confiscated free of charge.

After referring to the experience a foreign country had gained in its land reform and considering the actual conditions in Korea, the Party decided to adhere to the principle of free confiscation and free distribution in implementing the land reform in order to make the tillers genuine owners of the land, and it also made sure that the confiscated land be owned by the peasants, not by the state.

The feudal system of land ownership had been in place for a long time in Korea. The peasants were well aware that they had been subjected to harsh exploitation by the landlords because they had no land for their own, so it was their lifelong wish to till their own land. If this wish was ignored and the confiscated land was nationalized as it had been done in a foreign country, it would be impossible to raise the peasants' revolutionary enthusiasm and achieve victory in the land reform.

Another important issue in enforcing the land reform was to correctly define the land to be confiscated and the major target of struggle.

If those who rented out their land even a little or those who had

a large area of land and rented it out were all defined as landlords without carefully considering the relations of land ownership, those that could be won over through the land reform might be defined as the targets of struggle, making the class struggle complicated.

The only criterion for correctly defining the land to be confiscated, the methods of confiscating and distributing the land and the way for liquidating the tenancy system once and for all in conformity with the situation in the countryside had to be found among the peasant masses, who had been subjected to exploitation and oppression.

From December 1945 to February the following year Kim Il Sung visited the rural communities in Taedong County and other places to acquaint himself with the specific situation in the countryside and listen to what the peasants had to say. His intention was to formulate the principles and ways for enforcing the land reform in conformity with the country's actual conditions.

The peasants' opinions were reflected in the policy on the land reform; those who owned more than five hectares of land each and rented it out to the landless peasants were defined as landlords, as they were exploiters in the true sense of the word.

The landlords thus defined numbered 44 000 and the peasant households with no land or a small area of land totalled over 720 000.

Also, the property of the landlords, as well as their land, was to

be confiscated, but not that of the persons who had more than five hectares but did not rent it out to the peasants.

The historic law on land reform was promulgated on March 5, 1946.

In order to ensure that the peasants would perform the role of masters in this struggle, the Party organized more than 11 500 rural committees involving farmhands and poor peasants, and dispatched a support team of over 10 000 progressive workers to the countryside.

The land reform was carried out relatively smoothly and thoroughly in a little more than 20 days.

Thanks to the land reform, more than one million hectares of land, formerly owned by the Japanese, pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and the landlords with more than five hectares each, were confiscated free of charge and distributed without compensation to 724 522 peasant households with no or little land.

Indeed, the land reform was a landmark event which broke the chain of age-old exploitation in the countryside.

On October 11, 1969, in his lecture delivered to the officials of the Party and state organs, Kim Il Sung said:

The great vitality of the land reform was displayed to the full during the Fatherland Liberation War. Our peasants fought heroically both on the front and in the rear with patriotic devotion and self-sacrificing spirit to defend the Party and the people's

government, which gave the land to them and ensured a free and happy life for them, and to safeguard the achievements of the democratic reforms.

As soon as the war broke out in June 1950, young and middleaged peasants volunteered to the front and fought devotedly to protect their land.

With the land reform being completed, the Party tackled the task of nationalizing the country's major industries.

Nationalization of major industries was a task of the antiimperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution to make all the people including industrial workers masters of the major means of production and lay down economic foundations for prosperity of the country and nation and construction of socialism.

It was not just an economic issue, but a sensitive political issue decisive of defending national sovereignty and interests.

Before liberation, Korea's industry was monopolized by the Japanese and pro-Japanese elements, and the development of the national economy had been seriously hindered; according to the statistics of the Japanese imperialists, 93% of the total capital of Korea belonged to the Japanese capitalists, 2%, to the other foreign capitalists, and 5%, to the Korean capitalists.

Immediately after liberation, Korea had to develop its economy literally from scratch. Facing their imminent defeat, the Japanese imperialists destroyed all the industrial facilities they had brought to plunder Korea of its raw materials and other resources.

In September 1945 Kim II Sung dispatched anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans to different regions with a view to laying the groundwork for building the party, country and army.

Under the guidance of these veterans factory workers held rallies, in which factory committees were organized mainly with hardcore workers and it was declared that workers were the masters of factories.

The factory committees in South Hamgyong Province encouraged workers to take control of 24 key factories and 224 medium and small-sized industrial establishments.

The North Phyongan Provincial People's Committee gained control of 69 factories and 13 coal mines, and the railway committees in Chongjin, Rajin and other areas took control of the major railway stations along the east coast and had the railway service put in normal operation three months after their formation.

The North Hamgyong Provincial People's Committee had 160 industrial establishments attached to relevant departments of the people's power organs.

As a result, 80-90% of the factories and enterprises in the country were put under the control of the people's committees before the promulgation of the law on the nationalization of major industries.

The reality demanded that the fact that the major industries belonged to the people be enshrined in law.

At that time the reactionaries, in their schemes to slander the policies of the Party and the people's government and divide the democratic forces, spread various rumours, claiming that the provisional people's committee was trying to nationalize even the medium and small-sized businesses that were employing a small number of workers and that it was going to build socialism immediately in Korea through the nationalization of industries.

Frightened by such rumours, some owners of minor businesses kept money, equipment and raw materials idle and hesitated to operate their businesses.

Some workers said that they would rather go back to their native homes and do farming, noting that socialism was good but it could not be built with destroyed factories.

Having learned about this situation, Kim II Sung wrote every article of the 20-Point Platform so that the people could understand and empathize with the Party's policy.

. . .

- 9. To nationalize big enterprises, transport services, banks, mines and forests:
- 10. To allow and encourage free activity in private handicrafts and trade;

. . .

In March 1946 Kim Il Sung made public this platform through a radio address, in which he specified a whole range of tasks facing the country's democratic government in political, economic, cultural and other fields.

State measures were taken to loan money to those who lacked money, and to help those, who lacked raw materials, with obtaining them. These measures encouraged patriotic businessmen to work with devotion for the building of a new country. Only the factories of a few pro-Japanese capitalists were confiscated, which meant that there were not many capitalists in Korea at the time.

The factories of the native capitalists and minor businesses were not confiscated

Private handicraftsmen and minor businessmen, for example, those who made rubber shoes or cleaned rice, were encouraged to go on with their business in order to provide the people with necessary goods for their living.

On August 10, 1946, the Law on Nationalization of Industries, Transportation, Telecommunications, Banking, etc. was promulgated.

According to the law, all the factories, mines, power stations, railways, telecommunications, banks and commercial and cultural organs, which had been built by the Korean people at the cost of their blood and sweat during Japanese imperialist rule, were transferred to the Korean people, the only legal owners of them. And all the factories and enterprises formerly owned by those who ran away with the Japanese, pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation

were confiscated free of charge, and became the people's property.

With the promulgation of this law, over 1 000 factories and enterprises, which had accounted for 90% of the industries of Korea at that time, became all-people, national property, and the state-run economy held the dominant position in industry, the major sector of the national economy.

Before the promulgation of the law, the Party ensured that an 8-hour workday for factory and office workers was enforced.

It was heart-rending for the workers to see the destroyed economy; what was distressing them more was excessive workday, a remnant of exploitation and oppression.

For the Party, enforcing an 8-hour workday was neither an expression of its sympathy with the workers nor a political slogan for winning popularity after liberation; it was a mission based on its spirit of absolute service for the people and its responsibility for building a new country for the people.

On June 24, 1946, the Labour Law for the Factory and Office Workers was promulgated at the Ninth Meeting of the Provisional People's Committee.

The promulgation of the labour law was a historic event that raised the social status of the working people, who had lived a miserable life, to that of masters of a new era and history so that they could fully enjoy their democratic freedom and rights.

The following is an excerpt from an article carried in Rodong

Sinmun, dated June 24, 1950, on the fourth anniversary of the promulgation of the labour law.

"The material and cultural living standards of the workers of the Republic have grown by leaps and bounds four years after the promulgation of the labour law under the constant care of the government, and they are improving steadily. The workers' income has increased by 63.5% on average, as compared to the previous one. They have also received various bonuses, goods and extra allowances, all being worth hundreds of millions of won, according to the quantity and quality of work done, and they have been provided with working clothes and other necessities free of charge. Fully aware that the interests of the state are essentially connected to their own, the workers have increased labour productivity to 283.4% and industrial output to 377% in 1949, as compared to those in 1946. They did so by voluntarily observing labour discipline and waging an extensive patriotic campaign for increased production."

With the successful implementation of democratic reforms, the country's colonial and feudal social relationship was replaced with a new democratic one.

The Party paid close attention to working with intellectuals, as this was a key to ensuring success in the revolution and construction.

In Korea, just after its liberation, there were literally a handful of intellectuals, most of whom had problematic class origins and past records.

Despite their chequered backgrounds, the Party, trusting in their patriotism, embraced them and put them forward as buttresses for the building of a new Korea. Infinite was its trust in the intellectuals who had gone through thick and thin.

The following is how an intellectual, once dubbed as a "pro-Japanese element," became the director of a hospital under the direct authority of the newly-established Security Officers Training Battalion and was assigned the military rank of a lieutenant colonel.

His wife was Japanese, and in those days the Koreans' hatred for the Japanese was mounting as they had undergone indescribable sufferings under the imperialists' rule for dozens of years.

While having talks with Kim II Sung, he said that he had made up his mind to divorce his wife, adding:

I admit that I had been in the grip of sympathy over the past years. I did not consider our people's pent-up fury against the Japanese. When the Japanese residents return to their homeland, I will have my wife follow them. This is my wife's decision, as well as mine.

Dumbfounded, Kim II Sung could not say anything for a minute. His heart seemed to be breaking at the thought of how much he had suffered as a colonial intellectual. In a voice tinged with agony, Kim II Sung asked him if he had not thought of any option other than divorcing.

Kim Il Sung told the intellectual that he should think twice about it. I will trust in your wife as I do in you, he said.

Overwhelmed with gratitude, the latter crumpled to the floor and burst into tears.

Kim Il Sung resumed:

From today on, you and I should believe in each other and work together. We should become eternal companions, not temporary ones. You should always trust in our Party and people's government, living cheerfully and working hard full of hope and optimism.

Eternal companions—this appellation represented the Party's invariable trust in intellectuals, a source of strength that inspired them to join hands with workers and peasants in the efforts to build a new Korea and establish a people-centred socialist system.

From late October in 1945, the year of Korea's liberation, an increasing number of intellectuals came over to Pyongyang, some walking along mountain paths and some others sailing by boat. Most of them had no relatives or old acquaintances in Pyongyang.

They all distinguished themselves in the efforts to build a new society and achieve the prosperity of the socialist country true to the Party's policies.

The following happened late in July 1946, the year after Korea's liberation, when the design of the Party's flag was being discussed.

Some people argued that no political party had a writing brush in its emblem

Kim Il Sung refuted this argument, saying:

Our intellectuals are not the object of the revolution, but the

motive force of the revolution. Marx, Lenin and Mao Zedong were once intellectuals. Many intellectuals took part in the revolution, so why can they not be the motive force of the revolution?

This was how the emblem and flag of the Party were designed.

The hammer, sickle and writing brush inscribed on the flag of the Workers' Party of Korea throw the WPK's outstanding political programme into bold relief, which eloquently show how Korea, once a weak colonial country, has developed into an independent socialist country over the past 80 years.

4. Origin of the Name of the Workers' Party

The cause of founding a revolutionary party was achieved after the liberation of the country, but the social reality demanded that the Communist Party be developed into a mass party of the working people.

First, qualified communists numbered not many.

The working class was still young in view of the then social relations, and the people lacked a correct understanding of communism because of the Japanese imperialists' misleading propaganda and the factionalists' manoeuvres. In order for the Communist Party to strike its roots deep among broad sections of the working people, it had to admit to it not only the prepared communists and progressive workers but also peasants and intellectuals.

And at that time there existed the New Democratic Party involving many working people in Korea. A democratic party formed in February 1946 to represent the interests of the intellectuals and petty-bourgeoisie, this party was expanding its ranks gradually among the workers and peasants.

In order to prevent the division of the working masses and unite

them into a single political force, the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party should be merged to form a mass party.

After liberation a people's government had been formed and democratic reforms carried out, in the course of which the leading role of the working class was increased to a higher level and the alliance of the workers, peasants and intellectuals consolidated, with the result that they shared interests with one another in the struggle to build a new democratic Korea.

In view of the changed socio-class relations and their similar immediate programmes, it was natural for the two parties to merge into one

To develop the Communist Party into a unified party of all the working people was a lawful requirement of the Korean revolution and the development of the Communist Party itself.

At the consultative meeting of senior officials of the Communist Party, held on June 26, 1946, Kim Il Sung set forth a policy of developing the Communist Party into a mass party of the working people.

Some factionalists in the New Democratic Party instigated its members to bear animosity against the Communist Party and oppose the merger, spreading the rumours that "the merger is a plot of the communists" and that "the Communist Party does not trust the cadres of the New Democratic Party."

However, most of the New Democratic Party members, who

were experiencing the benefits of the democratic reforms carried out under the leadership of the Communist Party, respected and trusted the Communist Party.

On July 21, 1946, the New Democratic Party officially stated its position of supporting the merger, and two days later, sent the following letter to the Communist Party expressing its willingness to merge itself with the latter:

Recognizing that, in order to display more powerfully its strength in the construction of a democratic Korea and accelerate the implementation of the cause of nation building, broader sections of the masses including workers, peasants and intellectuals should be rallied behind an organized body as appropriate to the situation prevailing in Korea by uniting the forces of our two parties by any method, and that this will be conducive to completing the cause of building a democratic and sovereign state, and after careful consideration of the organizing experience of our Party, the desires of most of its members, its relations with your Party, the opinions of the people and the situation in the country, the Standing Committee of our Party dares to propose merger with your Party. This is an expression of our Party's sincerity for building a democratic Korea. We earnestly expect that you will accept our proposal and, after studying it, send us your sincere reply.

On July 24 the Standing Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Party discussed the proposal and adopted a reply

to the New Democratic Party.

Once the merger became the Communist Party's policy, the factionalists set forth the Rightist argument that the revolutionary ideology of the working class could no longer be the guiding ideology of the Party as its character would change after the merger, and attempted to take into the Party even the riffraff to turn it into something like a united front body.

The Eighth Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Party, convened on July 27, 1946, proceeded in an unprecedentedly solemn atmosphere.

The meeting discussed as its agenda items the report to an enlarged joint meeting of the Central Committees of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party, titled, *The Present Political Situation and Our New Tasks*, the name of the merged party, its declaration, programme, draft Rules and the regulations for the election of its central leadership body.

Broaching the issue of the merger, Kim Il Sung asked the participants to express their opinions if any.

Some stood up and asked why the Communist Party should merge only with the New Democratic Party when there were other parties like the Chondoist Chongu and Democratic parties. It was an expression of their lack of understanding of the Communist Party's line of building a mass party.

Kim Il Sung explained:

You don't have a correct understanding of the class characters of those parties. Generally speaking, a party is the vanguard of the classes it represents. The Workers' Party we are going to found will be a vanguard unit of the working people that represents and champions the interests of the workers, peasants and intellectuals. What are the Democratic and Chondoist Chongu parties? The former is a party of the propertied class and the latter is a religious party. If our Communist Party merges with these parties, the Workers' Party will become something like a union, rather than a vanguard unit of the working masses. So we should unite with them through the democratic national united front body. Our merger is not aimed at founding something like a union. Even after the merger, the character of the Party will not change, nor will its guiding ideology be replaced with another. The view that the merger would make the Party a petty-bourgeois and Rightist party is a product of petty-bourgeois heroism and chauvinism. Such selfjustified, "Leftist" view is a Rightist view in disguise. The attempt to admit various elements to the Party is something like trying to turn the Party into a kind of a cooperative, not the vanguard of the working people.

After a pause, Kim Il Sung resumed:

It is most appropriate to call the merged party the Workers' Party. People often associate the word *work* with workers at factories or mines, but it is a constricted view. Not only workers but also

peasants are working, and office workers are engaged in mental labour. As the Party we are going to form by merging the two parties is an organization of the progressive elements of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia who participate in labour, we intend to name it the Workers' Party.

Now all the participants nodded in agreement and clapped enthusiastically.

Some of them raised questions, the answers to which seemed quite obvious to others, but Kim Il Sung took the time to give them a serious explanation.

In giving his replies he did not quote any classical propositions, but his plain language and profound explanation gave the participants a full understanding of the merger.

When all of them understood that, contrary to the established theories, intellectuals could become a component of the Party along with workers and peasants, Kim Il Sung set out his plan for the merger of the two parties.

On July 29 an enlarged joint meeting of the Central Committees of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party was held, in which he clarified once again the purpose and possibility of the merger and presented tasks to this end.

The merger began in early August 1946 in the way of merging the organizations of the two parties from the bottom, from their cells to their provincial committees, and ended in just a month. Between August 28 and 30, 1946, a meeting was convened in Pyongyang to merge the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party. It was attended by 801 delegates, who represented the 276 000-odd members of the Communist Party and the 90 000 members of the New Democratic Party, and, as observers, 100-odd representatives of other political parties and social organizations.

Kim Il Sung made a report, titled, For the Establishment of a United Party of the Working Masses.

In the report he said:

The Workers' Party represents and defends the interests of the Korean working masses and aims at building a prosperous, independent and sovereign democratic state. It should become the leading force in the struggle for independence, sovereignty and democratization of Korea. The basic task facing it at the present stage is to carry out anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic reforms thoroughly on a nationwide scale and establish a Democratic People's Republic by mobilizing broad sections of the masses of the people.

All those attending the meeting understood that the merger was the most reasonable way for ensuring the freedom and democratic independence of their country.

Many members of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Party were elected to the central leadership body of the Workers' Party.

This was a meeting of unity and cohesion, the first of its kind in the history of the nation's communist movement.

The meeting adopted the Programme and Rules of the Party, and decided on publishing *Rodong Sinmun* as its organ—by merging *Jongno*, the organ of the Communist Party, and *Jonjin*, the organ of the New Democratic Party—and *Kulloja* as its politico-theoretical magazine.

The emblem with a hammer, a sickle and a writing brush became the symbol of the Workers' Party, a mass party representing the interests of workers, peasants and intellectuals, and its authority and dignity of blazing the trail for the building of a revolutionary party.

The Workers' Party thus became a mass party representing and championing the interests of all the working people. The establishment of the Workers' Party was a watershed in Party building and the development of the Korean revolution.

The Party has since struck its roots deep among the masses of the people, uniting broad sections of the revolutionary forces around itself.

5. In the Days of Building Regular Armed Forces

It happened some months after the founding of the Party.

An official of the Central Organizing Committee of the Party went to see an anti-Japanese revolutionary veteran, who was engaged in the building of a regular army.

He asked the veteran, "Are we trying to organize a regular army?"

"Anything wrong with that? We should found a regular army soon," replied the veteran.

"I have long wanted to ask you this. Why is it so urgent to build an army now when the Soviet forces are stationed in our country?"

"Let me ask you this then. The Soviet forces are in our country to disarm the Japanese soldiers. Do they have anything to do with our founding of our own army?"

"Of course they do. Recently *Pravda* carried an article about the position of the Soviet Union."

Then the official quoted part of the article:

"As long as there are armed forces of the Soviet Union, the banner of peace and sword of justice, the peoples of Europe will be provided with durable peace and stability."

The official went on:

"The sword of justice of the great Soviet Union is defending our country. Do you still have doubt about the durability of peace?"

The veteran asked, "Then are you going to ask the Soviet Army to stay in our country forever?"

"No, they will withdraw according to the schedule of the wartime agreement."

"Do you mean to say that we should start to build our army at that time?"

"It will not be too late, and by then we will have some economic assets"

The veteran could no longer respond to this absurdity.

That was a prevailing view on the founding of a regular army.

Of course, it was logical to found a state and lay economic foundations for a certain period before founding an army.

But the situation in the Korean peninsula defied logic.

In particular, the moves of the US army that had been stationed in one half of the peninsula were growing dangerous.

On November 13, 1945, Arnold, head of the Military Government, made public Military Government Ordinance No. 28 on instituting the National Defense Headquarters, and according to a plan of setting up the Military English Institute, began to recruit its students.

The National Defense Headquarters made its plans according to the scenario of the US imperialists and, under the control of the US forces, organized military units of different arms and services and dispatched terrorists and saboteurs northwards.

The United States poured a huge sum of money into building the ROK army. During the Korean war unleashed by the United States, the ROK army was superior to the Korean People's Army in terms of military hardware. It was because the ROK army's equipment were part of the "aids" from the United States.

This was a result of the US policy to occupy the whole of Korea as part of its strategy for world supremacy.

Despite the acute situation, those who were sheltering under the umbrella of foreign countries and those who were dreaming of building an army with the assistance of foreign forces, had yet to regain their self-consciousness.

Though the situation was difficult, Kim Il Sung pushed forward with the preparations for founding a regular army. In doing so, he had firm belief in the patriotic Korean people, who, before the country's liberation, had encouraged their sons and daughters to go to Mt Paektu and join in the fight against the Japanese imperialists.

He paid primary attention to inspiring the people with patriotism.

A typical example is the outline which he wrote for the purpose of recruiting the cadets of Pyongyang Institute.

The outline dealt with the purpose and mission of the institute, persons eligible for admission, period of enrolment and recommendation form, referring to the miserable fate the Korean people had faced as a ruined nation, with their country being

deprived of by the Japanese imperialists as it had no proper army of its own, and pointing to the necessity of building a powerful regular army in order to defend the country, which was liberated at the cost of blood, against the imperialists' aggression.

After reading the outline, many young people volunteered to enrol at the institute.

Pyongyang Institute was a military school set up three months after the country's liberation for the purpose of training military and political officers who would constitute the backbone of a regular army.

This shows that priority was given to the training of military and political officers for the founding of a regular army.

In April 1946 the Central Security Officers School was set up with the institute as the parent body.

Kim Il Sung ensured that the Party Department of Pyongyang Institute directly under the Central Organizing Committee of the Party was established and Party cells were formed under it, so that the Party could take full responsibility for the founding of a regular army.

He also ensured that many anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans were involved and played the pivotal role in the work of founding a regular army.

Thus, most of the veterans worked at Pyongyang Institute and the Central Security Officers School to train the backbone of a regular army.

Now that the military schools had been set up, those who had been watching the developments with folded arms, talked about the existing precedents and experience of founding a regular army; these worshippers of big countries claimed that Pyongyang Institute should have a 4- or 5-year course.

However, it was impossible to set a 4- or 5-year course for the institute and there was no financial assurance for it, because at that time there was not a single regular army soldier and the situation was very tense. The only available wealth was the experience of military and political training created in the days of the anti-Japanese war.

The most difficult problem the Korean revolutionaries had faced after organizing the first armed unit was the lack of military and political officers who were capable of commanding a battle or a theatre of war.

Later, recalling those days, Kim Il Sung wrote in his memoirs that he had never before felt the need for a military school so keenly.

Intensive military and political training had been the only option.

Whenever difficult and complicated problems had cropped up on the road of the revolution, Kim Il Sung had organized military and political training courses, including those in Donggang, Matanggou and Baishitan, so as to improve the qualifications of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army soldiers and train them to be

commanding personnel of the army.

In view of this experience, the demands of the prevailing situation and the reality of the country, the Party set the period of the course of the Central Security Officers School as one year.

Many people expressed their dissatisfaction with this; they were of the opinion that the problem of military officers could be solved with the assistance of the Soviet Union like in other East European countries.

The Party could not accept this proposal, because it was obvious that, if military and political officers were trained with others' help, the national defence field as a whole would be dependent on others and the Party's policy of building a regular army of a Juche type could not be carried out properly.

Many military and political officers of worker and peasant origin, who would contribute to the building of a regular army, were trained in those training bases.

A big effort was directed to forming the core units of a revolutionary regular army and organizing arms and services necessary for the building of the army.

The Party set up the Security Officers Training Centre on the basis of the public security corps, railway guards and border guards organized in various parts of the country, with the anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans as the backbone and graduates of Pyongyang Institute as the hardcore.

Security officers training centres Nos. 1, 2 and 3 were organized in Kaechon, Ranam and Pyongyang in August 1946, and their branches, in various parts of the country later.

These centres constituted precious assets for building a regular army.

The Security Officers Training Battalion Headquarters was organized to ensure unified guidance over these security officers training centres. After the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Security Officers Training Battalion Headquarters developed into the Ministry of National Defence, into the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces, and then into the present Ministry of National Defence.

The Air Force and Navy of the new Korea were founded by relying on domestic resources.

Under the guidance of Kim Il Sung branches of the Aviation Association were organized in such places as Pyongyang, Sinuiju, Hamhung, Chongjin and Hoeryong, and the Aviation Association of Korea was founded in December 1945. According to the unanimous desire of the members of the association, Kim Il Sung was elected chairman of the association.

In August 1947 the country's first flying corps was organized, involving the graduates of the air force class of Pyongyang Institute and aviation technicians. The flying corps had about 20 aircraft at that time. In September 1948, the Independent Air Group directly

under the Ministry of National Defence was organized. And with this group as the parent body, the 11th Air Wing of the Korean People's Army was organized in late October 1949.

In June 1946 maritime security forces was organized for the defence of the east and west coasts, which became the buttress for the building of the Navy, but the greatest problem was founding a fleet; the nation had no experience in this regard, and there were no technicians capable of executing the task.

But founding regular naval forces could not be put off.

Korea is a country with long coastlines. That was why *General Sherman* and *Shenandoah*, the US aggressor ships, as well as the ships of the Japanese imperialists, had intruded into Korea through the seas.

An American politician wrote in his book *Roosevelt and Russo-Japanese War* that in the 1860s and 1870s when the US had been discussing how to win naval bases in East Asia, Korea had been considered one of the future bases.

There was no knowing when the United States might ignite a war, as it was occupying one half of the Korean peninsula.

In those days the ROK, at the instigation of the US imperialists, was sending spies, subversive elements and saboteurs through sea channels which were not being guarded strongly enough.

Kim Il Sung maintained that the nation should have naval forces and defend its territorial waters by itself. He had anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans involved in building these forces.

In January 1948 the Naval Security Officers Training School was opened at the north port in Wonsan and in November that year it was renamed the Naval Academy of the Korean People's Army.

In June 1946 the naval security forces of the East and West seas were organized. In late November 1948 these forces were dissolved and developed into the Coast Guards.

In August 1949 the Korean Fleet Headquarters was organized, and its inauguration ceremony was held on the 28th. The fleet was composed mainly of four small-sized gun boats, 200-ton minesweepers like *Sungni*, *Minju* and *Haebang*, and five torpedo boats.

During the Fatherland Liberation War the four torpedo boats of this young fleet sank the US heavy cruiser *Baltimore*, vaunted by the US imperialists as an "island on the sea," and damaged a 14 000-ton light cruiser in the sea off Jumunjin, and a coastal artillery unit fought do-or-die battles, delaying for three days the enemy's scheme to land on Wolmi Island—an operational plan involving more than 50 000 soldiers, hundreds of vessels and about 1 000 aircraft.

The Party pushed forward in real earnest with the work of laying material foundations for the building of a regular army as well.

On October 2, 1945, Kim Il Sung looked round the former munitions factory in the then Phyongchon-ri, Pyongyang, and proposed founding and developing the munitions industry of the country.

In June 1947 the first munitions factory of the country was set up to produce various weapons and other military equipment on its own.

The Party also saw to it that the military structure was reformed in conformity with the requirement of regular army building; a regular system of military and political training and supply services was established; army regulations, manuals and colours and servicemen's oath were instituted; *Korean People's Army March* was composed; and an army newspaper was founded.

On the basis of these preparations, the Korean People's Army, revolutionary regular armed forces, was founded on February 8, 1948.

That day a military parade was held in Pyongyang, in which Kim Il Sung delivered a speech, titled, *On the Occasion of Founding the Korean People's Army*.

In the speech 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. Our army, thus equipped not only with weapons but also with the combat experience, ardent patriotism and noble revolutionary spirit of our revolutionary forerunners, is a

powerful army that will beat back any enemy invasion and always be victorious.

The KPA, which inherited the traditions of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, was composed of the sons and daughters of the working people including workers, peasants and intellectuals, with the anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans as the backbone.

In the subsequent years it grew stronger both politically and militarily, thus demonstrating the dignity and glory of a new Korea during the Fatherland Liberation War.

6. Birth of People's Korea

"What type of people does General Kim Il Sung like? I want to learn about those he gets along with."

This was a question raised by the American journalist Anna Louis Strong to the officials of the people's power organs, after she met the General in August 1947.

She was the first Western journalist to meet Kim Il Sung after Korea's liberation.

During the meeting, she told Kim II Sung that she was sure that he would be elected president when a unified government was established in Korea, before expressing her wish to see him again after the establishment of that government.

The American journalist's stay in Korea was short, but she met a number of people to learn about whom Kim II Sung respected, treasured and loved most.

What drew her attention was the emergence of the ordinary workers, peasants and intellectuals as the leading political force in the country.

As she once said, every country has persons selected to dominate the political arena.

This might vary according to the social systems of the countries,

but even in the countries ruled by communists, the ordinary working masses are the objects of politics and they never constitute the leading political force—this was Anna's view.

Maybe that was why her notebook dealt with many people beloved and put forward by Kim Il Sung.

Among them were Kim Je Won from the Jaeryong Plain, a pacesetter of the movement for donating grains out of patriotism, and Kim Hoe II at the Jongju Engine Corps, a pacesetter of the movement named after him for ensuring regular rail transport by pooling the efforts and techniques of his fellow workers to repair the locomotives damaged by the Japanese imperialists.

The fundamental question in the revolution is that of power.

In its political line the Party set it as the main mission to found a Democratic People's Republic as desired by all the Korean people, and set forth four immediate tasks to this end.

However, great challenges cropped up on the road ahead of the Korean people.

From December 16 to 26, 1945, the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain met in Moscow. While discussing a series of problems to be dealt with internationally after the Second World War, they adopted a decision on the Korean question.

. . .

1. A provisional government shall be established to create

conditions for restoring Korea as an independent state, ensuring its development on democratic principles and quickly liquidating the evil aftereffects of the prolonged Japanese rule, and this government shall take measures for developing the economy and culture of Korea.

- 2. A joint committee of the Soviet and US armies shall be organized for the establishment of a provisional government in Korea; the committee shall work in cooperation with political parties and social organizations in Korea, and the proposals drafted by the committee shall be adopted by the two countries after being deliberated by four countries.
- 3. The joint committee shall, by enlisting the provisional government of Korea and democratic organizations, take measures for aiding and cooperating in promoting social progress, developing democratic autonomy and achieving national independence of Korea.

The draft proposals of the joint committee shall be consulted by the provisional government of Korea and go through deliberation of the governments of four countries—the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and (Nationalist) China—so that an agreement on five-year guardianship over Korea can be drafted by the four countries.

4. To take measures for resolving urgent matters involving the whole of Korea and for coordinating administrative and economic

matters by the Soviet and US military commands on a daily basis, a meeting of delegates of the Soviet and US armies shall be convened within two weeks.

Kim Il Sung listened to this news through radio in his office on December 29, 1945.

So unexpected was this decision that Kim II Sung was surprised, and he also felt unpleasant, as he recalled several times later.

Of course, Korea was a weak, poor country at that time without its own government for the people. However, the three foreign ministers discussed and decided on the Korean question without the participation of Koreans, the party to the question, and without representing their opinion. This was an absolute violation of the sovereignty of the Korean people.

And the Korean people did not ask for such a decision.

On December 31, 1945, a consultative meeting of the department directors of the Central Organizing Committee of the Party was convened.

At this meeting Kim Il Sung made a speech, titled, *On the Decision of the Moscow Three Foreign Ministers Conference on the Korean Question*.

In the speech he clarified his intentions regarding this matter, before continuing:

The adoption of the decision does not mean that a democratic provisional government will be established of its own accord.

Even if this decision is reasonable and the aid of the big powers is altruistic, no other people can build our country for our nation. We must neither pin our hopes entirely on this decision nor try to build our country by relying on foreign countries.

The participants, who had been arguing pro and con over the decision, grew confident as Kim Il Sung was determined to reject the agreement, whatever its international character, if it were not to the liking of the Korean people, and accept it if it conformed to the interests of the Korean revolution.

Kim Il Sung emphasized:

The earliest establishment of a democratic provisional government in Korea depends largely on whether or not we firmly rally all the patriotic and democratic forces by forming a democratic national united front. In the course of supporting and implementing the decision of the Three Foreign Ministers Conference, we should further strengthen the united front with other political parties and social organizations.

He continued to say that it would be a good idea for the Party to publish a joint statement in support of the decision through consultation with other political parties and social organizations, and that similar statements should be issued in the name of all provincial Party committees and social organizations as well as individual personages, before taking necessary steps to this end.

At that time, various political parties and groups in Korea were

unanimous in their desire for establishing a central government quickly as wished by all the people.

At this very moment, the foreign forces interfered in the Korean question by invoking the international decision of the Three Foreign Ministers Conference. In this sense, it could be called a watershed—whether the foreign forces would establish a unified government for the Korean people or the Korean people themselves would establish an independent government.

The United States invented an absurd argument in an attempt to impede the Korean people's efforts to this end.

In fact, it was the United States that convened the conference in haste and engineered the adoption of the decision on the Korean question.

Regarding the Korean peninsula as a "dagger pointing at the Asian continent" and a "gateway to the Asian continent," the United States defined it as one of its key policies to subordinate the peninsula. It would be compelled to give up its interests of national importance if Korea became an independent state.

As the Three Foreign Ministers Conference opened smoothly, Byrnes, US Secretary of State, as ordered by the Washington administration, proposed the Korean question as a main agenda item of the conference

His speech, declassified later, impaired the dignity of the Korean nation

He said in the following vein:

Korea must be placed under a long-term military administration, and then for the subsequent ten years, under the control of an administrative organ established by the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and China, during which the Korean people must be denied the freedom to build an independent and sovereign state. This organ should exercise administrative, legislative and judicial power and enforce trusteeship in Korea. After the termination of the military administration and trusteeship, guardianship should be enforced.

This proposal was rejected there and then by Molotov, foreign minister of the Soviet Union.

Owing to this strong opposition, the US side could not realize its demands. And in accordance with the Soviet side's opinion, the conference adopted a decision on handing over political power to the Korean people, establishing a democratic provisional government in Korea and enforcing guardianship of five years to help it achieve democratic development.

In fact, before this decision was adopted, Kim Il Sung had already pushed ahead with the preparations for establishing a central government in Korea.

The revolution is a struggle for independence, and independence is guaranteed by state power. The people's right to independence finds full expression in state power, and accordingly, if the working masses are to gain complete independence, they should become masters of political power before anything else.

As establishing a government was so important, Kim Il Sung, during the anti-Japanese armed struggle, had included the matter of establishing a genuine people's government in liberated Korea, as the first item of the Ten-Point Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland.

As soon as the country was liberated, he dispatched anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans to different parts of the country to organize local self-governing bodies there, so as to set up, by consolidating and developing them, a power organ that would represent the Korean people's demands and interests and have unified organizational system and authority.

On October 8, 1945, the then five-province administrative bureau was organized on a provisional basis to adopt measures for solving unreasonable problems revealed in the socio-economic life.

The joint conference of representatives of provincial people's committees, held on November 19 that year, proclaimed the organization of Ten Administrative Bureaus in charge of ten realms—industry, transport, posts and telecommunications, agroforestry, trade, finances, education, public health, judiciary and public security.

Chistyakov, the then commander of the Soviet army in Korea, told Full General Stykov:

As a soldier, I have a poor understanding of the social, political and economic life. So I thought that Comrade Kim II Sung, legendary guerrilla hero of Korea, would not pay great attention to the issues related to power building and the economy. But, to my surprise, he has versatile knowledge of politics, the economy, culture and all other fields, which is rich enough to dwarf that of the experts. By virtue of the knowledge, he leads all realms with his outstanding leadership as the leader of the country. Though there are many renowned "theoreticians" in Korea, they, by comparison with Comrade Kim II Sung, look like shrubs under a towering tree.

In his speech delivered at a meeting of the Standing Executive Committee of the Central Organizing Committee of the Party on February 5, 1946, Kim Il Sung proclaimed that the foundations had already been laid for establishing a central government in Korea.

Two days later, a joint conference of leaders of political parties, provincial people's committees and social organizations adopted a decision on the establishment of the Provisional People's Committee with unanimous approval, and elected Kim II Sung chairman of the committee.

After that, proceeding from the specific situation in the country, the Party set forth the task of further developing the Provisional People's Committee as progress was being made in implementing the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

In order to carry out the new revolutionary task, Kim Il Sung

put forth a policy of consolidating and developing the provisional government legally through democratic elections.

Accordingly, the Second Enlarged Meeting of the Provisional People's Committee, held on September 5, 1946, decided to hold elections to the provincial, city and county people's committees in all regions simultaneously on November 3 and adopted the election regulations.

The regulations stipulated that the elections would be held by secret ballot based on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage.

November 3, 1946 witnessed the elections to the provincial, city and county people's committees for the first time in the history of Korea.

That day Kim II Sung went to Sub-constituency No. 52 of Constituency No. 6 in Pyongyang, and cast a ballot for a candidate of working-class origin.

On the basis of the successful democratic elections, the Conference of Provincial, City and County People's Committees was convened in Pyongyang on February 17, 1947. Participating in the conference were 1 159 representatives of provincial, city and county people's committees, democratic political parties and social organizations.

The conference decided to set up the People's Assembly, the supreme organ of state power, and elected 237 persons as deputies

to the People's Assembly at the ratio of one to five by secret ballot.

The First Session of the People's Assembly, held on February 21-22, formed the People's Committee as the supreme organ of administrative execution, and elected Kim II Sung chairman of the committee in reflection of the unanimous desire and will of all the Korean people.

While continuing to carry out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, the People's Committee had to perform the tasks of transition to socialism.

A consultative meeting of leaders of political parties and social organizations was convened on June 29, 1948. It decided to hold general elections, and on this basis, set up a Supreme People's Assembly and establish a central government, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The Second Meeting of the Party Central Committee, held in July 1948, discussed the tasks facing the Party organizations for the enforcement of the Constitution of the DPRK and for the elections to the Supreme People's Assembly.

The elections of deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly were successfully held across the country on August 25, 1948. The electorate, accounting for 99.97% of the voters, participated in the elections, and 212 deputies were elected to the SPA.

On the basis of the successful results of the general elections, the First Session of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was held in Pyongyang on September 2, 1948.

The session adopted the Constitution of the DPRK, and elected Kim Il Sung Premier of the Cabinet of the DPRK, head of state, in accordance with the unanimous will and desire of all the Korean people.

On September 9, 1948, Kim II Sung formed the government of the DPRK, a unified central government for the Korean people, and announced the founding of the DPRK to the whole world.

The following day he made public the Political Programme of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The DPRK is a genuine people's government representing the interests of the people including workers and peasants and firmly safeguarding their independence.

With the founding of the DPRK, the Korean people became a powerful and dignified people carving out their destiny independently, and the DPRK appeared in the international arena on its own terms as a fully-fledged independent and sovereign state.

Now the Party's struggle to build an independent and sovereign democratic state entered a new stage.

7. Defending the People's Country

Having escalated the local war through armed provocations against the DPRK since 1947, the US imperialists unleashed a full-scale war against the country at 04:00 on June 25, 1950. The aim of this war was to nip the young DPRK in the bud and transform the Korean peninsula into a US colony which they could use as a bridgehead for invading the Asian continent and dominating the world.

For the Korean people, it was the start of the three-year-long Fatherland Liberation War.

The war was unprecedented in the world history of wars, in that the DPRK, which was founded less than two years ago, had to repulse the aggression by the imperialist powers headed by the United States with a 100-odd-year history of aggression, which was boasting of being the "strongest" in the world.

The United States hurled into the Korean front huge armed forces, over two million strong, including one-third of its ground force, one-fifth of its air force, the greater part of its Pacific Fleet and some of its Mediterranean Fleet, troops of 15 of its satellite countries, ROK army and Japanese reactionaries, and mobilized vast quantities of up-to-date combat equipment.

However, the Korean people and the Korean People's Army, led by Supreme Commander Kim Il Sung, creditably defended the freedom and independence of their country against the enemy incomparably strong in terms of number and military technology.

During the war the Workers' Party of Korea played a decisive role in winning final victory.

On June 26, one day after the outbreak of the war, the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the WPK organized the Military Commission of the DPRK headed by Kim Il Sung, and concentrated all the state and military authority on it. And it decided on reorganizing the whole country on a war footing and enlisting all human and material resources for victory in the war.

On June 27 the Political Committee adopted a letter from the Central Committee of the WPK to all its organizations and members, and a joint conference of the chairpersons of the provincial committees of the WPK, the Democratic Party and the Chondoist Chongu Party emphasized the need to consolidate their united front and mobilize broad sections of the people to the struggle for victory in the war.

Accordingly, WPK organizations, power organs and social organizations at all levels were reformed as suited to the war circumstances, the command system of the KPA was reorganized to meet the war conditions, and anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans and outstanding Party members were dispatched to the KPA.

In a short time after the war broke out, 800 000 or so young people volunteered to the front, and major factories organized workers' regiments to send them to the front.

As Chairman of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, Premier of the Cabinet of the DPRK, Chairman of the DPRK Military Commission and Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army, Kim Il Sung led the Korean people to brilliant victory, braving manifold trials and difficulties.

Francisco da Costa Gomes, former Portuguese president, once said: The operations plans of the United States were brought to completion through several rounds of discussion by scores of generals including chiefs of staff and military experts of the Western countries which took the side of the United States. But President Kim Il Sung foiled them single-handedly. While witnessing this with my own eyes, I came to realize that he was the greatest military strategist and commander the world had ever seen.

As soon as he received a report on the outbreak of the war, Kim Il Sung set forth detailed tasks for a counteroffensive strategy, saying:

We must quickly send the major army units to the front to form counteroffensive forces and deal a powerful strike to the enemy, thus displaying the true mettle of Koreans. Our strategic policy for the present stage should be to move to an immediate counteroffensive, annihilate the enemy through quick movements and successive strikes before the US imperialists throw their huge forces into the Korean front, and deploy the People's Army units in a mobile way so as to prevent the reinforcements of the US imperialists from landing.

This strategy was scientific in that it was based on an accurate calculation of the balance of forces between the DPRK and the enemy and on keen observation of the enemy's moves and their weak points.

It would take the United States at least a month to ship in huge forces from the US proper and more than a week to dispatch four divisions of its 8th Army stationed in Japan. Moreover, they were not aware of the importance of an army's political, ideological and moral superiority.

In the initial period of the war, the KPA, taking advantage of these weak points of the enemy and bringing its political and ideological, strategic and tactical superiority over the enemy into full play, could build a strong striking capability by concentrating its forces on the front and break the main force of the enemy, thus moving to the counteroffensive before the United States brought in reinforcements.

Kim Il Sung presented specific tasks for implementing the counteroffensive strategy.

His strategic policy envisaged three operations: The first operation was to take Seoul in three days and then advance to Suwon within two days after foiling the enemy's surprise attack and proceeding to move to the counteroffensive; the second operation, to go as far as to Taejon in eight to ten days; and the third operation, to switch to coastal defence promptly after liberating Taegu and pushing down to the coast, and prevent the huge forces of the US invaders from landing.

He said that an effective way for the success of this policy was successive offensives.

As ordered by Kim Il Sung, the KPA switched over to an immediate and decisive counteroffensive all along the front, putting the enemy's attacking formation into disarray along the 1-2km line. The enemy, who had bragged that they would finish the war in three days, started to beat a retreat.

For the enemy, it was a bolt out of the blue that the KPA, having stopped their surprise attack, moved to a decisive counteroffensive all along the front in only 90 minutes.

The sharp and powerful attack by the KPA units converged on Seoul from three directions.

The enemy was on the verge of total collapse.

Finally, Seoul fell at 11:30 on June 28.

Following up this miraculous success, the heroic KPA liberated 90% of the territory under the enemy's control and over 92% of its population in a little more than a month.

During the three days of counteroffensive the KPA killed or

captured about 60 000 enemy troops, captured more than 43 000 small arms, and damaged over 1 400 trucks, 142 guns of various calibres, aircraft, vessels and many other combat equipment.

The enemy lamented that more than a half of their troops were killed, wounded or taken captive in three days before the fall of Seoul, and the army headquarters could confirm only 22 000 soldiers in the military register containing about 98 000.

The KPA's success came not because it was superior to the enemy in terms of the number of troops and combat equipment.

As the enemy acknowledged, the ROK army was 100 000 strong, equipped with American weapons and trained by the American Military Advisory Group, and the US air force and navy were in charge of the aerial and naval operations. The enemy lost three-fourths of their troops four days after the outbreak of the war, and their main force was not merely defeated, but collapsed.

This was a brilliant victory for Kim Il Sung's original strategy of counteroffensive, bold operations with Seoul as the main thrust direction and Juche-oriented tactics of combining operations by large and small units.

The KPA achieved a miraculous success in the sea, as well as on land. The four torpedo boats of the KPA Navy defeated a US flotilla on the East Sea of Korea

In early July 1950, the world media, which had been following the developments on the Korean front, ran articles and comments of military experts on the battle in the sea off Jumunjin.

The KPA Navy's Torpedo Boats Sank US Navy's Heavy Cruiser!
The KPA Navy's Torpedo Boats Sank US Heavy Cruiser: A
Miracle, Not a Battle.

The KPA Navy sank heavy cruiser Baltimore and damaged a light cruiser of US Navy's 7th Fleet with four torpedo boats. This can be described as a bull having been stung by a bee and knocked out in a tussle. This is a miracle which has never been witnessed in the world history of naval warfare.

This news caused a stir in the world.

It was on the evening of June 29, 1950, the day after Seoul fell, that Kim Il Sung received a report that a US flotilla which had entered the East Sea of Korea was bombarding the KPA units on their southward advance and the peaceful towns and villages.

He told the commander of the navy that this flotilla must not be left to its own devices, emphasizing that its heavy cruiser and other warships must be destroyed at any cost. He then gave an order to send the 2^{nd} Torpedo Boat Group and destroy the flotilla.

The commander was surprised. Actually, on learning that the enemy flotilla had moved to the east coast and was engaged in combat actions, he had been thinking of some countermeasures, such as laying mines and deploying coast artillery. The countermeasures were merely defence-oriented, being far from a head-on attack.

The reason was that, except the 2nd Torpedo Boat Group of five

vessels, there were no combat vessels available.

To make matters worse, one of the five vessels was under repair, which meant only four were available.

The enemy's flotilla was composed of a 17 300-ton heavy cruiser, a 14 000-ton light cruiser and a 3 500-ton destroyer, and its equipment included 170 guns of various calibres, including 203mm-calibre guns, and aircraft, several torpedo launchers, and their crew numbered more than 3 500 in total.

In particular, the heavy cruiser Baltimore, dubbed as a "floating island," was a 205m-long giant carrying over 1 700 troops, 69 guns of various calibres and aircraft.

In contrast, every torpedo of the 2nd Torpedo Boat Group, 21m-long and 17-ton heavy, was equipped with two torpedoes and one 12.7mm-calibre AA machine gun, and the crew of the boats numbered 30 or so.

The odds were too great against the KPA.

Kim Il Sung said to the commander of the navy: If we are to attack such a big vessel as a heavy cruiser with torpedo boats, we have to apply close combat tactics. Because a heavy cruiser is high-decked, it cannot fire at torpedo boats at a close range.

When their torpedo boats left in search of the US flotilla, the sailors of the KPA Navy were confident that they would surely win if they fought by applying guerrilla-style tactics as indicated by their Supreme Commander.

The naval battle took place in the sea off Jumunjin. Hit by three torpedoes, the giant *Baltimore* soon began to sink engulfed in fire.

At 09:10 on July 2, 1950, four hours after the battle started, the arrogant heavy cruiser ceased its existence in the East Sea of Korea, the USS *Baltimore* which had lorded it over in the Pacific and Atlantic, almost unchallenged.

The pilots of the KPA air force performed heroic exploits.

During the Pacific War, the Japanese kamikaze pilots, who had been said to have demonstrated the bravery of their army, tried to strike the US B-29 bombers, but failed to fly near them and were shot down by their powerful firepower; after that, they were all terrified just at the mention of the name of the bomber, often touted as "sky fortress."

However, a fortnight after the start of the war, the brave Korean pilots shot down B-29 and F-80, frustrating the enemy's "air superiority."

Also, on July 4, 1950, the KPA destroyed an advance detachment of the "invincible" US 24th Division in the Osan area within merely two hours.

On July 20 the same year, it launched a general offensive to seize Taejon, destroying the US 24th Infantry Division, 1st and 7th divisions of the ROK army, killing or capturing tens of thousands of enemy troops including Commander Dean of the above US division, and destroying or capturing large numbers of tanks and trucks and

hundreds of guns of different calibres, tens of thousands of small arms and many other combat and technical equipment.

By winning a brilliant victory in the Taejon area, the KPA shattered the myth of the "mightiness" of US imperialism.

Although the war was trying, the Korean people demonstrated to the world through mass heroism that they were no longer the miserable people of a colonial country.

On July 13, 1950, the WPK adopted measures for admitting to itself the soldiers who were exemplary in fighting.

As a result, the Party ranks in the KPA increased rapidly, and the soldiers displayed a higher level of bravery and self-sacrificing spirit in battles.

For example, a soldier opened the road of advance for his unit after leaving the words, "Call me a member of the Workers' Party of Korea!"

However, the road to victory was long and beset with difficulties.

Entering September 1950, a serious situation was created on the front.

The United States, having suffered one defeat after another in battles, attempted to launch a "general offensive" on the Raktong River line, while scheming to land large troops in Inchon.

These operations involved over 280 000 troops, 4 700 guns, 970 tanks, 1 800 airplanes and 300 warships.

With keen insight into the prevailing situation, Kim II Sung

put forward a strategic policy for the second stage of the war—to delay the enemy's advance as much as possible in order to save time and thus rescue the main force of the KPA and organize reserve units with which to form powerful counteroffensive forces while organizing a planned retreat.

The first step to implementing the policy was the battle to defend Wolmi Island as a way for coping with the enemy's landing operations in Inchon. For the operations, the US imperialists mobilized over 50 000 troops, hundreds of warships and about 1 000 airplanes.

The defenders of Wolmi Island, by sinking or damaging 13 enemy vessels including three destroyers for three days between September 13 and 15, prevented the enemy from landing, thus giving time to the KPA units defending the Inchon and Seoul areas and making a great contribution to the overall defence operations in the region.

The units defending the Inchon and Seoul areas held out for 14 days, assuring the organizational retreat of the main-force units of the KPA.

Later, AP reported that it was a conundrum how the Korean People's Army in the southern part of the front had eluded the pursuing UN forces, and that they had disappeared into thin air almost overnight.

The US forces' frenzied offensives could not check the organizational retreat of the KPA units and people. The KPA rapidly built up counteroffensive forces and switched over to

counteroffensive in late October 1950, which marked a new stage of the war.

In this way, the KPA combined units in the areas of major attack performed notable exploits in three to four days, encircling and destroying the 1st and 9th corps of the US 8th Army, the 2nd Corps of the ROK army and the Turkish brigade in the upper reaches of the Chongchon and Taedong rivers, and driving the main forces of the enemy in the western sector of the front to the brink of total collapse.

Wilton Walker, commander of the US 8th Army, was killed by a six-man assault group headed by a young platoon leader of the KPA, and other US commanders earned the notorious fame of generals without soldiers

Despite the difficulty of the wartime conditions, the WPK took measures for stabilizing the people's living that deteriorated owing to the heavy bombardment and plunder by the US imperialists.

According to the decisions of the Political Committee of the WPK Central Committee, dated January 21 and March 19, 1951, war victims relief committees were organized first in the capital, provinces, towns and counties and then in rural ri, the lowest administrative unit, to supply food, clothes and other daily necessities to the poor peasants and war victims and daily necessities to the factory and office workers.

State and social assistance to families of the patriotic martyrs and soldiers was organized, schools for honoured disabled ex-soldiers and kindergartens and primary schools for orphans were built, and the decisions for wartime education were adopted.

These measures in the rear encouraged the soldiers to build up their successes.

In early November 1951 the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the WPK put forth the task of expanding and consolidating the WPK as a mass party in conformity with the situation prevailing in the country.

In January 1952, as part of a measure to carry out the decisions of the plenary meeting, the WPK revised the norms of increasing Party membership in the new Party Rules in conformity with the actual demands, and admitted to itself hundreds of thousands of exemplary persons, who had displayed patriotic enthusiasm and devotion on the front and in the rear. More than 140 000 outstanding soldiers were admitted to the WPK in a short span of time.

One year after the plenary meeting the WPK became a powerful mass party with over a million members and 48 933 primary organizations.

In a bid to recover their political and military defeat on the Korean front, the US imperialists attempted to launch a large-scale military offensive.

Eisenhower, who was elected US president in December 1952, said that actions were a better option than negotiation, giving spurs to the preparations for a New Offensive, which was aimed at

encircling and annihilating the main forces of the KPA by separating its front from its rear through large-scale landing operations on the east and west coasts.

To cope with this complicated situation, the WPK consolidated its ranks organizationally and ideologically and took measures for bringing forward final victory in the war.

At the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the WPK, held at the then Moranbong Underground Theatre in Pyongyang in December 1952, Kim Il Sung made a report, titled, *The Organizational and Ideological Consolidation of the Party Is the Basis for Our Victory*.

After the plenary meeting Party organizations at all levels conducted the work of discussing the documents of the meeting in a high political and ideological atmosphere, where a strong ideological struggle was waged against all kinds of anti-Party and non-Party practices like factionalism and liberalism.

In the course of the discussions held in the tense situation on the front, the Party spirit of the members of the WPK was greatly heightened and its fighting efficiency was further consolidated.

The January 1953 letter of the Central Committee of the WPK to all its organizations and members called on them and other people to make full preparations for dealing a deadly blow at the aggressors and, if they dared to launch another military adventure, to turn out as one in the decisive fight to frustrate it and finally drive the US

imperialists out of the country.

True to the letter, the people and the KPA soldiers, led by the Party members, made full preparations.

The battle of Height T in late January 1953 was a prelude to the New Offensive of the US imperialists. Advertising it as a "model battle," they mobilized three divisions and large amounts of military hardware.

Relying on the reinforced tunnels and supported by the artillery units that had rapidly moved from the rear on the order of the Supreme Headquarters of the KPA, the soldiers repulsed the wavestyle attacks by the enemy, thus making the US imperialists give up the New Offensive

By launching three strong offensives between May and late July in 1953, the KPA units annihilated huge forces of the enemy in various regions and seized an area of 343 sq km.

These offensives proved that the KPA was decisively superior to the enemy, and showed that the enemy would face a greater loss if they stuck to the aggressive war behind the curtain of ceasefire talks.

The US imperialists signed the Armistice Agreement at 10:00 on July 27, 1953 in Panmunjom.

The three-year Fatherland Liberation War ended in victory for the Korean people.

Throughout the days of the war the WPK, under the leadership of Kim Il Sung, strengthened its ranks, increased its fighting efficiency

and properly organized and guided all the people and soldiers. It also consolidated and developed the KPA into invincible revolutionary armed forces, skilfully applied Juche-oriented military strategies and tactics, reinforced the rear and strengthened solidarity with the revolutionary peoples of the world.

The Korean people and soldiers, boundlessly loyal to the WPK and the leader, fully displayed unrivalled courage, self-sacrificing spirit and mass heroism.

The world mass media paid tribute to the WPK, which led the Korean people to defeat the United States boasting of being the "strongest" in the world for the first time in history, writing in the following vein: The unrivalled courage, self-sacrificing spirit and heroism displayed by the Korean people and soldiers brought about a miracle. Firmly united, they created a legendary tale in the 20th century of defeating the gigantic US with inferior weapons.

8. Riding Legendary Chollima

Their victory in the three-year-long Fatherland Liberation War earned the DPRK and its people the enviable reputation of being heroic Korea, a heroic people that shattered the myth of the US imperialists' "mightiness" for the first time in history.

Yet, everything in the country was ravaged by the US imperialists' bombing raids, the urban and industrial regions having been razed to the ground and the land under cultivation dotted with bomb craters.

For example, more than 50 000 industrial buildings, 2.07 million houses, 28 632 schools, 4 534 hospitals, clinics and other medical facilities, 579 buildings of research institutes and 8 163 buildings of publishing and cultural institutions were destroyed.

As their country was literally reduced to ashes, the Korean people had to start everything from scratch.

Setting the direction for, and stages of, postwar rehabilitation and development of the national economy was a pressing task facing the WPK.

Against this background there was held in August 1953 the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the WPK.

At this meeting Kim Il Sung made a report, titled, Everything for the Postwar Rehabilitation and Development of the

National Economy.

Given the fact that the national economy was destroyed to such an extent that it was impossible to rehabilitate all its sectors at the same time, the meeting adopted a decision on carrying out the postwar rehabilitation through three stages.

The first stage was to make preparations and adjustments for the overall reconstruction of the ruined national economy in six months to one year; the second stage, to restore the prewar level of production in every sector of the national economy by fulfilling the three-year plan; and the third stage, to lay the foundations for achieving socialist industrialization by carrying out the five-year plan.

To push ahead with socialist revolution and socialist construction on a full scale in the postwar days was an urgent requirement in the light of the socio-economic situation in the country and its people's living conditions.

After achieving their national liberation, the Korean people carried out the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution through the nationalization of major industries, land reform and other social revolutions. They were on the threshold of the socialist revolution when the US imperialists unleashed a war against their country.

As the war reduced the country to ruins and impoverished the people, a gradual transition to socialism was an inevitable requirement of the country's social and economic development, and it was also urgently needed for building up the country politically, economically and militarily.

The plenary meeting defined the basic line of postwar economic construction—to rehabilitate and develop heavy industry on a priority basis while at the same time developing light industry and agriculture.

This was an original line of economic construction that embodied the WPK's Juche-oriented stand.

It had been regarded as a fait accompli to develop light industry on a priority basis and accumulate funds before building heavy industry, or to prioritize heavy industry for a certain period of time and then develop light industry.

However, proceeding from the reality of the specific situation in the country, the WPK found the most reasonable solution to the problem of the correlation between the laying of economic foundations and the improvement of the people's living standards. In doing so it did not restrict itself to the established theories and foreign experience.

In implementing the basic line of postwar economic construction it put emphasis on ensuring that its members enhanced their Party spirit and played the vanguard role in promoting the rehabilitation work.

It also took necessary steps for ensuring that all industrial establishments gave priority to producing and supplying materials needed for the rehabilitation work, and also for restoring the damaged

rural economy as soon as possible. It saw to it that excellent officials of Party and power organs, social organizations and economic institutions went down to factories and enterprises and adopted measures for recovering the damage done to them under a plan and for building houses for workers and office employees there.

The soldiers and other people in the country gave full play to their revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and patriotic devotion, with the result that the Kangson Steel Plant and many other industrial establishments were partially rehabilitated and began operation only two weeks after the end of the war, and the major passenger train lines were reopened a week after it.

In this way the people completed the tasks facing them in preparing for the postwar rehabilitation work in five months, and in 1954, they began to implement the Three-Year National Economic Plan.

In those days the factionalists, big-power worshippers and dogmatists, who regarded the established theories and foreign experience as absolute, came up with theories that were out of sync with the prevailing situation in the country and its specific conditions. They thus threw obstacles in the way of the people's advance.

In April 1955, with a view to instilling in the people confidence in socialism and propelling the socialist revolution and socialist construction on a full scale, Kim Il Sung made public his theses on the character and tasks of the Korean revolution at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the WPK.

In the theses he conducted a scientific analysis of the development of the Korean revolution and the situation prevailing in the country after the end of the war, and clarified the character of the revolution and the basic task for it.

He stressed that the basic task of the WPK at the present stage of the transition to socialism was to lay the foundations of socialism on the basis of the achievements gained in the struggle for the postwar rehabilitation and development of the economy, while consolidating the worker-peasant alliance.

The First Conference of Ideological Workers of the WPK, held in December 1955, set up a milestone in the effort to establish the Juche orientation.

At this conference Kim II Sung made a historic speech, titled, On Eliminating Dogmatism and Formalism and Establishing the Juche Orientation in Ideological Work.

In his speech he clarified the principles to be adhered to in establishing the Juche orientation in ideological work and said:

What is the Juche orientation in our Party's ideological work? What are we doing? We are not engaged in any other country's revolution, but solely in the Korean revolution. This, the Korean revolution, determines the essence of the Juche orientation in the ideological work of our Party. Therefore, all ideological work must be subordinated to the interests of the Korean revolution.

With this conference as the momentum, the WPK applied the principles of independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-reliance in national defence, while giving priority to the effort to establish the Juche orientation in the field of ideology.

First of all, it focused on overcoming a sycophantic tendency of yielding to the pressure from the big-power chauvinists and revisionists, formulating its lines and policies in keeping with the actual conditions of the country and the aspirations and demands of the people, and encouraging the people to implement them by their own efforts

As the WPK established the principle of independence in the revolution and construction, formulated its lines and policies in accordance with its faith, and implemented them without seeking help from other countries, Korean-style socialist construction made dynamic progress.

Thanks to the strenuous efforts the Korean people made under the guidance of the WPK after the end of the devastating war, the Three-Year National Economic Plan was carried out in two years and eight months.

By 1956 the total value of industrial output grew 1.8 times as compared to 1949, the year before the start of the war, and the grain output surpassed the pre-war level, thus virtually removing the colonial lopsidedness of the industry, laying the foundations of the independent national economy and consolidating the dominant

position of the socialist form of the economy.

On the basis of these successes, the WPK roused the people to the struggle for implementing the Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy.

The people had to overcome a series of difficulties in their effort to implement the plan.

The plan demanded a huge investment and advanced techniques, but at the time the country lacked raw materials and funds and was lagging behind in techniques, and the people's living standards were below the pre-war level. In the face of these difficulties, those steeped in the worship of big countries, conservatism and passivism claimed that the speed of advance should be slackened and proposed asking other countries for aid.

To make matters worse, the anti-communist racket by the imperialists and other international reactionaries was raging on, and the big-power chauvinists picked a quarrel with the plan, saying that it was formulated without a detailed study of its feasibility.

To cope with these difficulties, the WPK decided to bring about an upsurge in socialist construction by relying on the masses of the people.

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the WPK, held in December 1956, discussed the national economic plan for 1957, the first year of the Five-Year Plan, and the ways for implementing it.

After advancing a revolutionary policy of bringing about a

great upsurge in socialist construction at the plenary meeting, Kim Il Sung visited the Kangson Steel Plant. He met its 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 outlined the main spirit of the December plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee, the enormous tasks of the Five-Year Plan, the situations at home and abroad and the challenges and difficulties that cropped up in implementing the national economic plan for the following year, before saying:

Our Party trusts 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 next year than planned, things will improve in the country. Solution of the nation's acute steel problem depends entirely on how the workers of this plant will work. You should do your best to resolve this problem by smashing passivism and conservatism which check our advance.

Concluding his speech, he called on the workers of the steel plant to hold higher the torch of the collective innovation movement in accordance with the decisions of the plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee.

Holding high the slogan "Let us advance at the speed of Chollima!" the people brought about a great revolutionary upsurge in socialist construction that year, thus carrying out the first year's

tasks of the Five-Year Plan: The Kangson Steel Plant proactively tapped internal reserves, increased to the maximum the rate of production equipment, and overcame passivism, conservatism and the tendency to think of technology as something mysterious, thus working a miracle of producing 120 000 tons of steel billets with a blooming mill with an annual capacity of 60 000 tons; the Kim Chaek Iron Works produced 270 000 tons of pig iron with the equipment whose rated capacity was 190 000 tons a year; the Hwanghae Iron Works built a large blast furnace in less than one year by relying on its own efforts and technology; despite the three-month-long drought, the peasants reaped a bumper harvest.

They also frustrated the anti-communist and "march north" rackets by the US and other hostile forces.

This success helped towards enhancing the authority and prestige of the WPK and strengthening its unity with the masses of the people, accelerating socialist construction at an exponential speed, and thus promoting the work of laying the foundations for achieving socialist industrialization of the country.

This gave birth to a great upsurge in socialist construction and the Chollima Movement. The movement, which began with the above plenary meeting as the momentum, was a brilliant fruition of the wise guidance of the WPK and an embodiment of its traditional method of working among the masses and the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude

The movement involved millions of the working people in sweeping away all the outdated things and achieving steady innovations in all the economic, cultural, ideological and moral realms and greatly increasing the speed of socialist construction.

"One for all and all for one!"—this slogan was symbolic of the Chollima Workteam Movement which swept the whole country. In the flames of this movement of helping and cooperating with one another—the advanced ones helping the lagging ones and the latter striving to overtake the former—the cooperative reorganization of the rural economy and the socialist transformation of private trade and industry were carried out with credit.

The Korean people built even such equipment as truck, tractor, bulldozer, excavator and 8-metre turning lathe, which had been called ensembles of industry in those days.

The country, which had been famed as heroic Korea in the 1950s for defeating the US imperialists, gained in the 1960s the reputation of being Chollima Korea.

The mass leadership method of the WPK proved its validity in practice, with the people executing the Five-Year Plan in two years and a half in the spirit of riding the legendary horse Chollima.

The total industrial output value in 1960 increased 3.5 times and the grain output 1.3 times as compared to those in 1956, and industry accounted for 71% of the total output value of the country, with the result that the country turned into a socialist industrial-agricultural

state with the socialist relations of production and solid foundations of a self-supporting national economy.

The WPK ensured that the National Conference of General Youth Mobilization was held, in which it called on the young people to play the role of vanguard and shock brigade in bringing about a great upsurge in socialist construction, and the Second National Meeting of the Vanguards in the Chollima Workteam Movement, held to step up the Chollima Workteam Movement.

Subsequently, the flames of revolutionary upsurge flared up across the country.

The WPK pushed ahead with the efforts for carrying out the tasks for socialist industrialization while keeping up with the new revolutionary upsurge.

At the Enlarged Meeting of the 20th Plenary Meeting of its Fourth Central Committee, held in December 1969, the WPK discussed the tasks for the last stage of the efforts for implementing the Seven-Year Plan, and made an appeal to the people for carrying out the Seven-Year Plan to mark its Fifth Congress.

True to the appeal, all the Party members and other working people achieved one miraculous innovation after another in every sector of the national economy; in the course of this, a new Chollima speed, Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method were created and propagated.

The Seven-Year Plan was carried out with credit in the flames of

new revolutionary upsurge. In this period, even though additional efforts were directed to building up the country's defences, industrial production increased by 12.8% on average every year, and the total industrial output value grew 11.6 times in 1970 as compared to 1956, with a 13.3-times increase in the output of the means of production and 9.3-times increase in consumer goods. This meant that in the total output value of industry and agriculture the share of industrial output, which was 34% in 1956, reached 74% in 1969.

Heavy industry achieved rapid progress, equipping itself with the necessary key branches, the core of which was the powerful machine-building industry. In the light industry sector many modern factories were built to meet the domestic demand for consumer goods. As comprehensive technical reconstruction was promoted by relying on the heavy industry bases, all the sectors of the national economy were definitely equipped with modern technology. Mechanization of industrial production was propelled full steam, with some lines being automated.

In the rural economy sector irrigation and electrification were realized, and progress was made in mechanization and chemicalization.

As socialist industrialization was achieved in a matter of 14 years, the DPRK became a socialist industrial state with self-supporting modern industry and developed rural economy, and solid material and technological foundations for socialism were laid.

9. Pursuing the Policy of Simultaneously Promoting Economic Construction and Defence Buildup

Over the past dozens of years since its founding, the WPK, on the basis of its repeated, scientific analyses of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, has built up self-reliant defence capabilities crowned with the successful development of the overbearing nuclear deterrent, thereby frustrating the hostile forces' plots for war at every step and maintaining peace and security in the Korean peninsula and the rest of the world.

In the course of this, the nation has increased its military strength remarkably.

As the Korean peninsula, one of the hottest spots in the world, has been exposed century after century to constant threats of a nuclear war which might have broken out at any moment due to the incessant moves of the hostile forces to start another war, it has been one of the most pressing problems in preserving global peace and security to prevent war and defend peace in the peninsula.

To cope with this rigorous situation the WPK has pushed ahead with a systematic undertaking to upgrade the country's self-reliant defence capabilities both in quality and quantity.

The country's defence industry is readily manufacturing cuttingedge military hardware of the Korean style, thus putting an end to the history of the US imperialists' aggression and nuclear threat.

As was mentioned above, the US imperialists started a war against the new Korea on June 25, 1950, hurling huge aggressor forces into the Korean front.

In an attempt to make up for their repeated defeat in the fight against the Korean people who put up death-defying resistance united firmly behind the WPK, they went so far as to try to use nukes in Korea.

Their plot, however, could not come true as it was strongly denounced by many peace-loving nations around the world. Over the dozens of years since the war they, making it a fait accompli to use nukes against the DPRK, have put the nation under their constant nuclear threat and blackmail.

As taught by the precious lesson it drew from the war, the WPK has made sustained efforts to increase the country's defence capabilities in order to defend the country and people against the US imperialists' ceaseless schemes for a new war.

The first watershed in this undertaking came with the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK, which took place in the first half of the 1960s.

In those days the country was thrown into a tenser situation owing to the US imperialists' moves for another war.

According to its new strategy of coping with nuclear war, "local war" and "special war," the United States stepped up preparations for war, and it also grew undisguised in trying to swallow up small countries one by one.

A typical example is the Cuban Missile Crisis that the US imperialists created in October 1962.

They also deployed large numbers of latest-type weapons in the ROK in an attempt to start another war against the DPRK.

In 1962 alone, the number of their hostile acts reached 1 487, the most typical one being their U-2 spy plane which violated the DPRK's airspace.

The prevailing situation demanded that the WPK adopt a decisive measure to increase the country's defence capabilities while pushing ahead with its economic construction.

The historic Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK took place on December 10-14, 1962.

At the plenary meeting Kim Il Sung advanced a new strategic policy of simultaneously promoting economic construction and defence buildup to cope with the prevailing situation, and then adopted a series of important measures to this end.

The basic requirement of the new policy was to raise the proportion of the defence buildup up to no less than that of the economic construction and push ahead with both economic construction and defence buildup at a high and steady rate, thereby

building up both defence capabilities and economic foundations while improving the people's standard of living.

The plenary meeting adopted a relevant decision, stressing the need for Party members and all the other working people to maintain an alert and prepared posture and build up still greater defence capabilities while pressing ahead with socialist construction as fast as possible, all under the banner of "With a rifle in one hand and a sickle or a hammer in the other!"

In the past the Korean nation had been put under foreign occupation because of its military inferiority.

As it drew a bitter lesson from the nation's tragic past, the WPK began to push ahead with the work of developing the country's self-reliant defence capabilities after the above plenary meeting was over.

The primary emphasis was put on strengthening the Korean People's Army, the main constituent of the defence capabilities.

Kim II Sung came up with the militant slogan of "A match for a hundred" when he inspected an army post on Mt Taedok in February 1963.

The slogan serves as a revolutionary army-building policy in pushing the campaign of turning the army into a body of cadres and modernizing it and in training all soldiers as stalwart combatants who were well prepared both in political and ideological consciousness and in military and technical abilities.

Precedence in this respect was given to arming the service

personnel with sound political and ideological qualities.

Greater energies were directed to the development of modern military hardware.

According to a measure adopted by the WPK, a defence science research centre was established in June 1964, which provided a scientific and technical guarantee for stepping up the project of modernizing the weaponry; in 1967 research commissions were organized to arm the KPA with modern weapons, and similar revolutionary measures were adopted to ensure rapid development of the self-supporting defence industry.

To arm all the people and fortify the whole land constituted an important part of the WPK's policy.

To this end, the Worker-Peasant Red Guards, founded in January 1959, was built up with the demobilized soldiers and other sturdy young and middle-aged people joining it, a well-regulated command system established, and necessary training intensified, all turning out to be effective in strengthening it as a strong paramilitary organization.

It is well known to the world that the Americans perpetrated heinous crimes of all hues during the Korean war, leaving permanent scars in the minds of the Korean people. At the time many people asked for rifles, saying that they would revenge themselves on the Americans. This was how the paramilitary organization came into existence.

All the people turned out in the effort to implement the WPK's policy of simultaneously promoting economic construction and defence buildup. Workers in the defence industry and all other people rendered an active contribution to increasing the country's defence capabilities, as they were well aware that they ought to defend their own villages and workplaces by their own efforts. Allout efforts were directed to making a fortress of the whole country, reinforcing the air and maritime defences and building a lot of factories underground.

In an endeavour to consolidate the rear, a lot of energy was channelled into developing the munitions industry, stocking up on sufficient amounts of material reserves and making preparations for keeping all factories in operation even in wartime. Also, all sectors of the national economy were arranged in such a way as to serve the war effort in case there broke out a war.

As a result, the people could push ahead with socialist construction confidently in defiance of ever-increasing military provocations by the hostile forces.

The *Pueblo* Incident offers a glimpse of US hostility against the DPRK.

On January 23, 1968, the US armed spy ship *Pueblo* intruded into the territorial waters of the DPRK and committed acts of espionage at a spot 7.6 nautical miles away from Ryo Island near Wonsan. During a routine patrol, the DPRK's navy vessels captured the

1 000-ton spy ship and its 80-odd crew members.

The *Pueblo* had been dispatched directly by the CIA; it had various kinds of highly precise and modern intelligence equipment to catch radio waves and discover the positions of military bases.

The map possessed by the crew indicated the positions of the DPRK's military bases and the ship's journal detailed the fact that under the order from the high authorities the ship left Japan's Sasebo Harbour in December 1967 and intruded into the territorial waters of the DPRK to carry out espionage on several occasions.

In capturing the spy ship, the DPRK was exercising its sovereign right. It was a self-defensive measure adopted by the Korean People's Army to defend the country's dignity and security.

Upon being informed of the capture at 02:00, the then US President Johnson claimed that the ship had been in international waters and had never committed acts of espionage, clamouring about retaliation.

On the 24th and 25th of January, the National Security Council met and decided to adopt military measures in retaliation for the capture.

Accordingly, a carrier strike group consisting of the nuclear aircraft carrier *Enterprise*, which had been en route to Vietnam, and four destroyers was dispatched to the waters of the DPRK. An air squadron was brought into the ROK, and emergency mobilization orders were issued to the US forces stationed in Japan and the ROK.

Additionally, the United States dispatched the aircraft carriers *Yorktown* and *Ranger* and the armed spy ship *Banner*. It threatened to bomb Wonsan and get the *Pueblo* back, bringing the situation to the brink of war.

Three days after the capture of the *Pueblo*, a foreign ambassador in Pyongyang officially notified the DPRK government of his government's advice that it would be good to release the ship and its crew into international waters in order to avert grave consequences.

The stand-off between the DPRK and the United States became a focus of international attention.

Will the DPRK hold out?

What will be the choice of the nuclear-armed United States?

When the situation came to such a pass, Kim Il Sung asked Kim Jong Il to decide how he would deal with the *Pueblo* if he were the Supreme Commander.

Kim Jong II answered in a determined voice: I will not release the crew of the *Pueblo* unless the Americans submit a letter of surrender; and since the ship is our spoils, I will not return it even if they present a letter of surrender to us; I will have the US armed spy ship, which has been captured by our People's Army, displayed at an exhibition to tell posterity that this is the spy ship we seized from the Americans

On February 8 Kim Il Sung made a speech at a meeting, in which he stated that the Korean people and the Korean People's

Army did not want war but were never afraid of it, and that they would meet the US imperialists' "retaliation" with retaliation and return all-out war for their "all-out war."

The Korean people and the KPA were put on full alert.

The KPA took immediate steps for suspending preparations for the planned artistic performances and sports competitions. Soon afterwards, however, it resumed them as Kim Jong II's intention was to create a more cheerful atmosphere across the country through artistic and sporting activities even though the enemy forces were making a frantic war racket.

All the ceremonious events planned by the KPA took place according to schedule, delegations of civilians were dispatched to army units, and a national meeting of agriculture was held on the predetermined date.

Commenting on the DPRK's composed posture in the face of the imminent danger, a foreign publication said:

Can Washington bring Pyongyang to its knees? This was the question put to 100 persons with different political views. All replied in similar vein that Pyongyang is already the winner.

On December 23, 1968 the United States sent an official apology to the government of the DPRK, admitting that the *Pueblo* had intruded into its territorial waters and committed acts of espionage. Upon reading it, US President Johnson lamented that it was the first-ever letter of apology in the US history.

Regarding the results of the DPRK-US stand-off, another foreign book said:

Which side apologized and which side won? It is the United States that gave in. Even when the *Pueblo* and its crew were held captive in the DPRK, the US 7th Fleet left the Korean peninsula. The sailors were in detention for nearly one year and they were released on December 23 the same year only after the US government issued an apology for having intruded into the territorial waters of the DPRK. Consequently, President Johnson's re-election bid failed. The documentary dealing with the Cuban Missile Crisis masterminded by the Kennedy administration is a hit in the United States and the rest of the world. The military confrontation over the *Pueblo* Incident and America's subsequent submission have a deeper historic meaning.

Later, Kim Jong Il had the *Pueblo* towed to the site on the Taedong River where the US aggressor ship *General Sherman* had sunk in 1866, and took steps for building a museum in the area to expose the US history of aggression against the country. Now the *Pueblo* is moored on the bank of the Pothong River, where the Victorious Fatherland Liberation War Museum sits.

After looking round the *Pueblo*, a foreigner said: Yankees often boast that the Statue of Liberty and their military strength, which is the greatest in the world, are symbols of the United States of America. This is a misguided view. The symbol of the USA is this

Pueblo, which is moored on the Taedong River.

A retired rear admiral of the US Navy described the *Pueblo* Incident as one of the three humiliations in the history of the US Navy.

In 1969, one year after the capture of the *Pueblo*, the US's large spy plane EC-121 flew into the DPRK's airspace and was shot down by the planes of the Air Force of the KPA.

The international media bubbled with comments on this incident: This is a slap in the face for the United States. How can the small Korea act so daringly? Is it so strong as to tackle the giant empire of evil?

These episodes show that the WPK was right in adopting the policy of simultaneously promoting economic construction and defence buildup on the basis of a scientific analysis of the prevailing situation. By implementing this policy to the letter throughout the 1960s, the Korean people could preserve their international reputation of being a heroic nation.

10. For a New Turn in Party Work

For the DPRK, the 1960s were an era of rapid changes.

Externally, the WPK was standing in the vanguard of the struggle for global independence and the unity and cohesion of the international communist movement, and internally, was waging a vigorous struggle to attain the ambitious goals of the First Seven-Year Plan set forth at its Fourth Congress.

Under the banner of comprehensive technical reconstruction, the Korean people were achieving an annual rate of economic growth of 19.1%.

It was about this time when the imperialists became more undisguised in their moves to unleash a new war, and revisionism appeared in the international communist movement, polluting the spirit of the people.

On June 19, 1964, the great leader Comrade Kim Jong Il started working at the Central Committee of the WPK.

Recalling that day, he said that he felt highly proud but his steps were heavy and he felt a high sense of mission but his heart was full of a mixed feeling.

The following is what an official, who worked with Kim Jong II in the 1960s, wrote about the impression of his first

meeting with him:

When he asked us to teach him a lot, we accepted his humble words as they were. This is no exaggeration. Anyhow, we had been engaged in Party work for ten or more years. It was later that we thought of what we had to teach him. But at the time we felt proud, happy and glorious.

This happened a few days after Kim Jong II started working at the Central Committee of the WPK.

People crowded into the yard of the headquarters building of the Central Committee of the WPK. That day the flag of the WPK was flying on the roof of the building. It was Kim Jong II who hoisted the flag. His will began to flow into the hearts of the people quietly in this way.

He said that it was the flag of the revolution under which the Korean people had overcome ordeals and trials, before continuing:

Ours is the party of the great leader Comrade Kim II Sung that was founded and is led by him. It is a political organization that realizes his ideology and leadership. It has been his party since the first day of its founding. Officials working at the Party Central Committee should have a clear understanding of the roots of our Party. When we talk about our Party, we cannot think about it separated from his name. Our Party should invariably and consistently develop into the glorious party of Comrade Kim II Sung not only today but also in the future. To strengthen

and develop our Party into the eternal party of Comrade Kim Il Sung-this is my lifelong task.

After a pause, Kim Jong Il resumed:

The history of the flag of our Party began when the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung formed the Down-with-Imperialism Union and raised the red flag of the revolution. Since then, our Party began to strike its roots. The history of our Party is the most glorious and brilliant history which has been covered with the red flag. The flag of our Party reflects the history of Comrade Kim Il Sung's great revolutionary activities. Now is the time when we must hold that red flag high. We must hold high the red flag of the revolution and fight more staunchly to accomplish the great leader's cause, no matter what difficulties and trials we may encounter in the way of the revolution. Comrade Kim Il Sung recollected with deep emotion the young communists Kim Hyok and Cha Kwang Su in his early years of revolutionary activities, and said that I should work at the Party Central Committee. Yesterday, when I received his task, I was moved, yet felt heavier the responsibility for the Party and the revolution. I made a firm determination to hold him in high esteem and work in the Party as intended by him. The Party Central Committee is the supreme General Staff of our revolution, and we are career revolutionaries working at the supreme General Staff. No honour or pride is greater than working here as the revolutionary soldiers of Comrade Kim Il Sung, the founder and great leader of our Party, close to him. His instructions that formulated the main line of Party work from the viewpoint of the theory that the leader is the centre was etched in the history of the WPK.

The 15th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK, held in May 1967, was a historic milestone in the WPK's struggle to strengthen the unity and cohesion of its ranks based on the revolutionary ideology of the leader.

Kim Jong II played a major role in successfully holding the meeting and bringing about a decisive turn in Party work after the meeting.

Earlier, a meeting of officials of the Central Committee of the WPK was held in mid-April 1967, in which there were revealed the crimes committed by the anti-Party revisionists in the organizational and ideological work of the WPK and in various other fields of the revolution and construction. During the meeting Kim Jong II concluded that a monolithic ideological system should be firmly established within the WPK, and clarified that the ideological system, both in name and in reality, is the WPK's monolithic ideological system, Kim II Sung's ideological system.

Since then, the WPK has used the word *monolithic*. This was a classic formulation of the invariable organizational and ideological basis of its unity and cohesion.

The historic 15th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK, held from May 4 to 8, 1967, discussed the

issue of thoroughly establishing the monolithic ideological system of the WPK, and the WPK waged an ideological struggle to expose and crush the crimes committed by the anti-Party revisionists against the WPK and the revolution.

According to the unanimous will of the participants, the meeting took a resolute measure of expelling the anti-Party revisionists from Party ranks.

The meeting defined the establishment of the WPK's monolithic ideological system as the general orientation of its ideological work, and decided to wage a Party-wide struggle to root out the evil ideological aftereffects of the anti-Party revisionists and equip all Party members and other working people firmly with the monolithic ideology of the WPK, the revolutionary ideology of Kim Il Sung.

The work of establishing the WPK's monolithic ideological system was conducted in close combination with the practical activities for strengthening the Party life of its members and carrying out the revolutionary tasks. Thanks to Kim Jong II's outstanding ideological and theoretical exploits and his wise leadership, the WPK further developed into a party of the people in the 1970s with Kimilsungism as its ultimate programme.

In his historic conclusion, titled, On Some Immediate Tasks to Be Tackled in the Party's Ideological Work for Modelling the Whole Society on Kimilsungism, made at the Third Conference of Ideological Workers of the WPK on February 19, 1974, he formulated and proclaimed Kim Il Sung's revolutionary ideology as Kimilsungism.

The Juche idea, the essence of Kimilsungism, is an original idea discovered for the first time in the history of human thought, and it clarifies the new man-centred philosophical principle, the socio-historical principles of Juche, and the guiding principles of the revolution and construction. The Juche-oriented revolutionary theory, which gives answers to the questions raised by the revolutionary practice of the new era, comprehensively deals with the theory of national liberation, class emancipation and human emancipation of the present era on the basis of the Juche idea. Kimilsungism also raised and solved the problem of the method of leadership in a new way, and systematized it as its independent component.

The formulation of Kimilsungism as an integral system of the idea, theory and method of Juche provided the WPK with the ideology guiding it in the struggle to accomplish the cause of independence of the masses.

In order to formulate the revolutionary ideology of Kim Il Sung as Kimilsungism, Kim Jong Il had worked day and night to review the 100-year history of ideology of the working class. In those days he had read so many classics that he later said if the books he had read at that time had been piled up, it would have been as large as the plinth of the Tower of the Juche Idea.

In the mid-1970s, when all the subjective and objective conditions for imbuing the whole society with Kimilsungism were matured, he proclaimed the modelling of the whole society on Kimilsungism as the ultimate programme of the WPK.

The WPK made rapid progress in the revolution and construction in the 1970s.

Notable were the economic successes achieved in this period.

In the second half of 1974 alone, thousands of new technologies and inventions, worth hundreds of millions of *won*, were introduced, 45 000 tons of steel were produced, 410 000 tons of scrap iron, 4 000 tons of scrap copper and huge reserves of other raw materials and fuel were obtained, and thousands of pieces of machinery were produced.

In 1975 a large blast furnace was built at the Kim Chaek Iron Works, starting its operation on the New Year's Day; over 1 100 industrial enterprises including the Pyongyang Textile Mill and Pongchon Coal Mine carried out their quotas of the Six-Year National Economic Plan more than two years ahead of schedule, and all units in all sectors of the national economy overfulfilled their national economic plans for that year.

Large-scale metallurgical, chemical, machine-building and building-materials bases sprang up. The Juche-oriented industry began to demonstrate its might by building by its own efforts and technology such large machinery as 2 500-horsepower medium-speed engine, 3 000-horsepower high-speed engine,

2 500-horsepower diesel locomotive, 14 000-ton merchant vessel, 20-metre lathe, 120 000-cubic metre high-pressure blower and 200 000-kilowatt transformer; industrial production increased 1.7 times and export doubled, with coal production 1.7 times, iron ore 1.6 times, zinc and lead 1.5 times, and copper 2.6 times.

The agricultural sector registered a big increase compared to the previous year when it had reaped a bumper harvest.

The economy, by its nature, does not operate according to the people's subjective desires. Its countless links restrict and stimulate one another, triggering a chain reaction. Economic growth and stagnation are regulated by objective laws.

Bourgeois politicians and economists negated the leading role of humans in economic activities, claiming that economic development and stagnation were inevitable as they were controlled by unidentifiable factors.

The Korean people created a miracle in the true sense of the word.

The statistics on economic growth of the DPRK, which the world admired in a word "A miracle," were carried on the Far Eastern column of the Yearbook of the UN.

Thanks to the exploits Kim Jong II had performed since he began to work at its Central Committee, the WPK could develop itself into a revolutionary party in which the ideological and leadership system of the leader has been firmly established, and into a party with steely discipline and strong fighting efficiency.

11. Building a Genuine Motherly Party

Another change that took place in the work of the WPK since Kim Jong Il began to work at the Central Committee of the WPK was that Party work was definitely turned into work with people, both in name and in reality.

The first request he made to his colleagues at the same department was that if anyone came to his office during his absence, they should note down his or her workplace, address and name, and tell him about the visitor when he was back again.

It seemed nothing was more important for him than meeting people.

Some of the officials thought that the young man made such a request because he felt bored of sharing a narrow room with his seniors.

But, later, they found that there were many people who came to see him, but few came to see them. Feeling that this, which they had never thought about carefully, was not a small problem, they were ashamed, yet regretful. They realized that Kim Jong Il's first request was unusual.

He felt relieved only after meeting the visitors in their workplaces or phoning them when time did not allow him to meet them in person. This was a process of discovering the truth of Party work that Party officials should always lend an ear to the people's opinions, talk with them and read their minds.

On June 29, 1970, he said to an official of the Information and Publicity Department of the Central Committee of the WPK:

Achieving a harmonious whole with the masses of the people—this is the mode of existence of our Party. Engels said that the mode of existence of protein is life. I say that the harmonious whole with the masses is the mode of existence of a working-class party.

He stressed that if Party officials tried to do Party work without knowing about people, it was no better than a blind trying to thread a needle, and that they should feel most pleased when rank-and-file Party members came of their own accord and expressed their opinions, and realize that they failed to play their due role if the Party members did not come to see them.

The exploits of Kim Jong II, who made a great discovery for the first time in history that the mode of existence of a workingclass party is achieving a harmonious whole with the masses and defined it as the lifeblood of the WPK, began to be accumulated in a small office of the building of the WPK Central Committee in 1964, which was furnished with low single pedestal desk and simple chair and cabinet

For the WPK that maintains the people-first principle as its inherent nature, what can never be tolerated is the infringement

upon the people's dignity and interests, and what it can never give up is the making of selfless, devoted efforts for their wellbeing.

Kim Jong II said long ago that the best teacher of the WPK is the masses of the people, and that a demand which they do not accept is without exception a subjective desire and an expression of bureaucracy.

The following happened when the National Industrial Congress was held in the presence of Kim Il Sung in Pyongyang in March 1974.

After the congress, Kim II Sung expressed satisfaction over the successful congress, and had a photo taken with the participants in the congress.

However, Kim Jong II seriously criticized some officials of the Central Committee of the WPK who had been seconded to ensure the congress a success, because they had not behaved properly during the photo session.

The participants were divided into three groups, and the officials all stood on the front row of the first group according to the plan drawn by those who had made preparations for the congress, and took this for granted; the participants thought allowing them to do so was a duty devolving on them.

People may think that the officials working at the Central Committee of the WPK together with Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il must have many occasions of posing with both of them. But in the 1970s, just as at present, not many of them had such honourable opportunities.

It is none other than Party officials who work sincerely at the posts entrusted by the WPK but receive much less orders or medals than other people.

Kim Jong II often said:

The word *Party official*, as it implies, is a high commendation. Party officials should always take the lead in carrying out the most demanding undertakings for the people, but when something good offers itself, they must concede it to others.

At that time, however, the officials dispatched to the congress from the Central Committee of the WPK forgot his request as they were overjoyed that they had an opportunity to take a photo nearest to Kim Il Sung.

After the photo session was over, Kim Jong II summoned those officials and convened an emergency meeting. All of the officials were excited with the thought that they had ensured the congress a success and had a photo taken with Kim II Sung.

Recollecting the emergency meeting, an official said:

"All of us were too excited to take seats. Looking at us, General Kim Jong II stood up. Frankly speaking, we expected that he would speak highly of us for having worked hard to make a success of the congress held in the presence of President Kim II Sung. But we were surprised to hear what he had to say:

Because you behaved improperly during today's photo session, the session became one for the senior officials of the Party Central Committee and the Administration Council, not the one for the participants in the congress. Only then did we come to realize what our mistake was. We blushed at our failure to behave properly in front of others."

That day Kim Jong II stressed:

The labour innovators had a rare opportunity to come to Pyongyang and pose for a photo with the President, but officials went to the venue of the photo session in a group and stood on the front row. This is an expression of a lack of the spirit of serving the Party, the working class and the people. It shows that Party officials are growing aristocratic and lording it over abusing the Party authority. The President said that our Party should become a revolutionary party of the working class, not a party of cadres or aristocrats. But today you behaved contrary to his intention. Party officials' liking for pretensions and show-off is an expression that they are officials of a party of nobles and cadres and an expression of the Party-first principle.

A party of nobles and cadres, the Party-first principle–every word was an alarm warning that made the officials shudder.

His words that the WPK is not a party of cadres but a party of the people and it should follow not the Party-first principle but the people-first principle were a picture he was drawing in front of them about how the WPK should develop in the course of implementing the cause of modelling itself on Kimilsungism.

He said in similar vein at the concluding speech, titled, *Let Us Dynamically Step Up the Modelling of the Whole Society on Kimilsungism by Fundamentally Improving and Intensifying Party Work*, which he made at the Fourth Conference of Organizational Officials of the WPK on August 2, 1974.

He said:

That the cadres are becoming bureaucratic is a problem, against which a ruling party must be most vigilant. The cadre is not a bureaucrat, but should be a true servant of the people. Putting on airs, lording it over, abusing authority, shouting at and pressurizing the subordinates and other people without lending an ear to their opinions and being inclined to receive special treatment-these are ways of thinking and behaving of the bureaucrats in the exploitative society, which have nothing to do with the communists. These are fundamentally different from the ways of working and living of the anti-Japanese guerrillas. The officers of the anti-Japanese guerrilla army ate at the same table and led the same life with their men, conceding the merits and benefits to the latter and standing in the vanguard of difficult work like battles. Our Party has inherited such an ennobling revolutionary trait of working and living, which was created personally by President Kim Il Sung. How can the officials of this Party resort to such shameful misconducts as putting

on airs, abusing authority and receiving special treatment? Party organizations should never tolerate but thoroughly overcome the bureaucratic tendency that hinders the implementation of Party policy and divorces the Party from the masses, and thus ensure that the anti-Japanese guerrillas' way of work and life definitely prevails throughout the Party.

The following happened in early December 1982.

According to a measure taken by Kim Jong Il, an emergency enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the WPK was convened.

The agenda item was the labour protection conditions at the August 8 Mine in a remote mountainous area in Jagang Province. There was a graphite ore drying ground at the mine, which raised ore dust winds, making the miners' faces turn black; even their family members could hardly recognize who was whom.

It can't be helped that the faces of the workers engaged in graphite production are daubed with graphite powder—this was the unanimous thought of the senior officials of the Jagang Provincial Committee of the WPK, the officials of the central organs who had been there, and the workers on the production site.

However, Kim Jong II did not approach the matter in the same way.

This was not a simple matter related with labour conditions. It was a matter related with the viewpoint of the people.

At the emergency enlarged meeting the members of the Political Bureau made an analysis and criticism of the mistake made by the chief secretary of the Jagang Provincial Party Committee.

After the meeting was over, the chief secretary told Kim Jong II that he had made a serious mistake.

Kim Jong Il said sternly:

You have said you feel ashamed of your negligence, but you ought to apologize to the workers, not to me. Not only you, the provincial Party chief secretary, and the Prime Minister but also I should apologize to them on our knees for letting them work under such conditions.

The following day, as an extension of the emergency enlarged meeting, a meeting was held in the hall of culture at the August 8 Mine, attended by the senior officials of the Central Committee of the WPK, the Administration Council and the provincial Party committees as well as the workers of the mine.

The chief secretary of the Jagang Provincial Party Committee, beating his chest, made heartfelt apologies.

Even though his apologies were over, a solemn silence fell over the hall. Then suddenly, the participants, as if they had promised, rose to their feet, and shouted, "Long live the dear leader!" and "Long live the Workers' Party of Korea!"

The hall turned into a sea of tears of gratitude; not only the workers but also the above senior officials shed tears

This was how the people raised cheers for the Workers' Party from the bottom of their hearts.

A meeting where a Party official makes apologies before the people and the people make a judgment of him—this can be arranged only by the WPK, which administers people-first politics.

After the meeting Kim Jong Il called the chief secretary of the Jagang Provincial Party Committee to discuss with him the measures for renovating the problematic drying ground.

If the mine suspended production, this might have a negative impact on the production of electrodes, which would result in a reduction in steel output and considerable fluctuations in the overall national economic work.

Emphasizing that the apologies the WPK had made before the working class were not empty talk, Kim Jong Il said:

It will not matter if graphite production is suspended for a while. If graphite is not produced, steel production may be affected; however, we can no longer allow the miners to work under such conditions. The apologies made before the workers should not be empty talk. Even if a legal issue arises from the failed implementation of the plan of the national economy because of graphite, you and I should be responsible for it before the law. If necessary, I'll take the responsibility for it. We must be ready not only to face trials but even to stand on the edge of a knife if it is for the sake of the people including the workers.

This was a demonstration of the nature of the WPK that maintains the people-first principle.

Later, because of its hazardous effects on the workers' health, the Nampho Electrode Factory, the only electrode-producer in the country, was blown up, just as the induction furnace at the then Songjin Steel Works had been pulled down just after the country's liberation.

It was a legendary tale born in the days when the great aphorism—that it is the way of calculation of the Workers' Party of Korea that economic value should not be considered first if it is for the good of the people—was all around in the DPRK.

As the WPK remains fully committed to promoting their wellbeing, the Korean people call it a motherly party and entrust their destiny and future entirely to it.

12. In the Whirlwind of History

The red flag, the flag of the WPK, fluttering on the headquarters building of its Central Committee despite the anti-socialist offensive, is associated with the history of the WPK which has defended the country's Juche-oriented socialist system in the whirlwind of history.

In the 1990s, the imperialist reactionaries, led by the US imperialists, clamoured about the "end of socialism," claiming that socialism was an "unscientific ideal that appeared incidentally in the arena of history" and a "society without future." To make the matters worse, the renegades of socialism defended their crimes, claiming that the ideal of socialism itself was mistaken, and that it was wrong to have conducted the socialist revolution. This assertion was sheer sophistry, but it was undeniable that as progress was made in socialist construction, the limitations of the preceding revolutionary ideas and theories of the working class, those on socialist construction in particular, became more apparent.

This caused ideological confusion among those, who had not grasped the truth of the situation correctly, weakened their faith in socialism and had a serious influence on the accomplishment of the socialist cause The WPK focused on the ideological and theoretical activities aimed at shedding light on the scientific nature of socialism and instilling in the people conviction in the victory of socialism.

Of key importance in this regard were Kim Jong II's three works—The Historical Lesson in Building Socialism and the General Line of Our Party, a talk to senior officials of the Central Committee of the WPK on January 3, 1992; Abuses of Socialism Are Intolerable, a talk on March 1, 1993; and Socialism Is a Science, a work published in 1994.

In these works he specified the reasons for the collapse of socialism in some countries and the lessons drawn from it. He advanced principles to be maintained in laying bare the absurd nature of the sophistry by the enemies who were slandering socialism and in shattering it to accomplish the cause of socialism, and gave a scientific explanation of the inevitability of victory of socialism.

All this was the guiding light for the international communist movement that had been on the wane, and the Pyongyang Declaration *Let Us Defend and Advance the Cause of Socialism* was adopted on April 20, 1992, signed by the representatives of numerous communist and workers' parties. This was a reflection of the signatories' firm resolve to champion and advance the cause of socialism.

The number of the parties that signed the declaration was 70; in six months it increased to more than 140, and more than 170 one year later, and now it has reached a few hundreds.

On August 30, 1997, five years after the publication of the declaration, VOA had a talk with a senior research fellow at Harvard University.

The following is an excerpt from the talk.

Question: The Pyongyang Declaration adopted in Pyongyang in 1992 is called the Communist Manifesto in the 21st century. It would be no exaggeration to say that Pyongyang is a socialist fortress and the heart of socialism in the world. How should the position, role and influence of the Pyongyang Declaration be assessed in the international communist movement?

Answer: Despite the end of the Cold War and ideological confrontation and despite the fact that communism does no longer exist, the DPRK exists as a powerful fortress of socialism and communism. This is an undeniable reality. Kim Jong II, the most thoroughgoing Kimilsungist with the communist ideals, is in the country, and his political forces exist as a group that can exert a great influence on the world. The communists, people and army of his country are firmly convinced that they cannot abandon their socialist motherland even if they may all fall. Moreover, the members of the Workers' Party of Korea and the army are still rallied behind their leader, and the young people with strong

enterprising spirit are united around them.

. . .

In the mid-1990s, the situation grew aggravated, since the imperialist reactionary forces including the United States, by taking advantage of the collapse of the world socialist system, directed the spearhead of their attack on the DPRK, which was invariably holding aloft the banner of independence, the banner of socialism.

In short, the longstanding structure of confrontation between socialism and imperialism changed into that between the DPRK and imperialism.

This grave situation changed the external environment of the DPRK to an extreme extent

In particular, after Kim Il Sung, founder of the WPK and founding father of socialist Korea, passed away on July 8, 1994, the US imperialists intensified their military moves for aggression against the DPRK unprecedentedly and, at the same time, ran amuck to stifle the country by putting pressure on it in all fields of politics, the economy, ideology, culture and diplomacy. They combined the Ulji and Focus Lens war drills, which had been staged for the purpose of invading the DPRK, in 1994 to expand them into the larger-scale Ulji Focus Lens. They also staged Foal Eagle joint military exercises every year, increasing their scale. They openly claimed that if negotiations for the solution of the nuclear issue of the DPRK failed, they would carry out a "threat

of use of military force."

This created a touch-and-go situation in the country.

Meanwhile, the economic difficulties the Korean people were experiencing reached the extreme. As socialism collapsed in several countries and the world socialist market disappeared, the country had to solve the problems of major strategic materials and some of the raw and other materials and equipment needed for socialist construction through the capitalist market.

Taking advantage of this, the imperialists resorted to various kinds of trade sanctions against the DPRK, even spread the rumour of the "May crisis," which claimed that it would not survive beyond May 1996. They mobilized all international control means including the then COCOM, putting the country on the tariff list of most-non-favoured and enemy states and enforcing a discriminatory tariff policy against it. It was their aim to prevent the entry and exit of all materials and completely cut off the international financial transaction routes and thus strangle the country economically.

This checked the import of the necessary technology, funds and materials and economic dealings with other countries.

This had a bad impact on the overall economic construction of the country. The production ties between many major economic sectors were cut off, and a large number of factories and enterprises had to stop or adjust production because of the shortage of essential raw and other materials. In addition, severe natural disasters including cold weather and drought, especially heavy rains and tsunami, hit the country from 1994 to 1997. The result was that dams and reservoirs burst, farmland of tens of thousands of hectares were inundated, many coal and ore mines, towns and rural villages were flooded, ships were destroyed, offshore and salt farms were destroyed, and railways and bridges were washed away. This was followed by a shortage of food, fuel and electricity.

This compelled the country to make the Arduous March, a hard and severe trial for the WPK and the Korean people. The world watched how the WPK would overcome the difficulties.

On New Year's Day in 1995 Kim Jong Il inspected a sub-unit of the KPA.

He had thought over and over again about this question decisive of the destiny of the country, nation and the revolutionary cause of Juche, and in this course he had made a firm determination to prioritize military affairs over all other affairs on the principle of attaching importance to the arms and military affairs, and also to put forward the KPA, which he had long led, as the core and main force of the revolution, and consolidate the motive force of the revolution and, by relying on it, advance the cause of socialism.

His inspection of the KPA sub-unit was a historic event which demonstrated that it was the first and foremost task for the WPK to defend socialism and, to this end, maintain a hardline approach in the confrontation with the US imperialists and strengthen the country's military capabilities.

That day he said to officials:

We must make no concession in the confrontation with the enemy. If we make one concession to the enemy, we will have to make a second concession. And if so, we will have to make a third concession. We must be determined to wage a do-or-die fight against the US imperialist aggressors any time, and if we are to emerge victorious in this fight, we have to strengthen the arms.

After a pause, he went on to say:

I attach great importance to the People's Army as well as to the Party. It is the unshakable faith and will of our Party to direct primary efforts to strengthening the People's Army, and defend our style of socialism and accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche, pioneered by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, on the strength of the arms. Resting on the strength of the arms of the People's Army are peace, the independent and creative happy life of our people and the victory of socialism.

From then on, he cleared the untrodden path of Songun, and when the climate of learning from the revolutionary soldier spirit was highly displayed across the WPK and society and the might of the KPA was further strengthened, he clarified that the WPK's leadership was the Songun-based one and his politics was Songun politics.

Since then, the Songun politics of the WPK, which could not be found in any dictionary of political terms, started.

Kim Jong II, upholding the banner of Songun, led the WPK to defend the people-centred socialism of the Korean style.

The following happened when he was inspecting the units of the KPA on the frontline.

When he said that he would visit a unit on Mt Osong, just a stone's throw from an enemy post, his entourage tried to dissuade him from climbing it. Rising more than 1 000 metres above sea level, the mountain has steep cliffs and deep valleys. Worse still, the road leading to the summit of the mountain needed repair as some parts of it were washed away by heavy rain.

Kim Jong II thanked the officials for their concern about his safety, but he dug his heels in, saying:

The soldiers of the People's Army are on the height, so I have to go there and see them. As the Supreme Commander, I should experience the challenges of the rough road to the frontline in such bad weather if I am to learn about how my soldiers are living.

His car began to move, and the road to the forward command post on the top of the height had 152 sharp bends.

The car advanced along the treacherous road inch by inch up the cliffy mountain. Bushes were rooted out by stormy wind, and the road was muddy and rocky.

Some way up the mountain, one of the car tyres punctured, and it

was promptly replaced with a spare tyre.

After several bends, the car began skidding downward. The driver turned the wheel to salvage the critical situation.

Undaunted by the danger, Kim Jong II looked backwards and found that there were no cars following.

Halfway up the mountain, another tyre punctured. The driver, soaked in sweat, got off and replaced the old tyre. Now there was only one spare tyre remaining.

The car began to move again, and after a while, it slid down.

At this critical moment Kim Jong II got off. He pushed the vehicle up the mountain, joined by the officials.

At last they reached the forward command post, where Kim Jong II met the commander of the local unit. Greeted by the Supreme Commander in wet and muddy attire, the latter could hardly say anything, his eyes brimming with tears.

After a good while, the officer said, "That you, Supreme Commander, should come all the way along the rough road!"

This story illustrates how Kim Jong II defended his country under the banner of Songun.

The WPK developed the state political system of the country into the Songun-based leadership system as required by Songun politics.

Accordingly, an amendment was made to the Constitution to establish a new state machinery with the National Defence Commission as its backbone, and in September 1998, the First

Session of the Tenth Supreme People's Assembly adopted it and elected Kim Jong Il Chairman of the National Defence Commission of the DPRK.

On October 8, 1997, one year previously, the WPK had elected him its general secretary.

Songun politics of the WPK was comprehensively established as a powerful political mode in the course of overcoming the grave difficulties caused by the imperialists' moves.

As required by the prevailing situation, the WPK gave spurs to the effort to increasing the country's defence capabilities, regarding it as a prerequisite for the building of a powerful socialist country.

While putting continuously great efforts into strengthening the KPA in an all-round way, it steadfastly pursued the policy of developing the defence industry as it saw the policy as an essential task in building up the country's defence capabilities.

In his August 2003 talk to senior officials of the WPK, state and economic organs, titled, *Let Us Carry Out the Party's Line of Economic Construction in the Songun Era to the Letter*, Kim Jong II advanced the line of economic construction in the Songun era—developing the defence industry on a preferential basis while developing light industry and agriculture simultaneously.

The WPK mobilized all its members and other people across the country to the effort thoroughly to implement the line of developing the defence industry on a preferential basis.

It directed due attention to producing munitions at full throttle and increasing the quality of war materials radically.

In accordance with the above line, the state and economic affairs were all oriented to the preferential development of the defence industry so as to provide the industry on a priority basis with necessary labour, equipment, raw and other materials as well as electric power.

In order to put itself on an up-to-date and still firmer IT footing the munitions industry was encouraged to follow its own way as suited to its own conditions and to upgrade the production lines.

In keeping with the international trend the country's defence science and technology developed rapidly as the defence scientists and technicians joined in the mass-based campaign for technical innovation. This resulted in the successful development of combat equipment based on latest technology.

Special efforts were directed to the development of nuclear technology to cope with the US imperialists' persistent pursuance of the policy of isolating and stifling the DPRK.

According to the strategic plan of the WPK, the scientists and technicians of the country carried out two successful nuclear tests underground, first in October 2006 and then in May 2009, with their own efforts and technology, thus producing the nuclear deterrent based completely on the nation's own wisdom and technical resources. This meant a serious blow to the hostile forces

that persisted in threatening the DPRK with possible nuclear preemptive attack while pursuing the scheme of isolating and stifling it.

Now the country has possessed an independent defence industry which can fully meet any demand for materials needed by modern war, however enormous it may be, with its own resources. It is an up-to-date industry with the global competitive edge, which is completely independent in manufacturing sophisticated attack and defence means with immeasurable striking capabilities, particularly nuclear weapons which are an ensemble of latest military science and technology, as well as their powerful means of delivery.

These are what the Korean people have achieved by tightening their belts.

No obstacles could check their advance as they have been fully convinced that they can live without candy, but not without weapons.

The DPRK has advanced along the road of development it chose for itself, firmly upholding the red flag of socialism over the long years even in the face of constant challenge and military threat from the hostile forces. This is attributable to the military muscle prepared by the WPK through its idea of self-reliant defence and superb leadership, to the determination of the Korean people to continue to live as masters of their own destiny without falling

victim to the imperialist enslavement policy again, and to the powerful defence industry they have built up overcoming all sorts of hardships.

It is a fact proved by the previous 20th century that the large tree–Korean-style socialism centred on the masses–will never sway in the face of any storm.

13. With the People-First Principle as the Political Ideals of the Party

The WPK has put the people forward as masters of politics and makes selfless, devoted efforts for their sake.

The guiding ideology of the WPK is Kimilsungism-Kimjongilism, whose essence is the people-first principle.

The people-first principle is the inheritance and further development of the political ideal and mode which the WPK has consistently maintained since it inscribed a hammer, a sickle and a writing brush on its red flag.

First of all, the WPK has solved all the problems arising in the administration of politics by giving first and foremost consideration to the people's demands and interests and relying on their strength.

The WPK's slogan "Everything for the people and everything by relying on them!" reflects the firm determination and will of the respected Comrade Kim Jong Un to imbue the whole of the WPK with warm affection for and trust in the people and respect the people and devote everything to them as he holds Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il in high esteem.

Kim Jong Un puts emphasis on establishing across the WPK a climate of trusting in the people and relying on them, setting it as a basic requirement for applying the people-first political ideal and mode.

To trust in the people and rely on them is an intrinsic requirement of the WPK itself, and this is an essential factor in its revolutionary leadership to administrate politics for the people and realize their independence.

The history of the WPK is the ever-victorious history in which it has won victories by trusting in and relying on the people.

Kim Jong Un ensured that officials acquire the revolutionary and popular style of work to always mingle with the masses holding high as ever the WPK's slogans "Let the whole Party go among the masses!" and "Let the whole Party concentrate on work with people!"—showing trust and affection for the people, sharing weal and woe with them, teaching and learning from them, and carrying out the revolutionary tasks by giving free rein to their revolutionary enthusiasm and creative zeal.

The kernel of the WPK's people-first idea is the spirit of making selfless, devoted efforts for the good of the people.

Kim Jong Un has paid close concern to establishing across the WPK a revolutionary climate of making selfless, devoted efforts for the good of the people.

The following happened on December 18, 2011, one day after the demise of Kim Jong II.

Officials concerned were informed that on the evening of the

16th, shipments of fishes had arrived at a port, the delivery of which had been arranged by Kim Jong II.

As the mourning period began, Kim Jong Un had a tight schedule to keep. So, the officials were hesitant about reporting this fact to him.

The fish shipments were associated with Kim Jong II's benevolent care for Pyongyang citizens. Previously, he had fishes supplied to the citizens. On the 16th, one day before his demise, Kim Jong II signed the document on supplying fishes again to Pyongyang citizens on the occasion of New Year's Day. This was the last document he signed in his lifetime.

Upon being informed of the delivery of the fish shipments, Kim Jong Un said that the fishes should be supplied to Pyongyang citizens as quickly as possible as they were brought in according to Kim Jong Il's benevolent measure.

He took specific steps for transporting the fishes to the capital city by a special train.

This was how Pyongyang citizens were supplied with the fishes as the whole nation was mourning the death of their great leader. They all shed tears of gratitude for the benevolent measure adopted by Kim Jong Un.

Here is another moving story.

After the demise of Kim Jong II, the people's sorrow grew deeper.

Heavy snow fell day after day, and despite the biting cold, an increasing number of people came to the outdoor mourning places and stood guard beside his portraits all night long.

Kim Jong Un took all necessary steps for preventing these people from getting frostbitten, and ensured that officials did their best for the sake of Pyongyang citizens during the mourning period.

The following is the letter he sent to the officials concerned.

"The Pyongyang Municipal Party Committee has a very important role to play in overcoming this sorrow we are feeling today. As officials of the committee, you should be fully aware that you are true servants of the citizens in the capital city, faithful servants of the people. With a proper viewpoint of them, you should be effective in providing every convenience for the comfort of the citizens.

"I hope you will console them with maternal affection and take good care of them.

"December 25, 2011 Kim Jong Un"

In those days Kim Jong Un encouraged the people to rise above their heartrending sorrow.

In late August 2015 a sudden downpour of rain hit the city of Rason. Many dwelling houses were leveled, the railways destroyed, communications lines cut off, and the supply of drinking water suspended. The streets were covered with mud and people evacuated. Facing this catastrophic damage, the local residents

were at a loss what to do.

Informed of this devastating disaster, Kim Jong Un immediately gave the officials of the affected city his instructions on adopting necessary measures for recovering the flood damage as soon as possible by rebuilding houses, roads and railways and restoring power and communications lines.

Soon afterwards, at an enlarged meeting of the Central Military Commission of the WPK, he issued an order in the name of the Supreme Commander on assigning the whole of the restoration project to the Korean People's Army to complete it before October 10, the founding anniversary of the WPK.

The KPA units were immediately dispatched to the affected areas and the entire nation rendered active help.

In September that year Kim Jong Un gave on-site guidance over the restoration project.

There he was told that some residents had destroyed their own houses in need of small repairs, as they had heard the news that steps would be taken for building better houses for the flood victims. Their selfish behaviour had enraged other residents and the officials were about to make an issue of this.

Kim Jong Un said to the officials:

You should not make an issue of this. They could not have done so if they had not trusted the Party. The people's trust in the Party is what we value most. For us, the people's trust is the most precious of all.

His words touched the heartstrings of the local people, especially those who had been feeling guilty for what they had done out of greed.

The following month Kim Jong Un looked round the new houses, saying:

Another wonderful village has sprung up in a little more than 30 days. Now I feel relieved to see these nice houses for the people in the flood-hit area who grieved over the loss of their dear homes. We are very happy now, and I believe the flood victims will be most pleased to see their new homes.

The following is an excerpt from Kim Jong Un's New Year Address for 2017, in which he reaffirmed his commitment to making selfless, devoted efforts for the good of the people and which highlighted the WPK's ennobling mission:

"As I stand here proclaiming the beginning of another year, I feel a surge of anxiety about what I should do to hold in greater reverence our people, the best people in the world who have warmly supported me with a single mind out of their firm trust in me.

"My desire was burning all the time, but I spent the past year feeling anxious and remorseful over my lack of ability. I am hardening my resolve to seek out more tasks for the sake of the people this year and make redoubled, devoted efforts to this end. "All our people used to sing the song *We Are the Happiest in the World*, feeling optimistic about the future with confidence in the great Comrades Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il. I will work with devotion to ensure that the past era does not remain a moment in history but is re-created in the present era. On this first morning of the new year I swear to become a true servant who is loyal to our people and supports them faithfully with a pure conscience.

"I will also promote the effort to set up throughout the Party a revolutionary climate of making selfless, devoted efforts for the good of the people."

The spirit of making selfless, devoted efforts for the good of the people permeates the WPK whose fundamental goal is to serve the people.

Over the past several years tens of thousands of new houses have been built across the DPRK; every year 10 000 modern flats have sprung up in the capital city; new houses have gone up in rural areas; the construction of new towns in mountainous and intermediate regions is underway. These new houses have been distributed to working people free of charge.

To other peoples the world over, this fact is something of a mystery.

How can the DPRK implement such ambitious construction projects in the face of constant confrontation with the hostile forces?

More surprisingly, these projects have no negative impact on its economic growth. Recently, its national economy has grown along a steady upward trajectory.

The Eighth Congress of the WPK, held in January 2021, adopted a policy of building 50 000 flats in Pyongyang by 2025–at the rate of 10 000 flats every year, starting from 2021.

Worldwide, 2021 was a year of economic stagnation with the COVID-19 pandemic raging on. In the DPRK, too, emergency measures were in place to stop the malicious virus from spreading.

It was hardly imaginable for such a large-scale housing construction to be undertaken under such trying circumstances.

After the above congress adopted a decision on the housing construction, some officials came up with a plan to reduce the number of flats, on account of a shortage of economic resources.

At the Second Plenary Meeting of the Eighth Central Committee of the WPK these officials' viewpoint and attitude were criticized and a plan was discussed to push ahead with the construction unconditionally.

For the WPK and the government of the DPRK, this was not simply a housing construction. It was their most important and long-cherished task for providing Pyongyang citizens with more stable and cultured living conditions, a task with a direct bearing on their everyday life.

The WPK and the government had already learned about the

number of families that were in need of new houses and conducted in-depth research to determine the measures for solving the problem. They redefined the plan for architectural development and the construction policy on the principle of applying the people-first principle more thoroughly and ensured that a significant part of the state construction budget was allocated for building houses.

On March 23, 2021, a ground-breaking ceremony for the construction of 10 000 flats was held in the Songsin and Songhwa areas of Pyongyang. Since then, a new street with the same number of flats has gone up in the capital city every year.

The Songhwa Street and the Pothong Riverside Terraced Houses District was inaugurated in April 2022; the Hwasong Street, in April 2023; the Rimhung and Jonwi streets, in April and May 2024, respectively; and the 10 000 flats for the third-stage of the Hwasong area housing construction, in April 2025.

Meanwhile, the WPK has carried out the construction of rural houses on a full scale to transform the countryside.

The Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Eighth Central Committee of the WPK, held in December 2021, announced a new prelude to rural rejuvenation.

At this meeting Kim Jong Un made a historic report, titled, Let Us Open Up a New Great Era of Our-style Socialist Rural Development, in which he set it as the most important task in socialist rural construction to radically change the appearance and

environment of the countryside.

It is the WPK's policy on rural construction to develop all rural villages across the country into rich and cultured socialist villages in the near future.

When the national economy was still undergoing difficulties and the country was confronted with huge tasks in its socialist construction, important measures were adopted to achieve rapid rural rejuvenation. This was a manifestation of the revolutionary character of the WPK's and the government's rural construction policy.

This policy was welcomed by the entire population as it reflected their unanimous desire

Every year one village after another has been transformed and agricultural workers move into new houses that sustain their regional features and are excellent in terms of modernity and cultural refinement.

In addition, starting from 2019, greenhouse farms went up in Jungphyong, Ryonpho and Kangdong, in which crop cultivation has been put on an intensive, optimal and intelligent basis.

As a key link in the whole chain of regional development, such rural construction projects for social progress and prosperity ushered in an era of overall development of the DPRK.

As part of a measure to apply the people-first principle to its overall work, the WPK has also ensured that all its organizations and

officials fully understand the public sentiment and work effectively with the people in order to strengthen the ties of kinship with the broad sections of the masses.

In particular, when organizing an undertaking or dealing with a matter that is vital to the people, the WPK has adhered to the principle of examining whether it is conducive to single-hearted unity or not and approaching it prudently on the principle of strengthening that unity.

For example, when preparing for the celebrations of the 66th anniversary of the Korean Children's Union, the WPK ensured that most of the participants in the celebrations were the children of ordinary workers, farmers, service personnel and intellectuals, and the children of those who committed offences against the country were not discriminated in being chosen as delegates if they were exemplary in study and organizational life of the KCU.

The WPK has conducted an intensive struggle to correct all manner of wrong work attitudes and work styles, such as turning a deaf ear to the difficulties facing the people in their everyday lives, working like a flash in the pan or perfunctorily and acting from expediency in the effort to improve their living standards, so that once officials start something, they will push ahead with it until it will contribute to improving the living standards and bring substantial benefits to the people.

Meanwhile, the people-oriented policies of the WPK and the

state have been implemented properly to bring more benefits to the people. The WPK has paid deep attention to sprucing up baby homes, orphanages, old people's homes and sanatoria across the country in order to take good care of orphans, elderly persons without any one to support them, and persons with disabilities.

While putting emphasis on establishing across itself a climate of solving all problems by relying on the people, the WPK has ensured that the people's mental strength is enlisted to the full in implementing its policies.

To this end, it has made sure that all officials abandon the armchair-style work method and go deep among the masses, always sharing weal and woe with them and consulting them to find out reasonable ways for implementing its lines and policies.

In the course of this, the atmosphere of making selfless, devoted efforts for the good of the people has prevailed across the WPK.

14. Translating the People's Dreams into Reality

The WPK remains committed to realizing the people's longcherished dreams and ideals.

The first entity in this respect is the great strength of the country.

Manoeuvrings of the forces hostile to the country have continued from one century into the next, and entering the 2010s, these manoeuvrings reached a more dangerous phase.

Picking a quarrel with the DPRK's satellite launch in December 2012, the United States and its followers railroaded a "sanctions resolution" through at a meeting of the UN Security Council, illegalizing the DPRK's lawful right to launch a satellite and internationalizing sanctions against it.

The United States committed all its three kinds of major nuclear strike means to the Korean peninsula, driving the situation to the extremes. Between January 2012 and December 2015, it staged scores of large-scale military exercises of various kinds, including the maritime firing drill targeting five islands and territorial waters of the DPRK in the West Sea of Korea, and Key Resolve and Foul Eagle joint war games.

To cope with the frantic enemy manoeuvrings, the WPK took the road of death-defyingly defending the destiny of the country and nation, giving spurs to the efforts for strengthening the national defence capabilities with self-defensive nuclear deterrent as the backbone.

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the WPK was held on March 31, 2013.

At the meeting, Kim Jong Un advanced a new strategic line of simultaneously carrying on economic construction and building up the country's nuclear forces.

This line was put forward not simply for military purposes; it is the line of concentrating efforts on economic construction and improving the people's standard of living by relying on powerful nuclear deterrent so that the people can enjoy all the benefits of socialism to the full in the near future and that the country can radically raise the effectiveness of the war deterrent and defence capabilities without increasing military expenditure.

For the country that is confronting the world's biggest nuclear weapons state and receives its constant nuclear threat, it is important to build up its nuclear forces in scale and quality and the peace, prosperity and happy life of the people are guaranteed on the strength of powerful nuclear forces—this is the view of the WPK.

At the above meeting Kim Jong Un said:

The most important issue arising in implementing the Party's line of simultaneously carrying on economic construction and building up the country's nuclear forces is to concentrate all resources on effecting a radical turn in building an economic giant.

This meeting was a historic watershed in which the new line was adopted not as a temporary countermeasure to cope with the rapidly-changing situation, but as a strategic line to be held fast to permanently in view of the supreme interests of the Korean revolution.

The meeting opened a new heyday of strengthening the national defence capabilities.

In February 2013 the country conducted its third underground nuclear test on a high level at an underground nuclear test site in its northern region, as part of its substantial countermeasures to defend its security and sovereignty.

This nuclear test was part of a practical countermeasure adopted by the country to defend its security and sovereignty in order to cope with the United States' hostile act of violating its legitimate right to launch an artificial satellite for peaceful purposes.

For this test, unlike previous ones, a highly explosive, small and light A-bomb was used, and it proved to be safe and perfect and had no negative impact on the surrounding ecological environment.

The operational features, explosive power and other indexes of the A-bomb satisfied the design values, which illustrated the excellent performance of the country's diversified nuclear deterrent.

Success in this test showed the DPRK's stand to make no concession or compromise in its efforts to safeguard its sovereignty.

In other words, it demonstrated the Korean people's unshakeable determination that they would never yield to the hostile forces' sanctions, blockade and military threats and instead adopt powerful countermeasures to defend their national dignity, sovereignty and security.

Foreign organizations and personages issued statements in support of the DPRK's success in the nuclear test.

In its statement Russia's solidarity group with the DPRK said that nuclear deterrent was the only means to preclude the United States from imposing its will on the DPRK, just as it was doing on other countries.

Director-general Vishwanath of the International Institute of the Juche Idea said that the DPRK launched the nuclear test to cope with the United States' hostile policy, stressing that as the Korean people regarded their national sovereignty as their lifeblood, the United States would have to swallow another bitter pill unless it gave up the policy.

Speaking at a conference on disarmament held in Geneva on February 27, 2013, the representative of the DPRK said:

We had no plan of launching the third nuclear test, nor did we feel it necessary to do so. We were focusing on improving the people's standard of living, but the United States put every obstacle in our way. With the US hostile manoeuvres reaching a grave stage, we were compelled to make a crucial decision as we could not work to develop the economy and improve the living standards in a peaceful environment. The decision was to conduct the third underground nuclear test. The United States is fully responsible for the unpredictably volatile situation in the Korean peninsula.

At the Seventh Session of the 12th Supreme People's Assembly, held in April 2013, it was enshrined in law that the DPRK is a nuclear weapons state. This was a proclamation to the whole world that the country's building up of the nuclear forces was no longer a bargaining chip in negotiations with the enemy forces or a point of discussion on the UN arena, but an immediate task of the dignified WPK and a sacred law of the country.

On this basis, the WPK approved a plan for the first test of H-bomb, a super-intense thermonuclear weapon, on January 3, 2016. On the 6th, three days later, the test was conducted successfully, securing the country's position as a responsible nuclear weapons state possessed of H-bomb.

In September the same year, an explosion test of newly-developed nuclear warhead for its power was conducted, followed by the declaration that the country was capable of producing at its own will and as it needs various types of nuclear warheads with great striking ability.

The United States and the West, accustomed to speaking ill of the country, commented that they were quite surprised at the power of its standard, miniaturized and light nuclear warheads and the dynamic build-up of its nuclear capability.

The WPK led an uninterrupted campaign to attain a higher goal of manufacturing nuclear weapons, striking the enemy with terror. As a result, the country's defence industry has become capable of producing all the components of H-bomb domestically and established the Juche orientation in all the nuke production lines, ranging from the production of weapons-grade materials to precision processing and assembling of the parts.

On September 3, 2017, the Presidium of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the WPK adopted a resolution on conducting a test of H-bomb to be mounted on ICBM as part of the effort to attain the final goal of perfecting the national nuclear forces, and the nuclear scientists succeeded in the first test.

The defence scientists succeeded in an underwater ejection test of SLBM in May 2015, in its flight test in April the following year, and in its underwater launching test in August the same year. In October 2019, they succeeded in the test fire of a new-type SLBM *Pukkuksong-3*.

Now the country possessed SLBM, a monopoly of only several countries in the world.

Based on the successful underwater launching test of SLBM in August 2016, the WPK put forward the task of developing the weapon system into ground-to-ground ballistic missile with extended firing range.

The defence scientists and technicians successfully carried out the test-firing of ground-to-ground intermediate-range strategic ballistic missile *Pukkuksong-2* in February 2017, and in May the same year, the test-firing of this missile, which was about to be deployed. This meant that they carried out the tasks entrusted to them by the WPK in a matter of several months.

Not content with this, the WPK ensured that a series of other tests were conducted to accomplish the historic cause of perfecting the national nuclear forces.

On March 18, 2017, at the Sohae Satellite Launching Ground, the test-firing of the Juche-type high-thrust motor was conducted successfully, demonstrating that the defence industry of the country had been developed into an innovation-driven one from the previous copy-based one.

On July 4, the ICBM *Hwasongpho-14* was successfully test-fired, followed by the completion of ICBM *Hwasongpho-15* weapon system on November 28. This meant that the country possessed another new-type ICBM, which is capable of striking the US mainland by carrying a super-large heavy nuclear warhead, and achieved the historic cause of perfecting the national nuclear forces.

The successful test-firing on October 31, 2024 of the final version of the new-type ICBM *Hwasongpho-19* set up a milestone in strengthening the country's strategic forces.

The Hwasongpho-series weapon system is, both in name and in

reality, the Korean-style weapon system developed by relying on indigenous efforts and technology and in conformity with the actual conditions of the country.

In fact, the building of the nuclear forces meant travelling a road braving all challenges—moves of the big powers to maintain their nuclear supremacy, like concerted action with one another, political and diplomatic pressure, vicious economic blockade, invasion, etc.

However, the WPK, with a noble sense of responsibility for the destiny of the country and people, achieved the great victory of accomplishing the historic cause of perfecting the national nuclear forces and putting an end to the imperialists' aggression and nuclear threat

In the meantime, the WPK has concentrated its work and activities on improving the people's living standards so that they could lead a happier life.

The hallmark of a powerful country, as defined by the WPK, is the happy laughter of the people.

As it sees that happiness means no worries, it regards the happy laughter of the people, who are leading a cultured life in a country experiencing no threat of war but where everything prospers, as a manifestation of a powerful country.

This happened when Kim Jong Un visited the Pyongyang Kim Jong Suk Textile Mill in October 2013.

During the visit, he said:

Now the problem facing the mill is the dormitory and houses for its employees. Putting production on a normal footing is important, but the main thing is to solve the problem of the living conditions of the employees.

Making the rounds of the mill, he stressed:

There is no room for us to budge on this matter. I will ensure that a wonderful dormitory and houses are built for the mill.

Before rounding off his visit, he headed for the site of a dormitory, saying that only when he went to the site could he arrange the building project with a correct image of the dormitory, and that he could not leave unless he saw the site.

While looking round the site, he said that it would be suitable for a dormitory, adding:

The People's Army should dispatch its strong construction workforce and start the project as soon as possible. The project should be completed at a go since there may be other projects we have to undertake next year.

Later, a workers' dormitory with excellent service facilities was built at the mill.

In April 2014 Kim Jong Un visited the completed dormitory and asked the officials accompanying him to look round the dormitory with him as it was built wonderfully by the soldier-builders.

Looking at the interior walls, he said they were finished well with warm colours to meet the taste of the girls. Looking at a mirror on the hallway wall of a bedroom, he said that the girls would like it as they could wear their clothes in front of it before going out, especially before dating boys.

He went on:

This should be called a workers' hotel, nay a workers' palace, rather than a workers' dormitory. It will not look inferior even in the eyes of foreign visitors. If they see this dormitory, foreigners will say ours is a world for the working class.

In January 2014, right after giving field guidance at the State Academy of Sciences, Kim Jong Un went to Lake Yonphung.

At the lakeside he said that he had brought the president of the academy with him because he wanted to show the latter the site for a scientists' holiday camp. Then he asked the president if he liked the site.

He continued that the previous summer he had toured the lake by boat two times to choose the site for the holiday camp and looked round its surroundings before finding this site.

Comparing the artists' impressions in his hand with the project site, he said with great satisfaction:

It is a prime site for the holiday camp. In summer the landscape was really great for its fresh air and thick forests. Today I have found it is no less beautiful even in winter. If scientists are provided with ample conditions for a good rest, they will achieve greater successes in their work. So, the Party has decided to

build a highest-class holiday camp for scientists on the shore of the lake, which has splendid scenery and is associated with the leadership exploits of the great Comrades Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il. We should provide everything necessary for scientists at the highest level possible. We should build the holiday camp to be unique in the world. Whatever we do, we should do it so that it can be unique in the world. In a few months this area will be transformed beyond recognition.

This was how the Yonphung Scientists Holiday Camp was built.

To cite another example, Kim Jong Un paid close concern to laying out a skiing area at the Yangdok Hot Spring Resort.

In view of the regional climatic conditions and topographical features, it was quite challenging to lay out an area for winter skiing alongside the hot spring area in Yangdok.

Before the project began, Kim Jong Un said to officials: In Yangdok they have much snow, so it is favourable for laying out a skiing area there. I conducted an analysis of the local weather records that had been kept for long years, and found that Yangdok has three more snowing days than the area of Masik Pass and it also has a lower temperature. This means that it is a more suitable site for skiing.

This was how a skiing area was laid out in Yangdok, a mountainous region covered with pine trees.

One March day in 2021, Kim Jong Un visited the riverside area

near the Pothong Gate and said:

We should form a modern terraced houses district along the bank of the Pothong River and present the houses to the working people including labour innovators and merited persons in different sectors who are working with devotion for the Party and the state.

After a while, he resumed:

President Kim Il Sung's former house is in this place. In this area we are going to build not a public building but houses for the people, and this is the policy of our Party. If the leader had known that his house would have been removed and modern houses built in its place for the people, he would have been pleased. I think he must have left this prime site especially to help us.

In April 2022 the Pothong Riverside Terraced Houses District was inaugurated.

On the day of inauguration, Kim Jong Un said:

So, the only house removed in this place was the President's. If he had known that his house had been removed and in its place a happy cradle built for the merited persons and other patriots, he would have felt satisfied. He must have been really happy feeling as if he had embraced the people he had so much loved throughout his life

Another example is the Wonsan Kalma Coastal Tourist Area in Myongsasimni in the Kalma peninsula, a scenic spot on the East Sea of Korea, which has been developed into a popular seabathing resort.

Today the Korean people's dreams and ideals are being realized by the WPK under the leadership of Kim Jong Un.

15. Love the Future

Children are masters of the future. To bring up the children with sound ideological consciousness, profound knowledge and good physical health is an issue decisive of the future of the country.

The Sixth Session of the 14th Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK, held in early February 2022, adopted the Law of the DPRK on Childcare.

At the Third Plenary Meeting of the Eighth Central Committee of the WPK held in June 2021, Kim Jong Un proposed as its sixth agenda item the task of improving the WPK's policy on childcare.

He said: There is no more important revolutionary work than the work of bringing up children, the future of the country, to be strong and sound, and it is the most important policy and supreme cherished desire of the Party and the state to provide more improved conditions for bringing them up even by investing a huge sum of money. If the children who are born and grow up on this land eat well and are raised healthily in a good environment from their childhood, that much vitality and vigour will overflow in our society after 20 or 30 years and the national power of the DPRK will grow greater.

The DPRK had established in the late 1940s a system of bringing up and educating children under public care by diverting a large sum of state money to building nurseries and kindergartens in different parts of the country and operating them.

In 1976 the government enshrined this system in the Law of the DPRK on the Upbringing and Education of Children.

After the law was adopted, the number of nurseries and kindergartens increased, and the children's nourishment became further improved.

Later, this law was revised and supplemented several times.

However, the economic difficulties caused by the persistent and brigandish sanctions by the hostile forces and the protracted pandemic created a series of troubles in the work of bringing the children up.

At the plenary meeting of the WPK Central Committee, Kim Jong Un said that supplying all the children across the country with nourishing foodstuffs including dairy produce at state expense should be formulated as a policy of the WPK, and indicated detailed tasks and methods for its implementation.

It was easier said than done for the country with weak foundations for producing dairy produce to feed children with these produce all year round.

Kim Jong Un stressed: The worse the situation is, the greater affection we should bestow on our children, and take dynamic steps forward towards the future of communism with the might of that affection. This has to be the way of advance and development of

our revolution. Their days in nursery and kindergarten are the most important one in the children's growth and development. It should be the Party's policy to supply all the children across the country with nourishing foodstuffs including dairy produce at state expense.

Setting forth detailed tasks and ways to this end, he said that all the officials should pay particular attention to providing sufficient foodstuffs to the children at nurseries and kindergartens with parental affection and get their loyalty to the WPK and the revolution, the country and the people verified by making a tangible contribution to implementing the WPK's childcare policy.

The meeting deliberated his proposal, and adopted the relevant decision with unanimous approval.

After the meeting was over, practical measures were adopted to implement the childcare policy.

This is how the decision of the plenary meeting was enshrined in law.

As a subsidiary to the Law of the DPRK on the Upbringing and Education of Children, the law on childcare, consisting of 61 articles in four chapters, stipulates issues concerning production and supply of nutritious foodstuffs for children and providing conditions for bringing them up, like using materials whose quality is guaranteed for producing powdered milk, producing powdered milk that conforms to the national standards by modernizing its production lines and equipment and developing its processing techniques. It

even stipulates such issues as supplying necessary equipment, musical instruments, toys and others to nurseries and kindergartens, and providing electricity and fuel for heating and cooking.

After the law was adopted, the whole country conducted more vigorously the work of supplying nourishing foodstuffs including dairy produce to children on a regular basis and creating excellent conditions for childcare; provinces, cities and counties pushed forward with the work of building large milch cow and goat farms equipped with milk and feed processing factories, and expanding or renovating the existing ones, thus increasing the number of milch cows and goats and raising the output of dairy produce in comparison to the same period of the previous year; these units and supply units were equipped with necessary conditions including vehicles, freezing and storing equipment and transport containers so that children could be provided always with fresh dairy produce.

This work continued even during the period of the highest antiepidemic emergency level in 2022.

That year the rate of outbreak of illnesses, including respiratory disease, among children decreased radically, and their heights and weights increased to the delight of their parents and other people.

This fact gives a brief glimpse of how much the WPK has been concerned about caring for the rising generations since its founding.

Over the past 80 years the WPK, regarding education as the most important of state affairs and a priority task for guaranteeing

the future of the country and nation, has improved the conditions, environment, contents and methods of education in order to bring up the rising generations as comprehensively developed talents.

Kim Jong Un set forth the goal of turning the DPRK into a country of education and a talent power, and clarified the tasks and ways for bringing about a revolutionary turn in education.

When he was conceiving a plan of bringing about a revolutionary turn in education, the country's education work was not up to standard.

Without taking prompt steps for improving the work it would be impossible for the country to make leaps forward and catch up with global standards, especially in terms of science and technology.

The only way for doing so was to set education as the most important of state affairs and develop it as a concern of the entire WPK, the whole country and all the people.

"Let us make ours a country of education and a talent power by bringing about a radical improvement in education in the new century!"—this was the slogan Kim Jong Un put forward at his talk to the senior officials of the Central Committee of the WPK on August 30, 2014. It mirrored his plan of bringing about a revolutionary turn in education.

In many other works and at the Seventh Congress of the WPK he specified the target of the educational revolution in the new century and clear objectives for developing the DPRK into a country of education and a talent power.

The target of the educational revolution in the new century is to train all the schoolchildren into dependable pillars in the building of a powerful socialist country and make all the people well versed in science and technology so as to turn the country into an educational power.

Kim Jong Un also clarified principles to be maintained in effecting the educational revolution in the new century and the main link in the whole chain of it.

The principles are to maintain the WPK's Juche-oriented idea and policy on education as the definite guideline and apply them to the letter as required by the times and the developing revolution, and to achieve Korean-style innovations in the education work and raise it to a new, higher level.

The main link is to decisively improve general secondary education.

General secondary education helps a person acquire basic qualifications and abilities. In other words, primary and secondary schools help students develop abilities to understand the essence of things and phenomena and scientific principles of their own accord, to work independently in any sector, and to receive higher education.

Improving general secondary education is the key to developing education at colleges and universities and producing enough competent personnel.

The WPK focused on strengthening the ranks of teachers, establishing the Juche-oriented educational system and methods, and providing good conditions and environment for developing the education work.

Kim Jong Un identified the poor qualifications of teachers as the main cause of general education remaining at a low level, and set strengthening the ranks of teachers as the primary task for effecting the educational revolution.

As part of a measure to this end, the WPK directed close concern to building up teacher-training institutions and raising the quality of their teaching.

On January 16, 2018, while visiting the renovated Pyongyang Teachers Training College, Kim Jong Un said:

Preparing the students as teachers capable of conducting education of a higher level is the very goal the teachers training colleges should set and attain. The teachers training sector should regard this as an important policy-oriented task and direct primary efforts to it. These colleges should enrol students who can be qualified as teachers. Teachers are different from other intellectuals who make use of the knowledge they learned during their university days to contribute to building a powerful socialist country. They should acquire not only a great deal of knowledge but also the abilities to convey it to others. The abilities of man are different from one another. To take the sportspersons as an

example, there are some who were brilliant as players but fail to play their role properly after they became coaches. Likewise, some people, though proficient in theory, fail to apply the theory into practice properly.

The slogan "Let us make a leap forward by dint of science and guarantee the future by dint of education!" put forward by the WPK plays an important role in ensuring that the whole society pays closer attention to the development of education.

Undertakings have been launched in several realms of education: Efforts are being directed to perfecting the education system to train talents of a new type required by the times; the guidance over educational work has been improved and the contents and methods of education are being innovated to cultivate an ennobling spirit and creativity among the students; pedagogy is being further developed to put the overall education on a new scientific basis; and the educational conditions and environment are radically being improved.

In the new school year of 2024 the general education sector started education through optional subjects on a trial basis at dozens of schools, and opened more technical senior middle schools and classes.

This was part of the work for putting the country on the ranks of advanced states in education, as defined by the tasks set forth at the Ninth Plenary Meeting of the Eighth Central Committee of the WPK.

Schools promoted their work of focusing on giving theoretical education and improving the thinking faculty of students, and training all the students to possess versatile knowledge and high cultural attainments on the principle of intensifying general education while giving full play to the abilities of prodigies.

The higher education sector made preparations for and launched the work of pioneering cross-disciplinary and cutting-edge sciences and improving the postgraduate courses so as to raise their level of education for training higher-grade talents who are capable of developing and updating processes and technologies.

Substantial changes also took place in strengthening the material and technological bases of the education sector.

Eye-catching successes were made one after another in the nation-wide campaign to renovate the educational conditions and environment.

Over 340 schools, 780 branch schools and 150 kindergartens were rebuilt or renovated until late November 2024. Also, 2 000 more multifunctional classes were set up than planned, and data communication network was established in 180 branch schools.

All these were valuable fruition of the high patriotic zeal of all the officials and working people of the country to bring into reality the WPK's intention that everyone should always think and make consistent efforts to develop education and the climate of giving precedence to education and rendering active support to the sector should be established across the WPK, the country and society.

Meanwhile, it has become a policy of the WPK and the state to supply uniforms, footwear, bags and other school things at state expense to all the students across the country, according to which the students are provided with these things every year.

On April 1, 2015, in particular, the first-year pupils of primary schools across the country drew people's attention. The uniforms they were wearing reminded the viewers of their childhood and made them feel more keenly the advantages of the socialist system they live in.

The Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Eighth Central Committee of the WPK, held in December 2021, set it as a consistent policy of the WPK to provide all the students across the country with uniforms and other school things at state expense, set forth the task of supplying all of them with good quality uniforms and bags of new styles, and took a crucial measure for implementing it.

Accordingly, in the new school year of 2022, all new students in the country were provided with new uniforms, shoes, bags and other school things.

Along with the operation of the nationwide system of producing school uniforms, bags and footwear, an institutional guarantee was provided for implementing the socialist policy of supplying them to all the students whether they live in a city, rural area, mountainous village or far-flung island.

These things had been supplied through the commercial network previously, but from 2024 the schools supplied every student with a school uniform with his or her name tag, bag and footwear, all of which were packed for individual students. Noteworthy is the fact that every school has a fitting room so that the tailors and uniform makers can rectify the mistakes on the spot.

Kim Jong Un once said:

Since olden times it has been said that parents take all pains to bring up a child. However, we have millions of children. Our Party can be said to have been blessed with children. Even though bringing them up requires all manner of pains, I regard it as happiness, not a pain.

Under Kim Jong Un's loving care, the Mindulle Notebook Factory was built as a factory specializing in producing notebooks for the children of kindergartens and schools at all levels across the country.

He personally named the factory Mindulle Notebook Factory.

On his visit to the factory on April 18, 2016, he said:

The Mindulle Notebook Factory is our Party's treasured factory specializing in producing notebooks to be supplied to our children and students.

That day he said that the price of the notebooks produced by the factory should be set low, and gave detailed instructions on transporting notebooks by train to the areas far away from Pyongyang, and by vehicles to nearby areas such as Nampho, and painting the factory's logo on the trains and vehicles.

Thanks to his close care, a new era of educational development has been opened up in the country.

In December 2024, the Enlarged Meeting of the Eleventh Plenary Meeting of the Eighth Central Committee of the WPK adopted as its fourth agenda item *On Implementing a Series of Measures for Strengthening the Country's Educational Foundations*.

Stressing that the WPK should always place education above all else, prioritize it, further arouse public interest in it and keep increasing state support for and investment in it as the scale of creation and transformation is expanded and enormous revolutionary tasks are presented, the meeting discussed and decided that the state would provide the teachers and students with the best working and studying conditions on the responsibility of the state, set an ambitious goal to renovate all schools across the country within the coming decade and push it forward persistently so as to carry it through to the end without fail, and adopted necessary measures to this end.

As the WPK regards educating and caring for the younger generations as its first and foremost creed and as the most important of state affairs, the Korean people are devoting their all for the younger generations, with an eye to the eternal future of their country.

16. Taking Responsibility for the People's Destiny

A Korean saying goes that flooding is more destructive than fire. In the DPRK people often say that they are not afraid of natural calamities as the Workers' Party of Korea cares for them.

Natural calamities result in the loss of houses and lives and even the outbreak of infectious diseases, so pessimism and despair prevail in the affected regions. Surprisingly, this was not the case with the areas in the DPRK that were hit by recent floods. The residents in the flood-hit areas were full of hope and optimism as they were convinced that the WPK and the government would take care of them.

To cite an example, on August 5, 2020, flooding occurred in Taechong-ri, Unpha County, North Hwanghae Province, after a long spell of rain. It submerged over 730 single-storey houses and 600 hectares of paddy fields.

On the 7th, Kim Jong Un personally drove his car along the muddy road to Taechong-ri. He looked round the affected areas, and on his way back, the car skidded into a paddy field.

Being informed of the news, some farmers ran to the spot and helped putting the car back on the road. Teary-eyed, one of them said to Kim Jong Un: You should not have come here. If they get to know that you have come here along this rough road, other people in the country will not forgive us.

Kim Jong Un told the locals that he was very sorry for causing them trouble as he had come there to help them.

Soon afterwards, the WPK ensured that the county-level guidance organs—Party and power organs, working people's organizations and public security organs—arranged for the flood victims, who had been left homeless, to be quartered in other people's houses and the public buildings such as those of the county Party committee and the county people's committee, and that the officials of these organs took necessary steps for stabilizing the victims' living.

Also, the food reserves of the President of the State Affairs were sent to the people in the affected area and prompt steps were taken for supplying them with bedding, daily necessities and medicines.

Measures were adopted for forming the rehabilitation campaign headquarters with the officials at the relevant departments of the WPK Central Committee and those of the then Ministry of the People's Armed Forces. The officials of the headquarters worked on-site, learning in detail about the damage caused by the flood, estimating and reporting the amount of materials and manpower needed for the rehabilitation work. On the other hand, specialists of the central design units were dispatched to Taechong-ri with a view to building new model houses for the 800 affected families

there. All necessary steps were taken for completing the project with credit as soon as possible.

In May 2022 the state highest-level emergency incident occurred: a breach was made on the emergency infectious disease prevention front that had been defended for more than two years.

This public health crisis could be claimed to be the greatest turmoil since the founding of the DPRK.

One day, when everyone was stricken with uneasiness and fear, Kim Jong Un made the rounds of pharmacies in Pyongyang. At one of the pharmacies, the salesgirls were surprised to see him in the dead of night. As it was not long after they had recovered from the infectious disease, they tried to move away from him, their leader whom they had been looking forward to seeing.

However, Kim Jong Un stepped closer and asked them about the supply and storage of medicines. He asked in detail about the medicines that were in growing demand, and instructed his entourage to take prompt steps for rectifying defects in the medicine supply system and transporting medicines.

Accordingly, less than three months after the highest-level emergency anti-epidemic system was put in place, all the fever cases regained health. This was a success worthy of note in the medical history of the world.

To cite another example, late in July 2024, when a heavy downpour of rain hit the northern border areas of the country, the WPK took prompt steps for the rehabilitation work.

The record downpour created a serious crisis, in which several island areas of Sinuiju and Uiju County in North Phyongan Province were isolated in the zones vulnerable to flooding. Immediately after the crisis occurred, leading officials of the WPK, government and military were dispatched to the spots and helicopters of the KPA Air Force and various kinds of lifeboats of the Navy and a maritime guard formation of the Border Guards were promptly committed to the operation for rescuing the residents.

Involved in the rescue operations were ten-odd helicopters, which saved the residents by making consecutive shuttle flights.

When the helicopters landed at a nearby airport, the residents were surprised to see Kim Jong Un standing there. They did not imagine that he would be waiting for them in a streaming rain for so long.

Recalling that day, a resident said: Alighting from a helicopter, some were wearing raincoats and some others covering their bodies with pieces of PVC sheeting to keep themselves from getting wet. We were surprised to see our Marshal standing in the drenching rain. Tears swelling up in my eyes, I could feel how much he was worried about us.

As all the residents were moved to tears by the deep concern he was showing for them, he greeted them with warmth and affection The residents who were rescued in the operations totalled over 4 200.

On August 8 the same year, Kim Jong Un met the residents in Uiju County, who were left homeless by the flood. He visited the tents, in which the flood victims were living temporarily, and consoled them.

He told them about the WPK's and government's stand towards the restoration work and made a consolatory speech before the flood victims, saying:

The biggest bottleneck in the flood-stricken areas is the living and teaching for students and other children. So, we are going to put in place an emergency system, whereby during the restoration work the students and all other children of the afflicted families in North Phyongan, Jagang and Ryanggang provinces shall stay in Pyongyang and be provided with a safe and comfortable environment for care and education, entirely at state expense.

At present, many countries and international organizations are expressing their willingness to provide us with humanitarian assistance. But what we put forward first in all domains and processes of the state affairs is the way of addressing problems by relying on the firm trust in the people and entirely on our own efforts. What the Party Central Committee and the government rely on in the current restoration campaign is also the patriotic enthusiasm and valour of our people and the potentials of our state from A to Z.

As we have always done, we will value our confidence in our own strength more than anything else, solve all problems by enlisting the strength and wisdom of the people, and continue to steadily expand and increase our state's strength in that way to shape our future with our own strength and efforts in the future, too.

As all the national efforts are concentrated on the restoration project and all the planned work is being smoothly pushed forward under the unified and powerful guidance of our government, we will, by and large, remain consistent in this principle. In order to accomplish the tasks of the times, the historic tasks on which we decided and which we have shouldered by ourselves for our beloved people and our future, the Party and the government will readily brave any challenges and live up to the people's trust with their faithful service and excellent results.

Soon afterwards, more than 13 000 flood victims were invited to Pyongyang as special guests of the WPK Central Committee, so that they could stay in the April 25 Hostel until the construction of new houses for them was completed.

On August 15, they arrived at the April 25 Hostel.

Kim Jong Un visited the lodging quarters to meet the people from different flood-hit areas.

He made a welcome speech, in which he expressed thanks to the flood victims from different areas for having trusted and followed the measures taken by the WPK and the government as well as his pleasure over meeting them in Pyongyang.

He concluded his speech by saying: I hope that the elderly, women and all others from the flood-hit areas will enjoy the holiday happily and have an unforgettable and significant time while staying in the capital city of their beloved motherland.

When he came into a dining hall for children, the children unreservedly moved into his arms. He wished again that all those flood victims would spend pleasant days in good health, enjoying benefits to their heart's content without any worry during their stay in Pyongyang.

On the 16th, the following day, he visited the hostel again and acquainted himself with how preparations were being made for the education of students from the flood-hit areas.

Soon afterwards, temporary classrooms for these students were furnished in the hostel; an itinerary educational group was organized including teachers from kindergartens, primary and middle schools in Pyongyang; and preparations for a new school term were well underway.

Kim Jong Un saw primary-school children in an exemplary lesson organized as part of the preparatory work for a new school term for students from the flood-hit areas.

He learned in detail about the relevant facilities, teaching aids and furnishings, took a careful look at school things, and looked round the temporary classrooms for junior and senior middle school pupils in the hostel.

That day his presents, including uniforms, bags, shoes and other school things, were conveyed to the students and kindergarteners who would study in the capital city thanks to the special measure of the WPK and the government.

Since their arrival at Pyongyang all the flood victims—children and other students, elderly and sick persons, honoured disabled exsoldiers and nursing mothers—had received substantial state benefits, enjoying socialist civilization at the Yangdok Hot Spring Resort, Songdowon International Children's Camp and others.

The WPK ensured that the flood-hit areas were transformed beyond recognition.

In order to tackle the chronic vulnerability of the areas that would turn into "reservoirs" whenever it rained heavily, Kim Jong Un ensured that the hydraulic engineering and design sectors took practical measures after making a joint review in a scientific way.

The rehabilitation of the flood-hit areas is not merely a matter of removing the aftermath of natural disaster but an important process of implementing the far-reaching programme for the rural revolution in the new era—this is a stand maintained by the WPK in transforming the areas into cultured rural villages that are immune to flooding.

So, the Korean people call the WPK a motherly Party and love to sing the song *O Party, My Mother*.

17. Possible or Impossible?

Songchon County in South Phyongan Province is situated in an intermediate area with neither a large-scale industrial base of national attention nor a large plain.

In 2024, however, it drew the attention of the people all over the country.

It was on February 28 that the county left its page on the new history of regional development.

That day a groundbreaking ceremony for the construction of regional-industry factories in the county was held.

At this ceremony Kim Jong Un made a speech, which began: How do you do, beloved people in Songchon County?

This warm greeting touched the heartstrings of the locals on the spot.

The speech continued:

Anyone who was born on this land should lead an abundant and civilized life under the socialist policy of the state, whether they live in the capital city or regions, in towns or mountain villages, and it is the core of the new policy of regional development to see to it that they do so without fail.

On January 15, 2024, the Tenth Session of the 14th Supreme

People's Assembly of the DPRK was held in Pyongyang.

Kim Jong Un made an important policy speech, titled, *On the Immediate Tasks for the Prosperity and Development of Our Republic and the Promotion of the Wellbeing of Our People.* He then advanced key tasks for the comprehensive development of socialist construction and principles to be adhered to in implementing them.

In the speech he advanced the new Regional Development 20×10 Policy-constructing modern regional-industry factories in 20 cities and counties each year and thus build, within the upcoming decade, such factories in all the regions in the country in keeping with the requirements of the new era in order to tackle the differences between the capital city and the provinces and the imbalance between regions and improve the people's standard of living.

At the 19th Enlarged Meeting of the Political Bureau of the Eighth Central Committee of the WPK, held on the 24th, ten days later, necessary measures for implementing the new regional development policy were discussed and confirmed.

At this meeting Kim Jong Un set forth reasonable and feasible plans and development-oriented ways, like taking Party and state measures for supplying funds, workforce and materials for the construction of regional-industry factories, properly defining their sizes and production capacity, training in a far-sighted way the technicians and skilled workers for their running, creating bases for the raw materials for them, and others.

The meeting, held amid the great expectations and concern of all the Party members and other people and service personnel, was a great political event which further highlighted the revolutionary nature and popular character of the WPK that regards the people-first principle as its supreme programme and the basic fighting principle, and which opened up a broad avenue to the historic regional development for fulfilling the centuries-old desire of the people.

It was the first time in the history of development of the DPRK that such a revolutionary policy as the Regional Development 20×10 Policy was proclaimed for the comprehensive, balanced and rapid development of regional industry.

It is easier said than done to promote the new regional development policy in addition to the projects of building tens of thousands of houses every year in the countryside according to the programme of the rural revolution in the new era.

The WPK, though there were gigantic projects to be done and the conditions were still difficult, set it as the most important of the projects, which could be neither delayed nor shunned, as a task, which must be fulfilled without fail, to reduce the gap between the towns and the countryside and between the capital and regional areas in all aspects, to accelerate the building of rich and civilized society

where all the regions develop simultaneously and to promote the wellbeing of the regional people, protect their rights and interests and improve the regional and rural living environment.

Having concerned himself with how to provide the regional people with sufficient and cultured living conditions, Kim Jong Un presented a plan of opening a new era of regional development, and set the direction for formulating the relevant policy. He confirmed the possibility of development of material and cultural life in all cities and counties, and advanced a policy of renovating the regional-industry factories.

As the WPK regards promoting the people's wellbeing as the most important of its tasks, the Regional Development 20×10 Policy is of great significance.

Kim Jong Un said in a policy speech:

We should take big substantial measures to achieve our centuriesold desire so as to push ahead with our Party's far-reaching plan for building a socialist power. We should take this heavy responsibility by ourselves and fulfil our own responsibilities with confidence and certainly live up to the expectations of the people by bringing about such a substantial change. In comparison with the expectations of the people who have absolutely supported and wholeheartedly upheld the policies of our Party and the government of the Republic, the successes achieved so far are too small and we have no right to spoil the devotion and efforts of the people made despite extreme difficulties. The stronger our national power and our confidence grow, the further we should redouble our efforts, not forgetting even a moment the journey of hard ordeals our people have travelled, and bring without fail the rich and civilized era in the near future which we have promised to the people.

On February 7, 2024, the first year of the Regional Development 20×10 Policy, Kim Jong Un visited the modern regional-industry factories in Kimhwa County, which had been built on a trial basis in 2021 with the objective of setting the definite direction for building similar factories in other regions. He was there to learn again about the modernization and operation of the new factories and their architectural styles.

The new factories were running at full throttle, and their highquality products were popular among the local people.

Kim Jong Un made the rounds of the foodstuff and daily necessities factories and then the paper mill, acquainting himself with the specific conditions and pointing out some shortcomings.

He gave advice on the designing of industrial buildings, saying that the architectural designs of the foodstuff and other factories were not rational from a practical point of view in conformity with the characteristics and purposes of the factories.

He also specified the matters which the relevant sectors should reconsider and review in implementing the regional development policy. He stressed the need to steadily introduce new things with an innovative and creative attitude and display a sense of responsibility while overcoming shortcomings in implementing the new regional development policy, instead of mechanically following and emulating the experience gained in modernizing the regional-industry factories in Kimhwa County. He then clarified important tasks including those of making sustained efforts to improve quality by building product analysis rooms as required by regulations and establishing a proper product inspection system, and set forth principles to be maintained in building regional-industry factories and tasks to be tackled in the operation of the new factories in Kimhwa County.

Based on these preparations and experience, a groundbreaking ceremony for the construction of regional-industry factories in Songchon County, South Phyongan Province, took place on February 28, 2024. This was a key project in the first year of the new regional development policy.

The WPK set this project as a must-do task, before considering its feasibility.

Even though the hostile forces were stepping up their provocative manoeuvres, the WPK decided to enlist the service personnel, who were standing at the forefront of national defence, and push ahead with the projects for implementing the new regional development policy.

All the people rendered active support to the WPK and the

government in implementing the policy, fully determined to create a happy and civilized life by their own efforts.

In August 2024 Kim Jong Un visited the construction sites of regional-industry factories, noting that public health facilities, scitech dissemination bases and grain-storage stations should be built in parallel with those factories.

At a consultative meeting for regional development, held a few days later, he clarified the principles to be maintained in building advanced hospitals, sci-tech dissemination bases and grain storage stations in cities and counties. Also, in the speech he made on the occasion of the 76th founding anniversary of the DPRK, he proposed building sci-tech dissemination bases into multifunctional leisure complexes.

Under his energetic leadership, a scientific plan and methodology were clarified for the successful implementation of the great cause of transforming all regions of the country into ideal places.

On July 15, 2024, a consultative meeting for regional development was convened in the Phungo-dong area, Sinpho, South Hamgyong Province. The meeting set forth practical tasks and ways for the effective exploitation and use of the marine resources in the coastal cities and counties.

The WPK's new regional development policy produced proud entities.

By February 2025 new regional-industrial factories were

inaugurated one after another in 20 cities and counties, and the Sinpho City Offshore Farm was put into operation. Also, groundbreaking ceremonies for the construction of more such factories in other regions took place, and the construction of health facilities and leisure complexes is going full steam ahead.

Currently, the WPK is pushing ahead with this national policy for the simultaneous and balanced development of the regions and the improvement of the living standards across the country.

18. Long Live the Great Korean People!

Kim Jong Un's speeches, particularly those made at the military parade and the public procession of Pyongyang citizens held in October 2015 in celebration of the 70th founding anniversary of the WPK and at the military parade held in October 2020 in celebration of the 75th founding anniversary of the WPK, give answers to the questions of what is the driving force for the WPK, why is it strong and what is the source of its vitality.

In his speech at the military parade and the public procession of Pyongyang citizens held on October 10, 2015 in celebration of the 70th founding anniversary of the WPK, Kim Jong Un said:

. . .

Comrades,

Today, with great pride in and joy of being victors, we are greeting the October holiday, flying high the flag of the Workers' Party of Korea.

For our country and people, October 10 is a significant revolutionary holiday when they celebrate the founding anniversary of the genuine vanguard of the revolution, its militant General Staff, which has taken responsibility for their destiny and is leading them.

. . .

Our Party has been able to propel the revolution forward over the past 70 years without flinching, whatever the storms, achieving only victory and glory, because this great people have entrusted their destiny entirely to it and followed it in faithful support of its cause.

The history of our Party is the path travelled by our great people, its might is their might, its greatness is their greatness, and its victory is the victory they have won.

On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Party I, on behalf of the Workers' Party of Korea, extend warm thanks and make a deep bow to all the beloved people who have infused our Party with inexhaustible strength and courage and remained faithful to it in even the gravest period of the revolution, sharing weal and woe with it in overcoming the harsh trials of history by dint of their unyielding willpower.

. . .

Comrades,

The history of the Workers' Party of Korea is that of the proud course it has travelled shouldering the destiny of the people and leading the Korean revolution to victory under the guidance of the great leaders.

President Kim Il Sung and General Kim Jong Il built it into an invincible revolutionary party, a genuine political leadership organization, which serves the people and advances in unity with the masses; as such it is the first of its kind in history. Having inscribed a hammer, a sickle and a writing brush on its red flag, our Party has never been separated from the people and has always advanced the revolution by believing in them as in heaven.

History records no revolution like ours that has braved at every step the grave trials and adversities decisive of its success in such an arduous and complicated situation.

The new Korea was very young, but the US imperialists, hellbent on world supremacy, forced a devastating war upon it; when we were rebuilding the country on the debris with so much effort tightening our belts, they presented a fresh threat of aggression; and when we were trying to develop our national economy, they blocked our road by imposing sanctions and a blockade that were unprecedented in history.

Despite all the difficulties, our Party has consistently charged forward with iron nerves in every adversity, ushered in a new age of epoch-making changes on this land, and scored one great victory after another.

In the whirlwind of history, our Party has trusted our great people alone, and they have been its only supporters, advisers and assistants.

The history of the world revolutionary movement teaches us the lesson that irrespective of whether it is in power or has a long history, the leadership authority and fighting efficiency of a party do not rise of their own accord, nor can it automatically lead the revolution effectively. The high authority our Party enjoys today and the great exploits it has performed are the fruition of the brilliant revolutionary ideas and outstanding leadership of the great President and General, who formulated the revolution as the affection for and trust in the people and fully applied this concept to its building and activities.

That it has struck deep root in the people's mind and served them alone with devotion—herein lies the secret of our Party's leading the cause of independence, Songun and socialism without letup in the face of the tribulations of history while maintaining a firm grip on the tiller of the revolution.

The Workers' Party of Korea is an invincible one that has achieved oneness with the masses of the people.

In the whole period of leading the revolution, our Party used to call the people first, lend an ear to their opinions, though simple, and draw unquenchable courage from their sincerity whenever it was trying to identify a course it must follow and whenever it faced grave trials.

The creative strength of the omnipotent masses was the source of the great miracles our Party worked while building a powerful socialist bulwark, independent, self-supporting and self-reliant in national defence, on this land where centuries-old backwardness and poverty had prevailed and ushering in a new era of building a powerful country in the face of pernicious blockade imposed by the imperialists.

Bearing full responsibility for the political integrity and material and cultural life of the people and taking care of them has been a matter of paramount importance for our Party and a mission it cannot neglect even for a moment.

That our Party, even in the worst situation decisive of the country's destiny, has prepared precious seeds and socialist assets for the happiness of the people through painstaking efforts and invariably pursued the people-oriented policies is an expression of the politics of love for the people that can be administered only by our Party that has shouldered the responsibility for their destiny.

As our Party has always regarded the masses of the people as the root of its life and as the source of its inexhaustible strength and given top and absolute priority to their interests, our people have followed it believing it as the genuine guiding light of their destiny and as their mother, and a grand flower garden of single-hearted unity has made its proud appearance on this land.

. . .

Comrades,

The Workers' Party of Korea organizes and guides all the victories of our people.

The infinite glory and invincibility of our Party originate from holding up the great President and General as its eternal leaders and enjoying absolute support and trust of all the Korean people.

If our Party is to lead Korea to a bright future, it must

invariably defend its revolutionary nature as the party of the great Kimilsungism-Kimjongilism both in name and in reality and exalt its brilliance in every way.

The great Kimilsungism-Kimjongilism is, in essence, the people-first principle, and the mode of existence of our Party is serving the people.

True to the ennobling intentions of the great President and General who administered for the first time in history the politics of prioritizing, respecting and loving the people and devoted their all throughout their lives to the good of the people, our Party will, in the future, too, strive to add glory to the sacred history of the people-first principle.

The entire Party will conduct its building and activities only as instructed by the great President and General, and make selfless, devoted efforts for the benefit of the people by thoroughly applying the people-first principle to its overall work, thereby enhancing its fighting efficiency in every way possible.

The genuine feature of the Workers' Party of Korea will be expressed in the appearance of the country that is transformed under its leadership and in the looks of the people who always smile happily.

. . .

I appeal to all the Party members.

Let us all make selfless, devoted efforts for the good of the

great people!

Long live the great Korean people, united single-heartedly around the invincible party, the Workers' Party of Korea!

The following is an excerpt from the speech Kim Jong Un made in the military parade held in celebration of the 75th founding anniversary of the WPK.

. .

No other country in the world celebrates a party's founding anniversary as a joyous holiday and grand, auspicious event for the entire population, as our country does.

As I stand here on this emotive and delightful night that is brimming over with the great joy of all our people, I am afraid that I do not know how I should start to address them.

I carefully considered what I might say first at this moment, when we are looking back on every page of our Party's glorious 75-year history. But I have only one heartfelt, sincere word for our people: *Thanks*

First of all, I thank them for being healthy and free from illness.

This is something I surely wanted to say.

I thank them for their good health, without any one of them having fallen victim to the malignant virus.

The fact that we have protected all our people from the harmful pandemic that is sweeping the whole world could be described as the natural duty and a natural success of our Party. Yet I am moved by this success, and seeing how healthy everyone is I can find no word other than *thanks*.

This victory, which is admired by the whole world, is a great victory achieved by our people themselves.

For our Party, nothing is more precious than the life of every one of our people. Their good health is essential to the very existence of our Party, our state, and everything on this land.

. . .

This is why our Party, in facing up to every manner of national hardship, believes in and relies on the people, since they always respond as one if it unburdens itself of a situation.

Our people have always been grateful to our Party. But it is our great people themselves who surely deserve a bow of gratitude.

Over the past 75 years, our people have supported the Party with a single heart and defended our sacred revolutionary cause by shedding their sweat, and even their blood, unsparingly and without hesitation

The secret of how our Party, in following a revolutionary road that is particularly arduous and beset with trials, has adorned this bloody road with victory and glory, is that our people have sincerely trusted and supported it and defended its cause.

. . .

Because I enjoy greater trust than anyone else in the world could even imagine, I have been able to confront without hesitation every challenge; in doing so, I have been conscious of my duty and will to make selfless, devoted efforts for the good of the people, throwing myself into do-or-die battles that could even lead to war, and acting uncompromisingly in dealing with disasters on a scale unprecedented in history.

I will cherish it as the highest honour to have, serve and struggle for such excellent people.

Here tonight, I solemnly swear once again that I will live up to the people's trust without fail, even if my body is torn and crushed to pieces in the course of defending their great trust, and that I will remain faithful to it.

. . .

What remains to be done now, is to ensure that our people enjoy to the full a sufficient and civilized life, no longer plagued by difficulties.

Our Party will invariably implement and constantly expand the advantageous policies and measures aimed at improving the people's wellbeing and providing them with greater benefits, and will create as soon as possible the ideal prosperous society our people are dreaming of.

. . .

Comrades,

We have become strong and are becoming stronger in the midst of trials.

Time is on our side.

Let us all advance vigorously towards a bright future of socialism, towards fresh victory.

Finally, I once again extend thanks to all the people for being in good health, free from any disease.

And I also extend my heartfelt thanks to them for invariably trusting in our Party.

Long live our great people!

Just as in the past eight decades, so in the future, too, the WPK will add glory to its history by upholding the principle of solid unity and independence and the spirit of making selfless, devoted efforts for the good of the people.

Conclusion

The long journey of the Workers' Party of Korea is the history of devotion to the people and the history of single-hearted unity, in which President Kim Il Sung, Chairman Kim Jong Il and the respected Comrade Kim Jong Un have embraced all the people without discrimination, and cared for them and united them with love, trust and tender feeling.

The red flag of the WPK that flutters without any slightest discoloration vividly shows how it has defended its ideals and revolutionary character and led the country and the people along the road of victory for a long period despite manifold trials and difficulties.

To believe in the people as in heaven and shape a bright future on the strength of all-people unity—this is a consistent principle maintained by the WPK, which will remain unchanged come what may.

Over the past eight decades the WPK has adhered to this principle in working for the prosperity of the country and the wellbeing of the people.

Thoroughgoing inheritance and fresh innovations are an ensemble of the 80-year history of the WPK and its future.

On May 21, 2024, Kim Jong Un made a speech, titled, *Train Cadres of the Party in the New Era Who Are Faithful to Its Original Ideals and Spirit*, in celebration of the inauguration ceremony of the Central Cadres Training School of the Workers' Party of Korea, which was built as befits the highest institute for training Party cadres in the new era. In this speech he set forth the slogan "Let us usher in a great heyday of building up the Party in the new era by carrying forward its original ideals and spirit!" and said that it is a guarantee for the invincibility of the revolutionary Party and the law of its ruling to set great store by the sacred first page of the Party's history and invariably carry it forward as new pages and exploits are added to it.

A party will always emerge victorious when it strikes its roots into the depths of the people and enjoys their absolute support and trust.

"Long live the Workers' Party of Korea, organizer and guide of the Korean people for all victories!"—this slogan mirrors the Korean people's confidence that a rosy future is in store for them as they are led by the Workers' Party of Korea.

80 Years with the Original Ideals and Spirit

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