

SONGUN POLITICS OF KIM JONG IL

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This book is a translated version of the book *Songun Politics of Kim Jong Il* written by Kim Chol U, south Korean professor of politics.

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Introduction

The practical application of politics in north Korea by Kim Jong Il is attracting attention not only from south Korea but also from the rest of the world. Some people evaluate his politics highly; it is the first time in history that such a political theory has appeared; others do not hide their surprise and apprehension.

This situation makes it imperative that people gain a clear understanding of his politics. This has stirred me to take up my pen and explore the meaning of all aspects of the politics. Because my own understanding of the subject is incomplete, I hesitated. Nevertheless, I see an exploration and explanation of this subject as a mission imposed upon me by history.

A correct understanding of north Korea is essential for the reunification of the country. I believe that to have a correct understanding of the north, one must learn about Kim Jong Il. A good knowledge of his politics today is the path to this understanding.

I hope that this book, though rudimentary, will help towards acquiring some ideas of Kim Jong Il's greatness.

Author

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1. THEORY OF SONGUN POLITICS

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1) ADVENT OF KIM JONG IL'S STATESMANSHIP

Songun politics is defined as a Juche-oriented political theory or Juche-oriented statesmanship. It is based on the concept of Juche, permeated with an ideology that represents the needs of the masses and their aspiration to live in independence.

The validity of Songun politics has been clearly proved by the reality in the north, where the dignity of socialism and the masses and the power of the state are demonstrated in full.

The fact that the armed forces wavered when socialism in Eastern Europe was collapsing emphasizes the importance of a correct solution to the military question in advancing the socialist cause.

Priority must be given to strengthening the armed forces. Socialism is born of the struggle against capitalism, and socialism must be built against a ceaseless counterrevolutionary offensive by all reactionaries.

Marx and Engels pointed out that in order to establish the socialist system, it is necessary to prepare the revolutionary force, namely, the army of workers, peasants and other working masses.

The revolutionary theory of the working class in the previous age consistently emphasized the need for the proletariat to keep themselves armed as long as the imperialist reactionary forces were armed and in power. This also emphasizes the need for and role of the armed forces of the working class.

Kim Jong Il has developed Songun politics to suit today's conditions through the application of Kim Il Sung's concept of giving weight to military affairs.

Songun politics is a mode of statesmanship that Kim Jong Il has elucidated based on the assessment of changes in the balance of power between the progressive and the reactionary seen in the detente following the end of the Cold War.

The birth of Songun politics cannot be considered separately from the challenge that confronted the north of Korea in its way building socialism.

In July 1994, the eyes of the world focused on the north, and specifically on Kim Jong Il. The heavy burdens of state affairs had shifted to Kim Jong Il's shoulders as a result of the death of President Kim Il Sung, the great founder of socialism in the north. It was a time when the most efficient political leadership was required for the struggle to shape the nation's destiny, and carry forward and accomplish the socialist cause.

In the political history of socialism as well, power is bound to shift from one person to another. Kim Jong Il had already, for 30 years, assumed the heavy responsibility of giving leadership to the

Party, state and revolution. However, now he had to cope with the historic task of shaping the destiny of the country and the nation single-handedly in the most difficult circumstances.

Global attention was focused on how he would deal with the extreme crisis in the international situation. The north had to fight alone against the heavy odds, against the US-led allied imperialist forces, due to the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe.

Politicians in south Korea, the United States and the West openly expressed their expectation of a change in the policy of the north. They believed that the north would have no alternative in light of the many difficulties.

The United States had a reason for attaching special importance to north Korea as it sought to realize its strategy of world domination after the end of the Cold War. The United States had defined the Korean peninsula as a vantage point in implementing the strategy. It was most interested in Korea in view of the special geopolitical position of the peninsula, neighbouring Japan and large countries like China and Russia, and serving as a "land bridge" for approaching the Asian continent from the Pacific.

During the past half century, all the weight of the United States' interests was put on the southern half of the Korean peninsula. From the point of view of US strategy, however, south Korea was similar to Japan: an island, because it was not directly linked to the continent.

Since it entered into partnership with Russia after the break-up of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, and since it established

diplomatic relations with China in the 1970s, the United States considered it to be more in its overall strategic interest to gain influence over the north of Korea than over the south.

Judging the situation that had changed in its favour in the early 1990s as a golden opportunity to attain its objective, the United States tightened the ring of political isolation and economic blockade of the north of Korea. It increased military pressure on the north, which alone was holding high the Red socialist flag.

The hope of Western politicians for a change in policy in the north was based on their judgement that in the adverse circumstances, the north would be forced to haul down the Red flag of Juche-oriented socialism. The situation was grave.

Kim Jong Il, however, absolutely refused.

"Don't expect any change in me," he said. "We'll win if we keep socialism; we'll perish if we abandon it."

This clear political answer was an expression of an iron will and faith to maintain and implement Juche-oriented socialism, whatever the difficulties.

In these most difficult circumstances, what or who did he believe in when he declared his political decision to keep the socialist flag flying, not only today but in the distant future? He trusted in the military force he had built up for decades.

The world found the answer to the international political question in the posture of Kim Jong Il when he was inspecting a unit of the Korean People's Army on New Year's Day in 1995. It was the first

field inspection since the great national mourning. The inspection was a historic event that revealed Kim Jong Il's political resolution to overcome the difficulties and shape the future by relying on the armed forces.

The decision was confirmed when Kim Jong Il said that he would protect the socialism of Korea and accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche with arms in hand, and that that was the unflagging will and belief of the Party.

Kim Jong Il also said, "I have thought much after the death of the great leader about the fork of the road to Mangyongdae. The great leader paid a visit to the workers in Kangson after defeating Japanese imperialism and returning to the homeland in triumph, without stopping at Mangyongdae where his grandparents were waiting for him. Although there were neither a party nor a state, nor a regular army immediately after liberation, the situation now is different. At that time there were only the working class to rely on in building a new Korea, but now the People's Army should be strengthened to the utmost in order to protect the revolutionary gains by thwarting the persistent manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries to isolate and stifle the Republic."

Referring to his continual inspection of the army, the soldiers' revolutionary spirit that resulted from it, and the Juche-oriented socialism that is safeguarded and advanced with the vitality of their revolutionary spirit, Kim Jong Il declared, "Our leadership is Songun leadership, and our politics is Songun politics."

The advent of Songun politics would not have been conceived but for the world situation in the mid-1990s. In the early 1990s, the socialist world became weak and broke down; the force of imperialist domination held sway in the world. With the beginning of the cessation of the Cold War, the United States clamoured for the strategy of "Pax Americana" louder than ever, and imperialist powers ran amok.

In short, the grave situation gave rise to an apprehension that the socialist flag might be left hauled down forever, and that human aspiration for peace, justice and progress might never be realized.

It is Kim Jong Il who, in answer to the challenge and the urgent demands of the situation, has cultivated the power that can halt whatever violence of world reaction.

Kim Jong Il regards military affairs as the most important of all state affairs. Preparing an unconquerable army to forestall the aggressive attempt of the forces of imperialism and domination and continuing to advance socialism by relying on the powerful army is his far-sighted strategy.

The socialist political history of over 100 years can be described as a process of evolving statesmanship that accords with the intrinsic character of socialism. President Kim Il Sung founded the Korean People's Revolutionary Army in the years of pioneering the revolutionary cause of Juche, and then won back his lost country by strengthening this army. After the liberation of the country, he developed the KPRA into a regular army, and then established the

state to lead the revolution and construction by relying on the army. Explaining this, Kim Jong Il defined the history of the President's revolutionary struggle as the history of Songun revolutionary leadership.

Songun politics is the continuation and development of the tradition of the President's Songun revolutionary leadership. Kim Jong Il, who, together with the President, devoted himself to the development of the Korean People's Army since the 1960s, chose Songun politics as the only correct way of safeguarding, developing and accomplishing the socialist cause of Juche in the complex situation in the 1990s.

Kim Jong Il's Songun politics is guaranteed by the political system of the state. The First Session of the Tenth Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK held in September 1998 made amendments to the Constitution. Further, it upgraded the position and authority of the National Defence Commission and its Chairman to establish the political system that gives weight to the army.

Formerly, the National Defence Commission ranked below the Supreme People's Assembly, its Standing Committee, which functioned during the Assembly's recess, and the Central People's Committee. Under the amended Constitution, the National Defence Commission ranks just below the Supreme People's Assembly and stands higher in its legal position, composition, mission and authority than the Presidium of the SPA, the Cabinet, the local

government organs, and the judiciary and prosecutors' office.

The Chairman of the National Defence Commission holds the highest office in the state. He gives leadership to all the political, military and economic forces of the country, safeguards the socialist system of the country and the people's destiny. The Chairman organizes and directs the strengthening of the nation's defence capabilities and all the armed forces of the nation. It is a noble office that symbolizes the honour of the country and the dignity of the nation.

The new state structure is not itself militarized, but gives priority to military affairs. It defines the authority and enhances the position and role of military establishments to the highest.

Kim Jong Il's Songun politics is thus given legal and institutional guarantee by the political system. That is why this policy is durable and effective in practice.

2) SONGUN POLITICS IS THE BASIC MODE OF KIM JONG IL'S STATESMANSHIP

A statesman's choice of the mode of his political activity is an important matter that determines the success of his historic mission. Especially in the north of Korea, which is in continuing sharp politico-military confrontation with the United States, the selection and application of politics is particularly important.

In the present circumstances in the north, the essential question is how to defend, consolidate and develop socialism.

Songun politics is, in essence, political activity to solve all questions in the revolution and construction based on the principle of giving military affairs precedence and advancing the socialist cause by holding up the armed forces as the pillar of the revolution.

Military precedence means regarding military affairs as the most important of all state affairs and giving priority to strengthening military power. It means giving military affairs the first place in policy-making, developing the armed forces to be the most elite social group, and giving top priority to strengthening defence capabilities.

Songun politics recognizes the revolutionary armed forces as the

main force, the pillar or the core for advancing the socialist cause. The armed forces and the people are the two major revolutionary forces and the socio-political foundation of the revolution. It is a new mode of politics.

If the motive force that advances the socialist cause is not strengthened properly in step with the advance of the cause, a series of problems will arise. Internally, for example, with the progress of the socialist cause the ranks of technicians and intellectuals quickly increase. Thus, steps must be taken to strengthen the mass foundation, such as a step to heighten the revolutionary spirit of the intellectuals. Externally, the forces of imperialism and domination intensify their attempts to obstruct the advance and overthrow socialism. The motive force of the revolution must be strengthened in order to defend socialism.

Kim Jong Il summarized the importance of this motive force in Songun politics as follows:

"Now we say that the rifle stands above the hammer and sickle. This is a symbolic expression of our Party's original idea of attaching importance to military affairs, its Songun political line."

Songun politics requires placing the armed forces in the central position of politics. Defining the relationship between politics and military affairs, or how politics solves the question of military affairs, is a vital question that affects the destiny of the country and nation.

It is a contradiction, therefore, to ignore the armed forces, keep them out of politics or deny their ideological character.

Songun politics requires elevating the army to the position of the main pillar or the main force of the revolution. It would be impossible, however, to meet this requirement simply by administrative measures such as making a decision, issuing the political leader's orders or instituting a law.

The Supreme Commander's ability to cope with crises in the struggle to safeguard the people's sovereignty, his great achievements of army building made during many years of military leadership, his absolute authority resulting from these achievements, and his superior ability to command the armed forces are the basic factor in strengthening the armed forces and enhancing their role.

The question of the prestige and position of the armed forces and their role was solved by Kim Jong Il in the north. He has established his leadership of the armed forces, and the People's Army has become a powerful vanguard that moves under the Supreme Commander's orders.

The Voice of America said this: In north Korea, socialism is strong and thrives as an impregnable fortress because Kim Jong Il, the leader of the Party, has the military under his control, and because the military worship him as their God.

The fact that Songun politics gives prominence to the armed forces as the pillar of the revolution does not mean degrading the position of the working class and other political forces, their position as the independent motive force of history.

Theoretically, the people's position as masters of socialist society determines the destiny of socialism.

The pivotal position of the armed forces enhances the people's independent ability to affect the destiny of socialism directly. It provides a guarantee for their position. The strengthening of the revolutionary armed forces protects the sovereignty of the nation from any hostile intentions, guarantees the development of all social sectors, and thus ensures the people's position as masters of society.

Songun politics enables liberal investment in increasing defence power and improves the weapons and equipment of the armed forces to the maximum.

The continuing attempts of the United States to isolate and blockade the north on the strength of its superior military technique are aimed at weakening the power of the north, despite its unconquerable defence power, and forcing it into an East-Asian order dominated by the United States.

Songun politics serves as a necessary and powerful shield that protects socialism from the anti-socialist moves of imperialism by relying on the armed forces.

Songun politics is the brilliant fruition of Kim Jong Il's far-sighted political judgement, his unflagging will, peerless audacity and unshakable revolutionary determination to safeguard socialism in a tumultuous world.

3) THE IDEOLOGICAL BASIS OF SONGUN POLITICS

Social development is guided by politics. The character and success of politics is determined by the philosophy on which the politics is based. Political philosophy is the compass of political activity.

The character of the philosophy on which military politics is based is the key to defining the character and role of the army, as well as the building of the army.

Kim Jong Il's Songun politics is rooted in the Juche idea. It is a mode of politics that was created in the practical struggle of waging the revolution in Korean way guided by the Juche idea and that fully reflects the requirements of the idea. In other words, it is based on the theory that the army means the Party, the state and the people.

Kim Jong Il said that without strong revolutionary armed forces there would be neither the people, nor the Party, nor the state in Korea where socialism is built in the midst of imperialist encirclement.

This proposition emanates from the intrinsic character of the socialist society. It is a harmonious society where the requirements,

interests, aspirations and the aim of struggle of the army, the working-class party, the state power and the people agree. The army, the Party, the state power, and the people share a common destiny, so that without one of them the others cannot exist.

In a society where the government and the people are in an antagonistic relationship, a political structure in which the army is the party, the state and the people is inconceivable both in theory and practice.

Songun politics is unique to the north. It is rooted in the intrinsic character of socialism in the north where the army, the Party, the state and the people are united, with a single heart, sharing a common destiny.

The proposition that the army is the party means that the foundation of the army, its aim, its mission and its political character accord with those of the party. The working-class party organizes the army to realize the independence of the people; and the army supports the leadership of the working-class party in keeping with its character and mission.

Theoretically, the Party and the army in the north are inseparable. The Party is the General Staff of the revolution, and the army is the pillar that provides armed support for the attainment of the Party's strategic objective.

Which holds the front position in the formation, the party or the army? The party does, and the army holds the next position in its capacity as the party's army. The party can increase its might and

efficiently lead the whole society only when it has the army under its control.

The Korean People's Army units marching with the flag of the Workers' Party of Korea in the parade to commemorate its 65th anniversary on April 25, 1997, and on other occasions showed the character of the KPA as the army of the Party.

The proposition that the army is the state is derived from the knowledge that arms give rise to state power and maintain its existence.

The army and state power are of the same character. Both are weapons to realize the independence of the working class and other working people. The army provides armed protection of the people's interests and right to independence; state power realizes the people's interests by political measures.

As more difficulties and trials stand in the way of the revolution, the state of the working class must have a stronger army. It must consolidate its political foundation by strengthening the army.

The army and state power have the same revolutionary and working-class character in that they both place the people's interests above all else. If the army is weak, the state weakens and eventually finds itself in danger.

Although somewhere there may be an unusual country without an army, the army's primary mission is to safeguard the social system and sovereignty.

An absolutely revolutionary army can inspire the people with

firm faith in socialism. This makes it possible to maintain the socialist principle in all activities, and further stabilizes and protects the socialist system.

The proposition that the army is the state can be realized at the highest level when national defence is carried on as the most important of all state affairs and when defence power is strengthened as a task vital to the revolution.

When the US-Soviet Cold War came to an end, *The New York Times*, dated March 8, 1992, disclosed the Defence Planning Guideline of the US Defence Department, a secret document. The document summarized the military security strategy of the United States after the end of the Cold War. Its theme is epitomized in the following statement: "Our initial objective is to prevent the emergence of a new military power in the former Soviet Union and other areas and at the same time deter latent rivals from thinking of stepping into a regional or world arena."

This means, in other words, that the United States will forestall the appearance of a regional power, to say nothing of a world power, that may become its rival, in order to maintain its position as the only world superpower.

The United States' Defence Planning Guideline may be construed as the result of its recognition of the position of the north as a military power. This is all the more clear from the fact that the US top brass have recently pointed out that the north is their first major enemy.

By adopting Songun politics that considers national defence the most important of all state affairs, the north is consolidating its position of military power and confidently carrying out its strategic task of building a great prosperous powerful nation.

Songun politics is based on the political philosophy that the army is the people. In the north, the army and the people constitute a harmonious whole because of their community of interests and the army's composition and people-oriented character.

In the north, the People's Army has a mission to realize and safeguard independence of the people. A powerful army is needed to safeguard the people's sovereignty and interests; the people's support is essential for the army to become strong and perform its mission as the defender of the people. In short, the army and the people in a socialist society share the same requirements, interests, aspirations and goals. This is the factor that ensures the unity of the army and the people. The work of the army is work for the people, and vice versa. The people without an army of their own will be subjected to colonial slavery; the army without the people's support is equivalent to a fish out of water. That is why the army and the people share the same ideology and work with the same attitude; they are ready to lay down their lives for the sake of each other.

4) SONGUN POLITICS IS THE PERFECT MODE OF SOCIALIST POLITICS

POLITICS FOR THE PEOPLE

Politics is a social function that organizes and directs people's activities in a unified way to meet the common requirements of a class or society. Its character and the degree of its consummation are defined by its goals and the method of application.

Even though we say that politics which is centred on the people is progressive and developed, how it is translated into reality depends entirely on the choice of mode suited to the occasion.

The fact that people-centred socialism is being built in the north is explained by the truly socialist politics which treasures the people and works for the people; that is, by people-centred politics.

In the north, the army and the people are not in an antagonistic relationship. They are literally in ties of kinship; the people are fathers and mothers to the army, and the army is sons and daughters to the people.

Love for the people, love for the country and love for the nation is the starting point of the existence and activities of the People's

Army, as well as the source of its strength and development. The People's Army has inherited the orthodoxy of the relationship between the anti-Japanese guerrillas and the people, a relationship expressed in the maxim: Just as fish cannot live out of water, the guerrillas cannot live without the people.

The People's Army has a mission to protect the people's well-being and happiness and ensure their independent development. It would be impossible for the soldiers of the People's Army to fulfil this mission unless they love the people and are ready to lay down their lives for the people. This is the logic of the relationship between the army and the people.

The People's Army love for the people and its service to them can be illustrated by its role at the time of the flood in 1995. From early August that year, there was a downpour for many days in the Sinuiju area, and rainfall was three times the average. The water-line in the Amnok River rose to 8.05 metres, a level that surpassed by far the previous record, set during the flood in 1935. Thousands of people in the lower reaches of the river found themselves in imminent danger of losing their lives.

In the crisis, the Supreme Commander issued an emergency order to the three services of the People's Army to rescue the flood victims in that part of the west coast. Helicopters, fast transport boats and amphibious armoured vehicles were deployed in the flooded area and evacuated all the victims to safe places. Not a life was lost. A dozen babies who were born during the flood were rescued.

When he got the final report, Kim Jong Il, who had been directing the rescue operations from his desk in the operations room of the leadership, said:

"I feel relieved to hear that even the new-born babies have been rescued. In foreign lands many people are dying in floods, but our People's Army has saved all the victims without the loss of a single life. This clearly shows to the world that our People's Army serves the people."

The People's Army soldiers' love for the people, love for their land and their nation and their patriotic practice are the crystallization of warm affection for their land, their nation and socialism as well as their determination to protect them and cast in their lot with them, whatever the circumstances.

The people-oriented character of Songun politics is expressed in the people's unqualified support.

The hard-line, overwhelming policy of the People's Army was expressed in the statements, "The mission of our People's Army to safeguard the country's security and the revolutionary gains is not limited to the defence of the country from aggression. It is the stamina of our army to fight fire with fire and battle a club with a club," (Talk of First Vice-Minister of the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces, March 29, 1996) and "The strike capability of our People's Army is unlimited. They must know clearly that there is no escape on this planet from its strike attack. ... We do not want war, nor do we evade it. Once war is forced upon us, we will not

miss the opportunity again." (Statement by the spokesman of the General Staff of the Korean People's Army on December 2, 1998) These resolute statements confirmed for the people that Songun politics is the most effective method of safeguarding the destiny of socialism and themselves and opening the way to prosperity.

In the north, the Party and the people trust, support and love the People's Army more ardently than ever before. This is the army that is now safeguarding the sovereignty and interests of the country and the people, even in the most difficult circumstances.

The people in the north trust in the People's Army because Kim Jong Il has been giving Songun revolutionary leadership.

By overcoming harsh trials, the People's Army has proven to the people of the north that nothing is impossible.

The single-minded unity of the people and their army, centring on Kim Jong Il, has strengthened the political force in the north as never before.

STATESMANSHIP THAT GUARANTEES INDEPENDENCE

The degree of the development and perfection of politics depends on the love and consideration that politics accords the people, and on the assurance with which it safeguards the sovereignty and dignity of the nation.

The United States' moves to make this planet a unipolar world

under its control since the end of the Cold War have forced many countries into subordination.

Early in 1996 *The New York Times* published an article titled, *The Third Empire of the United States*. Its theme was that the United States' military actions in Bosnia-Herzegovina gave an impression that the area from the Persian Gulf to the Balkan Peninsula was becoming the heart of the "third empire of the United States".

The United States' history of over two hundred years shows that it made itself a sovereign within its sphere of influence after subduing its rivals. After defeating Spain in 1898, the United States made Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines its "back garden", its "first empire". After the end of the Second World War, it established NATO in Europe and signed a number of bilateral treaties in East Asia, and thus founded its "second empire". When the Cold War ended with the demolition of the Soviet Union, the United States resorted to direct military intervention in the Middle East and Balkans to extend the sphere of its influence and build its "third empire".

In fact, however, the United States failed to achieve its objective of establishing its "third empire" in the Persian Gulf and the Balkan Peninsula after the Gulf War and the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was the reason why the United States invaded Iraq in 1998 and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1999.

What was the purpose of the United States' air raids on Iraq and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia? It was to strengthen its military control and gain a strategic advantage in the Persian Gulf and the

Balkan Peninsula, areas of major natural resources and strategic vantage point. Furthermore, it was testing NATO's new strategy for the 21st century: an attempt to change NATO into an international gendarme with unlimited freedom. The US sought to expand its sphere of activity to establish a unipolar world and reign over this planet.

The United States attempted to monopolize the region of Persian Gulf and Balkan Peninsula by taking advantage of the Gulf War and the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. When the attempt failed, it did not hesitate to resort to military strikes on sovereign states.

With the same ambition and in the same manner, the United States attempted to stifle north Korea. But that was a wild dream. The north foiled its attempt by powerful self-reliant defensive measures and a hard-line reaction.

Thanks to Songun politics, the People's Army has acquired the capabilities to defeat any enemy in this planet, however strong, and defend the sovereignty of the nation.

Without the support of a military force, no country can defend itself. It is clear that Songun politics is a perfect, independent form of statesmanship capable of defeating the challenge of imperialistic and dominationist forces and safeguarding the sovereignty of the nation.

Songun politics is statesmanship that enables the country to build socialism in its own way, in accordance with the Juche idea even in the most trying situations.

An independent state must maintain its own principles in its

political activity and lead the people to meet their own interests and satisfy their own desires.

Kim Jong Il defines the "Juche-oriented way", "our own way", as the basic direction of the state's political activity, and has carried it through on the basis of Songun politics.

By "living our own way", he means thinking and acting with one's own mind as required by the Juche idea and solving all problems by one's own efforts in the interests of one's people and the revolution in one's country. It means living to meet the requirements of the Juche idea, holding high the flag of this idea to the last, no matter what wind may blow and no matter what others may do. It means having the attitude and viewpoint that one recognizes only the Juche idea, without being influenced by foreign ideas and foreign ways. It means finding solutions to all problems by one's own efforts and on one's own responsibility to meet the interests of the people and Juche-oriented revolution and to suit the country's situation. In this sense, "our own way" can be construed as independence.

The north succeeded in the "Arduous March" and the forced march and has embarked on the road of building a great prosperous powerful nation. It has done so because it has carried on the revolution and construction in its own way, to suit its own situation on the principle of self-reliance.

The Western world loudly advertised that north Korea would break down in December 1995, or in the latter half of 1996, predicting that its collapse was only a matter of time. It was, indeed, a

critical moment in history when north Korea had to decide whether it could survive as an independent nation or would be reduced to the lot of slavery.

At this grave moment, the slogan, "Self-reliance is the only way to survival!" rang out from the north. The north declared: "Apply sanctions or enforce a blockade against us if you want. We will not accept the lot of slavery on any account. We will survive on the strength of self-reliance. The nation's sovereignty is not something that is given to us as a present, nor is it something that falls from the sky. We will steadfastly follow the road of self-reliance to exalt the dignity of the socialist homeland that is bright with independence. The world will see the socialist Korea that has been transformed into a Juche-oriented great prosperous powerful nation, an independent economic power, in the 21st century."

It was the powerful self-reliant defence force that buttressed the revolutionary line of "our own way", the "Juche-oriented way". Songun politics has built up a powerful, self-reliant defence force that can ensure the maintenance of the Juche-oriented independent revolutionary line, without yielding to the threat or appeasement by any foreign forces.

STATESMANSHIP THAT SAFEGUARDS PEACE

Peace is an intrinsic requirement as well as a universal aspiration of humanity. Everyone on earth craves life in a peaceful world.

Politics that safeguards peace to meet the earnest desire of mankind is progressive; politics that is opposed to peace is reactionary. In short, the progressive character and maturity of politics is defined by its ability to prevent war and ensure peace.

Today when the arbitrariness of imperialistic and dominationist forces has become more overt than ever before, it is the most pressing task of every nation to prevent war and keep peace. The Korean peninsula is a particularly sensitive area.

The north is carrying out the noble task of safeguarding peace in the Korean peninsula by pursuing Songun politics in keeping with the prevailing situation.

The best way to prevent war is to build up powerful armed forces that can forestall the outbreak of war. Only powerful military deterrence against war and aggression can maintain peace.

In September 1582, Ri I, a subject of the Ri Dynasty, suggested to the king that 100,000 troops should be prepared against the Japanese who might invade Korea in ten years. The king refused to heed the recommendation, saying that there was no need to train soldiers in those years of peace. In 1592, a decade later, the Japanese invaded Korea.

Two hundred thousand Japanese troops occupied Seoul and many other parts of Korea in less than one month. They cut off the noses and ears of live Koreans, salted them and sent them to their commanders. These fiendish atrocities were aimed at exterminating the Korean nation.

Had those 100,000 soldiers been trained, such a tragic event would not have occurred. The king belatedly regretted his mistake. The event was a severe lesson that the military should be strengthened to protect the country and safeguard peace.

The present complex situation, in which the dominationists wield power politics by resorting to indiscriminate air raids on sovereign states without hesitation, even ignoring the United Nations in pursuit of their unwarranted demands, clearly proves the far-sightedness of a form of statesmanship that attaches importance to strong military force.

In recent years understanding and sympathy for Songun politics in the north is quickly spreading, not only among different nations but among the people in the south of Korea.

Songun politics guarantees the victorious advance of socialism.

Judging from the situation in the north, socialist politics can be most effective only when it attaches importance to armed forces.

A military force that weakens with the relaxation of tension offers the enemy the decisive moment for aggression and war. Prior to their attack on Pearl Harbour on December 7, 1941, the Japanese imperialists intensified their peace offensive against the United States. Prior to the invasion on the Soviet Union in June 1941, Hitler appealed for friendship beyond the requirements of etiquette. These and other historical facts demonstrate that wars have been provoked at the moment when tension was most relaxed. The same is true of the outbreak of the Korean War on June 25, 1950.

All this eloquently proves that Songun politics is the absolutely correct revolutionary mode of politics for peace and the victorious advance of socialism.

5) SONGUN POLITICS IS THE PRECIOUS SWORD OF VICTORY

THE PRECIOUS SWORD OF SURE VICTORY THAT DEFENDS SOCIALISM

The United States' north Korea policy maker Pull said to the following effect:

Judging from the present situation in north Korea, socialism should have disappeared from the Korean peninsula. The Korean-style socialism as referred to by the north Koreans, however, still exists and is strongly challenging the United States and the Western world. It is no accident that US politicians' appraisal of the meaning of the existence of powerful north Korea, a recent focus of discussion, and which is ascribed to the emergence of the Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il, agrees with the opinion of strategists.

It is natural that the meaning of the existence of the north is sought in Kim Jong Il's ability to provide political leadership.

Having failed in its attempt to stifle the north by clamouring about "nuclear suspicion", "missile crisis", and the "inspection of underground nuclear facilities", the United States adopted the

strategy in the late 1990s of softening up the north. Its aim was to weaken its military force and undermine it from within.

In this situation, Perry, special envoy of the US President, paid a visit to Pyongyang at the end of May 1999. The purpose of his visit was to present a series of political bargains in order to build up the framework for the adjustment of its strategy towards north Korea after the end of the Cold War. It was an attempt to draw the north into the East-Asian order formulated by its strategy of world domination.

Simultaneously with William J. Perry's visit to north Korea, the United States sharply maximized its air raids on Belgrade, the capital of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and Serbia. It was a warning: if the north refused to meet its demands, it would bomb the north just as it was doing in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. As the world was watching developments with bated breath, unexpected news came. This was the report that Kim Jong Il had inspected the Fourth Seoul Kim Chaek Infantry Guard Division. Unlike the previous reports of his field inspections, the report disclosed the unclassified name of the inspected unit. World press and military agencies traced the records of the division. During the Korean War, it had distinguished itself as a steel-like division in the battles to liberate Seoul and Taejon and in many other battles. It had also destroyed the US 24th Infantry Division under the command of General Dean.

World press and military agencies viewed the news of the inspection and the disclosure of its name at the time of Perry's visit to Pyongyang as another solemn declaration of Kim Jong Il's

determination to confront the United States without compromise or leniency.

After Perry's visit to the north, the United States dragged its feet over the question of adjusting its policy towards north Korea for months. Finally, it had to publish a report based on the north Korea-US joint statement at Berlin and the nations' New York agreement. The Republican Party submitted another report that refuted Perry's.

Perry, the coordinator, had an interview with the Public Broadcasting Service in connection with the publication of the policy report. An excerpt of that interview follows:

Reporter: You said that there should be no assumption that north Korea would collapse under pressure. What is the background for that conclusion?

Perry: Observers judge that north Korea will soon collapse because of its worsening economic crisis. They mean we should not negotiate, but wait for its collapse. I don't see it as advisable to assume such a situation and rely on it. North Korea is a system with strong power of control. I don't mean to leave the north Korean system as it is. I mean north Korea is under very powerful control. So I think it a rash judgement to assume that north Korea will break down before long. We must not negotiate by judging that the north Korean regime will become as we wish, but negotiate with the north Korean regime as it is now.

In his State of the Union Address in January 2000, US President

Bill Clinton preached for an arms build-up to maintain the best trained and best equipped armed forces in the world. Former US Defence Secretary Cohen asserted that the armed forces of the United States would possess the best preparedness, weapons, equipment and mobility in the world. The United States was thus making its greatest effort to realize its strategy of world domination on the basis of arms build-up since the end of the Cold War.

The United States' ambition for world domination was expressed in its overt attempt to control the world by force and arbitrariness, ignoring the United Nations Charter and international law.

Former Chairman of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee Jesse Helms, for example, said in his speech at a meeting of the UN Security Council that the United Nations should be reformed in accordance with the will of the United States to become an effective diplomatic instrument of the United States. He stated that the United States law was above international law, that US actions regarding other nations did not need a mandate from the UN, and even that the UN had no right to express its opinion about the policy of the United States. He threatened the UN, saying that if the UN tried to force its will upon the United States, the United States would withdraw from the United Nations. The world expressed surprise, saying that the United States was forcing a return to a slave-owning society in its attempt to reign over everything as a slave-owner.

Weak nations have no recourse to appeal even when they are devastated by missile attack in broad daylight for no reason. They

have no alternative but to die or become enslaved.

Songun politics alone has given the enemy tit for tat, punishment without mercy for an arrogant use of power.

After the first man-made earth satellite was launched in the north on August 31, 1998, relations between the north and the United States again worsened in the extreme. Bill Clinton flew to south Korea and made a final check on the readiness of the US forces in Korea and the state of emergency sorties of the air force. He clamoured, on the excuse of the "nuclear question" of the north, that the United States was ready to do anything to defend the Americans and its friends and had the ability to do so. The conservative hardliners of the United States fussed about the abrogation of the Agreed Framework and about a resolute counteraction. The US military reported that a new plan of war against north Korea had been completed, and at the same time published the so-called Operation Plan 5027, a plan for a second invasion of north Korea to relieve its shameful defeat in the previous Korean War.

The response of the north was resolute and merciless. The statement of the spokesman of the General Staff of the Korean People's Army on December 2, 1998, declared that the "surgical operation-type strike" or the "preemptive strike" was not the choice only of the United States, and that this method was not the monopoly of the United States. He stated that the strike capability of the People's Army was unlimited, that there would be no escape on this planet from such a strike. Not only the United

States, he said, but also the "ROK" army and Japan that followed it would be the targets of the strike. Although not desirous of war, the People's Army would not avoid it, and if a war was imposed upon it, it would not miss the opportunity again.

Delivering a merciless strike on an enemy that encroaches upon the nation's sovereignty, no matter where it is on the planet, is the principle of defending socialism, the principle and method adopted by Songun politics.

At the mass demonstration in celebration of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Republic held in Kim Il Sung Square in Pyongyang in September 1998, US CNN special correspondent Mike Chinoy reported the following to the American people:

This special political system under which the leader and the masses have been merged into one can be found nowhere else in the world. Here is the greatest strength of north Korea. In north Korea, all the people, men and women, young and old, are now ready to become human bombs for the sake of Kim Jong Il, their leader. Because of this, the West, in fact, dreads north Korea and cannot readily touch this country although they have nuclear weapons.

THE PRECIOUS SWORD OF CREATION THAT
PUSHES FORWARD THE CONSTRUCTION
OF A GREAT PROSPEROUS POWERFUL NATION

Songun politics puts forward the People's Army not only as the

defender of the country but as the creator of happiness for the people. The role of the People's Army as the creator of happiness in the north is now most conspicuous in the construction of a great prosperous powerful nation. The People's Army holds the positions of pillar and vanguard in building a great prosperous powerful nation.

Explaining his plan for building a great prosperous powerful nation, the political programme for the threshold of the 21st century, General Kim Jong Il said, "We must build a powerful socialist nation on this land, our motherland, as soon as possible, so that no enemy can touch it and so that all the people can live in happiness free from all worries. This is my plan and unshakable decision."

The difficulties and trials imposed upon the north in the latter half of the 1990s were without parallel in the past centuries.

The January 2000 issue of the magazine *Min* of south Korea raised the question, "What was the source of strength that enabled the north Korean people to withstand the worst crisis during the 'Arduous March'?" The magazine found the answer in Kim Jong Il's Songun revolutionary leadership, in his Songun politics.

Songun politics led the north to advance towards the optimistic goal of building a great prosperous powerful nation. The launching of the man-made earth satellite, *Kwangmyongsong No. 1*, on August 31, 1998, was the green light that announced that the building of a great prosperous powerful nation had begun.

How, then, can Songun politics ensure the construction of a great prosperous powerful nation? The project is a venture that is

undertaken in the most difficult situation, so it is a colossal and difficult task. Kim Jong Il has planned and decided to carry out this gargantuan task by the fullest display of the strength of the army and the people who directly undertake the project, not by borrowing the efforts of someone else or by relying on any material or economic power.

Emphasizing that the People's Army, which defends the country and creates happiness for the people, must naturally stand in the van of socialist construction, Kim Jong Il assigns the People's Army to the main fronts of socialist construction—the electric power industry, food production, the coal industry, the metal industry and rail transport—to make a breakthrough in building a great prosperous powerful nation.

In support of Kim Jong Il's plan and intention to build a great prosperous powerful nation, the army has come out with the slogan, "Let us undertake both national defence and socialist construction!" It is opening up the road of advance on the main fronts, the most difficult fields of building a great prosperous powerful nation.

The People's Army has carried out land rezoning, a great nature transformation project of lasting value, in Kangwon Province, North Phyongan Province and in other parts of the country. This has entailed laying out large fields so that these lands will taste of socialist farms. The soldiers also have built recreation grounds on Mt. Kuwol, Mt. Chilbo, Mt. Jongbang and other scenic spots in many parts of the country in order to provide the people with full

flowering socialist lives.

As a result of the land realignment in Kangwon Province, the previous 12,000-km-long ridges in the crop fields have dwindled to about 5,600 kilometres; 233,800 small patches of land have been reduced by about 65,500 patches; the ridges that had grown longer with the passage of time have been eliminated by 6,400 kilometres; and winding lanes between crop fields have been straightened expediently. More than 1,760 hectares of new arable land have been obtained through this project.

The land realignment in North Phyongan Province, which took place after that in Kangwon Province, was completed in less than five months.

More than 50,000 hectares of crop fields have been repartitioned into large and standardized sizes and shapes. All the fields in this province, ranging from the 40-km-long Unjon Plain and the Pakchon Plain to the Ryongchon Plain in the west coastal area, to the fields in the intermediate and mountainous areas such as the Kwanha Plain in Nyongbyon County, the Handure Plain in Thaechon County and the Hungnam Plain in Uiju County, have taken on new features worthy of great plains. Many hectares of new land have been obtained.

The People's Army stood in the van not only in the land realignment project, but also in reshaping the rivers and streams and rebuilding the roads that had been submerged, washed away or otherwise damaged by a series of natural disasters. The roads are now solid enough to withstand any heavy flood. All the bridges and

roads, banks and rivers or streams, which were severely damaged by floods have been rebuilt or reshaped perfectly. The army always took charge of the largest and most difficult tasks in all projects, including the Pyongyang-Wonsan Tourist Motorway improvement project and the reshaping of the rivers or streams and roads and carried them out with credit.

Efforts are being made to solve, on the basis of self-reliance, the food problem, which was most challenging in the period of the "Arduous March", and re-energize all sectors of the economy.

Kim Jong Il initiated extensive potato farming as a measure to solve the food problem, and detailed the direction of and methods for this farming. He has been guiding the overall work in potato farming.

Taehongdan County in Ryanggang Province was set as a model unit of potato farming, and many excellent people were sent there.

Kim Jong Il inspected this farm in October 1998, August 1999, April 2000 and on other occasions, each time familiarizing himself with the actual state of potato-farming there and finding solutions to any problems that had arisen, including means of transport.

He met and encouraged the discharged soldiers who had volunteered to work there and were playing a leading role in potato farming, and encouraged them to work harder. He praised them as true revolutionaries and ardent patriots who had rendered brilliant services in the posts, defending the country yesterday and now working devotedly to implement the Party's agricultural policy. They are, he said, the honourable vanguard fighters to convert

Taehongdan into a good place to live in through their persistent efforts. They are spending their worthwhile youth for the prosperity and welfare of the country and they would be praised and remembered forever by generations to come, he added.

Kim Jong Il also dropped in at their new dwellings and inquired about the difficulties in their family lives and the visits by their parents, showing his parental care for their household affairs.

Greatly inspired by his care for their lives in and out of work, the discharged soldiers in Taehongdan gave maximum play to the revolutionary spirit of soldiers as they had done during their service in the army.

The great prosperous powerful nation being built in the north is a nation of self-reliance. The soldiers not only manage their own lives but also find solutions to all problems arising in building this great prosperous powerful nation, in the spirit of self-reliance.

Under the slogan, "Self-reliance is the only way to survival!" the soldiers of the People's Army have built modern, major food-processing factories, livestock farms, fish farms and power stations, influencing the entire society.

Armed with Kim Jong Il's outlook for the future, not to live merely for today but for tomorrow, the People's Army encouraged the activities of each army company's amateur art troupes, small-unit art propaganda teams and soldiers' family art circles, so that revolutionary army songs, paeans to the Party and the leader, and songs in praise of the motherland resounded everywhere. The soldiers

have built standard barracks and all the units have spruced up their environments, and a new socialist culture is being developed in the army and in the whole society.

The creative power of the People's Army has been fully displayed in the most difficult years and when it was most needed. The construction of a great prosperous powerful nation in the north has been planned and is becoming a reality on the basis of the creative ability of the People's Army, the creator of happiness for the people. Songun politics is a powerful instrument for pushing forward the building of a great prosperous powerful nation.

There is no doubt that the Songun politics of Kim Jong Il, who holds the omnipotent People's Army as the precious sword of creation and wields it adroitly, will succeed in carrying out the great strategy of building a great prosperous powerful nation.

6) SONGUN POLITICS AND THE 21ST CENTURY

PATRIOTIC POLITICS FOR NATIONAL REUNIFICATION

The greatest task of the Korean people in the 21st century is to reunify their country. The Korean people entered the new century heavily burdened by their divided nation. But it was not because their desire for reunification had been weak.

For the Korean nation the reunification of their country means its life; it is destined; every one of them knows that reunification is the way to survival.

The reunification of the country means, in essence, linking the severed blood ties of the nation, realizing its harmony and unity and establishing its sovereignty in the whole country.

When national reunification is viewed as the matter of winning back the lost sovereignty of the nation, intervention and domination by foreign forces means obstructing reunification. Such acts must, therefore, be stopped.

The United States has occupied the southern half of Korea over

half a century, has kept nearly 40,000 of its troops there and deployed more than 1,000 nuclear weapons and other kinds of modern weapons and equipment there in an attempt to make the south of Korea its permanent colony.

The United States persists with its military occupation and domination of the south, ignoring the Korean people's desire for reunification, and openly showing its intention to invade the north.

The United States has always trampled upon the Korean people's desire for national reunification and continued with its manoeuvres to provoke a new war in order to extend the sphere of its domination up to the line of the Tuman and Amnok rivers. Its military occupation is the barrier that divides the country and the biggest obstacle to reunification.

The most desirable politics to eliminate the root cause of the nation's division and reunify the country is Songun politics. This is logical. Since reunification itself means winning back the original features of an independent nation, Songun politics, the acme of independent politics in the north, can only counter the United States' colonial domination of south Korea, its military occupation and its strategic attempt to invade the north. Songun politics will thwart the United States' strategic attempt to make the entire Korean peninsula its colony and will create a peaceful environment, the basic precondition for reunification.

The Korean people desire to be reunified as an independent nation, whereas the United States attempts to put the whole of

Korea under its colonial domination. Reunification is for the establishment of a completely independent state of which the Koreans are masters; being made a colony of the United States is the way to national ruin, not reunification. Containing the United States' attempt to invade the north today means creating the pre-condition for independent national reunification and the shortcut to preventing the country from becoming a colony.

Just as Japan was making preparations to invade the Korean peninsula prior to the 20th century, the United States is preparing to harvest a windfall on the threshold of the 21st century in the new political situation after the end of the Cold War.

At the beginning of 1999, then President Bill Clinton submitted to the US Congress a bill adding 12,000 million dollars to its defence budget for the fiscal year 2000. In this connection, his special assistant said that the proposed increase in military spending had the north Korean situation in sight. The Japanese mass media reported that the Clinton Administration had set about equipping its military forces for an emergency on the Korean peninsula.

In early January that year, US Defence Secretary William S. Cohen flew to Japan and south Korea and expedited the building up of Asia-Pacific military defence on the basis of the US-Japan-south Korea triangular military alliance, and putting the finishing touch on a new security strategy for the Asia-Pacific region.

Earlier, the Japanese Defence Agency Director-General Norota visited south Korea, inspecting as far as Panmunjom, and concluding

an agreement on the formation of an emergency liaison network between the Japanese Self-Defence Forces and the south Korean army within the first half of the year. They also agreed on the establishment of a liaison office, in a conspiracy to open up the age of full-scale military cooperation between them. This implied a treaty of Japan-south Korea military alliance.

The world comments that this is the final stage of the establishment of an Asian version of NATO, and that its contour is gradually firming up.

The United States and Japan have a military alliance and the United States and south Korea have a military alliance. The link between Japan and south Korea will complete the triangular military alliance, or a military bloc. A series of agreements made between Japan and south Korea and their promise to open up the age of full-scale military cooperation prove, in fact, that the line has been drawn to link the third side of the triangular military alliance.

The triangular military alliance has entered the stage of actual operation. This is substantiated by the fact that the introduction of the Theatre Missile Defence system is now the order of the day and is now in progress. Operation Plan 5027, with its aim to attack jointly and completely occupy the hostile country, is now being put into practice.

The hasty manoeuvres of the United States to activate the triangular military alliance means its focus for the 21st century will be the Asia-Pacific region. Specifically, this means its attempt to realize its strategy of occupying the whole of the Korean peninsula, to

make it a base on which to dominate the Asia-Pacific region.

If the United States' attempt is not frustrated, the Korean people will suffer the lot of an enslaved nation, a lot that is more disastrous than the lot of divided nation.

A powerful military force that can deter an enemy from invasion can prevent war and maintain peace. When this logic is accepted, the invincible military force that has been built up by the Songun politics of the north alone can play the role of the trump card that will crush the United States' strategy of dominating the Korean peninsula in the 21st century.

The frustration of that strategy is the precondition for creating a peaceful environment to end the division of the nation and achieve reunification.

Songun politics provides the basic guarantee for achieving the sacred cause of national reunification by the nation's own effort. The Songun political will to reunify the country was clearly confirmed by Kim Jong Il's inspection of an army unit on January 1, 1995. His inspection of the unit, the first leg of his field inspection after the greatest national mourning, showed his political decision to ride out the difficult situation and accomplish the Juche cause by means of Songun politics. On this historic occasion, he declared that because there is the strong People's Army, the country would be reunified without fail, that the Juche revolutionary cause would certainly be accomplished and that the powerful People's Army was the great pride of the nation.

In his work, *Let Us Carry Out the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung's Instructions for National Reunification*, published on August 4, 1997, anticipating the 52nd anniversary of the liberation of the country, Kim Jong Il emphasized:

"Reunifying the country in our generation without fail by carrying forward the cause of the country's reunification pioneered and guided by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, is a firm decision of our Party and the revolutionary will of our people."

This decision to reunify the country, the will that is expressed in the Songun policy, does not mean that the country is to be reunified by relying on the power of military force.

In the south, the talk about reunification in the context of military affairs naturally means the invasion on the north to reunify the country by force of arms. Reunification connected with military affairs by Songun politics, however, implies checking the attempt to invade the north to reunify the country and achieving independent, peaceful reunification. It means that peace, the precondition for reunification, depends on the guns of the People's Army. The will to achieve independent and peaceful reunification as intended by Songun politics has been clearly expressed as an established outlook on reunification in Kim Jong Il's work published on August 4, 1997, and his work, *Let Us Reunify the Country Independently and Peacefully through the Great Unity of the Entire Nation*, published on April 18, 1998. The main points are the establishment of the three charters of national reunification on the basis of the three principles

of national reunification; the 10-Point Programme for the Great Unity of the Whole Nation; and the plan of establishing a Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo which were elucidated by President Kim Il Sung. It also includes the five-point policy for the great unity of the nation, the gist of which is to achieve unity based on the principle of national independence under the flag of patriotism and reunification; to improve north-south relations; to fight against domination by foreign forces and anti-reunification forces; to effect mutual visits, contacts and dialogue among the entire nation; and to strengthen solidarity and alliance.

Songun politics has the mission to translate the great programme of national reunification, the patriotic outlook on reunification, into reality.

We shall have to wait and see how relations between north Korea and the United States will develop, but it is clear that the normalization of north Korea-US relations and national reunification depend on the powerful military force of the north.

POLITICS OF JUSTICE THAT WILL LEAD THE NEW CENTURY

The greatest task facing humanity in the 21st century is to build a world of independence, equality and peace, free from war and aggression, for all countries and peoples.

After the end of the Cold War, the United States put forth a new

strategy of globalization that it aimed at establishing a unipolar world order under its leadership. By globalization is meant the reforming of world politics, economy, culture and everything else in the American style, and Americanizing them. The US National Security Council drafted and published the "United States' new strategy for the 21st century" in 1999 in order to guarantee the implementation of its globalization strategy on the basis of superior military power. The document said that the United States would continue to follow the strategy preparing for two theatres of war, and pursue the policy of intervening in the disputes of other countries in order to confirm its global leadership position. The strategy preparing for two theatres of war has in mind a war in the Korean peninsula in the first place. This is a fact known to the world.

Another document, which was published after the US National Security Council made its most comprehensive investigation of its national security in 50 years, points out that Asia, northeast Asia in particular, will be the most probable theatre of a great war. It formulates a detailed operation plan to attack the military bases in the rear of north Korea with Tomahawk missiles and the naval carrier task force in order to punish north Korea's continuing military threat. This operation plan, however, is recognized as unworkable, because all the operation plans against north Korea are tightly fettered by the Songun politics of the north. In the years of the Cold War, the international balance of power was characterized by the confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. This balance after the end of the Cold War is

characterized instead by the confrontation between north Korea and the United States, which involves the question of war and peace not only on the Korean peninsula, but in the whole world, including the question of human destiny.

In this confrontation, Songun politics has thoroughly prevented international affairs from being swayed by the intentions of the United States, through the maintenance of north Korea's victorious and leading position, while extending its influence all over the globe. Many countries have adopted the principle of attaching importance to military affairs, with an understanding that their sovereignty can be maintained and guaranteed not by empty words, but by guns.

A session of the Russian Federal Security Council held in the presence of Vladimir Putin (then acting President) on February 4, 2000, adopted a new military policy of "using nuclear weapons in case of direct threat to Russian and its allies' security".

The 1990s, the decade after the end of the Cold War, proved the false and deceptive nature of the imperialist allegations about the "failure in the experiment of socialism", and the "advent of the era of lasting capitalism".

In these years, Songun politics developed the socialist ideology to perfection and inspired the people with the conviction of the victory of socialism as a science by success in the defence of Juche-oriented socialism and the display of its superiority.

2. APPLICATION OF SONGUN POLITICS

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1) THE ARMY IS TRAINED TO BE INVINCIBLE

THE ARMY STRONG IN IDEAS—THE ARMY THAT DEFENDS THE LEADER

What type of army is the Korean People's Army? This is a point of interest for people around the world in the days of Songun politics.

The south Korean mass media answered this question in the mid-1990s. The answer was, "The People's Army of the north is possessed with the first-rate political and ideological spirit befitting a soldier."

Around that time a few soldiers of the People's Army met an accident on the sea and drifted to the south. They were detained by the authorities of the south before returning to the north.

This comment was made upon witnessing their dignified appearance.

In the face of the demand to convert, blackmail and bribery made by the authorities of the south, these soldiers sang *No Motherland without You*, a song that praises General Kim Jong Il, and remained steadfast, saying "We can live although we are separated from our parents, but never if we are separated from General Kim Jong Il."

They even threatened their interrogators, saying, "If you don't use honorific titles for General Kim Jong Il, we won't speak." When they were asked what their posts and names were, they each answered, "I'm so-and-so, a soldier of the respected General Kim Jong Il." To those who attempted to induce them to defect by offering brand-name suits, they retorted, "We'll wear the military uniform the Supreme Commander gave us and badges with the portrait of Comrade Kim Il Sung on the uniform." They also rejected the promise that they would be provided with private cars, gold watches and palatial houses if they remained in south Korea, saying, "We, the soldiers of General Kim Jong Il, don't know any life separated from him." They once lost consciousness as they had bitten their tongues with their teeth lest they might make a mistake in spite of themselves owing to torture and bribery.

All public power as well as ideology and ideals of south Korea yielded to this high level of spiritual power and defined it as a spiritual trait unique to the People's Army. It is a confirmation that the People's Army is strong in ideas, unmatched by the armed forces of any other country.

An army's image depends entirely on the art of leadership. The leadership of the army is that of personnel, weapons and equipment. The selection of the primary element among these decides the lines and policies of army building, the success of the build-up of military strength and the image of the army.

The theory of numerical superiority is based on the belief that

victory in battle is decided by strength. The theory of top nuclear capability in the post-atomic age, and all other technological-superiority theories are based on the principle that military strength is decided by armaments. They ignore the soldiers who handle the weaponry and their spiritual power.

The theories that view weaponry as the main thing regard the soldiers as headcounts.

Proceeding from this point of view, successive politicians focused on increasing arms and depended on money to motivate the soldiers. Inducing the soldiers with money and trophies in occupied areas to hurl them again into the battlefield—this was their way to manipulating soldiers. That mercenaries think of surrendering or running away first when the circumstances develop to their disadvantage is the inevitable product of this method. The army that becomes fearful at gunpoint cannot be a strong army however advanced its weaponry may be.

The Korean People's Army is fundamentally different. It puts primary stress on the spiritual power of its soldiers and regards making a mentally strong army as the fundamental principle of military development.

General Kim Jong Il said, "The confrontation with the enemy is one of military strength as well as ideas. I insist that ideology is the main thing in the building and activities of the army. The power of a military strike is limited, but ideology has no limit and its power is greater than that of the atomic bomb. The basic element in military

strength is the ideological consciousness of the soldiers."

This is the embodiment of the ideological theory that the masses of the soldiers are dignified beings with independent ideological consciousness. The destiny of war and military strength are determined by their ideological consciousness.

That the destiny of war or the strength of the armed forces is determined by the strength of ideology, not by numerical and technological strength, has been proved by history.

The truth was testified in a fresh way by the disintegration of the armed forces and collapse of socialism in the former Soviet Union and several countries in Eastern Europe.

Dmitry Yazov, defence minister of the erstwhile Soviet Union, wrote that one factor in the disintegration of the Soviet Union was its principle in building the armed forces. He wrote,

"...The Soviet Union was materially an economic and military superpower, but it collapsed overnight. The Soviet army that had been a proud force three million strong with world-class armaments failed not only to defend the Party and socialism, but also failed to maintain its existence in times of peace, not in the day of war.

"What was the reason? It was because the ranks disintegrated ideologically, being defeated in the war of information and ideology with the West."

Then what are the guidelines for building an army strong in ideas? This has been the fundamental principle behind the building of the Korean People's Army throughout the course of its development.

How were these guidelines applied in the complicated situation of the late 1990s?

Greeting the year 1995, Kim Jong Il said that the power of a revolutionary army was, in essence, the power of its ideology and, accordingly, ideological education must be further intensified among soldiers in order to develop the Korean People's Army into an invincible army. He pointed out that establishing the Party's leadership system in the army, imbuing the entire army with the revolutionary ideology of its Supreme Commander and preparing all soldiers to be human bullets and bombs that would defend the Party and leader on the first line of the revolution was the main direction of ideological work of the KPA and its main goal. His remarks express a significant political vision.

It is Kim Jong Il's view that a revolutionary army will emerge victorious if it takes ideology as its basic line and if it fails in this, it will perish.

By ideology, he means the ideology of socialism, the ideology of its leader.

To counter the deideological and depolitical processes, Songun politics has ensured that the purity of the concept of Juche, the guiding ideology of the KPA, was safeguarded. At the same time, the venomous and reactionary bourgeois ideological trends of all hues were given no room in the KPA. It has held higher the slogan of equipping the entire army with the Juche concept and trained the soldiers to cherish Juche as their faith. It has further enhanced the

authority and function of the Party organizations in the army so as to polish its image as the Party's army, holding the banner of the Workers' Party of Korea higher than ever before. In concrete terms, it has stressed the principle of managing a unit whereby unified command is provided under the collective leadership of the Party committee concerned. It has established an iron discipline whereby the entire army moves as one under the unified leadership of the Party and created a climate based on Party spirit. It has ensured a proper combination of political and military work. In this way, it has solved the problems arising in setting up the Party leadership system in the army.

Because the cause of socialism is, in essence, the cause of its leader, the spearhead of the imperialists' anti-socialist attack is directed at weakening and obliterating the leader's ideology and leadership. Protecting the leader is the essential nature and central task of a revolutionary army.

In the 1990s the anti-socialist, anti-DPRK manoeuvres of imperialists targeted the leadership of the Korean revolution. This showed that defending socialism means defending its leader as an actual problem, not only a theory.

The KPA had held before anyone else the slogan of defending the leadership of the revolution in every historical period of the revolution in which imperialist anti-socialist schemes went to extremes. In the 1990s, it held aloft again the slogan, "Defend the leadership of the revolution headed by the great Comrade Kim Jong Il at the cost of our

lives!" and conducted the movement for the title of O Jung Hup's 7th Regiment.

The KPA had faith that it can frustrate any manoeuvre of imperialists to stifle and crush the DPRK as long as they are led by Kim Jong Il. This is a product of the feeling of duty required by the times and history.

Kim Jong Il said,

"Some days ago the People's Army advanced the slogan, 'Defend the leadership of the revolution headed by the great Comrade Kim Jong Il at the cost of our lives!' The slogan reflects truthfully the soldiers' noble ideological and spiritual calling to share their destiny with the Party to the last. I was greatly encouraged by the slogan and I have come to cherish a firmer conviction in the sure victory of our revolution."

He continued,

"No army other than the People's Army that has been trained by Comrade Kim Il Sung and the Party can advance such a laudable slogan as this. From the day when it raised the sound of first gunshots in the forest of Mt. Paektu to this day, the People's Army has shared its destiny with its leader. Whenever our revolution faced difficulties, it staunchly defended the Party and leader holding high its revolutionary and militant slogans. The faithfulness with which the soldiers of the People's Army defended the Party and leader at the cost of their lives is recorded in the annals of our revolution, a revolution that has advanced victoriously, braving the storms of

history."

The 7th Regiment commanded by O Jung Hup was a unit of anti-Japanese guerrillas that was in the van in the defence of the leadership of Kim Il Sung in the trying days of the Arduous March, and in other days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, thus protecting the destiny of the Korean revolution.

The spirit of O Jung Hup's 7th Regiment was a most ennobling revolutionary spirit based on the unqualified worship of the leader, the spirit of charging the enemy's position without hesitation for the sake of the security of the leadership and the spirit of shielding the leadership from flying bullets with one's own body.

The movement for the title of O Jung Hup's 7th Regiment is a mass innovation movement. Its aim is to train the officers and men of the KPA to be human bombs and bullets in defence of the leadership of the revolution in conformity with the requirements of imbuing the entire army with the Juche concept. The KPA is thus a guard corps, a death-defying corps, of its Supreme Commander.

One September day in 1997, Kim Jong Il inspected a KPA unit that was undergoing assessment for the title of O Jung Hup's 7th Regiment.

With militant slogans posted and flags flying in various places, the atmosphere was different from other units. The unit was situated in a quiet valley and several attractive fishing ponds were laid out there. The barracks were standing in the middle of well-laid greenery. Kim Jong Il was attracted first by the external surroundings

of the unit. Every part of the unit was exemplary, and its combat efficiency was perfect.

Kim Jong Il expressed his special appreciation of the spiritual and ideological state of the soldiers of the unit.

Having been inspected by President Kim Il Sung, on its own initiative the unit made a room for studying the instructions the President had given during his inspection and compiled pictorial records of his inspection of the unit. These have been used to educate the soldiers for many years. This proved effective in the ideological education of the soldiers.

The soldiers' ideological and mental state found a concentrated expression in their art performance.

Presented at the art performance were the soldiers of a company that had previously been inspected by President Kim Il Sung.

The repertoire was fresh and the performance displayed the characteristics of the unit; the spirit to guard the leader with one's very life was apparent throughout.

Beginning with the chorus *We Eagerly Wanted to See You, General* and *Our General Is Best*, the soldiers staged a solo and choral rendition of *The Motherland I'm Defending* and the drum ensemble *The Sound of Thunder on Jong Il Peak* to name a few. The performance came to a climax with poem and chorus *We Swear* and *We Will Defend the Leadership of the Revolution at the Cost of Our Lives*.

After enjoying the performance, Kim Jong Il said,

"The soldiers showed through the performance their iron faith and will to defend the leadership of the revolution at the cost of their very lives and accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche following their Supreme Commander and their military service filled with optimism. Today I inspected the unit with delight. All the soldiers of this unit are fully prepared politically and ideologically, militarily and technologically. The commanders' standards and management of their unit are very high.

"I am satisfied that the unit has developed through working for the title of O Jung Hup's 7th Regiment as a combat-ready unit. Each soldier is a match for a hundred foes and unfailingly faithful to the Party and revolution. I highly appreciate your success."

Smiling broadly, he asked the accompanying KPA commanders if the assessors would not give a pass to the unit.

The mass movement for the title of O Jung Hup's 7th Regiment is now being conducted briskly. It is developing the KPA to be a combat unit of the Supreme Commander equipped with the spirit of guarding him with the soldiers' very lives. Through this movement the KPA is taking a distinct appearance of an army strong in ideas.

Kim Jong Il pointed out the typical heroes and ensured that all the servicemen learned from their noble example.

One of Kim Jong Il's leadership methods is to create a model and generalize it. This is a method of furthering the revolution and construction.

The prototypes Kim Jong Il held up are Ri Su Bok and Kil Yong

Jo who sacrificed their lives without hesitation.

Ri Su Bok is a Hero of the DPRK, who blocked an enemy pillbox with his own body on Height 1211 during the Korean War to pave the way for his unit's advance. He was 18 years old.

During his inspection of military units, Kim Jong Il noted that the soldiers were trying to emulate the spirit of Ri Su Bok. He encouraged all of them to become modern Ri Su Boks.

Hero Kil Yong Jo, also known as a "Ri Su Bok of the 1990s", was a pilot. During training flight, his plane caught fire. He had to bail out, but he saw that if the plane crashed uncontrolled, it would endanger the safety of the leadership of the revolution. He remained in the burning cockpit and steered the plane out to sea. He was only 30 years old when he died.

During his inspection of the army units, Kim Jong Il encouraged all soldiers to emulate the noble spirit of Ri Su Bok and Kil Yong Jo.

Ri Su Bok's famous poem was enthusiastically recited by the officers and soldiers of the People's Army, as well as by people all around the country; a film depicting Kil Yong Jo's heroic deed was produced and his wife served in military uniform at her late husband's post before meeting General Kim Jong Il.

The art of leadership with ideology as the primary concept trained the soldiers as indomitable fighters who would brave even death.

Even the military authorities of the United States and the authorities of south Korea admit that the KPA has now become a

"first-rate army in the world equipped with a most destructive weapon: the spirit of self-blasting explosion". This is the result of Songun politics.

AN INVINCIBLE ARMY

The US and south Korean mass media these days are broadcasting documents and opinions that the People's Army of north Korea is capable of overwhelming the United States militarily. They say that war like those in the Balkan region or Persian Gulf has not erupted on the Korean peninsula so far because the United States is fearful of the casualties it might suffer from the north Korean army.

As the US military is not prepared to accept the casualties it might suffer from a counterattack of the Korean People's Army, the power of the KPA is without doubt a deterrent to the US forces.

The point is that this military strength was not built up easily in favourable circumstances. It was accomplished in the most challenging circumstances thanks to the Songun policy.

In order to defend socialism, ensure that his people are not put again under the yoke of colonial slavery of imperialists and accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche, Kim Jong Il gave priority to military affairs and the munitions industry. The product is the power of the KPA, which is capable of deterring the United States militarily.

Kim Jong Il points out that an army not prepared militarily and

technologically cannot emerge victorious in the fight with the enemy. A revolutionary army that is strong politically and ideologically can, he says, become invincible if it is prepared militarily and technologically. Kim Jong Il stressed the importance of military affairs and the munitions industry and personally solved the problems arising in building up the KPA's military technology.

An army exists for fighting. It must fight and win. However excellent his spirit and morale and psychology are, a soldier cannot fulfil his duty if he is weak in the art of fighting and physical preparation. Moreover, modern three-dimensional warfare fought with the enlistment of hi-tech weapons and combat equipment demands that he master skills with such weapons and equipment. He must have the ability to estimate the situation and make use of the art of fighting, and have a strong body.

What should be the primary concern, the weapons and equipment or the abilities of the soldiers who handle them? It must be the cultivation of such abilities among soldiers.

Kim Jong Il believes that the masses of soldiers are a main component of the military strength and the main force in a revolutionary war.

From this point, he advanced a unique soldier-centred military concept. It is based on the idea that weaponry is important in war but soldiers are its masters. The strength of an army and victory in combat are decided by soldiers, not by weaponry, and an army whose soldiers are equipped with revolutionary ideas and well versed in

military technology can win victory over any enemy.

This is why Kim Jong Il attaches importance to man over weapon in his leadership of military affairs and regards it as an important principle to solve all military problems by motivating the soldiers through the awakening of their ideas. In concrete terms, he trains every soldier to be a master of strategy and strength who would defeat at a stroke any enemy in any situation, a competent soldier who would handle any hi-tech weaponry and a fighter who would match a hundred foes.

In March 1996, Kim Jong Il inspected a post at Mt. Taedok, on the front line. This place can be called the home of the slogan, "One soldier must match a hundred foes!"

Standing before a natural rock inscribed with this slogan, Kim Jong Il thought deeply. He then said that the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung had come to this post on February 6, 1963, making his way through virgin snow, advanced the revolutionary slogan for the People's Army and given instructions of historical significance in the development of the People's Army.

A senior officer of the unit said to him, "When the slogan was first advanced, the anti-Party counterrevolutionary elements in the army claimed that it was excessive. They said that the people of other countries would laugh at us and friendly countries would not give us assistance in emergency if we embrace this slogan. When they even tried to pull down the slogan, soldiers inscribed it on this rock with a chisel even though no one ordered them to do so. They cherished it as

a banner for building up military strength and demonstrating their faith in sure victory."

Kim Jong Il highly appreciated this. He said, "In the future, the People's Army must undertake education more efficiently among soldiers for supporting and carrying out Comrade Kim Il Sung's intention as expressed in the revolutionary slogan and train them to equal a hundred foes each."

His inspection of the home of the slogan is an expression of his strong determination and will to prepare all soldiers to be invincible by holding high the slogan as a banner for building up military strength.

All the soldiers of the People's Army are now equipped with firm revolutionary ideas, superb tactics, excellent marksmanship and strong physique. They are well versed not only in the weapons of their squads, platoons and companies, but also in those of the enemy. A deckhand on a warship can perform the tasks of gunner, engineer and wireless operator; a gun charger can look through its sights and perform the task of the head gunner.

This happened in the autumn of 1994. The director of the US Defence Intelligence Agency, Lt. Gen. James R. Clapper Jr. was inspecting the Demilitarized Zone in a helicopter of the US forces in south Korea. Through pilot error, the chopper entered the Demilitarized Zone, approaching the truce line.

Soldiers in the south—it was not ascertained whether they were US or south Korean soldiers—opened fire on the chopper, thinking

it was defecting to the north; but not a shot hit the target.

Meanwhile the soldiers of the People's Army, thinking that it was intruding into their airspace across the truce line, fired. The first shot hit the chopper. Fortunately, the engine and fuel tank were safe. The director narrowly escaped death. On his return to Washington he said that war with north Korea must be avoided.

After this incident, the United States issued a temporary order that US helicopters should not make flights in the vicinity of the Demilitarized Zone. It did not want to see an accidental clash leading it to war with north Korea.

Kim Jong Il has also paid special attention to modernizing the weapons and equipment of the People's Army so that it can cope with any type of modern warfare.

Today the United States is the leader in developing hi-tech weapons. This impels other countries to possess correspondingly powerful means of striking back.

Nevertheless, north Korea, a small country, is not in a position to conduct an arms race with the United States. Even though the United States has developed such modern, large-scale weapons as Stealth fighters and nuclear-powered aircraft carriers, north Korea cannot invest so much money in national defence.

The military strategists in the West appreciate north Korea's strategy of developing relatively cheap missiles that can destroy the expensive nuclear-powered aircraft carriers and Aegis ships at a single shot. Their macroscopic analysis is that if north Korean missiles attack

metropolises in the United States situated on plains or large plateaus, all but defenceless against a missile attack, the destructive power is maximized and can demolish the pyramid of US military and national strength.

This is a valid opinion.

It can be proved by the remark made by Gen. Wesley Clark, commander of the NATO forces during the war in Yugoslavia. He confessed that although US planes and ships attacked Yugoslavia with hi-tech missiles for over a month, the US forces failed to neutralize the Serbian forces in Kosovo and they were still strong. This demonstrates that air and naval forces are important in modern warfare, but they are not a decisive factor nor does hi-tech weaponry decide the victor in a war.

North Korea does have a long-term strategy of modernization corresponding to today's situation. Weapons and equipment are being modernised more rapidly and their production is increasing thanks to global advances in military science and technology. North Korea is carrying out this strategy steadily.

Kim Jong Il is deeply attentive to arming the People's Army with the latest military equipment even in the days of the "Arduous March" and forced march. He briefed the KPA commanders on world trends in arms development whenever he inspected the KPA units and taught them the efficiency of new military equipment.

It is widely known that the weapons and equipment of the People's Army have reached a high standard.

According to US and Japanese analysts, the north Korean air force is believed to be equipped with modern planes that can fight a successful air battle with the hi-tech planes of the United States and destroy the main strongholds and army groups of the enemy in one strike. Its navy has rapidly developed, possessing powerful battle ships and modern ordnance that can defend the territorial waters reliably. Its armoured vehicles and guns have also reached a high level.

As has been stressed in the statements and talks of the military authorities, north Korea has powerful means with which it can strike the enemy at any place on earth. It has increased the mobility of its guns and tanks scores of times, leading the countries that are in possession of self-propelled guns.

Modernization of weapons and equipment has radically improved the operational capability of the KPA.

The operational capability of the KPA was demonstrated during the flight training for sorties conducted in 1994.

One day Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il issued an order to the Air Command on flight training for sorties.

The command had only few hours to start the training. According to conventional wisdom, it was quite impossible for all military planes in a country to enter into training in such a short time. Even the countries that claim to have long maintained advanced air forces have never ordered their planes up all at once. On receiving this unprecedented order, the air force commanders got down to

organizing the training full steam. Suddenly it became cloudy across the country, and sleet was forecast in some regions.

But planes of various types took off in all military airfields and flew their respective missions. After executing their tasks, the planes landed at their bases safely.

When everyone was filled with confidence by the training, Kim Jong Il was highly pleased.

Around that time, in order to shock north Korea with a demonstration of aerial superiority, a hostile country attempted an exercise with half of its planes taking flights. This was cancelled owing to the dispersed character of the command system and the weather conditions.

Kim Jong Il had ordered the training in response to the planned training in that country, and overwhelmed it with the KPA's success.

The positions of the KPA are laid out perfectly by the revolutionary leadership based on the Songun policy, and in conformity with the specific conditions of the country and the demands of modern warfare.

Building military positions that will remain undamaged from any type of strike in modern warfare, where quantities of powerfully destructive weapons are used, is crucial to building up the military and technological strength of the armed forces.

During the Gulf War, the multinational forces attacked the defence setup in Iraq, but the air raids and missile attacks failed to destroy the underground structures completely. Whereas the Iraqi

defences are concrete structures built under the sand, the solidly built tunnels of north Korea are so strong as to remain undamaged even under a nuclear strike.

The more they study the military strength of north Korea, the more the world's military specialists admire it.

The Western mass media have praised the might of the ancient Macedonian army and the prowess of the Gurkha soldiers. Now they point to the Korean People's Army as a "most powerful and dreadful army in the world". This description proceeds from their affirmation of the military and technological strength of the People's Army.

Kim Jong Il also pays close attention to strengthening the munitions industry.

The munitions industry is a bedrock and prerequisite of self-reliant military strength. History has proven that an army that depends on others without a reliable munitions industry collapses.

Kim Jong Il once said, "If we fail to direct efforts to the munitions industry because of immediate difficulties created by the present circumstances, we can't defend socialism. We can live without cake or candy, but we can't live without weapons and bullets."

Knowing that modern warfare depends on ammunition and fuel, he visited munitions factories to solve problems on the spot.

Thanks to his leadership, north Korea's munitions industry has developed without interruption. It can manufacture any type of military equipment required.

In March 1999 a high-ranking official of Yugoslavia, a country

that had been hit hard by the air campaign conducted by the US-led NATO forces, spoke with north Korean officials on military affairs. He said, "Through the war, we keenly feel the need to build self-reliant defences. When our neighbours joined forces with NATO, and Russia, which we had so trusted, could not extend us a helping hand, our hearts broke. The first and foremost thing is that one must build up one's own military strength. This is the only way to survive. On this occasion we clearly realized how far-sighted General Kim Jong Il's politics is to have channelled such great effort into strengthening the self-reliant defences even under difficult circumstances."

THE INSPECTION OF THE UNITS OF THE KPA

In the last five years of the 1990s, Kim Jong Il made field inspections of more than 430 units of the KPA, covering 48,000 kilometres.

Today people around the world regard such ceaseless inspection as a concrete method of leadership based on the Songun policy.

Kim Jong Il's inspection of army units implies his direct confrontation with the United States.

After the sudden death of President Kim Il Sung in 1994, north Korea made an "Arduous March" and a forced march in order to defend socialism, overcoming all difficulties despite the imperialist siege.

From this viewpoint, one can understand that Kim Jong Il's

inspection tours were aimed at strengthening the People's Army enabling it to smash the military pressure of imperialists and safeguard socialism.

Kim Jong Il once said that he was giving on-the-spot guidance to the army units because the Korean revolution was faced with a serious problem related to the destiny of socialism. He added that the army had the key to solving this problem.

That Kim Jong Il's inspection of army units is aimed at defending socialism in the confrontation with imperialists further means that he commands the struggle against imperialists in the van.

Kim Jong Il is always at the leadership for defending socialism and advancing the cause of Juche.

With the leadership, he inspects the outposts on the front line and always leads the confrontation to victory against the enemy with extraordinary wisdom, confidence in sure victory and courage.

His inspection of army units implies guidance of the revolution and construction of north Korea as a whole.

His revolutionary leadership is characterized by making on-site inspections of far more army units than any other sectors and thus sagaciously leading the socialist cause.

The north Korean people regard Kim Jong Il's inspection of army units as his on-the-spot guidance of their own workplaces. They view the instructions he gave the army units as tasks he has assigned them as well and implement them with alacrity.

In this sense, his inspection of army units demonstrates his

leadership of overall socialist construction, his mixing with the people, his traditional and unique style of work.

Soldiers of the units he inspected steel themselves further and build their defence positions to be impregnable.

Inspecting many units of the three services, including those on Height 1211, Height 351, Mt. Osong and Mt. Taedok, military academies and other military sites, Kim Jong Il acquaints himself with their operational capabilities and immediately solves all the problems raised. This places the political and military might of the KPA onto the highest level.

He calls at every place where there are officers and men of the KPA.

One day in 1998, he started for a post on the front lines, a post situated face to face with the enemy. It was four o'clock, at dawn, when he arrived at the foot of the height where the post was situated. He had to follow a rugged road up the cliff. Worse still, it was sleeting. His car tried several times, but failed to climb up the mountain. Encouraging his suite to push the cars to the post, he got out of his car and pushed it along the muddy road. An aide asked him to go to the post on a fine day as the weather was bad and the road was so muddy.

He said that he must visit all places where the soldiers were, asking how he could see them all if he visited posts only on fine days.

He pushed his car all along the road, not caring about his trouser legs stained with mud, and at last arrived at the post.

Whenever he visits the frontline units he acquaints himself with the area, examining the enemy positions, including the terrain,

deployment of their forces and the enemy movements. After hearing the reports on their situations, he proposes strategic and tactical plans over the operation maps in view of the enemy movements. Observing the soldiers in training, he advances important tasks for improving their combat efficiency.

As he inspects army units continually, he is intimately familiar with the geographical and other conditions on the long defence lines.

Early one May morning in 1998, Kim Jong Il climbed Kkachi, a high, rugged peak, on his inspection of a frontline unit.

The commander of the unit, who had to explain the situation of the front to Kim Jong Il, grew embarrassed, as he could not distinguish one thing from another. The area was enveloped in a dense fog.

As soon as Kim Jong Il climbed the peak, the fog began to break and the adjacent heights looked like vague islands on the sea of clouds.

Thinking he was lucky, the unit commander tried in haste to explain the layout of the major geographical features.

Kim Jong Il said he could find them on the map and studied the map for a while. Then, pointing the adjacent heights, he said,

"That is Sonjoam and in front of it are Height 351 and Mt. Wolbi."

As he pinpointed the objects which were at best dimly visible because of the fog, the KPA commanders who accompanied him, to say nothing of the unit commander, were amazed.

Some of them even thought that he had been to the peak several times incognito.

As if he had read their inward thoughts, Kim Jong Il, with a bright smile on his face, joked that he could see all of these sites as he was wearing spectacles and that they would also be able to see them if they put on spectacles.

Kim Jong Il pays special attention to the ideological education of soldiers during his inspection of army units.

On November 24, 1996, Kim Jong Il visited the KPA Military Mission at Panmunjom.

He praised the soldiers there, saying that they were reliably guarding a gate to the motherland because they cherished a high degree of class consciousness that they would not allow a repeat of the bitter past of their parents, on whom was forced the miserable life of a ruined nation. He continued that it was important to educate all soldiers so that they would fight to the last in defence of Korean-style people-centred socialism, not forgetting even a moment the days when their grandfathers and fathers had shed tears of blood under exploitation and oppression.

A few years ago, a Japanese publication carried a cartoon of several beasts of prey prowling around the map of north Korea. It showed that the US-led imperialist allied forces' offensive to stifle north Korea had reached its limit.

When the DPRK-US Agreed Framework was adopted in October 1994, the US hard-line conservatives claimed that the agreement

contained excessive concessions that undermined US dignity. They claimed that its declaration could solve nothing, as 70-80 per cent of the KPA forces were deployed in the areas just north of the truce line, which meant a constant threat to south Korea. They even went so far as to say that the United States was ready to use forces against north Korea any time.

In addition, they deployed in south Korea the latest lethal weapons, including Patriot missiles, on a large scale and conducted the Eagle and Hwarang joint military exercises. Both were larger than Team Spirit, and aggravated the situation.

Internationally, people who had thought that the adoption of the framework agreement would relax the situation grew nervous once again. The tension that had prevailed in 1993 was being rekindled.

At this time, Kim Jong Il, in plain field clothes and with a short-peaked fur cap on, took the road to the front.

The Western mass media was sensitive to his appearance. They reported that his cap was not an ordinary one but that of hunters of tigers and other beasts of prey. They said that Kim Jong Il was inspecting the forefront posts with the cap on to demonstrate that he would hunt the beasts—the imperialists—who were prowling to swallow north Korea. They continued that the song, *The General Is a Master Shot, We the Telling Bullets*, sung by the north Korean people now had even greater meaning.

BUGLER OF THE SONGUN POLICY—THE KOREAN

PEOPLE'S ARMY MERITED CHORUS

Song is part and parcel of human life.

This holds true with armed forces. No army in the world exists without its songs.

Kim Jong Il overcomes all difficulties and trials and carries out his plans by motivating the people through music. Thanks to his leadership, music in north Korea has taken a special position as a weapon of the revolution.

Kim Jong Il said, "Art and literature, music in particular, exerts an important influence in arming soldiers with the conviction of sure victory and revolutionary optimism. We have the Korean-style philosophy of music. Music is a powerful weapon of the revolution and construction that instils in the people the joy of life and revolutionary ardour and arouses them to the struggle for great feats. Song goes hand in hand with struggle, and revolution emerges victorious where songs are sung loudly."

Kim Jong Il gives the highest prominence to the Merited Chorus of the KPA in his politics with regard to music.

Pointing out that a bugler had always been in the van of the revolution he said that was why he had had the bugler of the anti-Japanese war brought into bold relief in the front of the group sculpture of the Grand Monument in Samjiyon. He affirmed that the bugler of the Songun revolutionary leadership he was exercising was the Merited Chorus.

A bugler in the army is a signalman with the important mission of transmitting the commander's orders and directives, getting the ranks to move and inspiring esprit de corps through refined melodies.

The political importance of the Merited Chorus of the KPA as the bugler of the Songun policy is thus explained.

To call the Merited Chorus the bugler of the Songun policy means that it is the signalman of Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il.

The Merited Chorus formerly specialized in male choral performances of the Korean People's Army Song and Dance Ensemble, which was formed in 1947.

The male chorus developed into an authoritative entity under the direct leadership of Kim Jong Il for many years.

In the middle of the 1990s, Kim Jong Il initiated the development of the male chorus as a unique form of music. The chorus alone could stage a concert for an hour or more, satisfying all artistic requirements.

He believed that the powerful male chorus, conveying strong martial spirit, could play the role of the bugler of the Songun policy.

When elucidating the unique characteristics of the male chorus, Kim Jong Il stressed that the soldiers like best music like the male chorus, which represents esprit de corps and emotional experiences, since they love guns and aspire to great feats. He further detailed the methods for developing the chorus into a world-famous one.

He took measures to reinforce it with excellent artistes and highlighted the ways for developing the Juche-oriented orchestral

accompaniment in step with the increase of its size and volume.

Kim Jong Il met the leading artistes of the chorus frequently. He told them, "A chorus is not an art that demonstrates its might only with vocal volume; it is an art of ensemble and harmony. If the orchestral accompaniment is not in harmony with the vocal music, and the cantors' vocal music with the chorus or with the orchestra, and if the scene and lighting do not sustain the musical depiction artistically, it would be impossible for the chorus to fully display its might despite the sonority of the voices of its members." He declared that musical arrangement should preserve the revolutionary courage, wisdom and heroic spirit of the revolutionary army, conducting should sustain the sense of discipline and organization of soldiers and performance should highlight their revolutionary mettle and combat spirit.

At last, it appeared as a grand chorus able to sing 100 revolutionary songs in one performance.

Kim Jong Il ensured that the powerful songs of the Merited Chorus motivated the spirit of the army and the people to struggle and win victory without fail.

He paid deep attention to leading the chorus to remain faithful to its ideological principle, so that all its songs embodied the ideas and intentions of Songun politics.

He himself chose the musical pieces that sing the praise of the cause of immortalizing Kim Il Sung, a fundamental guarantee for carrying forward the revolutionary cause of Juche; and those that

reflect the spirit of guarding one's leader with one's very life, the spirit of the red flag and the spirit of the "Arduous March", the spirits required by the times and the developing revolution. Under his personal guidance the chorus mastered 200 songs that mirror the spirit of the contemporary era in a short period of time.

The Merited Chorus became a powerful group that supports Kim Jong Il's ideas and intentions in the van. It overwhelms the power of nuclear weapons by means of an ideological art.

On December 24, 1995, marking the fourth anniversary of his nomination as the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army, Kim Jong Il enjoyed a concert given by the Merited Chorus, its first independent performance. Since then, he has frequently enjoyed its performance.

On February 15, 1997, the Merited Chorus staged a performance at the April 25 House of Culture in Pyongyang in celebration of Kim Jong Il's birthday.

The performance started with *Song of General Kim Jong Il*.

1. Mt. Paektu reaches across
To shape our beautiful land.
Cheers resound all over the land,
Hailing our dear General.
He's the leader of the people,
Carrying forward the Sun's cause.
Long live, long live, General Kim Jong Il.

2. All blossoms on this earth
Tell of his love, broad and warm.
Blue East and West Seas sing
His exploits in their song.
He is the artist of great joy,
Glorifying the garden of Juche.
Long live, long live, General Kim Jong Il.

3. Socialist cause he defends
With iron will and courage.
He raises national honour
Far and wide throughout the world.
He is the champion of justice,
Standing for independence.
Long live, long live, General Kim Jong Il

The debut of this hymn to Kim Jong Il by the Merited Chorus created as great a sensation as when *Song of General Kim Il Sung* debuted soon after the liberation of Korea.

The song went on to become a revolutionary song for the soldiers, a grand chorus of people united with one heart under a banner proclaiming the defence of socialism, together carrying out the cause of Juche.

By presenting *Hold High the Red Flag*, a song dubbed the "*Red*

Flag in the 1990s", the chorus aroused the army and people of north Korea to the cause of immortalizing Kim Il Sung when they were mourning bitterly, shedding tears of blood, over his death. The chorus thus accomplished Kim Jong Il's intention.

1. The sacred Red flag on Mt. Paektu

Bears the whole life of President Kim Il Sung.

Let us fly the Red flag high, the symbol of our pledge

We will follow General Kim Jong Il, flying the flag.

2. Breaking through the wild range of history

The flag has been marked only with victory.

Let us fly the Red flag high, the flag of faith

We will follow General Kim Jong Il, flying the flag.

Saying that he liked best the lyrics, "The sacred Red Flag on Mt. Paektu bears the whole life of President Kim Il Sung" and "The flag has been marked only with victory", Kim Jong Il lauded the song as the "*Red Flag in the 1990s*".

The army and people of north Korea overcame the grief of Kim Il Sung's death by singing this song and have remained sturdy in the "Arduous March" and the forced march.

Taking with him the Merited Chorus of the KPA, Kim Jong Il inspected the headquarters of a great combined unit on the western front on Army Day in 1996, a frontline unit on V-Day in 1997.

Accompanying Kim Jong Il, the Merited Chorus gave performances for various army units, including those on the front line.

This happened a few years ago, when the United States was attempting to corner north Korea, threatening that it could start a war on the Korean peninsula. The officers and soldiers of the KPA were in full readiness for possible action, awaiting any order from Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il.

At that time, Kim Jong Il told the commanders of the KPA that he would send them a great thing.

In light of the situation, they anticipated that he would send them a powerful weapon of a new type that could deal a smashing blow to the enemy.

But unexpectedly, what Kim Jong Il sent them was the score of the song, *Ten Million Will Become Human Bullets and Bombs*. On receiving it, they were gripped by strong emotion, realizing the profound meaning of his words, "great thing". They bore in their minds his will to overpower the enemy by means of song. They saw that the key to victory in the confrontation with the enemy was song capable of stirring the ideological and spiritual power of the officers and men of the KPA, not superior weapons or numerical strength.

The Merited Chorus, accompanying Kim Jong Il on his inspection of the units of the KPA, sing revolutionary, gallant and solemn songs adorning the victorious road of the Songun politics.

The Songun politics which defended the sovereignty of the country and the dignity of the nation is, indeed, a great policy which

exalted north Korea as a military power.

UNITY BETWEEN THE ARMY AND THE PEOPLE

The People's Army of north Korea is now displaying its invincibility by achieving the most solid and perfect unity of ideas and action with the people, a unity that no other armed forces in the world have achieved.

Kim Jong Il clarified that the community of ideas and fighting spirit of the army and the people based on the revolutionary spirit of soldiers is the essence of their unity and the root of north Korean society.

This unity, a driving force of Songun politics, constitutes a guarantee for winning victory in the confrontation with imperialism and accomplishing the cause of Juche.

It has succeeded the unity between the army and the people emphasized in north Korea in the past. It is different from the former in its character.

It transcends a union characterized by interdependence—the army helping the people and the people supporting the army. It is characterized by a high level of unity, people learning from the noble spirit and the fighting traits created by the army, the pillar and main force of the revolution. Thus they achieve a perfect oneness in ideas and fighting spirit, methods and traits between them.

In the complicated and difficult circumstances of the 1990s, when

the destiny of socialism and the people was at stake, Kim Jong Il named the ideological and mental power and revolutionary fighting traits displayed by the officers and soldiers of the KPA the revolutionary spirit of soldiers. He defined the spirit as the spiritual and practical bedrock of army-people unity.

The trust Kim Jong Il placed in the KPA in the most difficult period of revolution inspired the soldiers with a renewed spirit.

The Anbyon Youth Power Station, completed in September 1996 by the soldiers, is a monument to this spirit.

The power station was a large-scale project aimed at satisfying the need for electricity in Kangwon Province. It was undertaken in the difficult circumstances of the 1990s, when everything was in short supply. It was a grand nature-remaking project, twice the work of the West Sea Barrage. The West believes that 4 billion dollars were invested in the barrage.

Kim Jong Il assigned construction of the Anbyon Youth Power Station to the KPA and paid close attention to its successful implementation.

The whole process of construction was beset with great difficulties; it looked impossible to complete the project as scheduled in the days of the "Arduous March".

However, the soldier-builders made the impossible possible.

On June 10, 1996, just before the completion of the first stage of the project, Kim Jong Il visited the construction site. He ignored the discomfort of the dripping water, going into the huge waterway

tunnel to acquaint himself with the soldiers heroic struggle.

In September of the same year he again visited the construction site. He said that the Anbyon Youth Power Station was a precious product of the revolutionary spirit displayed by the officers and soldiers of the KPA, who would move a mountain or fill up the sea if the Party demanded it. He stressed that the motherland would always remember the mass heroism and noble self-sacrificing spirit the soldier-builders had displayed and the great exploits they had performed for their country and fellow people. He clarified that the revolutionary spirit of soldiers was the spirit of carrying out unconditionally the militant tasks assigned by the Party, the spirit of carrying out difficult tasks by their own efforts through fortitude and the spirit of fighting heroically, even sacrificing their very lives without hesitation, for the Party and revolution, the country and people.

The spirit of carrying out assignments without fail even at the risk of one's life, the spirit of guarding the leader with one's very life and the revolutionary traits were infused into the whole army and rooted in the KPA. This is the revolutionary spirit of soldiers and revolutionary mettle, giving an impetus to the second grand Chollima march of the country, bringing the "Arduous March" to victory and making a breakthrough in socialist forced march, in building a great prosperous powerful nation.

Kim Jong Il developed the revolutionary tradition of the people supporting the army and the army loving the people. This had been

displayed between the anti-Japanese guerrillas and the people in the period of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. Now he brought it to a new higher stage in keeping with the demands of the developing situation, thus cementing the blood ties between the army and the people as never before.

With the spread of the revolutionary spirit of soldiers across the country, the army's love for the people and the people's support of the army have deepened with the passage of time.

Some soldiers walked a long way to return an ox to a rural village when they discovered that it had strayed from its shed. When a house caught fire and the house was burnt down, it was soldiers who came first to build a new, fine house and equipped it with all household necessities. Innumerable are such laudable deeds.

In December 1996, Kim Jong Il received a letter from the farmers in Yangdong Village, Unpha County, North Hwanghae Province.

They wrote:

"... Dear General,

"We can survive even if we send two or three months' provisions to the army. We can do farming next year without starving if we stretch out our food by economizing on provisions and raising wheat or barley as the first crop as well as vegetables. Just after liberation of the country, farmer Kim Je Won donated rice to the country in support of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, and today we will donate rice to the army in support of you, General Kim Jong Il."

The letter reflected the true heart of the people, their ardent spirit of supporting the army. They believe that the soldiers, defenders of the country, must never go hungry even if they themselves may suffer hunger.

Instructing the commanding officers of the KPA on the need to use the letter in educating the soldiers, he said, "As you might have read in the letter, it fully reflects our people's steadfast faith and will to defend our own socialism and share their destiny with the Party for ever. I was greatly encouraged by the letter. The letter has won approval from farmers all over the country. Following the example of the 7th Workteam of the Yangdong Cooperative Farm, farmers have turned out as one to send enough food to the army and make full preparations for farming. The letter is very significant in educating the people."

He leads the People's Army to play the leading role in this army-people relationship.

The power of unity between the army and people was displayed in the grim days when the whole country had to rise up to check the imperialist aggressive manoeuvres, defend socialism and turn the "Arduous March" into a socialist forced march to build a great prosperous powerful country.

2) OPENING THE WAY TO THE COUNTRY'S PROSPERITY

THE ARMY UNDERTAKES BOTH NATIONAL DEFENCE AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

For some years after 1994, north Korea was on an economic "Arduous March" facing the most severe trials since its foundation. From 1998, the "Arduous March" became a socialist forced march toward final victory. Now it has advanced into the second grand Chollima march for building a great prosperous powerful country.

Forces were concentrated on the main fronts in socialist construction in order to develop the Juche revolution to victory without a setback in the days of the "Arduous March" and socialist forced march.

The first and foremost focuses were on agriculture and energy. Owing to the weakened economy, food was the most urgent problem. Meanwhile, only by strengthening the energy sector, the main artery of industry, could inactive factories be reactivated for production.

Kim Jong Il assigned these fronts to the KPA.

The "main force of the revolution" was more than a name. It was

an assignment proceeding from the fundamental principle of the Songun policy. Soldiers must remove the danger that threatens the main fronts of the revolution and accomplish difficult tasks in the days of grimmest trials.

A typical example is Kim Jong Il's assignment of all farming processes to the army in 1997.

The food shortage was the most pressing issue of the "Arduous March" of the 1990s, as it had been in the Arduous March during the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

Solving the food problem was a way out of the crisis.

Taking advantage of the food shortage prevailing in north Korea, the West resorted to mean tricks to strangle socialism by means of food aid.

North Korea could not allow the food problem to affect the socialist principles and resolute attitude it had maintained consistently in its struggle against its enemy.

Entrusting the KPA with farming in the 1997 season, Kim Jong Il said that raising a good crop that year was not simply economic work to ease the food shortage of the people but a severe political struggle to frustrate the anti-DPRK and anti-socialist manoeuvres of the enemy and safeguard the people-centred socialism of Korea. He stressed that the main task facing the Korean people that year was to farm well before anything else. In this way, Kim Jong Il attached great political importance to farming.

On several occasions he spoke to the commanding officers of the

KPA. He emphasized that the whole Party, the entire army and all people must be mobilized to farm productively that year by all means, so as to solve the food problem decisively and bring the "Arduous March" to a successful conclusion. The People's Army, he said, should give active, large-scale support to farming that year, organizing support to the countryside down to the last detail, even the effect of sending one more person to countryside to assist. The Party spirit and sense of responsibility of the commanding officers of the KPA should find concentrated expression that year by supporting farm work, he declared. This was his great trust in and expectation for the KPA.

In the rural communities, soldiers first made full preparations for farming, repairing equipment and producing manure. In the rice-transplanting season they worked day and night to transplant the delicate rice seedlings in season. In the weeding campaign that followed, they broke the records of previous years.

In the early autumn, when rice was ripe thanks to the hard work of the soldiers, unprecedentedly fierce tidal waves hit some coastal areas in north Korea. The crops that grew by the sweat of soldiers' brows were flooded and damaged.

The soldiers did not remain despondent; instead they made strenuous efforts to save the crops.

They carried stones and straw bags filled with earth in the waist-deep mud; when parts of embankment gave way, they held back water with their own bodies; on dark nights they built up embankments by feeling them with their hands.

The officers and men of the KPA worked so hard that farmers said that the harvested rice was "the blood, sweat and spirit of the soldiers".

One day in May that year, when rice-transplanting was at its height, Kim Jong Il, on his inspection tour of the army units, was presented with a sheet of paper. An official who had been to a rice-transplanting site took it off a notice board to show it to Kim Jong Il, who was deeply interested in the spirits of the soldiers at all times.

Written on it in bold letters was "We'll undertake national defence, socialist construction and agriculture to emerge a victor in the 'Arduous March'," under the slogan "We'll undertake everything!" A picture depicting a rifle with a bayonet above a hammer and sickle was also drawn on the paper.

Kim Jong Il looked at the paper, feeling the spirit and sentiment of soldiers on the farm. After a while, he said with a broad smile on his face that this paper had shown him how sincerely the soldiers were helping farmers with farm work. He went on to say that political work should be done the same way. He further expressed his appreciation, saying that the KPA was good at everything.

The country, with soldiers in the lead, finally finished the rice-transplanting, the first step in crop growing. On June 6, 1997, Kim Jong Il, in the name of Supreme Commander, issued a telegraph order giving thanks to agricultural workers and helpers throughout the country for their completion of rice-transplanting.

In the order he pointed out that the soldiers of the KPA went to the socialist cooperative farms with determination to undertake both national defence and agricultural work and worked hard day and night, their hearts burning with the desire to gather a bumper harvest in autumn, thus fulfilling their duty as a revolutionary army. He praised highly the agricultural workers, the People's Army soldiers and other helpers for making a great contribution to completing rice-transplanting. He ordered that they should not rest content with their success, but engage in weeding and fertilizing and tend crops properly to bring in an unprecedentedly bountiful harvest.

Enjoying his trust and inspired by expectations, the soldiers made a breakthrough in increasing grain production that year under the slogan "Let us not leave the field before carrying out the order of the Supreme Commander!"

The KPA was the main force of the revolution not only on the agricultural front, but also in reactivating the economy as a whole.

There were two ways to reactivate the economy: introduction of foreign capital or self-reliance.

Self-reliance meant continuing the "Arduous March" under the difficult circumstances of great shortage, whereas introduction of foreign capital meant yielding to imperialism.

Introduction of foreign capital is the way to national ruin and self-reliance is the only way to survival—this was the slogan north Korea raised to revitalize its economy in the complicated international situation of the late 1990s.

However, it was not easy to revitalize the economy by its own efforts.

It was necessary first to shore up the key industries, such as coal-mining, power and rail transport. But everything was in short supply and serious difficulties lay ahead.

Kim Jong Il entrusted the KPA with the heavy task of overcoming the difficulties.

The September 9 Street, April 25 Hotel and all gigantic structures were built by soldiers in such difficult days. They are also in the van of land rezoning being conducted on a large scale in north Korea.

This is the appearance of the main force of the revolution that undertakes both national defence and socialist construction.

North Korea intends to build a great prosperous powerful country by force of the KPA in future, too, as it did in the periods of the "Arduous March" and forced march.

Needless to say, this strategy will result in success and the KPA will further its position of the main force of the revolution.

THE CREATIONS OF THE WORK ATTITUDE OF THE KPA

In making a historical study of an era, one of the principles is to consider what sort of culture that era has created, that is, the cultural relics and creations of the era.

The material and cultural wealth created by the KPA in the latter

half of the 1990s represent each and every aspect of the Songun policy. They mirror a phase that marks a momentous point in history.

Without confidence in the future, it is next to impossible, in a difficult and trying period of time, to build up scenic spots as cultural recreation grounds of lasting significance, to arrange workshops as splendidly as palaces, or to build a modern high-quality factory or residence, even though it might be just one. Generally, people are said to be classified into three categories when they are in difficulties: at the bottom are people giving in and breaking down; next, people fretting about the challenges at hand and nothing else, and the third, at the top, people unperturbed by any challenge, confident in victory and with eyes looking to the future.

But for their true love for the country and the people and confidence in victory of revolution, the People's Army could not have built their land into a better place to live and created material wealth for the benefit of posterity in the most trying period.

Mt. Kuwol, one of Korea's five famous mountains from ancient times and dubbed "Hwanghae Kumgang" (Mt. Kumgang of Hwanghae Province—Tr.), as it resembles Mt. Kumgang in its amazing and beautiful features, remained a mere natural beauty in the past.

In the last days of his lifetime, Kim Il Sung gave earnest instructions that it should be built up as a resort for the people. He said that, in view of its geographic proximity to Pyongyang, the mountain would be a favourite resort for the citizens of Pyongyang,

who could spend their weekend leisure there by coming via West Sea Barrage, and that walkways should be paved up the mountain.

However, as Kim Il Sung unexpectedly passed away and in the ensuing difficulties that befell the northern part of Korea, the development of Mt. Kuwol was postponed indefinitely. Gradually, officials and people began to forget about this project.

At this juncture, Kim Jong Il initiated this project again as part of implementation of Kim Il Sung's instructions and dispatched the officers and soldiers of the People's Army there.

As a result, even during the trying days of the "Arduous March", the project could proceed without interruption. The soldiers worked under the slogan "For the sake of the future".

One day in October 1996, Kim Jong Il walked along the unfinished visitors' walkways up the mountain, surveying the various construction sites. As he found a walkway cut along the curving ridges with the trees on both sides left untouched, he spoke highly of the efforts made by the soldiers.

Observing every effort made by the soldiers in the process of undertaking such a huge project, the effort made out of love for the famous mountain, he said that all these lofty deeds were what only the soldiers of the KPA, who treasure the beauty of Mt. Kuwol, could do. He said affectionately: "Mt. Kuwol looks more beautiful, when I think that the soldiers who love every tree and every blade of grass of their country have paved walkways on it. I am very proud of such soldiers boundlessly loyal to their Party, their leader, their

country and their people. The soldiers of the People's Army are the best in the world."

On September 23, 1997, Kim Jong Il again called at the construction sites on this mountain. At Jiwon (Aim High—Tr.) Falls he saw small letters inscribed on the concrete joint between the wall and the floor and read them one by one.

The letters read: "For the sake of the future, inscribed in 1997, the last year of the 'Arduous March'."

With his eyes riveted on the letters, he said: "Those words inspire me with fresh strength. The words, 'For the sake of the future, the last year of the Arduous March' mirror our soldiers' outlook on true life and their world of revolutionary optimism, the soldiers who are living for tomorrow's sake."

He confidently emphasized that nothing would check the onward march of the KPA soldiers who were advancing vigorously in anticipation of their hopeful future, full of revolutionary confidence and militant manner.

The soldiers of the People's Army completed the construction of 100 kilometres of road, 274 structures, 30 kilometres of safety curbstones, 130,000 cubic metres of retaining walls, 27 pavilions and observation platforms, 227 posts and sculptures, 51 interesting spots and a network of facilities, and many other tremendous tasks in a short span of time. Thus, they carried out the order of their Supreme Commander at all costs.

Looking round every place of the mountain soaked with the sweat

of the soldiers, he lauded the exploits of the soldiers. They had developed the resort so immaculately that no one could find any fault even in the distant future, using their utmost wisdom and devotion and in the spirit of devoted service to the country and the people. He extended his thanks to them all.

He gave instructions on how to better develop and manage the mountain, as well as on providing all the conditions for the people to enjoy their leisure there. He directed the setting of the climbing course to enable mountain climbers to strengthen their bodies, and environmental protection to preserve the beautiful scenery of the mountain, in consideration of numerous mountain climbers expected to come. He also referred to the need to preserve and manage cultural relics such as Phaeyop Temple, Woljong Temple and the old castle on Mt. Kuwol, for the purpose of improving education in socialist patriotism and the need to publicize Mt. Kuwol and other famous mountains widely by various forms and methods.

Mt. Kuwol has become a mountain overflowing with people's joy and a famous place whose natural beauty is reflected in socialist life. Mt. Chilbo in North Hamgyong Province, Ryongmun Cavern in North Phyongan Province and Mt. Jongbang in North Hwanghae Province, too, have all been turned, in the period of the "Arduous March", into people's recreation grounds, with their value as famous mountains and scenic spots elevated all the more.

Other creations symbolizing an army work attitude that results from the Songun policy include small and medium power stations, fish

ponds and basic foodstuff factories.

In October 1996, while on inspection of a People's Army unit, Kim Jong Il looked round the Wolbisan Power Station. It was a hydroelectric power station which the soldiers of the unit had constructed themselves to cope with a shortage of electricity caused by the continuing economic difficulties.

The electricity produced by this station is used to heat the barracks, to cook rice and to heat the bathhouses.

Highly appreciating their revolutionary spirit and work attitude, Kim Jong Il said that their example should be spread throughout the country.

The shortage of electricity was a most knotty problem in the north Korean economy in the period of "Arduous March". Most of the people could not attempt to solve this problem by themselves. But as the People's Army units built the power stations to solve the problem of electricity by their own efforts, the people came to discard their wrong attitude and plunged themselves into the construction of power stations the way the People's Army had done.

Determination is essential to success in any undertaking. Wherever it was possible to contain water at even the minimum necessary height, small and medium power stations were built. Where this was impossible, buoyant water-mill power stations were set up.

The boom in the construction of power stations spread to the construction of fish ponds.

While inspecting a People's Army unit in 1997, Kim Jong Il showed great interest in the fact that the soldiers there were breeding fish in all seasons in the fish ponds they had built. On the basis of his firsthand information, he earnestly instructed the entire army and all the people to build fish ponds extensively so as to develop aquaculture.

Unlike an ordinary structure or a power station, a fish pond is difficult to construct as it should be equipped with its own specific facilities. Success in fish breeding is precarious unless it is done in a scientific way. Successful aquaculture needs, before anything else, water and a good breed adaptable to the temperature of the water available. When building a stage-to-stage pond, the fish should be distributed appropriately in consideration of water temperature differences between the stages of the pond. Attention should also be given to the difference in water temperature at the upper and lower levels of the same pond. There are also many problems such as feed and breed in aquaculture.

Kim Jong Il visited many fish ponds built by the army and the people in all places throughout the country to get firsthand information about the situation. He solved the knotty problems one by one.

Many basic foodstuff factories and all kinds of livestock farms built throughout the country were also the creation of the work attitude of the army to improve the living standards of the soldiers and the people.

One day in May 1998 Kim Jong Il looked round a state-of-the-art refined salt factory on the beach at Kwangryang Bay.

Looking at the quality refined salt, as white as snow flakes, endlessly flowing down, he spoke highly of the exploits of the soldiers who had built such a new, excellent factory that would supply the soldiers with quality salt, highly nutritious and complementary to the taste of food.

He saw that such refined salt should be supplied in sufficient quantities to the people as well as the soldiers, and assigned all the coastal provinces the task of building such factories by their own efforts.

Since then, north Korea has seen a boom in construction of basic foodstuff factories and expansions or improvements of existing ones. A typical example is the foodstuff factory managed by Om Ul Yong and inspected by Kim Jong Il on October 28, 1999.

This factory, originally small, has been expanded by workers motivated by the revolutionary spirit and work attitude of the soldiers. Discharged soldiers among the workers played a key role in the project. As they had done in their service days, they carried out the project in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, producing what was not available and finding alternatives to make up for the shortage of materials. Even in winter, when the rivers were frozen, they dug earth and poured concrete, and tackled other tough jobs, thus completing the expansion of the factory into a state-of-the-art plant. This factory mass-produces soy sauce, bean paste, seasoning

powder, and other basic foodstuffs.

The Songam Myonggi Cattle Farm, as well as state-of-the-art chicken and ostrich farms, and catfish farm are among the projects the People's Army has built to improve the living standards of the people.

The revolutionary work attitude of the KPA pervading every domain in north Korea is a source of strength. The "Arduous March" was not confined merely to overcoming difficulties and trials, but became an advance to victory opening a path to the future in the face of the challenges and change for a march towards prosperity.

3) EMERGING VICTORIOUS IN A SHOWDOWN WITH IMPERIALISM

VICTORY IN THE IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC SHOWDOWN

In November 1994, when the world was clamoring that socialist theory had come to an end, Kim Jong Il published *Socialism Is a Science*, a masterpiece that is extolled as an integrated whole of socialism.

The work explained the historical limitations of the preceding socialist theories as a main factor in the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries. It expounded a new theory of socialism based on the principles of Juche, thereby placing the scientific accuracy, truth, validity and superiority of socialist theory on a new stage.

Oleg Shenin, chairman of the Council of the Union of Communist Parties, Communist Party of Soviet Union, wrote in his article *The Future of Socialism Is in the DPRK* as follows:

"The Korean people are building socialism suffering indescribable hardship, when several countries abandoned the ideal of socialism.

"They are building socialism, subjected to the military threat and provocation of the United States that has lasted several decades, economic blockade, constant danger of war. They are also challenging single-handedly the imperialist pressure and tricks that were applied on all socialist countries. The inevitable strength that enabled the Korean people to develop the economy and build a defence force that makes the United States tremble, in defiance of such difficulties is the strength of self-reliance, the embodiment of the Juche idea, and the line they firmly maintained is the line of three revolutions based on the Juche idea, the first of its kind in building socialism.

"The ideology and lines of the Workers' Party of Korea, which the masses regard as their own, produced these great results.

"With the might of ideology, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people are breaking through the pressure, appeasement and trickery that other nations, particularly the big powers that had been proud of their enormous economic and military capability, were unable to overcome."

How, then, has the socialist ideology been defended and adhered to in Korea in this acute ideological conflict with the allied imperialist forces in the latter half of the 1990s?

In order to defend socialism in the ideological showdown with the imperialists, there must be a collective of vanguard fighters who are unaffected by any venom of capitalist ideology, the sharp point which is composed of staunch ideology.

The imperialists are launching a three-dimensional anti-socialist offensive in the realm of ideology as well as in the military, political, diplomatic and other spheres. The vanguard of ideology must be built to counter such offensives.

The Songun policy places the People's Army in this position.

Diplomacy in general is a war of words and a duel of reason.

History records innumerable examples of having won victory in war and having gained successes in diplomacy by using oratory power and brains. However, it also proves that decisive questions concerning the destiny of a nation can be settled only when they are supported by the military and economic power, and if not, they will end in failure after mere argument.

The invincibility of the Songun policy was more clearly proved in the settlement of such questions as "suspicion of underground nuclear facilities" and the firing of ballistic missiles, which were the climax of the political diplomacy between the DPRK and the United States in the latter half of the 1990s.

When President Clinton's letter of assurance was followed by the adoption of the Agreed Framework between the DPRK and the USA in the Geneva talks in October 1994, the US conservative hardliners insisted upon its abrogation.

The Republican Party, which held the majority in the US Congress, demanded re-examination of the agreed framework, from the start of its adoption. It alleged that the agreed framework itself was wrong, that the Clinton Administration made excessive

concessions and that the White House had not consulted with the Republican Party concerning the agreement. Entering January 1995, the committees of the Congress held hearings in relation to the agreed framework to inquire into the "points at issue".

The chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee described the agreed framework as a "pay-off" and the floor leader of the Republican Party rebuked the President for making excessive concessions. Prominent members of the Republican Party were of the same opinion. Insisting that President Clinton conceded too much in a bargain to check the nuclear programme of north Korea, they said that they would "try to overturn it" by refusing to approve the funds necessary for the implementation of the agreed framework.

The Republican Party overtly challenged the administration declaring its "standpoint to abrogate the Geneva Agreement between the DPRK and USA and check the aid for the LWR project".

The US presidential election in November 1996 was a continuation of the dispute between the Democratic and Republican parties on the implementation of the agreed framework, the former describing the agreement as diplomatic achievement and the latter describing it as a diplomatic disgrace.

The conservative hardliners finally kicked up a fuss in a political bid to cancel the agreed framework, isolate and stifle north Korea and attack the Clinton Administration. They began shouting about a "suspicion of underground nuclear facilities" in Kumchang-ri.

The nuclear suspicion that had long prevailed in the United

States was amplified when *The New York Times*, dated August 17, 1998, reported that "the underground facilities being built by north Korea in secret apparently show its move to resume the development of nuclear weapons."

The *Washington Post*, dated November 22, 1998, wrote that the critics in the Congress, the Department of Defence and intelligence organizations who disliked the Geneva agreement on nuclear freezing, regarded the recent suspicion of underground nuclear facilities as a chance to break the agreed framework and pursue an hostile policy towards Pyongyang.

The Democratic Party, on the excuse of keeping pace with the Republican Party, shared the same opinion about the possibility of underground nuclear facilities.

The US administration re-examined its policy towards north Korea and decided that the agreed framework should be held in abeyance unless "the nuclear suspicion" was removed.

In this situation, the US Secretary of Defence declared at an interview with Japan's *Asahi Shimbun* on November 1, 1998, that the DPRK-USA Agreed Framework would be broken if north Korea would not allow the inspection of underground facilities. The spokesman for the Department of State threatened, at an interview on November 9, 1998, that the existence of the nuclear agreement between north Korea and the United States would become a matter of issue if the inspection of North Korea's underground facilities was not allowed.

Warning signals ceaselessly rang as the US authorities and the conservative hardliners asserted that it would not take long for the US administration to make a "resolute response" if north Korea refused the inspection.

North Korea at last responded: "The inspection clamour is an outrageous infringement upon the sovereignty of the Republic and the security of the state, so it will never be tolerated. If they want to dispel their doubt, they should offer substantial political and economic compensations for bringing disgrace to the image of the Republic by means of despicable slander and profanity."

This was the valuable strategy that turned misfortune into blessing.

The United States could not but respond to the negotiation proposal of north Korea and, after several rounds of talks, signed the document for a "visit" instead of inspection, accepting north Korea's demand that it pay the costs of such a visit.

In the end, the US specialists visited the "underground facilities" in Kumchang-ri in May 1999, disbursing an expensive visitors' fee.

The world press boisterously reported the United States' refusal to alter its diplomacy despite its own humiliation and ridiculed its diplomatic capability. Reports included the fact that the United States filled the underground structures in Kumchang-ri with 500 million dollars worth of rice, while north Korea claimed 300 million dollars for the "visit".

DPRK-US diplomatic warfare at that time created a tornado

among the press in south Korea.

South Korean magazine *Mal* (No. 8, 1999) ridiculed the United States, writing that all the United States obtained after such a tedious showdown was the filling of the grain bins in the empty cave in Kumchang-ri. It satirically mentioned that when north Korea created "suspicion", the United States sought a way out by such means as food supplies.

With the "suspicion of underground nuclear facilities" in Kumchang-ri broken down, the US conservative hardliners claimed the so-called "threat of north Korea's missiles", the essence of which was that the missiles of north Korea could hit the continental US.

At the beginning of 1998, the annual strategy report of the US Department of Defence pointed that north Korea was the only country that was developing ballistic missiles capable of attacking the United States.

The theory of "missile threat" spread more rapidly using north Korea's launching of a satellite on August 31, 1998, to gain momentum.

Alleging that the artificial satellite *Kwangmyongsong No. 1* was a ballistic missile, the US conservative hardliners acted as if it would fall into the US mainland at once.

The US Republican leader said that north Korea fired a ballistic missile on August 31, 1998, and it was very dangerous because such a missile could hit the US proper. He demanded that the US administration exercise a "powerful international leadership ability".

The US Department of Defence considered north Korea's firing of a ballistic missile as a "serious event which could disturb the security of Asia". Even while trying to prove this event an established fact, it hurried to make an analysis of north Korea's intentions and missile development capability.

Pyongyang demanded that the United States come to the discussion table when the situation became so tense. It appeared as if Pyongyang would fall prey to the attack of US cruise missile. After several rounds of hot dispute, Pyongyang made the United States give up its hard-line attitude. It also saw to it that the economic sanctions against it were reduced at the high-level DPRK-USA talks held in Berlin on September 17, 1999.

The United States and the world assessed it as a superpower's humiliation. The US Republican Congress members criticized Clinton's decision as a "surrender of the White House to the pressure of north Korea" and the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the House of Representatives went so far as to publish a declaration against the programme to ease sanctions that had lasted several decades. In this declaration he said that the Clinton Administration's approach to north Korea was not supported by Congress and that it would not survive under the next presidency.

A military commentator has said in his recent book, *Relations between North Korea and the United States and the Situation in the Korean Peninsula*:

"When it judges a country to be weak, the United States makes

whatever pretext and invades that country. The instances of Yugoslavia and Iraq prove this.

"The United States, however, dreads north Korea. North Korea has an army of one million soldiers who are armed with the self-blasting spirit and firm belief that they will be able to defeat the United States if they fight at the risk of their lives.

"Moreover, the United States clearly knows that north Korea has formidable missile capabilities. If north Korea had only the missiles with the range of 500 kilometres, the United States would not recognize it as an object worthy of negotiations.

"Because north Korea has missile capabilities to strike the continental United States and is determined to fight against the enemy, the United States deals with north Korea as a great prosperous powerful nation and negotiates with it."

As the author of the book says, north Korea has political and military power behind its diplomatic approach to the United States.

Songun politics always maintains the principle of the unyielding policy of protecting its fundamental interests without making any concession in the political and diplomatic confrontations with imperialism.

Uncompromising diplomacy cannot be achieved by a mere wish. Powerful political and military potential always play the role of the trump card that is most effective in a fierce diplomatic battle. North Korea has been able to take the successful course of action in various diplomatic battles decisive of its

destiny—diplomatic battles that the world watched tensely—entirely because it has military force and Songun politics.

The political diplomacy of north Korea in the 1990s can be summed up as uncompromising principle diplomacy.

History has witnessed various forms of diplomacy, including Talleyrand-style oratory and persuasion diplomacy, Bismark-style iron diplomacy, Churchill-style calculation diplomacy, Matsuoka-style trick diplomacy and Molotov-style high-handed and silent diplomacy.

But, north Korea forced the United States and Japan to the dialogue table and stuck to its point regardless of the others' opinion, displaying its adroitness in handling the political situation. Their point was nothing but a principle and a single decisive card on which no concession could be made.

Strangely enough, the United States, Japan and all other parties to the dialogue made concessions when faced with the uncompromising and principled diplomacy of north Korea and agreed to its demands. Why? What makes north Korea's political diplomacy so powerful?

The foreign relations association, a US non-governmental research organization, published the US foreign policy toward north Korea in the policy report presented in June 1998. The essence was that Kim Jong Il's system would not collapse and that it was impossible to make north Korea kneel down by means of

armed force.

The United States and Japan have military strength or economic power to back their diplomacy. By relying on it, all the wiles of diplomacy are practiced merely as a means to obtain what one wants.

It is the same with north Korea.

The fact that north Korea has maintained its principles in diplomacy with such audacity and courage is attributable to Kim Jong Il's Songun policy.

This is the immediate background of north Korea's diplomacy of uncompromising principle.

In May 1999, the United States dispatched Perry, President Clinton's special advisor, to Pyongyang to find a peaceful solution in the conflict with north Korea.

After his visit to Pyongyang, he published the *Perry Report*, the gist of which was that it would be impossible to bring Pyongyang to its knees by force of arms, that Pyongyang was quite different from Baghdad or Belgrade and that a peaceful solution should be found in the question of DPRK-USA relations because careless approach to it would result in severe counterattack. Japan, which was upset over the missile clamour, dispatched a so-called supra-partisan delegation headed by former Prime Minister Murayama to ask to reopen talks on normalization of relation between the two nations.

This does not mean, however, that the United States and Japan gave up their scheme to isolate and stifle north Korea.

The writers of the *Amitagi Report* of the US Republican Party and other conservative forces still run amok with an aggressive ambition to smash north Korea through a preemptive attack or other military method. The ultra-right-wing conservatives of Japan, including Ishihara Shintaro, the governor of Tokyo, brag about "the destruction of Pyongyang at one stroke".

However, a proverb has it that the dogs bark but the caravan passes on.

Thanks to the Songun politics of Kim Jong Il, Korea will tactfully break through any crises to put into effect its intentions and demands.

VICTORY IN MILITARY CONFRONTATION

In the 1990s, the Cold War came to an end and a peaceful era was said to have come, but the United States and other imperialists clung stubbornly to "power politics". Their military machinations to dominate and seize control of areas rich in natural resources and military strategic points became undisguised.

The United States openly boasted that the 20th century was its century and that the 21st century would be the century in which it would remain the one and only superpower, possessing military strength corresponding to its supremacy.

For the United States, the Korean peninsula is the most important strategic point. For this reason, it has built its military bases in south

Korea and in Okinawa of Japan, deploying tens of thousands of soldiers and various kinds of hi-tech combat equipment, and spending heavily to do so.

The basic reason for the United States to gain supremacy over the Korean peninsula lies in its military confrontation with north Korea, a thorn in its side, which stands proudly against it politically and militarily under the banner of socialism. The United States puts primary emphasis on who would be the winner in this military confrontation.

Then, who is the winner in the showdown that was recorded as a remarkable event in international politics in the late 1990s?

The first act of the confrontation began in December 17, 1994, when a helicopter of the US Air Force in south Korea was shot down. That day the People's Army soldiers who were standing guard at the border brought down with one shot the helicopter that intruded into the northern part of the demilitarized zone.

The wreck of the helicopter was thrown to the north side and one of the two crew members was killed. The other survived, recognized their acts as intentional espionage acts and appealed for his return home. Thus the criminal acts of the United States were disclosed.

Despite this fact, the United States was so shameless as to send a message to the People's Army in the name of the commander of the US Army in south Korea. The message denied the criminal acts, describing the incident as an accident and expressed regret. It threatened north Korea, demanding that the corpse of the one pilot and the pilot

detained should be returned before Christmas.

However, north Korea was dignified. It saw to it that the KPA military mission at Panmunjom summoned the representative of the US Army Command in south Korea and lodged a strong protest. It also declared that it would never return the pilot unless the United States apologized for its army's violation of north Korea's territorial air space and its intention to spy on the military facilities in the DPRK.

This incident ended with the dispatch of the US President's special envoy to Pyongyang to recognize and apologize for its violation of north Korea's territorial air space and guarantee that such incidents would not recur. The envoy promised to maintain contacts between the north Korean and United States armed forces.

North Korea regards any incursion by the US army, whether it is extensive or not, as an infringement upon its sovereignty and deals with all such problems from this viewpoint. The United States tried to describe the illegal intrusion of the helicopter as accidental and put pressure on north Korea and endeavoured to take back the pilot with the help of a third nation. General Kim Jong Il said that the US behaviour was foolish and that only the DPRK and the United States were directly involved in this incident. He held that the military action of the United States, which infringed upon the country's sovereignty, should be dealt with severely.

At the beginning of 1996 the United States had another military confrontation with north Korea.

Entering the year, the United States dispatched the nuclear-powered submarine *Birmingham* to the waters near the

Korean peninsula to stage a large-scale combined submarine exercise. In February, the US sent the aircraft carrier *Independence* to the East Sea of Korea and mobilized operational equipment for attack, including nuclear-powered submarines and strategic bombers. It was preparing to launch a joint naval exercise, code-named Valiant Usher 96-2k.

Simultaneously, the US Secretary of Defence uttered belligerent words aimed at north Korea in the *Annual Defence Report*. He wrote that the United States would restrain threats that "jeopardized its vital interest" and that it would "emerge victorious in the fight".

This was carefully considered behaviour by the United States. It sought to realize military control over north Korea, availing itself of an opportunity when north Korea was economically weakened owing to the floods in 1995.

North Korea declared its will through the statement of the first vice-minister of the People's Armed Forces when a military invasion by the United States and south Korea was on the verge of becoming fact.

He declared as follows:

"For our People's Army, which defends the security of the country and the gains of the revolution, the mission is not confined only to defence from aggression.

"It is the spirit of our army to answer fire with fire and force with force.

"If the United States dares encroach upon an inch of our land and

a blade of our grass, our army will take powerful self-defensive steps to destroy it."

It was a declaration of the unshakable determination and will of north Korea.

The statement caused great confusion within the United States.

On April 4, 1996, north Korea solemnly announced through the spokesman of the KPA Panmunjom Mission that the KPA would give up its duties as outlined in the armistice agreement. These concerned the maintenance and control of the Military Demarcation Line and the Demilitarized Zone. The following step would be to remove any distinctive insignia from personnel and vehicles when they entered the joint security area of Panmunjom and the DMZ.

This was another heavy blow to the United States. But it never said a word, responding instead by immediately stopping its war provocations.

It was the same in the military showdown between the United States and Japan, and north Korea. This was caused by the launching of the artificial satellite in August 1998.

Despite the official report of north Korea on September 5, 1998, that it launched an artificial satellite and that it was in its planned orbit, the United States and Japan clamoured that north Korea had test-fired a ballistic missile. They agitated for a military confrontation with the north, calling for "sanctions" and "counteraction".

In the United States, the top brass held a secret meeting and drafted a report, *The Maintenance of War Preparedness of the US*

Troops in South Korea. They also requested an additional military budget of 1.9 billion dollars.

US President Clinton flew to south Korea on November 22, 1998. At the US air base in Osan, he stated vehemently that the United States was ready and able to do any thing in defence of its citizens and its allies and that its power was prepared by diplomatic efforts and strong military backing.

The US conservative forces insisted that if diplomatic negotiations failed, they should intensify the "deterrent force" against north Korea by reinforcing the US troops in south Korea and establishing the Theatre Missile Defence system. If need be, they said, they may consider a "preemptive attack on the nuclear facilities in north Korea."

Branding the launching of an artificial satellite by north Korea as the test-firing of a ballistic missile, Japan made a fuss. It declared that proper measures should be taken because Japan was within the range of a ballistic missile.

The allied imperialist forces, including the United' States and Japan, conspired to stifle north Korea militarily.

In this conspiracy they re-examined in detail Operation Plan 5027. This had been drawn up in the 1980s, foreseeing an emergency on the Korean peninsula, and developed in the early 1990s. They now perfected it as Operation Plan 5027-98.

Operation Plan 5027-98 is a war plan for invasion of north Korea. It aims to "destroy the state system" by the preemptive attack of the US-south Korean allied forces.

The plan for conquering north Korea consists of five stages.

First is the "deterrent stage", in which the United States is to amass its aggression forces in and around south Korea and impose full-scale sanctions upon the DPRK by blockading its air space, territorial waters and border lines.

Second is the "stage of neutralization strikes". This is to render north Korea powerless through use of extended strikes on the whole area of north Korea with large numbers of artillery, planes and cruise missiles.

Third is the "ground offensive stage".

It is an all-out ground offensive that combines large-scale landing operations on the east and west coasts of north Korea with parachuting operations and special commandoes' operations. It aims at encircling Pyongyang and occupying the area south of the Chongchon River.

Fourth is the "stage of expanding success in the war", which plans to conquer the whole area north of the Chongchon River.

Fifth is the "conclusion" for achieving "unification under the free democratic system."

The plan contains three ways to unleash a war against north Korea. The first is to mount a strike on north Korea after applying sanctions based on the excuse of nuclear and human rights issues. The second is to make a "surgical strike" on the "suspected nuclear facilities" in north Korea; and the third is to make a preemptive attack on north Korea under the pretext of tension after aggravating it intentionally.

In order to put this operation plan into practice, the United States

was fully ready to deploy over 545,000 US soldiers and 630,000 south Korean soldiers. It also had ready hi-tech combat equipment and large strike weapons, including five to seven aircraft carrier flotillas, F-117 and F-111 Stealth fighters, and nuclear-carrying strategic bombers B-1, B-2 and B-52.

North Korea revealed the nature of the Operation Plan 5027-98 in detail through the statement of a spokesman for the General Staff of the KPA in December 1998. He declared as follows:

"We have our own operation plan. Surgical strikes and preemptive strikes are by no means an exclusive option of the United States. The mode of strike, too, is not a monopoly of the United States. It must be aware that the reach of our People's Army has no limit and that on this planet there is no escape.

The United States held back, uttering no word of protest. Operation Plan 5027, by which the United States tried to injure and dominate north Korea, came to nothing. This incident compelled the former to recognize the military strength of the latter and to promote north Korea to the position of a powerful state.

Mike Chinoy, a correspondent for CNN, said in an interview that by launching an artificial earth satellite, north Korea demonstrated once again that it is a formidable nation that nobody dares provoke. He went on to say that the United States and Japan branded its launching of a satellite as the firing of a ballistic missile because they were horror-stricken. North Korea, he said, showed through this incident that it could strike any place on earth with a powerful missile.

In fact, the United States recognizes north Korea's military strength. Following the air raids on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1999, the strategists in the US Department of Defence tried a computer simulation to ascertain how much money it should spend and who would be the winner if a war should break out in the Korean peninsula. The result was that the United States would have to spend 5.7-7.1 billion dollars a day and that the winner would be north Korea. This is an enormous sum of money, 100 to 140 times the amount spent in the air raids on Yugoslavia which cost 50 million dollars a day. It means that within two weeks, the US would spend 87 billion dollars, the entire allocation for the Asia-Pacific region out of the 260 billion dollar total defence budget. Worse still, it would end in defeat. This was a terrible conclusion for the United States. In the final analysis, even a computer foretells the victory of north Korea in a military confrontation with the United States.

It is common knowledge around the world that the United States cannot win a military confrontation against north Korea either in reality, in simulation or in future. It is because the KPA has become invincible thanks to the Songun policy of Kim Jong Il, and the single-hearted unity in which the army and the people of north Korea are solidly united around him.

In the East a saying has it that once ahead of others, you can dominate; but you are dominated once behind.

It is evident that if Kim Jong Il had not strengthened the army and

cemented national power by enforcing the Songun policy, north Korea would have become a colonial slave in the conditions created by the military pressure of the allied imperialist forces headed by the United States.

Kim Jong Il's Songun policy, which defended the sovereignty of the Republic and dignity of the nation, is a great politics that exalted north Korea as a military power.