

SONGUN POLITICS IN KOREA

1. Giving Priority to Military Affairs, Historical Inevitability
2. Watershed in the Century and Full Administration of Songun Politics
3. Way to Independence and Prosperity
4. Songun Politics and Peaceful Reunification of the Korean Peninsula

PYONGYANG, KOREA
JUCHE 101 (2012)

SONGUN POLITICS IN KOREA

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Foreign Languages Publishing House
Pyongyang, Korea
Juche 101 (2012)

WHAT IS THE SONGUN POLITICS?

Kim Jong Il's Songun-based revolutionary leadership, Songun-based politics, is a revolutionary mode of leadership and socialist mode of politics that gives top priority to military affairs, and defends the country, the revolution and socialism and dynamically pushes ahead with overall socialist construction by dint of the revolutionary mettle and combat capabilities of the People's Army.

WHAT ARE THE ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF SONGUN POLITICS?

The essential features of Songun politics are that it safeguards the security of the country and defends the revolutionary gains by developing the People's Army into invincible revolutionary armed forces, and that it builds up the driving force of the revolution and deals with all affairs of socialist construction in a revolutionary and militant way with the People's Army as the hard core and main force.



**Kim Jong Il visits the Dwarf-Pine Company
of the KPA (January 1, 1995)**



Kim Jong Il inspects a unit of the KPA Air Force (February 29, 1996)

Service personnel pledge to support Kim Jong Il by force of arms



INVINCIBLE KOREAN PEOPLE'S ARMY







Part of the construction site of the Anbyon Youth Power Station overflowing with the revolutionary soldier spirit



Service personnel seconded to socialist construction



**Service personnel
building dwelling
houses**



**Service personnel
helping farmers
in their work**



**Ryongnim Dam of Huichon Power Station No.1
constructed by soldier-builders (2011)**



Kim Jong Il and Kim Dae Jung sign the North-South Joint Declaration (June 2000)

북 남 공동 선언

조국의 평화적통일을 꾀하는 온 겨레의 숭고한 뜻에 따라 조선민주주의인민공화국 김정일 국방위원장과 대한민국 김대중대통령은 2000년 6월 13일부터 6월 15일까지 평양에서 역사적인 상봉을 하였으며 최고위급회담을 가졌다. 북남수뇌들은 집단적신상 차등으로 열린 이번 상봉과 회담이 서로 리해를 증진시키고 북남관계를 발전시키며 평화통일을 실현하는데서 사면적 인 의의를 가진다고 평가하고 다음과 같이 선언한다.

1. 북과 남은 나라의 통일문제를 그 주인인 우리 민족끼리 서로 힘을 합쳐 자주적으로 해결해 나가기로 하였다.
2. 북과 남은 나라의 통일을 위한 북측의 낮은 단계의 연방제안과 남측의 연합제안이 서로 공통성이 있다고 인정하고 앞으로 이 방향에서 통일을 지향시켜 나가기로 하였다.
3. 북과 남은 올해 6.15에 조약이후 이어진 가족, 친척방문단을 교환하며 비전향장기수문제를 해결하는 등 인도적문제를 조속히 풀어 나가기로 하였다.
4. 북과 남은 경제협력을 통하여 민족경제를 균형적으로 발전시키고 사회, 문화, 체육, 보건, 환경 등 제반분야의 협력과 교류를 활성화하여 서로의 신뢰를 다져 나가기로 하였다.
5. 북과 남은 이상과 같은 현안사항을 조속히 심장에 옮기기 위하여 빠른 시일안에 당국사이의 대화를 개최하기로 하였다.

김대중대통령은 김정일 국방위원장께서 서울을 방문하시도록 정중히 초청하였으며 김정일 국방위원장께서는 앞으로 적절한 시기에 서울을 방문하기로 하였다.

2000년 6월 15일

조선민주주의인민공화국 국방위원장
김 정 일

대한민국 대통령
김 대 중



DPRK-USA talks (September 23-October 21, 1994)

**Letter of assurance from US President Bill Clinton
to the Korean supreme leader Kim Jong Il in October 1994**

...to facilitate arrangements for the financing and construction of a light-water nuclear power reactor project within the DPRK, and the funding and implementation of interim energy alternatives for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea pending completion of the first reactor unit of the light-water reactor project. In addition, in the event that this reactor project is not completed for reasons beyond the control of the DPRK, I will use the full powers of my office to provide, to the extent necessary, such a project from the United States, subject to approval of the U.S. Congress. Similarly, in the event that the interim energy alternatives are not provided for reasons beyond the control of the DPRK, I will use the full powers of my office to provide, to the extent necessary, such interim energy alternatives from the United States, subject to the approval of the U.S. Congress.

I will follow this course of action so long as the DPRK continues to implement the provisions mentioned in the previous paragraph between the United States of America and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

His Excellency Kim Jong Il
Supreme Leader of the
Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Pyongyang)



Japanese aggressor ship *Unyo* which intruded into Kanghwa Island of Korea in August 1875

During their military occupation of Korea, the Japanese imperialists enforced fascist colonial rule, killing Koreans in an indescribably cruel manner



Korean women who are forced to serve as sex slaves at a comfort station of the Japanese army



Members of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army

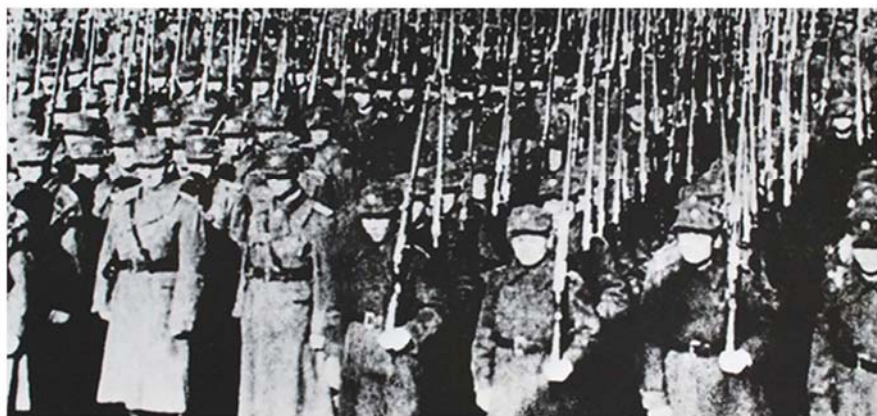
Defeated Japanese imperialist soldiers





Korean people cheer over their country's liberation

**The Korean People's Army is proclaimed
as regular armed forces in February 1948**





The south Korean puppet forces start sudden armed attack against the north at the US instigation on June 25, 1950



USS Pueblo, an armed spy ship, captured by the KPA Navy in January 1968 and moored on the Taedong River

The US and south Korean forces engaged in north-targeted war exercise in south Korea



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PREFACE

Politics plays a very important role in shaping the destiny of a country and nation. This is a self-evident truth. It is politics that decides the course the country and nation should take. The long history of mankind testifies to the fact that politics is decisive of the future of the country and nation.

In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), which distinguishes itself as an impregnable fortress of socialism in the East, Songun politics, a unique political mode, has been anchored, and is demonstrating its might to the full in recent years.

Songun means giving priority to military affairs. Songun politics which gives precedence to military affairs as the most important national affairs and the army as the main force of the revolution has been administered in an all-round way as the basic political mode of Korea since the mid-1990s by Kim Jong Il, leader of the DPRK. This was a special event in the political history of the world.

As a completely new concept to be found in the vocabulary of politics, it attracts public attention. Those who are highly responsive to the developments of the international political situation and understand the reality of Korea make favourable comments on its Songun politics; among them are prestigious persons in the political, social and academic circles, as well as ordinary people.

On the other hand, some take Songun politics negatively. They include the hostile forces who compelled Korea to follow the road of Songun, and their servile mass media. They indulge in deliberate suppositions and distortions of the political system of

Korea in an attempt to place Songun politics in the same category as the mode of politics pursued by military regimes or military dictators. All this is not merely for lack of understanding, but in pursuit of ulterior political purposes.

Frankly speaking, Songun politics is fundamentally different from the above-mentioned mode of politics. The former is a democratic mode of socialist politics administered for the sake of the people, while the latter is an anti-popular, fascist mode of politics as the consequence of capitalist crisis.

This difference is rooted in that in ideology and ideal. Songun politics, guided by the Juche idea which advocates the independence of the masses of the people and countries and nations, can never be compatible with the mode of politics administered by military regimes or fascist dictators based on misanthropy and national chauvinism.

Korea has given top priority to military affairs and highlighted the role of its army, proceeding solely from the interests of its people and its specific conditions. In other words, Korea has staunchly followed the road of sovereignty, independence and socialism in confrontation with imperialist powers and, in the course of this, the traditions of attaching importance to military affairs were created and eventually the mode of Songun politics has been established in all aspects of life.

Today Songun politics of Korea provides substantial guarantee to the efforts to achieve its independence, prosperity and peaceful reunification. The Korean army and people entrusted their destiny and future entirely to and faithfully supported Kim Jong Il's Songun politics. Today they support the Songun-based leadership of Kim Jong Un, Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army (KPA) and Kim Jong Il's heir. Politics with strong support from the people is always just and will surely emerge victorious.

This book will help the readers have a detailed and in-depth understanding of Songun politics through the study of the history and present reality of modern Korea.

1. GIVING PRIORITY TO MILITARY AFFAIRS, HISTORICAL INEVITABILITY

Songun is an intensive expression of giving importance and precedence to military affairs. More than a decade has passed since Songun politics was fully established.

However, Korea has a long history and traditions of giving priority to military affairs. The traditions were created by President Kim Il Sung, the great leader of the Korean people, and carried forward by his successor Kim Jong Il.

Giving importance to arms, to military affairs, is precisely Songun-based leadership. Accordingly, the Korean people call the leadership of Kim Il Sung Songun-based revolutionary leadership, and the leadership and political career of Kim Jong Il of scores of years in the same way, or the history of Songun politics.

They proudly say that the Korean revolution is the Songun revolution, for it was pioneered and has advanced by force of arms.

Then, for what reason has the Korean revolution advanced since its very beginning along the road of giving importance to military affairs, the road of Songun?

The answer to this is found in the modern history of Korea—lessons of the national ruin, experiences of armed resistance for the restoration of the country's independence, and the constant threats of aggression from outside forces in the course of its building a new society.

1) The Bitter Lessons of National Ruin

History is not mere an account of events that have happened in the past. It carries something instructive for the people to look into the present and ahead into the future. A wise politician never forgets the lessons of history and repeats them.

Korea has a past of bitter suffering from the brutal colonial rule of the Japanese militarists for scores of years, for its weak self-defensive power.

In the early years of the 20th century Korea, a country with a 5 000-year-long history, was reduced to a colony of Japan.

Japan had long nurtured an ambition to conquer Korea, its neighbouring country. Particularly since it took the road of capitalist development after the Meiji Restoration, it plunged into the mad scramble for colonies to satisfy its needs for more resources and foreign markets. It nominated as its first target Korea where there were enormous natural resources and which was then regarded as a springboard for its further advance into the continent. The Japanese ruling circles openly advocated the bellicose theory that Japan should conquer Korea by force of arms to achieve its prosperity and enhance its might.

As part of its military buildup for the invasion of Korea, by 1905 militarist Japan possessed 12 war vessels of class of over 6 000 tons and 200 000-strong land force equipped with modern weaponry.

Despite the imminent threat of aggression from Japan across the sea the rulers of the feudal government of the Ri Dynasty took no countermeasures for self-defence. Many were deeply concerned about the country's destiny, but the ruling circles were embroiled in power struggles, clamouring about a "peaceful reign" and seeking their personal wealth and comfort. Total disregard for the

destiny of the country and nation, corruption and incompetence rampant among the feudal ruling circles accelerated the decline of the country's military strength.

The Korean history records that in the Koguryo period when the martial spirit prevailed, every town and village was heavily fortified and even ordinary peasants regarded weapons as dear as their farm implements. Therefore, Koguryo repelled the attacks from any formidable foreign invaders and defended its sovereignty honourably. It is said that even the three-million-strong army from the Sui of China suffered a crushing defeat in invading Koguryo.

However, towards the closing years of the Ri Dynasty the standard of the Korean army and its military hardware were at their worst.

Around this time the capitalist powers were bent on their military buildup or reorganization aimed at invading and plundering their neighbouring countries. But the Korean army retained the outdated military structure that had existed for several hundred years after the Imjin Patriotic War (1592-1598). It was a military organizational system formed with each military camp as a unit. Each camp had some 15 000-16 000 soldiers. The central army composed of these five military camps across the country plus a small number of local troops constituted the Korean army, scarcely 100 000 strong, and the majority of the soldiers enlisted in the central army were not professional soldiers, but peasants who served it for a certain period of time by turns. Its regular troops numbered only about 3 000. When the Japanese imperialists took complete control of Korea's internal affairs and disbanded the Korean army in August 1907 on the excuse that the Japanese army would take the responsibility for defending Korea, the Korean army numbered some 9 000.

The standard of the Korean army's military hardware was more miserable. When the Western imperialist powers were trying to equip themselves with the latest military hardware such as tanks

and warships, the major types of weaponry of the Korean army were spears, swords, arrows and matchlocks. Worse still, the weapons were kept neglected in ordnance stores for so long that nearly all of them got rusty or damaged.

When the Japanese aggressors sent the warship *Unyo* to the waters off Korea's Yongjong Island in 1875, the Korean army had a few outdated small-calibre guns with a range of only 700 metres. The Japanese fired shells 700 metres away from the island destroyed the Korean battery and committed acts of killing innocent people and looting the island at random. But the Korean army could not take any counterattack. Around 1905 the Korean naval force, which once boasted of its might with turtle-shaped ship, the first armoured ship in the world, existed only on a document.

Matchlocks against guns and 9 000 against 200 000 offered a glimpse of Korea's capabilities for national defence.

In 1905 the Japanese imperialists sent a large number of their troops to Seoul, the capital of the feudal Ri Dynasty, and had the imperial palace besieged, while deploying others across Korea to threaten the Korean people.

In such an awe-inspiring atmosphere, on November 17 Ito Hirobumi who came to Korea as a special envoy of the Japanese emperor forced the feudal government of the Ri Dynasty to sign a treaty, the gist of which was to transfer its diplomatic rights to Japan. As a result, the treaty, or the Ulsa Five-Point Treaty, was fabricated even with the Korean emperor excluded and without his signature and the affixing of the royal seal. Such a brazen-faced and gangster-like act was unprecedented in the world history of conclusion of treaties.

After having stripped Korea of its diplomatic rights, the Japanese imperialists had their army and police several thousands strong besiege its imperial palace and government buildings again on August 22, 1910. They then concocted the Korea-Japan

Annexation Treaty by means of military threats and blackmail, thus dissolving the already titular Korean government and enforcing colonial rule in Korea. After all, Korea was swallowed up by Japan without waging any war or battle for self-defence.

A Korean saying goes, “A ruined people are more miserable than a dog in a house of mourning.” Under the Japanese colonial rule the Korean people were subjected to misfortunes and hardships beyond description and keenly experienced the sorrows of a ruined nation.

The Japanese imperialists plundered Korea of its natural resources without restriction and killed numerous Koreans in a cruel manner. They committed conscription and labour drafting, taking 8.4 million Korean people to the battlefields of their aggressive war as cannon-fodders. They even committed such a crime against humanity unprecedented in history as abducting 200 000 Korean women as sex slaves for their soldiers, exposing them to moral and physical destruction. They went to the length of trying viciously to obliterate the Korean language, written and spoken. The destiny of Korea stood at the crossroads of life and death.

In the past many countries in Asia, Africa and America were subjected to the colonial rule of imperialist powers.

No country and nation wishes to be enslaved. This notwithstanding, numerous countries were reduced to colonies of imperialist powers in the era of old colonialism due to their weak military strength.

History shows that national sovereignty and independence is guaranteed by the strength of arms, military strength. Songun politics mirrors this truth of history.

The acts of infringement upon the sovereignty of other countries and nations still exist. Therefore, building up the strong defence capabilities presents itself as the most important task for independent politics.

2) Choice for National Independence—Arms for Arms!

Oppression breeds resistance, and sabre is countered with sabre. After Japan's occupation of the country, Korean patriots threw themselves boldly into the fight to regain national sovereignty: what counted was how to achieve the aim.

At its burgeoning stage the anti-Japanese independence movement in Korea was led by nationalists, and in most cases it was limited to such sycophantic and non-violent methods as petitioning, diplomatic activities and peaceful demonstrations. These, however, all ended in failure owing to the Japanese imperialists' crafty schemes and brutal suppression.

The Korean Independence Army led by nationalists was the sole armed force in the country, but its upper echelons were muddling along with no prospect of winning. Prevalent among them was a view that the big powers would help them achieve the country's independence. Devoid of any particular strategy and tactics appropriate to the movement, the Independence Army waxed and waned.

The Korean people were yearning for a leader to advance a correct line to save the country and nation.

Just at this juncture young revolutionaries of the new generation under the leadership of Kim Il Sung turned out in the sacred war for national independence. "Arms for arms, revolutionary violence for counterrevolutionary violence!"—this was their slogan and line.

It was the will of Kim Hyong Jik, Kim Il Sung's father, that the independence of Korea should be achieved through armed struggle.

Kim Hyong Jik was an outstanding leader of the anti-

Japanese national liberation movement in Korea, and a pioneer in developing the nationalist movement into a proletarian revolution.

As he searched continually for a path to national liberation, he finally came to the conclusion that the lost country could be won back only by fighting the armed enemy with arms. He once said to his young son: “It is unlikely that robbers who have intruded into your house and are wielding knives will let you live simply because you make a fuss begging them for mercy. If the man outside is also a robber, he will not come to your aid when he hears your cry. If you want to save your life you must fight the robbers. You can prevail over those who are armed with knives only when you fight them with a knife.”

The thought of “Aim High,” the idea of being prepared for three contingencies—death from hunger, death from a beating and death from the cold—on the road for national independence, the idea of gaining comrades, and two pistols: these were what he left to his son as inheritance.

Kim Il Sung set out on the road of revolution, following in the footsteps of his father who struggled devotedly for the country’s independence. In October 1926, at the age of 14, he formed the Down-with-Imperialism Union (DIU). By this time he was already the leader of young revolutionaries of the rising generation in Korea. He clarified in the programme of the DIU that the organization’s immediate task was to defeat Japanese imperialism and achieve the liberation and independence of Korea, and to this end, decided to fight the Japanese imperialists, who were armed to the teeth, with arms.

At a meeting held from June 30 to July 2, 1930, in Kalun, Changchun County, Jilin Province, China, he delivered a report titled ***The Path of the Korean Revolution***, in which he set forth the line of defeating the Japanese aggressive forces with revolutionary armed forces as the main line of the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle

and the first and foremost task of the Korean revolutionaries.

This line of armed struggle advanced at the Kalun Meeting contained the revolutionary principle of attaching prime importance to arms in the revolutionary struggle of the masses against imperialism and for independence, the core of the Songun idea. For this reason, the meeting takes a special place in the history of the Korean revolution as the one in which the Songun idea was proclaimed.

In the history of the Korean revolution the meeting is also known as a historic meeting in which the Juche idea was proclaimed. At the meeting Kim Il Sung elucidated the fundamentals of the Juche idea that the masses are the masters of the revolutionary struggle and the revolution can emerge victorious only when they are organized and enlisted. He also expounded on the basic principle and requirements of the Juche idea that all problems arising in the Korean revolution should be solved by the strength of the Korean people themselves, its masters, and in an independent and creative manner to suit the specific situation of the country. The line of armed struggle emphasized, proceeding from the basic principle and requirements of the Juche idea, that in order to win victory in the revolutionary struggle, there is no other way but to take up arms and it is important to arm the masses, the masters of the revolution, and carry the revolution forward by drawing on their strength. It can be said in this sense that the Songun idea, which illuminated the way for realizing the masses' independence with arms at the centre of consideration, was created as a revolutionary theory based on the Juche idea.

Afterwards, by developing the line of armed struggle, Kim Il Sung defined constantly varying guerrilla warfare as the main form of the armed struggle suitable for the specific situation of Korea. This was original, given that the Marxist-Leninist theory defined guerrilla warfare as an auxiliary form of struggle.

Then, would such an irregular armed force as a guerrilla army

be capable of beating an army several millions strong equipped with modern, highly efficient weapons such as tanks, artillery and aircraft when it would have to fight without any home front or the support of a regular army, and in a foreign territory at that?

Referring to the possibility, Kim Il Sung said:

“We are the sons of ruined people who have been deprived of all their state power, territory and resources. We are empty-handed young people who are now living in a foreign country. However, we have not hesitated to challenge the Japanese imperialists. What is it we are relying on in doing so? We have decided to start an anti-Japanese war by relying on the people. The people are the state, the people are the home front and the people are the regular army. When the war starts, the people will become soldiers and rise up. Therefore, the guerrilla warfare which we shall wage can be called a people’s war.”

In an effort to carry out the line of the armed struggle that would rely on the inexhaustible strength of the masses, Kim Il Sung founded the Anti-Japanese People’s Guerrilla Army (AJPGA) on April 25, 1932, at Xiaoshahe, Antu County in Northeast China. It was a standing revolutionary armed force, the first of its kind in Korea, formed of progressive workers, peasants and patriotic young people. From then on, history recorded the brilliant and legendary feats of the Korean guerrilla army that prevailed over the Japanese Kwantung Army one million strong by means of adroit guerrilla tactics. This also signified the start of the Songun-based revolutionary leadership of Kim Il Sung who led the overall Korean revolution by relying on the revolutionary armed force.

The AJPGA was an armed force of the people fighting against the Japanese imperialists and their lackeys and safeguarding the interests of the Korean people. Its goal and mission was to overthrow the Japanese colonial rule in Korea and realize the independence and social emancipation of the Korean nation. While conducting military activities, it conducted political activities for

educating the people in the idea of opposing the Japanese imperialists and mobilizing them for the national liberation struggle.

With the development of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, it was reformed between March and May 1934 into the Korean People's Revolutionary Army (KPRA) with a complete system of a regular army. During the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle the KPRA played its role successfully as the backbone and the political guide of the Korean revolution and provided a military guarantee for the interests of the Korean nation.

With regard to its role, Kim Il Sung wrote in his memoirs *With the Century* that the KPRA had been the army, the party and the government during the revolutionary struggle against the Japanese aggressors.

Later this idea was formulated by Kim Jong Il as the fundamentals of Songun that the army is the party, the state and the people.

The KPRA under the command of Kim Il Sung was the sole beacon of hope for the Korean people in the dark period of the Japanese colonial rule, so they aided their army whole-heartedly in the fight to achieve national independence. As a result, in the waning days of Japanese colonial rule, conditions grew ripe for an all-people resistance, as intended by the commander.

After more than a decade of bloody war under the slogan "Arms for arms, revolutionary violence for counterrevolutionary violence!" the Korean people greeted the long-awaited dawn of national liberation on August 15, 1945.

Kim Il Sung created a new mode of revolution—to organize a revolutionary army first and, by relying on it, liberate the country, and then found the party and the state.

The anti-Japanese armed struggle in Korea, few precedents for which can be found in history, is significant not just because it contributed to achieving the independence of the country. It was a

starting point for establishing the valuable spirit and traditions of cultivating one's own strength, military strength in particular, and by relying on it, hewing out the destiny of the country and nation. This just constitutes the historical roots of Songun politics.

3) Response to Constant Threat of Aggression

Since it set out to build a new society for the masses after restoring national independence, Korea has consistently adhered to the line of attaching importance to arms, to military affairs.

The reason is simple and clear; the nation has been subjected to constant threat of war and aggression by foreign forces ever since.

The liberation of the country brought great delight and hope of a new, happy life to the Korean people who had groaned in national distress.

However, buffeted by the tricks of history or of fate, the Korean people had to be confronted with another imperialist power on their own land. The uninvited guest was the United States that intruded into Korea in place of Japan.

Historically, the United States had cast its covetous eyes on this country, watching for a chance of invasion. It dates back to August 1866 when *General Sherman*, a US aggressor ship, intruded into Korea. On September 8, 1945, soon after the end of the Second World War, the United States occupied the southern half of the country on the pretext of disarming Japanese soldiers stationed there. This forced the land of a homogeneous people, who was just feeling the joy of liberation from Japanese colonial rule, to be divided into two along the 38th Parallel as a demarcation line. The abnormal state of national division has persisted to this day.

In a bid to turn south Korea into its colony, the United States disbanded people's committees with an iron hand and forced a

military rule upon its people. It rigged up a pro-American puppet government and intensified preparations for a war to occupy the whole of Korea. In 1949 alone they handed over to south Korea a wide variety of weapons and munitions worth USD 190 million to equip the south Korean army after the American fashion, thus instigating a fratricidal war under the cloak of “anti-communism.”

The prevailing situation compelled the north of Korea to direct great efforts to building up military capabilities to protect itself against the threat of war by the United States.

From the very moment when the US troops set foot on the south of Korea, Kim Il Sung judged that they were the enemy of the Korean people, not their friends. So he defined it as a primary task to build self-defensive armed forces.

He said just after the country’s liberation: A country without its own national army can hardly be called a fully-fledged independent, sovereign state; if we do not build regular revolutionary armed forces at the same time as establishing a people’s government in the liberated homeland, we will not be able to safeguard the revolutionary gains won at the cost of our blood against the armed invasion of foreign imperialists; we will again suffer the bitter experiences of a ruined nation.

Kim Il Sung accelerated the building of a regular army with the anti-Japanese war veterans as its backbone. As a result, the development of the Korean People’s Revolutionary Army into the Korean People’s Army, regular armed forces, was proclaimed on February 8, 1948.

Putting emphasis on defence industry to militarily support the building of a new Korea, he gave definite precedence to building the country’s own munitions industry over the development of its economy.

It is, in fact, no easy task for a newly independent country to create its own munitions industry. Even for the nations which gained independence long ago and acquired a considerable level of

industrial foundations and technology, this project took a decade or several decades. So it would not be hard to imagine what a big challenge it would have been for Korea, a country with an insufficient industrial basis and no groundwork for munitions industry.

But Kim Il Sung was determined to create the country's own munitions industry in the shortest period by overcoming difficulties and hardships of every description. Upon arriving in Pyongyang after his guerrilla struggle, he visited a former munitions factory. With this began a new history of munitions industry in Korea. He intended to build a self-supporting munitions industry, which would be capable of manufacturing a wide variety of military hardware ranging from small arms to modern heavy weaponry and combat equipment. Korea's munitions industry took its first step with the production of submachine guns on its own strength, and subsequently achieved notable progress.

On June 25, 1950 the United States started a war against the young Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The US army looked down on its counterpart, KPA, calling it an "aboriginal army" or a "peasant army" which did not receive regular training. But they were defeated from the first engagement with the latter, and on July 27, 1953, three years after, compelled to surrender to the Korean army and people and sign an armistice agreement.

Even after the Korean war the United States persisted in pursuing a hostile policy towards the DPRK, a legitimate sovereign state, and threatening it by military means.

In unilateral negotiation of an article of the Korean Armistice Agreement that forbids the shipping into Korea of any weaponry that might threaten the other side, the United States massively deployed nuclear weapons and missiles in south Korea, turning it into the world's largest nuclear arsenal.

On January 29, 1958, the United States officially announced

the shipment of nuclear weapons for the GIs in south Korea. The first delivery included Honest John and nuclear shells that could be loaded into 280mm- and 8inch-calibre howitzers. The nuclear weapons shipped into south Korea numbered 1 000 by mid-1970s. In 1990, their total number was four times larger than that on NATO soil, with their explosive power 1 000 times greater than that of the nuclear bomb dropped on Hiroshima. South Korea has become the world's largest nuclear arsenal with more than one nuclear weapon on every 100 square kilometres. A network of US military bases covers the whole of the land.

The US troops in south Korea have ceaselessly conducted military drills and resorted to acts of war provocation. The nuclear war rehearsal named Team Spirit had been an annual event between 1976 and 1993, except for 1992. It was a dangerous drill, which could lead to a real one any time. An increasing number of cases had been brought to the Military Armistice Commission, accusing the US army of provoking the north militarily and violating the armistice agreement: 300 in 1954, 2 517 in 1961, 6 484 in 1963 and 6 953 in 1965. Typical examples are the PCE 56 incident in 1967, the incident of the USS Pueblo, an armed spy ship, in 1968, and the incident of EC-121, a large spy plane, in 1969.

The Korean peninsula has long been one of the most sensitive hot spots on the globe; the DPRK government and its people have experienced difficulties in their efforts to push ahead with construction and in their living in a peaceful atmosphere.

To cope with the prevailing situation Kim Il Sung saw to it that the building up of the nation's defence capabilities was propelled without interruption.

Typical examples are the line of simultaneously developing the construction of the national economy and defence and the four-point military line.

In December 1962, when the aftereffects of the Cuban Missile

Crisis influenced even Korea, Kim Il Sung advanced the line of simultaneously pushing forward with economic construction and military buildup at the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the WPK. The line makes it possible for a socialist party and government in power to reliably defend the revolutionary gains from the imperialist aggression and successfully accelerate socialist construction.

Afterwards, Kim Il Sung put forward the military line of the WPK, the gist of which is to turn the whole army into a cadre army, modernize it, arm all the people and fortify the whole country. In actual fact, he had pursued the line since the end of the Korean war, based on the lessons and experiences he gained during the war. The line elucidates all the requisites for the defence of the country by its own strength. It is the main military line of the WPK which is being implemented invariably even today. The most important aspect of this line is to turn the KPA into the army of the Party and the leader, and the army strong in idea and faith.

For scores of years these lines of giving priority to military affairs have been carried out thoroughly and effectively.

The traditions of giving priority to military affairs created by Kim Il Sung was brilliantly inherited by Kim Jong Il.

Kim Jong Il was born and grew up in the special circumstances of the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle in Korea, and under his parents' revolutionary influence he established a firm attitude of carrying forward and accomplishing the Korean revolution by dint of arms. Since his young days his political vision and abilities plus his power of pen and sword struck people with admiration. The Korean people found the image of Kim Il Sung in the image of Kim Jong Il and placed their great hope on him.

From the days before the age of 20 Kim Jong Il assisted Kim Il Sung in his work, and led the Korean revolution and construction, during the whole course of which he directed primary attention to military affairs.

On August 25, 1960 Kim Jong Il accompanied Kim Il Sung in the latter's inspection of the Seoul Ryu Kyong Su 105 Guards Tank Division of the KPA, signifying the start of his Songun-based revolutionary leadership.

His Songun politics is regarded to have started in the late 1960s, when he began to lead the overall affairs of the Party and the army after having started his work at the Central Committee of the WPK. In other words, from those days he applied the political idea of paying primary attention to military affairs throughout society by his established high authority and outstanding political ability. This was also the course through which his leadership system had thoroughly been established in the army to lay foundations for the full administration of Songun politics.

Under the leadership of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il, who gave top priority to military affairs, the building of powerful and modern armed forces was accelerated until the early 1990s.

The principle of giving priority to military affairs adhered to in the DPRK has another special aspect along with the building up of the national defence capabilities.

It is well-known that the former Soviet Union had put a very heavy emphasis on its national defence buildup during the Cold War era. But the army had been quite indifferent to everything except the national defence.

The DPRK, however, has placed a special emphasis on the KPA's role and increased it not only in defending the country but also in building up the revolutionary forces and propelling the socialist construction. The KPA played a leading role in the rehabilitation of the ruined economy after the Korean war and the acceleration of socialist construction after the establishment of the socialist system in the country. The service personnel built the world-famous West Sea Barrage in the 1980s.

It is too numerous to cite all the edifices built by them. What is obvious is that the KPA has successfully performed within the

shortest time all kinds of tasks true to the intentions of their leader and the WPK. Their spirit and way of struggle is fully reflected in the slogan, “When the Party is determined, we can do anything!” which they held up in the late 1980s.

Socialism is here to stay and wins one victory after another in the face of the constant threats of aggression from the United States, thanks to Songun politics that strengthens the national defence and enhances the role of the army in all spheres.

2. WATERSHED IN THE CENTURY AND FULL ADMINISTRATION OF SONGUN POLITICS

Kim Jong Il's Songun-based leadership and Songun politics has a history spanning scores of years. But his political mode was not officially called Songun politics until the mid-1990s. As is well known the 1990s was a period of political cataclysms. Every country was required to adopt new strategies to cope with the changes in the international political arena. Given the circumstances, Kim Jong Il's Songun politics was proclaimed as the basic political mode of Korean-style socialism and administered in an all-round way.

This was an epochal event which showed that the Korean revolution was developing onto a new stage. This change made in the watershed in the century was a summing-up of the past, and, at the same time, a new, future-oriented strategy of Kim Jong Il.

This strategy gives top priority to military affairs over all other state affairs and puts forward the army as the main force of the revolution and the mainstay of the country. And the state administration system with the National Defence Commission as its pivot provides a law-based guarantee for the implementation of this strategy, a new political mode.

1) The End of the Cold War, Changes in Circumstances and Full Administration of Songun Politics

Songun politics was established as a systematized political mode to meet the changes that ensued after the end of the Cold War.

The international situation experienced a sharp turn during the late 1980s and the early 1990s. A political cataclysm occurred in which socialism collapsed and capitalism revived in the Soviet Union and several east European countries. In early November 1989 the Berlin Wall crumbled and the Soviet troops stationed in East Germany began to withdraw; finally East Germany was absorbed into West Germany.

This spelled the end of the Cold War. In December that year, Bush, President of the United States, and Gorbachev, President of the Soviet Union, held talks in Malta. After the talks, Bush said that they were standing on the threshold of a new era of US-Soviet relations, and Gorbachev said that the world had started a long journey to a long-lasting era of peace.

The world media explained the new era and long-lasting era of peace as an era when the hostile relations of the two superpowers that had lasted for decades would come to an end.

As the red flag that had been fluttering high over the Kremlin of Moscow was hoisted down, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics broke up. Before and after its break-up, socialism collapsed in succession in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania and Mongolia.

This brought to an end the Cold War between East and West, and brought about a great change in the political landscape and balance of power in the world. During the Cold War, international politics was characterized by a confrontation of strength between socialism and capitalism and, more concretely bipolar confrontation between the two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union.

The end of the Cold War raised a series of new issues, such as the choice between a unipolar or multipolar world and war or peace. The outcome was neither a multipolar world nor peace. The United States, which emerged as the only superpower, used the end of the Cold War to intensify its onslaught against the anti-

imperialist independent forces in order to realize its ambition of making the world a US-led unipolar world. The new international political landscape pitted the anti-imperialist independent forces against the United States.

The United States set about establishing a “world order that would be free from the threat of the Cold War and in which the market and democracy would flourish.” This “new world order” was, in essence, a world order in which the United States lorded it over. For this purpose, it recklessly increased its military expenditure to strengthen its military capabilities and did not hesitate to resort to preemptive strikes against the countries that were not to its liking.

It had not been long since the United States unleashed wars in the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq on the excuses of defending “democracy” and “human rights,” terminating terrorism and purging the dangers of mass destruction weapons.

However, things belied the boisterous propaganda campaigns launched by the United States. In later days the fair mass media and analysts commented that the superpower’s ambition of demonstrating its might and dominating the world and its unrestricted greed for wealth induced it into igniting those wars unprecedented even in the days of the Cold War.

The people’s hopes for a peaceful and stable world after the end of the Cold War were shattered. As the United States frequently went to war without UN sanction, there was nowhere for weak nations to appeal even though they were attacked. The significance of a powerful military capability with which to defend oneself became very clear.

The Cold War did not end in Korea. Entering the mid-1990s, because the US-led imperialist forces directed the spearhead of their attack at Korea, it experienced severe trials and difficulties, which would decide its destiny. The United States even turned their nukes which had been aimed at the former Soviet Union to the Korean peninsula.

The United States considered Korea the most dangerous country and the major obstacle to its ambition of world domination, because Korea continued to uphold the banner of anti-imperialism and socialism in the international arena and, moreover, it is situated at the heart of Northeast Asia. An expert on the security in the Far East Asia of the Heritage Foundation said that what was basic to the US foreign policies in the 21st century is the Asia policy, its focus being the Korean peninsula.

The Korean peninsula is connected to the Eurasian continent by land and to the Pacific by sea, serving as a gateway to the continent and an outlet to the ocean. The United States, therefore, intends to put under its control the Korean peninsula, a key point of traffic between the Eurasian continent and the Pacific, and hold sway over Northeast Asia, cutting off other big powers.

When the United States was intensifying its moves to stamp out socialist Korea, the Korean people suffered their greatest national loss: President Kim Il Sung suddenly passed away.

The United States and other imperialist forces resorted to every manner of vicious schemes to stifle Korea.

One of them was the threat of war. The United States and south Korea staged joint military exercises one after another, including Ulji Focus Lens and Foal Eagle, thus creating an atmosphere of war on the Korean peninsula. Kicking up another fuss about the “nuclear issue,” the United States threatened Korea, saying that it would use military force unless the issue was resolved. Reckless moves of military provocation, pressure and war made by the allied imperialist forces and south Korean bellicose forces created a touch-and-go situation on the Korean peninsula.

The US-led imperialist forces intensified the economic blockade against Korea.

The frustration of socialism in the Soviet Union and east European countries brought about the collapse of the world socialist market, and

this had a negative impact on Korea's economic development, since its foreign trade had been dependent on that market. Korea had to import the materials it needed from the capitalist market.

The United States and its allies stepped up the trade embargo against Korea, and restricted its financial transactions with other countries. Their intention was to undermine Korea from within.

The situation in Korea was so critical that the imperialists spread the rumour of the "May crisis," which claimed that Korea would not survive beyond May 1996. Worse still, natural calamities, such as flood, tidal waves and drought, hit Korea for several consecutive years. Korea suffered from shortages of food, fuel and power. The Korean people call the years when they experienced the most trying ordeals unprecedented in their history the period of the "Arduous March."

Korea had to overcome all the difficulties single-handedly, by its own efforts. The difficulties in sight were food shortage and other economic problems. But, in general, the showdown between Korea and the allied imperialist forces was one of strength.

In this unprecedented situation, Kim Jong Il regarded building up the country's military capabilities, not its economy, as the most important. Only by giving priority to its military affairs and building up its armed forces could it defend its style of socialism and its own way of life.

These requirements occasioned the full establishment of Songun politics.

The United States continues to kick up a fuss about the threat posed by Korea's military capabilities, but keeps silent about its power policy, its hostile policy against Korea.

The question is: who threatens whom? On which side is justice, the United States that has come across the Pacific to Korea and is attempting to overthrow its political system, or Korea striving to defend its sovereignty on its land?

History will judge that Korea's Songun politics is the best choice for defending justice by its own strength.

There are also some people who describe Songun politics as a temporary political mode adopted to tide over the difficulties.

It is true that Songun politics came into being to cope with the critical situation prevailing in Korea. But it is neither a measure taken to tide over a crisis nor a short-lived political mode. As long as imperialism exists on the globe, Songun politics will serve as a strategic political mode in order to defend Korean-style socialism and achieve the country's prosperity. That Songun politics which had long been pursued has fully been administered represents that it is not a passing political mode.

The following will deal with the key aspects of Songun politics that raises military affairs as the most important of all national affairs and the army as the main force.

2) Raising Military Affairs as the Most Important of All National Affairs

Politics is an important undertaking involving all spheres of social life. None could be neglected in the slightest in politics, including economic and cultural development as well as military buildup. However, which of them is given preferential and greater efforts is a very important matter decisive of the success of politics, as evidenced by history.

Kim Jong Il said that it is impossible, without strong military capabilities, to defend the country's sovereignty, the people's right to existence and socialism, or to build a prosperous and powerful country.

Herein lies the reason why Songun politics gives top priority to military affairs in the overall national affairs.

In general, the primary goal pursued by politics is to secure the

sovereignty and territorial integrity of a state and safeguard the country and people from aggression of foreign forces. It is, therefore, essential for politics to strengthen the defence capabilities.

And yet, to have a correct understanding of the importance of national defence is one thing, and to put it into effect, raising it as the nation's most important affairs, is another.

Actually, several countries neglected defence buildup while experiencing constant menaces of aggression, only to incur serious consequences.

True is the case of the former Yugoslavia. At the end of the 1990s it was presented as a *fait accompli* that the US-led NATO forces were going to launch an attack against it. It should have to make full preparations for the pressing dangers of war by strengthening its military capabilities, but it failed to do so. It hardly thought of fighting on its own strength, but waited, up till the end of the war, for help from a big power, only pinning its hope on the latter's promise for support in emergency.

At the initial stage of the war its government set it as the objective of air-defence campaign to preserve its forces and resolutely resist the enemy, but, in fact, it was no more than a passive measure of defence taken because of its vulnerable armed forces. What was worse, the army of Yugoslavia, entirely dependent on another country in its military hardware, was unable to restore on its own the air-defence system destroyed by the air campaign by the NATO forces. And its AA forces were too weak in their firing capacity to attack NATO aircraft flying at high altitudes. After all, Yugoslavia lost the war without making a proper resistance.

Kim Jong Il put the main emphasis on strengthening the KPA, the pivot of self-reliant defence capabilities, in administering Songun politics that gives top priority to military affairs over all other national affairs.

Worthy of note in this regard were his ceaseless inspection tours to army units. After the demise of President Kim Il Sung, when the whole world showed a keen interest in the mode of politics he would pursue, he inspected a KPA company, which became known as the Dwarf-Pine Company, on the New Year's Day 1995. By so doing, he made known at home and abroad his political decision to strengthen the KPA and rely on it.

In early January 1995, a publication in a Western country carried an article, part of which reads as follows:

It is highly significant that Kim Jong Il, Kim Il Sung's heir apparent, did not deliver a New Year's Address but inspected a unit of the KPA on the first day of the New Year. The future direction of the statesmanship of the new leader of a country and the main political force he will rely on are usually decided by the first item on his agenda. Proceeding from this fact, it will be interesting to wait and see what is the significance of his recent inspection.

Kim Jong Il's ceaseless inspection of army units since then demonstrated to the world that his Songun politics directs the main effort, both in name and in reality, to strengthening the army. His field inspection of army units all the year round was really around-the-clock work and devoted endeavour. Kim Jong Il regarded it as his great pleasure to go and see his service personnel, and the latter as the greatest honour to meet him in their units, in the course of which the Supreme Commander and his men formed the close bonds of kinship and the combat strength of the KPA was boosted. His inspection of army units became a symbol of Songun politics.

Kim Jong Il exerted considerable efforts into developing the KPA into a powerful revolutionary army fully prepared politically and ideologically, militarily and technologically.

His primary attention was directed towards enhancing the politico-ideological superiority of the KPA.

The force of arms goes with the strength of ideology and faith. The August 1991 Incident in the former Soviet Union was a clear testimony to the consequences of purging the army of its ideological and political characters in a socialist society. Some progressive figures in the then Soviet leadership formed the State Emergency Committee in their attempt to eliminate Gorbachev and bring to a stop the collapse of the Soviet Union, which was aborted three days after because they were not supported by the military.

As *Voice of America* commented, the incident of August 19, 1991 clearly showed what had become of the Soviet army that had refused any political guidance and insisted on its neutralization. The Soviet army, which had been deceived by and played in the hands of Gorbachev, a cunning opportunist of agronomist background, could only look on when its Soviet motherland was collapsing. It was dead drunk up until the last moment when the Soviet Union had been dissolved and, in the wake of it, its name was changed. It never recognized that it was on its deathbed. In the long run, the army, intoxicated by the poisonous liquor Gorbachev offered it in request for neutrality, helped topple the Soviet Union, and now has fallen into a pitiful lot of beggar.

Songun politics rejects any attempt to purge the army of its ideological and political characters, and channels utmost efforts into preparing it as the army of the leader and the Party and as the army strong in ideology and faith.

The sound ideology and spirit of the KPA and the creditable performance of its role as the main force of the revolution are attributable entirely to the political and ideological education conducted without letup.

Cherishing a plan to develop the KPA into a powerful army not only in political and ideological aspects but also in military and technological ones, Kim Jong Il made energetic efforts to arming

the service personnel with the Juche-based art of warfare and to updating military hardware. According to the world's military commentators, the KPA ranks as one of the best in strike power and manoeuvrability.

That Songun politics raises military affairs as the most important of all national affairs is also manifested in the priority given to developing the defence industry.

The defence industry constitutes a material base of military capabilities. The military capabilities consist, in general, of two major components—man and weaponry. The weaponry and other material and technical means are produced and supplied by the defence industry. For this reason it is indispensable in building up the defence capabilities to channel the primary effort into developing the defence industry at the same time as strengthening the army.

What matters here is that as the defence industry requires huge investment and labour force, it can inevitably be a hindrance to the economic and social development. This may be the reason why many countries, though they are aware of the importance of the defence industry, do not build and develop it on their own but take an easy way of purchasing weapons from developed countries.

It is the Songun politics of Korea that broke the convention in the building of the defence industry and the economy and organically combined them. The major line of economic construction in Korea is to develop the defence industry on a priority basis while simultaneously developing light industry and agriculture. The defence industry develops with heavy industry as its core and has the greatest concentration of modern science and technology, and, therefore, its development gives impetus to the growth of heavy and light industries and scientific and technological development.

The defence industry of Korea has been built into an independent and modern one thanks to Songun politics.

In fact, it is really an uphill task for a small country like Korea to give priority to developing the defence industry that needs colossal investment. But it has no other choice in the prevailing situation. The United States, with which Korea is directly confronted, is the world's greatest military power and increases its military expenditure every year. In consideration of it, Korea has long ago put forth a unique line of the simultaneous development of the economy and the defence upbuilding and made the utmost effort to consolidate the defence industry.

The defence industry of Korea, at present, is possessed of a capability strong enough to produce up-to-date military equipment including powerful nuclear deterrent and missiles by its own efforts and technology. The example of Korea proves that if a country, small as it is, gives top priority to military affairs and directs all its efforts to it, it can build up the military capabilities to deal with any formidable enemy.

Songun politics also ensures that all the people love the army and turn out as one in the effort to strengthen the defence capabilities by establishing throughout society an atmosphere of giving priority to military affairs.

Thanks to Songun politics Korea has grown into a military power nobody dares attack. Today's Korea is no longer the weak country that was under the thumb of big powers in the early 20th century.

3) The Army, a Reliable Buttress

It arises as an important issue in administering politics to lay a firm political foundation, along with defining priority.

A government on a weak political foundation is liable to collapse and impossible to prove successful in its politics.

It is evident that the masses of the people are a political

foundation for socialist politics. However, there is a particular collective, a force, that a statesman relies on. That force, as his main force, buttresses his politics.

Songun politics not only gives priority to military affairs over all other national affairs but also puts forward the KPA as the buttress and main force of the country.

To raise the KPA as the mainstay, the main force, means to exercise command over the army, build up the political foundation with the army as a core, a model entity, and push ahead with socialist construction with the army as the mainstay.

If a ruling party and a political leader fail to have the army under their command, they would be deprived of the ruling power.

The case of former Chilean President Salvador Allende explains it.

The flames of anti-US independence that had been kindled by the victorious socialist revolution in Cuba, began to spread over Latin America, once called a quiet backyard of the United States.

With an ambition to build a new society in which the people are masters in Chile, Allende formed the Popular Unity coalition, an alliance of his Socialist Party and other left-wing political parties, and ran for a presidential election. Beating other candidates from right-wing political parties, he was elected president in November 1970. It was a great political event worth a revolution in the history of Chile.

No sooner had he seized power than he pursued democratic policies. He carried out an agrarian reform and distributed to the peasants 3.5 million hectares of land owned by landlords, thus abolishing the plantation system. He also nationalized more than 200 major enterprises, mines, banks and telecommunications services as well as copper mines owned by the American monopolies. Such radical measures enjoyed support and welcome from the broad masses, while causing uneasiness to the United

States. As the flames of socialist revolution flared up in Chile, the United States, screaming that a “second Cuba” was born in Latin America, resorted to schemes to topple the Allende government. It instigated anti-government forces to adopt a law on arms control and confiscate the weapons in possession of all the party organs affiliated with the Popular Unity coalition.

Under the prevailing situation Allende should have taken every possible measure to safeguard the revolutionary gains from the enemy. But he was absorbed only in socio-economic reforms and neglected to gain control of the army and police. He was satisfied only with keeping contacts with a few units in the army. It left the Allende government almost defenceless against the rampant reactionaries.

In September 1973, General Augusto Pinochet, a pro-American and army commander in chief, staged a military coup against Allende at the US instigation. Allende, having failed to hold the command of the military, could not enlist the army in fighting against the coup. Allende, who was 65 years old, holding an automatic rifle in his hand, fought bravely with his guards at the presidential palace against the assaulting force, before dying a heroic death.

The end of Allende proves that in order to emerge victorious in the revolution, one should hold arms, and to defend the triumphant revolution, one should strengthen arms.

That Songun politics puts forward the KPA as the main force does not mean that the military authorities hold sway over everything by taking power. In this regard it is clearly distinctive from the type of politics pursued by military regimes or military dictators. In Songun politics the government is for all the Korean people including the workers, peasants, intellectuals and service personnel; its political guide is the WPK. The KPA serves the cause of the WPK under its leadership.

To put forward the KPA as the main force and buttress of the revolution and construction is fundamentally different from the

Marxist theory which raised the working class as the main force of the revolution in the past socialist movement.

Marxism, based on the materialistic conception of history, regards the working class as the proletariat who have no means of production other than their own manpower in capitalist society, as the class that have nothing to lose but their chains in the revolution and as the class that expand and strengthen steadily with the development of capitalism while conducting collective work, unlike the peasants and intellectuals who work individually in dispersion. On this basis, it defines them as the main force of the revolution. As this theory reflected the class relations and social reality in the Western capitalist countries in the mid-19th century, it was regarded as a revolutionary formula which was inviolable in the socialist movement.

Since then more than one century has passed. Considering the present circumstances, labour and social position of the working class and the actual conditions of the labour movement, it is hard to regard the workers in modern capitalist countries to be identical with those in the age of industrial capitalism or in the period of the proletarian revolution.

In the meantime the development of socialist society also brings about important changes in the socio-class relations. In Korea, a unique line of assimilating the whole society to the revolutionary and working-class patterns has long been pursued, in the course of which the distinctions between the working class and other classes and social strata are being gradually eliminated and radical changes are taking place in the socio-economic life and politico-ideological traits of all the people.

Kim Jong Il, who rejected every manifestation of dogmatic attitude towards the established theories and solved all problems in a creative way, based on the actual situation, discerned the limitations of the preceding theories as to the main force of the revolution, and put the army before the working class.

The question of the main force of the revolution can neither be immutable nor absolute in any era or in any society, nor be solved only on the basis of class relations. Which class, social stratum or collective in society become the driving force of the revolution is decided by their position and role in the revolution and construction, and their revolutionary spirit, organization and fighting efficiency—this is the factor and criterion with which to define the main force of the revolution clarified by Kim Jong Il.

It is none other than the KPA that plays the role of defender of the country and is the strongest in revolutionary spirit, organization and fighting efficiency.

In reference to these features of the KPA the revolutionary soldier spirit should be mentioned.

The revolutionary soldier spirit was created during the construction of the Anbyon Youth Power Station which was completed by the KPA in the grimmest days of the “Arduous March,” which was the harshest period in the history of the country. This project was a gigantic one; the amount of construction work was twice that of the West Sea Barrage which was estimated to have cost USD 4 billion. The soldier-builders, upholding the slogan “Let us not see the blue sky over the country before carrying out the Supreme Commander’s orders!” wrought a miracle of constructing the power station successfully by displaying a self-sacrificing spirit under the extremely difficult conditions. They built dams and dug waterway tunnels through rugged mountains, even unhesitatingly sacrificing their lives. A young soldier, who was critically injured in an accident, encouraged his colleagues, singing revolutionary songs until the last moment of his life, to carry out the orders of the Supreme Commander; some other soldiers, when they were trapped in a caved-in pit, asked for compressed air, instead of food, through a compressed-air tube, and never stopped tunnelling.

Kim Jong Il, inspecting the construction site of the Anbyon Youth Power Station near completion in June 1996, looked round the waterway tunnels which were associated with the merits of the soldier-builders, and named the spirit displayed by them the revolutionary soldier spirit.

The revolutionary soldier spirit whose nucleus is the unfailing loyalty to their leader and the Party was highly displayed not only at the construction site of the Anbyon Youth Power Station but also everywhere else the soldier-builders worked at that time.

The major aspects of the revolutionary soldier spirit are defending the leader unto death, carrying out the Party's line and policies at all costs and being prepared heroically to sacrifice one's life for the country and people and comrades. There is no army in the world to be compared with the KPA that is possessed of such a noble spirit.

Valuing these ideological and spiritual traits of the service personnel, Kim Jong Il put forward the KPA as the main force and buttress of his Songun politics.

First of all, Songun politics makes the KPA a model in building up the revolutionary forces.

That Songun politics raises the KPA as the buttress and main force, does not mean that it relies on the KPA alone. Revolution and construction cannot be carried out successfully by a specific class, social stratum or collective alone. They can be victorious only when the broad sections of the masses, with an interest in the revolutionary movement, turn out with high revolutionary and creative enthusiasm, rallied as a political force.

Songun politics sets the army as the buttress with an aim to rally the broad sections of the masses as a strong political force with the former as the model. In particular, it realizes the unity of the army and the people in ideology and fighting spirit by encouraging all the members of society to emulate the

revolutionary soldier spirit and the fighting style of the KPA.

In Korea all the working people including the working class are striving to emulate the spirit of the soldiers. The single-hearted unity of the army and the people, which is being formed in this course, firmly supports the Korean-style socialism like strong roots.

Songun politics sets the army as the pillar not only in building up the revolutionary forces but also in pushing ahead with the overall socialist construction.

In general an army is regarded as a consumer of material wealth which has nothing to do with creation and construction; an imperialist army of aggression destroys human civilization.

Songun politics makes the army play a leading role in the difficult and labour-consuming sectors of socialist construction while discharging its mission of national defence. The KPA, unfailingly loyal to the orders of Kim Jong Il and strong in fighting efficiency, undertook any gigantic and complicated construction projects to successfully complete them at the highest speed and quality.

Nothing is more ideal for an army than to contribute to creation and construction in peacetime.

Songun politics, however, does not make the army take full responsibility for all construction projects. What is of greater importance is that it encourages all the people to learn after the manner of work of soldiers, so as to make the whole society brim with a seething and vibrant atmosphere.

It is difficult to find such an army as the KPA who plays an important and positive role in materializing the leader's politics.

As Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il paid deep attention to developing the KPA into the revolutionary army unfailingly loyal to the country and the people, the KPA is now discharging with credit its important mission as the main force of the revolution.

4) Unique System of State Administration of Attaching Importance to National Defence

For a political mode to become a perfect one, it needs a corresponding state administration system.

In Korea Songun politics was perfected as a systematic political mode of socialism in the course of establishing a system of state administration based on the principle of giving priority to military affairs.

Even after analyzing the prevailing situation at home and abroad and, on this basis, maturing his plan to pursue Songun politics in a comprehensive way, Kim Jong Il was never in a hurry for making it public. He paid his primary attention to further strengthening the might of the KPA which would become the buttress of Songun politics and establishing an atmosphere of emulating the revolutionary soldier spirit throughout society.

Only after the system of state administration of giving priority to military affairs was established at the First Session of the Tenth Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK convened on September 5, 1998, in Pyongyang, he announced that his politics was Songun politics.

The session was convened four years after President Kim Il Sung passed away.

The Korean army and people unanimously wished to have Kim Jong Il at the helm of the state after the death of Kim Il Sung. Kim Jong Il, however, made sure that all efforts were directed to holding the President invariably in high esteem for all eternity and carrying out the latter's revolutionary cause rather than to electing a new leadership.

It was conventional practice in the political history of the world to elect a new state leadership to fill the political vacuum

immediately after the death of the head of state, but in Korea such an election was postponed for four years since the demise of Kim Il Sung.

The session announced that Kim Jong Il, General Secretary of the WPK and Supreme Commander of the KPA, was re-elected Chairman of the National Defence Commission.

Already on December 24, 1991, he was appointed Supreme Commander of the KPA, on April 9, 1993, he was elected Chairman of the NDC, and on October 8, 1997, General Secretary of the WPK.

His re-election as Chairman of the NDC had a fresh meaning, because the position and authority of the NDC was raised at the session.

The session unanimously approved the Socialist Constitution of the DPRK, or Kim Il Sung's Constitution, which was amended and supplemented. By stipulating by law that Kim Il Sung is the eternal President of the DPRK and newly defining the position and authority of the NDC, it provides a law-based guarantee for Songun politics.

The Constitution stipulates the NDC as a pivotal organization of the Korean revolution. This is not simply a legislative and technical matter. It means that the state regards military affairs as the priority of all national priorities.

The Constitution reinforced the authority of the NDC than ever before. It stipulates that the Chairman of the NDC exercises the leadership over the armed forces, and that the NDC has the power to organize central agencies in the field of national defence. It also specifies that the NDC takes responsibility for its work only before the SPA as it is the highest power organ in the field of national defence, that it exercises power independently, and that it issues orders and decisions to be executed by the organs, enterprises and units across the country.

In view of these facts, one can understand that the NDC of the

DPRK is completely different in its position and authority from the military committee as a committee in the parliament of another country.

The Socialist Constitution of the DPRK caused a worldwide sensation.

Expressing his admiration for the Socialist Constitution, chairman of the Committee of State Security (KGB) of the former USSR, who was in Korea at that time, said: Kim Il Sung's Constitution is another creation born of the 20th century; it is good that the matter of military affairs was clearly reflected on the constitution; politics means power, and if the veil covering politics is removed, what remains are military affairs; the constitution reflects this essence clearly.

South Korean newspaper *Dong-A Ilbo*, dated September 7, 1998, wrote:

“The north convened the First Session of the Tenth Supreme People's Assembly on the 5th and amended the Constitution. It re-elected Kim Jong Il Chairman of the National Defence Commission after reinforcing in width and depth the authority of the Chairman over the overall national affairs. Kim Jong Il era was ushered in. It made clear that the Chairman of the National Defence Commission holds the highest office and is the head of state, who controls and administers all of the political, economic and military affairs, safeguards the state structure of the socialist country and the destiny of the people, and organizes and leads the work of consolidating and augmenting the national defence capabilities and the overall national power.”

The political system of Korea the backbone of which is the NDC became more perfect and stable thanks to the Socialist Constitution amended and supplemented at the First Session of the 12th Supreme People's Assembly convened in April 2009. This Constitution made it clear that the Chairman of the NDC is the supreme leader of the country and defined the NDC as the highest

defence guidance organ of state power, thus reinforcing its authority.

By the amended and supplemented Socialist Constitution, Songun politics came to possess a law-based guarantee and the state administration system became a political system with the NDC, which assures the materialization of Songun politics by means of state structure, as the backbone. The Chairman of the NDC, the supreme leader of the country, directs overall state affairs including national defence.

Thus, materialization of Kim Jong Il's Songun politics could have a legal and institutional guarantee.

3. WAY TO INDEPENDENCE AND PROSPERITY

Justness and might of politics are mirrored in the reality.

As mentioned above, Songun politics is aimed at defending the national sovereignty and Korean-style socialism and achieving prosperity of the country.

Then how does Songun politics achieve its aim as it has raised military affairs as the most important of all national affairs and the army as the motive force and buttress?

A newspaper of a foreign country wrote under the title *Ever-Victorious Sword* that Songun politics is invincible as it wins victory after victory in the showdown with imperialism and all-mighty as it brings prosperity to the country.

This is an objective estimate based on successes achieved in the showdown between Korea and the United States and in the struggle of the Workers' Party of Korea, the army and the people for the building of a thriving country.

1) Showdown between the DPRK and the United States: an Independent People or Slaves?

For the Korean people, the showdown between the DPRK and the United States, which grew fiercer from the mid-1990s, was one which would decide whether they would become an independent people or colonial slaves.

The balance of forces between the United States, which boasted

of being the “only superpower,” and the DPRK, a small country in its worst situation, was indescribable. The progressive mankind the world over watched the showdown with great anxiety.

However, the DPRK did not yield; instead, it coped on its own terms with the US power politics and manoeuvres of stifling it, by relying on its invincible armed forces strengthened by dint of Songun politics and on harder-line strategy.

A popular cartoon *The Hedgehog Defeats the Tiger* is in the DPRK. The cartoon deals with a wild, big and strong tiger, which makes an attack on a small but bold hedgehog with sharp spikes on its back, only to pay dearly for it. It is suggestive of the showdown between the DPRK and the United States.

Kim Jong Il, by dint of Songun politics, responded to all sorts of war moves and provocations of the United States with harder line and resolute punishment. Responding to the imperialists’ hard line with harder line is the firm anti-imperialist independent stand running through Songun politics.

The showdown between the DPRK and the United States took place in the political, military, economic, diplomatic and all other fields; typical of them were the military confrontation and nuclear stand-off between the two countries.

In 1998 the US hardline conservatives and military brass hats leaked to the mass media of a third country intentionally the information that they were “completing a new war scenario for the invasion of north Korea” and the content of OP-PLAN 5027, a scenario for a second Korean war aimed at “avenging” their defeat in the Korean war. Around that time the United States began to impose sanctions against Korea as the beginning of the OP-PLAN 5027.

The Korean service personnel and people were not disheartened by the blackmail. A spokesman for the KPA General Staff made public in December 1998 a statement, titled, *Our Revolutionary Armed Forces Will Answer the Challenges of the US Imperialist Forces with an Annihilating Strike without the Slightest*

Mercy. In the statement, the spokesman declared that “surgical operation-style strike” and “preemptive strike” were by no means an exclusive option of the United States, and that the mode of strike was not its monopoly, either.

Korea meant what it said. The US provocations for war were frustrated in the sky, on the land and on sea.

On December 17, 1994, a US state-of-the-art helicopter, which had boasted of having demonstrated its forte during the Gulf War, was shot down at a single shot after having intruded into the Korean airspace north of the Military Demarcation Line. The United States made an apology for this incident and shouldered full responsibility for it.

In July 1997 there was a sudden provocation of the US and south Korean forces in the area along the Military Demarcation Line. Some of the KPA soldiers on regular patrol duty were injured and outposts of the KPA were destroyed. It was a premeditated armed provocation of the United States aimed at sounding the will of the service personnel and people of the DPRK who were on the “Arduous March.” The KPA side immediately responded with merciless military counteraction, turning the outposts of the south Korean army involved in the provocation into a sea of fire. Frightened at the powerful attack, the US and south Korean troops withdrew and made an apology to the north.

The KPA’s stern military punishment also took place on sea. Availing themselves of the US hostile policy towards the DPRK, the south Korean war maniacs committed premeditated provocations in June 1999, advocating the illegal “Northern Limit Line.” (The “Northern Limit Line” is a nonexistent line which the United States and south Korea, in violation of an article of the Korean Armistice Agreement which stipulates that only five islands lying north and west of the boundary line between South Hwanghae and Kyonggi provinces shall be under the military control of the commander-in-chief, United Nations Command,

unilaterally drew, claiming that not only the five islands but also the surrounding sea in the territorial waters of the DPRK are under their control). They suddenly opened fire at the KPA's naval vessels on patrol duty to protect the peaceful fishing vessels. The KPA navy immediately showered a merciless fire on the south Korean naval vessels, sinking two, destroying ten and killing and wounding several enemy soldiers in less than 30 minutes.

On November 23, 2010, the south Korean forces again committed a military provocation in this area under the manipulation of the US imperialists; they opened gunfire, only to be severely punished by the KPA.

In 2003, RC-135, a US spy plane, caught in hot pursuit of a plane of the KPA air force while spying on the DPRK's military sites in the sky over the East Sea of Korea, fled to the Kadena Air Base in Japan. Military commentators the world over commented that although the US spy planes openly perpetrate acts of espionage in almost all the countries in the world, but only north Korea deals a blow at them.

The fiercest showdown between the DPRK and the United States was on the nuclear issue; it was an invisible war.

In order to drive the US nuclear weapons out of south Korea and thus remove the nuclear threat, the DPRK acceded to the NPT (Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty) in December 1985. The DPRK government actively cooperated with the IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) while conducting peaceful nuclear activities in line with the rights vested upon it by the treaty.

However, the United States found an excuse in its peaceful nuclear activities to stifle it after the end of the Cold War. It instigated the IAEA to claim that the DPRK's nuclear activities were not "transparent" and even demand "full inspections" and "special inspections."

In actual fact, the country that had violated the treaty, the nuclear criminal, was not the DPRK, but the United States, which

had deployed over 1 000 nuclear weapons of various purposes in south Korea, making a constant nuclear threat against the DPRK.

The DPRK rejected the ridiculous demand of the United States for inspecting ordinary military sites by turning white into black, and declared its withdrawal from the NPT on March 12, 1993, in order to defend its supreme interests.

Even during the talks held afterwards between the DPRK and the United States to solve the former's nuclear issue, the United States did not stop its military threat, provocation and pressure offensive through the IAEA against the DPRK, behaving arrogantly. But the DPRK, supported by its strong military capabilities, unhesitatingly responded to the US hard line with harder line.

The third-stage DPRK-US talks (August 5-August 12 and September 23-October 21, 1994, Geneva) adopted the DPRK-USA Agreed Framework. The whole world spoke highly of it, calling it a "miracle of the 20th century" wrought by the Songun politics of Kim Jong Il. On October 20 the same year, the US president sent to Kim Jong Il a letter of assurance of the implementation of the framework agreement.

According to the DPRK-USA Agreed Framework, the DPRK was to freeze its graphite-moderated reactor and related facilities and the United States was responsible for taking measures to provide the DPRK with light-water reactors with a total generating capacity of 200MW (e) by 2003 and deliver heavy oil for the generation of heat and electricity at the rate of 500 000 tons per annum until the LWR project plant No.1 was completed.

However, the US administration of Bush *films*, after taking office, put the DPRK on the list of preemptive nuclear strike targets, unilaterally rejected honouring its commitment to the framework agreement, and made it as its policy that it would not coexist with the DPRK.

As it could no longer place any hope on the United States, the DPRK officially withdrew from the NPT on January 10, 2003. And,

by enlisting its powerful national defence industry, it developed nuclear weapons for self-defence and proclaimed it to the world.

The United States had persisted in its attempt to neutralize the DPRK, but it ended in making the latter a nuclear power.

The United States put great efforts also to ideological and cultural infiltration and psychological war in order to pull down socialism of the DPRK from within. But they became powerless in front of the political and ideological might of the DPRK, in which the whole army and people are united rock-firm behind their leader.

The DPRK defended its sovereignty, dignity and socialist system. Many countries that had disregarded or been indifferent to it recognized its socialist system, and headed for establishing good relations with it.

On January 4, 2000, Italy established diplomatic relations with the DPRK. Following it, almost all the west European countries, including Britain and Germany, established diplomatic relations with it. The number of countries that established diplomatic relations with it around those days was 20, including the Philippines, the Netherlands, Turkey, Belgium, Canada, Spain, Luxemburg, New Zealand, Kuwait and Bahrain. The unprecedented expansion of the DPRK's external relations in the difficult situation was a miracle of history unthinkable without the Songun politics of Kim Jong Il.

Still now the United States resorts to all sorts of machinations against it, but it has a treasured powerful sword for defending its socialism. The current US administration needs to remember it.

2) Historic March for Building a Thriving Nation

The aim of Songun politics does not lie only in defending the sovereignty of Korea and its socialism. It further aims at building a

powerful country, a thriving country, never known in the history of the Korean nation.

Kim Jong Il said:

“Our Songun politics is aimed at achieving prosperity that has been unprecedented in the 5 000-year history of our nation.”

Building Korea into a prosperous independent country was a lifelong wish of President Kim Il Sung. The President, who was strong in the spirit of national independence and possessed of warm love for his country and his people, was determined from the first day of embarking on the struggle for regaining the independence of his country in his teens, to build his country into a free and prospering one, a country of and for the people.

Kim Jong Il took it as his noble mission as the heir to the President to defend and add lustre to all the gains the latter had achieved for the prosperity of socialist Korea. When the Korean revolution was faced with the severe difficulties after the death of the President, he never forgot it even for a moment and, with the desire to bring a happy life as soon as possible to his people who had firmly believed in and only followed their leader, advanced the line of building a great, prosperous and powerful socialist country. By a great, prosperous and powerful country, Kim Jong Il meant a country strong in the national power and in which everything is prosperous and people have nothing to envy in the world. The national power is an aggregation of the politico-ideological, military and economic strength of the Korean nation.

Songun politics has turned Korea into a political and military power that nobody can ignore. Kim Jong Il once said in a meaningful way that there were two sources of Korea’s power, one being the single-hearted unity and the other the military capabilities. Songun politics remarkably strengthened Korea ideologically and politically. Achieving the single-hearted unity of the revolutionary ranks and the maximum success in the revolution

and construction by relying on the political and ideological strength—this is a consistent mode of revolutionary leadership of Kim Jong Il. Thanks to his Songun politics, the revolutionary ranks in Korea have been prepared as an elite unit which is ready to defend its leader at all costs firmly rallied behind the leadership of the revolution in one mind and one will.

An example can be found in what a sportswoman said at a press interview.

Jong Song Ok, after winning the gold medal in the women's marathon event at the Seventh World Track and Field Championships held in Seville, Spain, in August 1999, replied to the pressmen, who were asking the secret of winning, as follows: "I ran picturing in my mind Kim Jong Il's image, the great leader of our people, and it greatly encouraged me and served as the source of my strength."

Her words had a great impact on the world.

Like her, the service personnel and people of Korea never think of their own life apart from their leader for a single moment; rain or shine, they yearn after and follow him.

Songun politics has promoted the harmonization of the ideology and fighting spirit of the army and the people on the basis of the revolutionary soldier spirit, and given fuller play to the traditional traits of the people aiding the army and the army supporting the people, thus achieving their grand unity. On the strength of this grand unity, Korea is demonstrating its majesty as a politico-ideological power.

Songun politics, a mode of politics that gives top priority to increasing the military capabilities, has turned Korea into an invincible military power that no enemy, however formidable, dares attack.

The army prepared both politico-ideologically and in military techniques, the self-supporting defence industry and the all-people defence system arranged to cope with modern warfare—this is the

true aspects of the military capabilities of Korea, a brilliant fruition of Songun politics. Korea emerged as a nuclear state with the two rounds of successful underground nuclear test conducted in October 2006 and in May 2009, respectively.

Theodore Roosevelt, US president in the early 20th century, insulted the Korean nation, saying that Koreans were incapable of lifting a finger to defend their country.

Now, however, no one can dare look down upon this military power, a nuclear state.

While enhancing its political and military strength recognized by the world, Korea is today conducting a dynamic struggle to build it into an economic giant. All the efforts are directed to economic construction in a peaceful environment guaranteed by a high level of political stability and powerful defence capabilities.

Economic construction is being conducted in line with the requirements of Songun politics. This means that it is pushed forward by dint of the single-hearted unity of the army and the people and in the revolutionary spirit and fighting style of the soldiers with the army as the core and main force.

The service personnel play the leading role in economic construction. They made a great contribution to pulling through the economic crisis, when the Korean people were on the “Arduous March.” They went to the power stations to increase the electric-power generation when electricity was in short supply; they dug coal at coal mines when coal was not supplied in time; they helped peasants in farming so as to solve the food problem. Innumerable are the construction projects undertaken by them to date. They built many large-sized power stations, modern factories and monumental creations; typical examples are the second-stage Chongnyu Bridge and Kumnung Tunnel No. 2, built in Pyongyang. Recently, they built the Taedonggang Combined Fruit Farm, a large-scale fruit-producing base, and completed in less than a few years the building of the Huichon Power Station, which

would have taken more than ten years. They also took the lion's share in developing the scenic attractions such as the Ryongmun Cavern and Songam Cave, underground scenic spots.

The service personnel have not simply erected the buildings, they showed through practical examples that nothing is impossible if one works in their revolutionary spirit and fighting style, thus rousing the masses of the people to create fresh miracles and innovations. All the working people, taking their cue from the service personnel, are making further efforts to think and act like them, although everything is yet in short supply. In the course of this, Juche-based iron, fiber (vinalon) and fertilizer production systems that rely on domestic raw and other materials and technology have been set up, and the introduction of the cutting-edge CNC technology into all the branches of the national economy is now conducted full steam. A large number of light-industry factories have been renovated, and solid foundations have been laid for increasing grain production with the completion of gravitational waterway projects, large-scale land realignment and other nature-harnessing projects. Reliable bases have been built in various parts of the country for the development of stockbreeding, fish farming and fruit production, and modern houses, public service facilities and establishments for cultured life are now being built in succession. The country's territory has been widened thanks to the successful wide-scale reclamation of tidal flats. Scientists and technicians are developing at full throttle such cutting-edge technologies as new-materials, new-energy, nuclear and space technologies on the basis of the development of the information and nano technologies and bioengineering—core, basic technologies of modern science. This shows that Kim Jong Il's plan of pushing ahead with economic construction by dint of the single-hearted unity of the army and the people is being translated into reality.

Songun politics has ushered in a golden age of culture in Korea.

The time-honoured history of humanity teaches us that a golden age of culture is ushered in only where a peaceful environment and stable living conditions are guaranteed.

Yet, in Korea, which is in a state of acute confrontation without gunshot with the allied imperialist forces, Songun-based culture, modelled after the revolutionary culture created by the service personnel, has been developed, opening a new chapter in the culture of the 21st century.

Thanks to Songun politics, the revolutionary soldier culture, which overflows with the revolutionary spirit and optimism, and militant stamina of the service personnel, was created as an example of mass-based culture of the present era, instilling its great vitality into all aspects of society, with the result that a new phase of cultural development has been opened.

All these changes are hastening the day, when the Korean people would lead a dignified, happy life in a thriving country developed in all respects.

4. SONGUN POLITICS AND PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF THE KOREAN PENINSULA

Kim Jong Il's Songun politics brought about an epochal turning-point in the Korean people's efforts not only to defend socialism and build their country into a thriving one but also to reunify their country independently and peacefully.

Reunification is the greatest desire of the Korean nation. Koreans are a homogeneous people who has lived on the same territory, sharing a time-honoured history of 5 000 years and a brilliant culture. After the end of the Second World War, their country was artificially divided into north and south by foreign forces; they have suffered from national division for over half a century.

President Kim Il Sung worked heart and soul for the country's reunification to the last moment of his life, saying it would be his greatest gift to his people. As a result, great strides were made: A joint statement was adopted on July 4, 1972, between the north and south of Korea outlining the fundamental principles of the country's reunification; *Ten-Point Programme for the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for the Reunification of the Country* was published on April 6, 1993; and the proposal for founding the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo was presented in October 1980.

In the mid-1990s great obstacles were laid on the path of national reunification. The US and south Korean authorities, availing themselves of the unprecedented natural disasters that hit the DPRK, became more blatant in their intention to reunify the

whole of Korea by absorbing the DPRK. This led them to pursue the line of war and confrontation.

Braving the dire hardships by dint of Songun politics, Kim Jong Il energetically roused the Korean nation to carrying out President Kim Il Sung's instructions on national reunification.

On the threshold of the new millennium, a fresh change took place in the situation at home and abroad thanks to Songun politics. By dint of Songun politics, the DPRK people frustrated the war manoeuvres of the allied imperialist forces led by the United States, weathered the severest trials and hardships of history and exalted the dignity and prestige of their country as a politico-ideological and military power.

The US and south Korean authorities resorted to a misinformation campaign, claiming that north Korea would collapse within three months or three years. On the contrary, the DPRK highly demonstrated its national power with the military capabilities as the core and, under the banner of Songun, turned the situation in Northeast Asia and the international politics in favour of the Korean revolution. This reality forced the enemy to acknowledge the defeat of their tactics and decide to improve relations with the DPRK.

The conservative politicians and ruling circles of south Korea, in step with the prevailing situation, were obliged to raise improving inter-Korean relations and reunifying the country as their *raison d'être*.

On April 8, 2000, Pyongyang and Seoul simultaneously announced that Kim Jong Il, Chairman of the NDC of the DPRK and General Secretary of the WPK, and President Kim Dae Jung of south Korea, reaffirming the three principles for Korean reunification stated in the July 4 North-South Joint Statement and in order to expedite reconciliation, unity, exchanges, collaboration, peace and reunification of the Korean nation, had agreed to meet in Pyongyang in June and hold summit talks. This sensational news spread rapidly across the world.

A similar agreement on holding summit talks had already been reached while Kim Il Sung was alive. But some days before the talks were due to be held, Kim Il Sung died. The “civilian” ruler of south Korea demonstrated an inhumane attitude towards his death; the authorities prohibited the south Korean people from offering condolences on the death of the north’s leader. To make matters worse, they, in collaboration with the United States, resorted to more blatant moves to ignite war against the north. As a result, the summit failed to take place, and the Korean peninsula was plunged into a precarious situation.

By consolidating the single-hearted unity of the country and building up its military capabilities by dint of Songun politics, Kim Jong Il checked their provocative military schemes to stifle the north, thus forcing the Clinton administration of the United States to come to the negotiating table. Meanwhile, the demand of the south Korean people for reconciliation, unity and reunification between north and south soared as the days went by. In step with the prevailing situation, President Kim Dae Jung made public the Berlin Declaration in March 2000, expressing the south side’s stance towards the improvement of inter-Korean relations.

With a deep insight into the changing situation, Kim Jong Il early in 2000 elaborated a plan for a summit between north and south, true to President Kim Il Sung’s instructions on national reunification. The result was the April 8, 2000 North-South Agreement.

In accordance with this agreement, summit talks were held in Pyongyang between Kim Jong Il and Kim Dae Jung from June 13 to 15, 2000. During Kim Dae Jung’s stay in Pyongyang, Kim Jong Il impressed him very much with his magnanimity and polished manners, and led the talks with his perfect logic, extensive knowledge and humorous remarks.

At the one-on-one talks with Kim Dae Jung held on June 14, Kim Jong Il took the initiative in outlining the issues of principle

related to reunifying the country. He said that it would be best, as they were meeting for the first time, for them to adopt a declaration that would inspire the 70 million Korean people with the hope of national reunification and optimism for the future. His proposals were as follows: independent reunification of the country through a concerted effort by the Korean nation itself, repatriation to the north of the unconverted long-term prisoners in the south, exchange of visits by separated family members and their relatives, and resumption of the inter-Korean dialogue. He then led the talks to realizing these proposals. The result was the adoption of the North-South Joint Declaration, according to which first, north and south would settle the issue of national reunification independently through a concerted effort by the Korean nation, its master; second, north and south would work for national reunification on the basis of the common ground in the north's proposal for a federation system at a low level and the south's proposal for a commonwealth system; third, north and south would exchange visiting groups of separated families and the relatives to mark August 15 that year and settle the issue of repatriating the unconverted long-term prisoners; fourth, north and south would promote the balanced development of the national economy through economic cooperation and activate exchanges and cooperation in all fields—social, cultural, sports, public health, environmental and the like; fifth, north and south would hold official dialogue at the earliest possible date to put into speedy operation the agreed proposals.

The June 15 North-South Joint Declaration, as a declaration for national independence, unity and reunification, which set up a new milestone in the movement for Korea's reunification, is a crystallization of Kim Jong Il's indomitable will of national reunification and a brilliant fruition of his great love for his country and nation. The guiding principle in the effort of all the Korean people in the north, in the south and abroad to accomplish the historic cause of national reunification true to Kim Il Sung's

instructions ushered in the June 15 era, a new era of the reunification movement, when Koreans would strive to reunify their country independently through the efforts of their nation itself.

“Kim Jong Il syndrome” spread throughout south Korea after the announcement of the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration; south Koreans from all walks of life praised Kim Jong Il as the great leader of the Korean nation. The admiration for Kim Jong Il produced a fashion of imitating his ways of speaking, his behaviour, his clothes and his style of writing. Amidst changes taking place in their understanding of the north’s leader and of the north, the south Korean people became vocal in saying that peace on the Korean peninsula and dignity of the nation are safeguarded by the Songun politics pursued by Kim Jong Il.

The struggle of the Korean people to implement the declaration faced vicious challenges of the separatist forces at home and abroad. In 2001, the Bush administration, by branding the DPRK as part of the “Axis of Evil” and an “outpost of tyranny,” blocked the development of inter-Korean relations, and resorted to war moves in order to overthrow the system in the DPRK by force of arms. They were joined by the ultra-rightist conservative forces in south Korea led by the Grand National Party.

However, they could not check the Korean nation’s soaring spirit of reunification.

Intimidated by the harder-line stance of the DPRK, the Bush administration was obliged to sign the September 19 DPRK-USA Joint Statement (2005) and the February 13 DPRK-USA Agreement (2007), stating that it recognized the DPRK and would desist from nuclear threats against it. Roh Moo Hyun government of south Korea, which had been keeping pace with the “nuclear racket” raised by the United States, could not but take the road of improving inter-Korean relations.

Thus held in Pyongyang in October 2007 was another round of inter-Korean summit talks.

Kim Jong Il, saying that the summit talks were important, but what was even more important was that the two leaders should produce a document that would develop the cause of national reunification onto a higher stage, paid close attention to ensuring that the declaration adopted as the result of their talks was comprehensive, progressive and practical.

The October 4 Declaration reaffirmed the ideal of By Our Nation Itself, advanced in the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration, as a milestone for national reunification, and elaborated on the large issues arising in its wider application; building of military confidence and peace mechanism between north and south, reactivation of extensive economic cooperation for the sake of the co-prosperity of the Korean nation, establishment of a “special zone of peace and cooperation on the West Sea of Korea,” joint participation of cheering parties from north and south at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games which would take the same train on the West Sea Line; and tourism on Mt. Paektu.

The October 4 Declaration, the core of which is the spirit of By Our Nation Itself, brought delight to the Korean people, all of whom were aspiring for the independent and peaceful reunification of their country.

With the adoption of the October 4 Declaration, a practical programme for the Korean reunification movement in the new century, the Korean people’s struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their country made another great step forward.

The ultra-rightist conservatives in south Korea are now categorically rejecting the joint declarations, thus putting a hold on the favourably developing inter-Korean relations and casting ominous clouds over the path ahead of peace and reunification of the Korean peninsula.

In particular, when Kim Jong Il passed away, the present south

Korean conservative authorities did not express condolences and even prevented the south Korean people from visiting the north to pay tributes. This shows that they are a political gang who do not want inter-Korean reconciliation but hinder the country's reunification, regarding the fellow countrymen in the north as their arch-enemy.

However, as long as the DPRK pursues Songun politics, which aspires to the peaceful reunification with love for the country, the nation and the people and by its proactive efforts, the day will surely come, when Koreans, as a homogeneous people, would enjoy a worthwhile and happy life.

CONCLUSION

Never has the political history of mankind heard of the mode of Songun politics though there have existed varieties of political modes for thousands of years.

It is a new political mode pursued by Kim Jong Il. It is, both in name and in reality, Kim Jong Il's political mode and the political term of the Korean style.

The Korean nation has a long history of 5 000 years, but it has never witnessed such a period when the national dignity is exalted as today. This is why the Korean people call in unison the present era, when Songun politics is demonstrating its validity and vitality more and more with the passage of time, the Songun era.

Kim Jong Il's Songun politics guarantees the present and the prosperous future of Korea. If one wants to know Korea, one should understand his Songun politics, and if one wants to understand Songun politics, one should know Kim Jong Il.

In the present world where the imperialists' arbitrariness and high-handedness are getting more violent than ever before, Songun politics pursued in Korea can be said to be representing the justice and conscience of mankind. It is as good as a sword by which to make a breach in the schemes of the United States to have the whole world at its beck and call.

Former Russian President Putin said that north Korea follows its foreign policy on its own terms while overwhelming its counterparts in political negotiations with great powers because it has bolstered up its military capabilities by dint of Songun politics.

Songun politics, though it emerged as a political mode reflecting the reality of Korea, has now earned a definite

recognition as the most universal and powerful political mode in the present era, which all countries and nations that aspire to independence and dignity, peace and prosperity sympathize with and are learning after. The fact that Songun politics study groups were formed and are active in many countries including the United States and Britain testifies to how strong is the aspiration to understand and learn after Korea's Songun politics all over the world.

Every country and nation has its statesmen, and every statesman advocates his or her political idea and political mode. However, it is not easy for a political idea and political mode to be maintained beyond one generation and one century, and enjoy sympathy of the people all over the world.

Kim Jong Il's Songun politics is the most powerful political mode and the invincible sword by which to defend the dignity of a country and nation and achieve their prosperity in this world, where supremacy by a country is prevailing.

Vladimir Tolstikov, Russian candidate academician of historical science, said:

Kim Jong Il's Songun politics is literally a new and original one unprecedented in the history of socialist politics. Really, the politics of Kim Jong Il's style, Songun politics, is an invincible sword of socialism, the lifeline of the existence of socialism and a paradigm of socialist politics, independent politics, in the current century, the 21st century; this I say with no hesitation. I would like to stress that it is a particularly noteworthy exploit for the world history that Kim Jong Il has put an end to the conventional political ideals and modes that were regarded as immutable formula for thousands of years and ushered in a new history of politics, the history of Songun politics, by dint of his Songun-based revolutionary leadership in answer to the demands of socialist construction and the call of the times amidst a fierce confrontation with the imperialists.

Korea's Songun politics is crushing unjust high-handedness by its just strength and creating a new, more beautiful history.

For a new world, righteous and prosperous!

This is what Korea's Songun politics calls on the world.

Printed in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

No. 2835027

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