

KIM IL SUNG

SELECTED WORKS

John Willard Foster
Library
Memphis State University
Memphis, Tennessee

MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY



3 2109 00552 7099

WORKERS OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2023

김 일 성

저작선집

5

조선로동당출판사

1972

KIM IL SUNG

SELECTED WORKS

V

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
PYONGYANG, KOREA
1972

10
934
MS
A251
C. F.



CONTENTS

ON THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S ARMY

Speech at a Banquet Given in Honour of the 20th Anniversary of
the Founding of the Heroic Korean People's Army, *February 8, 1968* 1

YOUTH MUST BECOME THE VANGUARD ON ALL FRONTS OF ECONOMIC AND DEFENCE CONSTRUCTION TO BRING OUR REVOLUTION TO FINAL VICTORY

Speech to the National Youth Meeting for General Mobilization,
April 13, 1968 11

LET US DEVELOP THE CHOLLIMA WORKTEAM MOVEMENT IN DEPTH, A GREAT IMPETUS TO SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Speech Delivered at the Second National Meeting of the Vanguard
in the Chollima Workteam Movement, *May 11, 1968* 44

ON STRENGTHENING THE GUIDANCE OF THE PARTY LIFE OF PARTY MEMBERS AND PROPERLY IMPLEMENTING THE CADRE POLICY OF OUR PARTY

Speech to the Heads of the Organizational and Personnel Depart-
ments of Provincial Party Committees, *May 27, 1968* 74

1. On the Work of the Head of the Organizational Department 75
2. On the Work of the Head of the Personnel Department 83
3. On the Proper Selection and Allocation of Cadres 87
4. On Educating Cadres with Untiring Efforts 94

ON CORRECTLY IMPLEMENTING OUR PARTY'S POLICY TOWARDS INTELLECTUALS

- Speech to Intellectuals in North Hamgyong Province, *June 14, 1968* 98
1. On Our Party's Policy towards Intellectuals 98
 2. On Some Revolutionary Tasks Facing Our Intellectuals . . 111

THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA IS THE BANNER OF FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE FOR OUR PEOPLE AND A POWERFUL WEAPON FOR BUILDING SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

- Report at the 20th Anniversary Celebration of the Founding of the D.P.R.K., *September 7, 1968* 130
1. The Twenty Glorious Years of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea 134
 2. On Further Consolidating and Developing the Socialist System in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea 161
 3. On Intensifying the Anti-Imperialist, Anti-U.S. Struggle to Crush U.S. Imperialism, Reunify the Country and Defend World Peace 183

ON SPEEDING UP CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND SOLIDLY DEVELOPING THE COUNTIES

- Speech Delivered at a Consultative Meeting of Chief Secretaries of the City and County Committees of the Workers' Party of Korea, *September 24, 1968* 200
1. On Speeding Up Construction of Socialism in the Countryside . 200
 2. On Solidly Developing the County and Increasing Its Role . . 213

LET US STRENGTHEN THE TRAINING OF TECHNICAL PERSONNEL TO MEET THE NEW REQUIREMENTS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

- Speech to the Faculty and Students of the Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute, *October 2, 1968* 222

THE GREAT ANTI-IMPERIALIST REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE OF THE ASIAN, AFRICAN AND LATIN-AMERICAN PEOPLES IS INVINCIBLE

The Treatise Published on the Occasion of the First Anniversary of the Death of Che Guevara in Battle, in the Eighth Issue of *Tricontinental*, Theoretical Organ of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, *October 8, 1968* 236

ON RELIEVING THE STRAIN ON TRANSPORT

Concluding Speech at the 18th Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, *November 16, 1968* 250

SOME PROBLEMS OF MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

Concluding Speech at the 18th Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, *November 16, 1968* 276

ON SOME THEORETICAL PROBLEMS OF THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY

Answers to the Questions Raised by Scientific and Educational Workers, *March 1, 1969* 294

1. The Problem of the Relation between the Scale of the Economy and the Rate of Production Growth in Socialist Society 294
2. Problems of the Means of Production in the Form of Commodity and the Use of the Law of Value in Socialist Society 302
3. Problems of the Peasant Market in Socialist Society and of the Way to Abolish It 314

PROGRESSIVE JOURNALISTS OF THE FIVE CONTINENTS, WIELD YOUR POWERFUL REVOLUTIONARY PEN AND STERNLY CONDEMN U.S. IMPERIALISM!

Speech of Greeting at the International Conference on the Tasks of Journalists of the Whole World in Their Fight against the Aggression of U.S. Imperialism, *September 18, 1969* 320

 ON SOME EXPERIENCES OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIAL-
 IST REVOLUTIONS IN OUR COUNTRY

Lecture to Cadres of Party and State Organizations, <i>October 11, 1969</i>	334
1. On the Agrarian Reform	334
2. On the Agricultural Co-operative Movement	345
3. On the Socialist Transformation of Private Trade and In- dustry	354

 LET US DEVELOP LOCAL INDUSTRY AND BRING ABOUT A
 FRESH UPSWING IN THE PRODUCTION OF MASS CONSUMER
 GOODS

Speech at the National Conference of Workers in Local Industry, <i>February 27, 1970</i>	360
I. On Quickly Bringing Light Industry Abreast of the Developed Heavy Industry	360
II. The Task of Developing Local Industry and Bringing about a Fresh Upswing in the Production of Consumer Goods for the People	368
1. On Markedly Increasing the Variety and Quantity of Consumer Goods	370
2. On Improving the Quality of Consumer Goods	375
3. On All Branches of the National Economy Actively Supporting Local Industry	380
4. On Improving Guidance and Supervision of Local Industry . .	382

ON FURTHER DEVELOPING THE POULTRY INDUSTRY

Address to the National Meeting of Poultrymen, <i>March 31, 1970</i> .	390
--	-----

 REPORT TO THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE WORKERS' PARTY
 OF KOREA ON THE WORK OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

<i>November 2, 1970</i>	408
I. Great Results	410
1. Conversion of Our Country into a Socialist Industrial State	411

2. Achievements in the Cultural Revolution	420
3. Consolidation of the Political and Ideological Unity of All the People	424
4. Establishment of an All-People, Nation-Wide Defence System .	430
5. Thorough Establishment of the Socialist System of Economic Management	433
II. On the Consolidation and Development of Our Country's Socialist System	440
1. Central Tasks of Socialist Economic Construction	441
2. The Construction of Socialist Culture	452
3. Ideological Revolution, Revolutionization and Working-Classization of the Entire Society	453
4. The Strengthening of the Nation's Defence Capabilities . .	466
5. Balanced Improvement of the People's Living Standards . .	470
III. For the South Korean Revolution and the Reunification of Our Country	473
IV. For the Strengthening of Solidarity with the Revolutionary Forces of the World	487
V. For the Strengthening of Party Work	498

ON THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S ARMY

Speech at a Banquet Given in Honour of the 20th Anniversary of the Founding of the Heroic Korean People's Army

February 8, 1968

Dear comrades,

Dear friends from foreign countries,

It is with great revolutionary confidence and national pride that we are celebrating today the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Korean People's Army, the glorious revolutionary armed forces of our Party and our people.

On the occasion of this great historic holiday and in the name of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, I offer warm congratulations to all the officers and men of the ground, naval and air forces of our heroic People's Army and the Security Forces.

I would also like to pay the greatest tribute to our anti-Japanese revolutionary predecessors and the heroes of the People's Army who sacrificed their precious lives and beautiful youth for the people's freedom and liberation, to safeguard the independence of our homeland and the gains of the revolution, and I would like to express our highest respect to their bereaved families.

At the same time, I extend warm congratulations and thanks to all our honoured disabled veterans who shed blood in their courageous battles during the Fatherland Liberation War

against the armed invasion of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and who are caring for the beautiful flower of the revolution today on the labour front of socialist construction.

My heartfelt thanks go also to the workers, farmers and the rest of the people who are consolidating our defence capabilities by upholding the Party Conference decision on building up our economy and defences simultaneously and the Party's military line and who love and support the People's Army as their own flesh and blood.

Comrades and friends,

Although it seems like yesterday, 20 years have elapsed since we founded the People's Army. During these 20 years the People's Army has dynamically travelled the glorious path of victory under the leadership of our Party. Twenty years are not so long in the revolutionary history of our people, but during this period the People's Army has faced many trials, has shed much blood and has fought unyieldingly along the revolutionary road indicated by the Party.

Through its heroic, self-sacrificing struggle, the People's Army has acquitted itself well of the revolutionary tasks it assumed before our homeland and people and has added many a brilliant success to the revolutionary history of our Party, a history which provides a shining example for generations to come.

During the period of peaceful construction, the People's Army firmly defended the revolutionary, democratic base in the northern half of the Republic and the creative work of our people who went ahead to build a new country, against the enemy's aggressive schemes and acts of subversion and sabotage from both within and without. Under the leadership of the Party, the officers and men of the People's Army fought courageously in the Fatherland Liberation War, displaying mass heroism and unparalleled patriotic devotion, thus defeating the U.S. imperialist aggressors—who boasted of having the "most powerful force" in the world—and creditably safeguarding the independence of our country and the gains of the revolution. In the postwar period, the brave fighters of our Peo-

ple's Army tempered in the fierce flames of war have smashed the enemy's repeated aggressive manoeuvres at every step, making our defence lines as impenetrable as a wall of steel and firmly defending by force of arms our Party's and our people's revolutionary cause—socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The great revolutionary gains achieved by our people under the leadership of the Party—our socialist system and the foundations of our independent national economy—are infused with the blood and the noble patriotic spirit of the officers and men of our People's Army, who fought heroically for the freedom and happiness of our people and for the eternal prosperity of our homeland.

In recognition of its infinite loyalty to the Party and the revolution and of its devoted service to our homeland and people the People's Army has won the boundless love and respect of all our people.

It is said that even mountains and rivers change their appearance in ten years, and now, after a lapse of 20 years, the People's Army has also changed, almost beyond recognition. In the furious tempest of revolution that has been raging in our country during the past 20 years, in the sharp trial of class struggle to put down the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes, amidst the gunfire of the hard-fought war to drive back the foreign imperialist aggressors, the People's Army has been further seasoned and tempered politically and ideologically, forging ahead in military technique, and has grown into a powerful and richly experienced revolutionary armed force.

The morale of the officers and men of our People's Army is very high now. The Party's monolithic ideological system has been fully implanted within the army, and all our soldiers are unanimous in their determination to defend our Party and revolution with their lives. Comradeship between officers and men, voluntary discipline and close ties with the people—all these fine and noble traits are prevalent throughout the ranks of the People's Army. All these are the

characteristic features of our People's Army which no imperialist army of aggression can have. It is precisely this political and moral superiority that makes our People's Army unyielding in battle and capable of defeating an aggressive army with far greater technical and numerical superiority.

The military-technical equipment of the People's Army has been generally improved, the command capacity of its officers greatly enhanced and its combat power further increased.

The People's Army is now equipped with up-to-date weapons, and all of its officers and men have mastered modern military science and technology. Particular mention should be made of the fact that over a long period, ever since the Korean Communists, arms in hand, began to struggle against the Japanese in order to win the freedom and independence of our homeland, our revolutionary armed forces have accumulated rich experience in their victories over the Japanese imperialist troops in Korea and the Kwantung Army of Japanese imperialism, in defeating the aggressor army of U.S. imperialism, ringleader of world reaction, and in waging both guerrilla and modern warfare. This shows that our People's Army has developed into a revolutionary army with skilled and seasoned commanders and powerful combat potential, capable of defeating any imperialist army of aggression under any circumstances.

The qualitative composition of the ranks of the People's Army has also changed radically.

What particularly pleases us today is that our revolutionary cadres, the core of the People's Army, have grown in large numbers. At the time of the founding of the People's Army, there were only a few thousand revolutionary cadres who had been tempered in the severe trials of the revolutionary struggle. Now, however, 20 years later, our People's Army has tens of thousands of revolutionary cadres tempered in the flames of the Fatherland Liberation War, including veteran revolutionary fighters who took part in our armed struggle against the Japanese. Our People's Army has been solidly bolstered with able military and political cadres in all the

services and their branches. This has been our greatest achievement during the past 20 years as regards the building of the people's armed force. The revolutionary cadres of the People's Army are the precious, irreplaceable core of our Party and our best assets in facilitating the victory of our revolution.

Together with the great numerical increase of revolutionary cadres in the People's Army, a qualitative change has also been brought about in the composition of its ranks as a whole. Today the ranks of the People's Army consist of and are being constantly replenished with members of a younger generation, fine sons and daughters of our working people—workers, farmers and intellectuals—who have grown up in the struggle for the democratic and the socialist revolution and in the great revolutionary upsurge of socialist construction and who have been educated in communism. All the officers and men of our People's Army now have a high level of technical and cultural development, having received secondary, technical and higher education, in keeping with the correct educational policy of our Party. This provides an important guarantee for the rapid growth of our People's Army into an army of cadres, each of whom, armed with the most advanced military science and technology and capable of handling all complicated, modern weapons and combat and technical equipment skilfully, is a match for a hundred foes.

We have a right to be proud and self-confident of the dramatic increase in the number of revolutionary cadres in our People's Army and of the qualitative strengthening of its revolutionary ranks.

The Korean People's Army is invincible. It has now developed into a regular armed force that has inherited the brilliant revolutionary traditions of the glorious anti-Japanese armed struggle and gained rich combat experience in the Fatherland Liberation War, and that is firmly equipped with the monolithic ideological system of the Party and thoroughly armed with modern military science and techniques and up-to-date military-technical equipment.

We have become fully prepared to defend ourselves by

pushing through the enormous task of strengthening the People's Army in every way and, at the same time, arming all the people and turning the entire country into a fortress. Our many discharged veterans, who have a wealth of combat experience and military techniques, have dynamically participated in socialist construction and have played a key role in the defence of our homeland wherever they have been—in towns and villages, factories, enterprises and co-operative farms, thus guaranteeing the might of our all-people, nation-wide defence system more firmly. We can now state with confidence that our defences in the northern half of the Republic are as strong as steel, fully able to cope with any imperialist aggression.

Comrades,

We should never rest on our laurels. We have more to do for the future than we have done.

We have not yet completed our revolution. U.S. imperialism, our sworn enemy, is still alive, and Japanese militarism has been revived. Landlords, capitalists and pro-American and pro-Japanese lackey groups of reactionary bureaucrats remain entrenched in south Korea which is occupied by U.S. imperialism. As long as our enemies exist, we must continue our revolution and further strengthen our revolutionary armed force.

The general situation in our country and Asia is very tense at present.

The U.S. imperialists are desperately seeking to recover from the heavy defeat they have been dealt in their war of aggression in Viet Nam and are trying to extend the war throughout the whole of Asia.

The U.S. imperialists' schemes to provoke a new war in Korea have already reached a very dangerous stage.

Only recently the U.S. imperialists and the Pak Jung Hi clique have been raising a frenzied clamour for war in connection with our seizure of the armed spy ship *Pueblo*. They have brought a huge aggressive armed force into south Korea and into the waters along the east coast of our country, as-

suming a warlike posture and openly clamouring for an invasion of the northern half of the Republic.

The intrusion of the armed spy ship *Pueblo* into our territorial waters was a rank piracy, a flagrant encroachment upon the rights of a sovereign state and a link in the chain of premeditated U.S. imperialist manoeuvres aimed at unleashing a new war in Korea.

If the U.S. imperialists persist in their attempt to solve this matter by mobilizing their armed forces to threaten and blackmail us, they will get nothing out of it. If they do get anything it will be only corpses and death.

We do not want war, but we are not afraid of it. Our people and People's Army will retaliate for the "retaliation" of the U.S. imperialists, return all-out war for all-out war. The U.S. imperialists must surely be aware that, if they aggravate the situation and take the road of war despite our warnings, they will suffer an even heavier defeat next time.

Recent developments show that a war may be unleashed again at any moment in our country by U.S. imperialism.

All the officers and men of the People's Army, all our Worker-Peasant Red Guardsmen and all the people should increase their revolutionary vigilance against the U.S. imperialists' aggressive machinations and possible provocations of war and keep to their posts in a state of mobilized readiness at all times. In all areas and units the military might of our country should be further strengthened and full combat preparations be made so that we may crush the aggressors at a stroke, should they dare to attack us.

We must thoroughly implement the line of simultaneously building up our economy and national defence and turning the whole army into an army of cadres, modernizing it, arming all the people and turning the whole country into a fortress, in accordance with the line put forth by the Conference of the Party and the Ten-Point Political Programme of the Government of the Republic.

We should turn our People's Army into a revolutionary force in which each of its soldiers is a match for a hundred,

well armed both politically and ideologically and thoroughly versed in military techniques.

Arming our soldiers politically and ideologically is the essential guarantee for developing them into communist fighters faithful to the Party and the revolution, the essential guarantee for strengthening the might of our army. We should, therefore, step up the political and ideological work among our soldiers, arming them with the monolithic ideology of our Party and infusing them with socialist patriotism and an indomitable revolutionary spirit.

The units of the People's Army should carry out a more energetic combat training so that all our soldiers may master modern military science and technology and handle up-to-date weapons and other combat and technical equipment skillfully. In compliance with the demands of modern warfare, we should firmly arm our People's Army with the latest weapons and other combat and technical equipment and extensively develop military science and technology applicable to the actual conditions of our country.

The defence of our country is the responsibility of the entire Party and state and all the people. Together with the People's Army, the rest of our people, all the organizations and enterprises and all the regions of the country must direct their efforts to strengthening our national defences. All the Worker-Peasant Red Guardsmen and all our people should be armed and should seriously learn military matters and indefatigably study war experiences. Along with this, we should turn our entire country into an impregnable fortress by building strong defences all over, both at the front and behind the lines.

The entire Party and people should show an interest in assisting the People's Army. Assistance should be rendered in every way to the People's Army and all our people should love its officers and men as their brothers and whole-heartedly help them to acquit themselves better in their military duties.

The U.S. imperialists are engaged in a frenzied manoeu-

vring at present, but the general situation is still favourable to the revolutionary cause of our people. The intensified aggressive activities by the U.S. imperialists, far from testifying to their strength, only go to show that they are in an ever more untenable situation. U.S. imperialism is already on the decline. On the other hand, the ranks of the peoples fighting against U.S. imperialism are constantly expanding in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world. No amount of manoeuvring by the U.S. imperialists can halt the mounting revolutionary struggle of the peoples, and they are doomed in the long run.

The Korean People's Army and the Korean people will continue to wage a persevering struggle against the aggressive manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges, frustrate all the enemy's plots to set off a war, safeguard peace in Korea and surely achieve our historic task of national reunification. The just cause of the Korean People's Army and the Korean people under the leadership of our Party will definitely be victorious.

We are firmly convinced that, in the future as in the past, the officers and men of the People's Army, united solidly around our Party and the Government of the Republic, will reliably protect our revolutionary cause by force of arms and live up to the deep trust and expectations our Party and people have placed in them.

In salute to the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Korean People's Army, I propose a toast to the constant strengthening and development of the People's Army, the revolutionary armed forces of our Party; to the good health of the revolutionary nuclei and cadres of the People's Army, with special mention of our veterans from the anti-Japanese struggle, who have made a tremendous contribution to the building of our revolutionary armed forces; to the good health of all the officers and men of the People's Army and the Security Forces and to their greater success in the performance of their military combat duties; to the good health of the Worker-Peasant Red Guardsmen, who are scoring great suc-

cesses on all fronts in the construction of our economy and defences, a rifle in one hand and a hammer or sickle in the other; to the good health of all our people and our cadres; to the good health of the diplomatic representatives and military attaches of various countries who are present here to celebrate our holiday with us; and to the militant solidarity of the socialist countries.

**YOUTH MUST BECOME THE VANGUARD ON ALL
FRONTS OF ECONOMIC AND DEFENCE
CONSTRUCTION TO BRING OUR
REVOLUTION TO FINAL
VICTORY**

**Speech to the National Youth Meeting
for General Mobilization**

April 13, 1968

Comrades,

I am very pleased to see you discussing ways and means of struggle for bringing about a great revolutionary upsurge, in keeping with the present situation and as required by the Party, at this meeting of leading cadres in youth work and of members of the League of Socialist Working Youth. As the reliable reserves for the building of socialism and communism and the continuers of our revolutionary cause, you are fighting heroically on all fronts of socialist economic construction and national defence building to carry out the decision of the Party Conference and the Ten-Point Political Programme of the Government of the Republic and to fulfil this year's national economic plan successfully. On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, I warmly greet your meeting.

This meeting is attended by the LSWY members of the heroic People's Army and the Security Forces, who are staunchly defending our socialist system and our people's creative labour in the building of socialism and bravely repelling

incessant enemy invasions against the northern half of the Republic. It is also attended by representatives of young steel workers who are bravely working at the blast furnaces and coke ovens, ore and coal miners who are striving to produce more coal and minerals, machine operators and electricians, the courageous forestry workers who are conquering nature in the dense forests and carrying timbers on floats, workers in light industry, fishermen who are struggling to conquer the sea, rural youth who are striving to step up the rural technical, cultural and ideological revolutions and increase grain production, students working hard to become scientists of the Party, and other young people who stand in the front ranks in all other fields. In the name of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, I would like to extend my warm thanks to you comrades for your heroic struggle to firmly defend the socialist system—the great gains of the revolution—and to accelerate the building of socialism, to which you devote all your talents and energy.

The general situation today is developing in favour of our revolution and the world revolution. In Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world, the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle is raging more furiously and the world imperialist powers headed by U.S. imperialism are on the downward path. It is true that unity and solidarity are somewhat lacking among the countries of the socialist camp owing to their political and ideological differences. But the internal contradictions among imperialists have become even more intensified.

Ever since the Second World War, the U.S. imperialists have been making desperate efforts to dominate the whole world. The more frantic they become, the more nakedly their aggressive nature is revealed in the eyes of the revolutionary and peace-loving people of the world. The trend towards anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle is growing among broad sections of the people as never before.

The U.S. imperialists have been given a good drubbing on a number of occasions from the revolutionary people of

the world. In the Korean war, they suffered an ignominious defeat for the first time in their history and were brought to their knees before our people, who had been freed from colonial slavery. They were again forced to their knees before the heroic people of Cuba, a Latin-American island nation with a population of 8 million, which had been called their "quiet backyard." They have also been dealt powerful blows by the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of many other countries. More recently they have had to run the gauntlet of the Vietnamese people almost every day. The U.S. imperialist aggressors have hurled more than 500,000 troops into the Viet Nam war. But they have not succeeded in checking the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people. They are sustaining ever greater defeats as the days go by. Thus, the myth of U.S. imperialism's "strength" has been completely exploded since the Second World War—first in the Korean war, then by the Cuban revolution and the revolutionary struggles of many other peoples in the world, and especially in the Viet Nam war.

The U.S. imperialists are now encountering powerful resistance on the part of broad sectors of people throughout the world. They are also meeting opposition from the people of their own country. As is reported in the press, the black people's revolts touched off by the assassination of Dr. King, one of their leaders, are now sweeping all parts of the United States.

The allies of U.S. imperialism are also getting hard knocks from the revolutionary people all over the world. They are growing weaker and weaker day by day.

No matter how strong they seem, the imperialists will definitely collapse when the people of the world rise in powerful revolutionary struggles. This has been fully proved by historical experience.

How the Japanese imperialists bragged about their strength in the past! At that time they occupied all of Korea and also a vast area of China, including her northeast region, and conquered most of Southeast Asia.

Hitler of Germany, too, swallowed up almost all of Europe and even attacked the Soviet Union, telling the Japanese bandits that they would meet in the Urals, the border between Asia and Europe.

Although they bluffed like that in those days, militarist Japan and fascist Germany were defeated in the end. They made every desperate effort to escape destruction but they were unable to save themselves from their doom. Hitler of Germany killed himself and Tojo of Japan was executed.

Now, the U.S. imperialists are bragging about their power, but they are also doomed.

We must correctly evaluate the trends of historical development. Some people describe imperialism as something still to be feared, but that is not really the case. The imperialists are revealing their aggressive nature more and more and resorting to nefarious manoeuvres, but their aggressive ambitions are being frustrated everywhere. The oppressed nations, peace-loving people and battling revolutionary people throughout the world continue to triumph.

In a nutshell, ours is an era of revolution, an era of the downfall of imperialism. It is an era in which U.S. imperialism in particular is going downhill and is approaching its death.

We are living in this very era of revolution, the great age in which imperialism is collapsing and the revolution is triumphing.

What then should our youth do, who live in this revolutionary age of imperialist downfall? They should bravely throw themselves into the fight against U.S. imperialism to wreak the vengeance which has rankled deeply in the hearts of the Korean people for a century, to reunify the country, to bring about nation-wide victory for the Korean revolution by our own efforts, and, together with the people in the southern half of the country, to realize the noble ideal of socialism and communism.

The U.S. imperialists are the inveterate enemy of the Korean people, for their aggression against our country dates

back a century, beginning with the intrusion of the U.S.S. *General Sherman*. More recently, in the Fatherland Liberation War they invaded the northern half of the Republic and massacred our beloved parents and brothers and sisters. They still occupy one half of our country, insulting, raping, repressing and killing our compatriots in south Korea, and plundering its valuable resources in enormous amounts. We must drive the U.S. imperialist gangsters out of our country and revenge on our inveterate century-old enemy.

The situation today is most favourable for our revolutionary cause. The Central Committee of our Party considers that the time is quickly ripening for us to help the people in the southern half defeat the U.S. imperialists, and their stooges, the Pak Jung Hi clique, and accomplish their revolution and to win the revolutionary cause of national reunification by our own efforts.

The U.S. imperialists are now resorting to nuclear blackmail but we are not afraid. We fought the war against the Yankees for three years. But they did not dare to use atomic bombs, not because they had mercy on the Koreans, but because they were not in a position to use them. They are now suffering one defeat after another and sinking deeper into the mire in Viet Nam. But they dare not use nuclear weapons. They know that once they are used, that will mean their own destruction. That is why they cannot but refrain from using them as they wish, though they have them in their hands.

However, some people, who are scared of atomic bombs, are simply trembling with fear of the Yankees. They are either mentally deranged or persons who refuse to make revolution and seek to build happiness for themselves alone instead of striving to destroy imperialism.

Being scared at the nuclear blackmail of imperialism and compromising with it is in fact tantamount to encouraging its aggressive schemes.

If we are terrified by nuclear blackmail and compromise with imperialism and make concessions, the enemy will con-

tinue to work maliciously to disorganize and conquer us. But, if we fight on bravely in defiance of his intimidation and blackmail, the enemy will not make a reckless attack on us.

This has been clearly proved by the recent *Pueblo* incident.

As you all know, the heroic naval officers and men of our People's Army recently captured the U.S. imperialist armed spy ship *Pueblo* and her 80-odd crew who were outrageously carrying out espionage well within our territorial waters.

When we seized the ship, the American gangsters threatened us. But we did not yield to their intimidation and blackmail.

In the days immediately following the capture of the *Pueblo* the situation was very tense. They made a great deal of fuss, threatening to bomb and attack Wonsan to get the ship back, bomb one of our air fields or capture one of our fishing boats to have something to bargain with. But we stated that they might do whatever they wanted and that if they attacked us we would retaliate. This was our attitude. Then, the enemy dared not attack us, and have not done so to this day, three months later.

Of course, the Yankees are still threatening us with a showdown over our detention of the *Pueblo* and her crew. But that is nothing at all to fear. If they start a war, let us fight.

We are now incomparably stronger than we were in the last war. At that time we did not have many aircraft, and our pilots were not well trained, either. But now we have everything ready. As I said at a banquet given in honour of the 20th anniversary of the Korean People's Army on February 8 last, our army has been strengthened, both in quality and numerical terms, far beyond what it was when it was founded. That is why we have nothing to fear.

If we do nothing but tremble with fear before the enemy, we shall never triumph in the revolution and this will only encourage the enemy in his aggression.

You comrades should never be afraid of war. If the American bandits start one, we will have to fight. Why should we be afraid and simply remain passive in face of their attack, at a time when the U.S. imperialists, who are occupying half of our country, humiliate and persecute our brothers every day?

We can never hand down a divided country to our future generations. We should meet any enemy challenge and fight him bravely.

There are two kinds of war—just and unjust. If war breaks out in Korea, the American bandits will be fighting an unjust war, an aggressive war designed to conquer another people, whereas ours will be a just war to defend our country and to recover our territory from the enemy.

Therefore, if we fight the Yankees we will be able to rouse all the people, and they will participate in the war voluntarily and fight a heroic battle and will win active support from the people of the world. Consequently, victory will be ours.

We must have confidence in victory in our battle against imperialism and heighten our vigilance against its deathbed struggles and nefarious manoeuvres and fully prepare ourselves to cope with them.

Though the imperialists, the U.S. imperialists in particular, are on the downfall and are heading for destruction, they are frantically engaging in last-ditch manoeuvres. More than anything else, they are doing everything in their power to destroy the socialist camp and disorganize the world revolutionary forces so as to save themselves from their doom and find a way out.

The U.S. imperialists now employ a double-edged strategy on two fronts. They know that they cannot undermine the revolutionary countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America ideologically. It is for this reason that they are pursuing the policy of suppression, the policy of armed aggression against these countries. They are committing incessant aggression against revolutionary countries such as Korea, Viet Nam and

Cuba. At the same time, they are on the political and ideological offensive against those countries which vacillate, are reluctant to make revolution, clamour only for peaceful co-existence and want to live with imperialism. In other words, the enemy is launching political and ideological attacks on the people of ideologically weak countries in an attempt to degrade and demoralize them and to disintegrate them by ruining their economy and preventing the growth of their economic power. We can say that U.S. imperialism resorts to this two-faced strategy at the present time.

We must keep ourselves perfectly ready to fight out the evil manoeuvres of U.S. imperialism.

Our Party Central Committee has already put forward a policy for effective struggle against U.S. imperialism and for the successful accomplishment of the Korean revolution. In order to complete the Korean revolution we must strengthen the revolutionary forces in three ways—we must fortify the revolutionary base in the northern half of the Republic, strengthen the revolutionary forces in south Korea and cement international solidarity with revolutionary people throughout the world.

We must first build the base of our revolution firmly through the successful building of socialism and the consolidation of the socialist system in the northern half of the Republic.

The most important task confronting us for defeating the American gangsters and realizing our revolutionary cause in accordance with the strategy and policies of the Korean revolution is to solidify the revolutionary base in the northern half of the Republic politically, economically and militarily. Particularly under the present conditions in which the aggressive schemes of the U.S. imperialists are ever more undisguised, we must thoroughly prepare ourselves for action and energetically work to increase our revolutionary forces.

The most important thing in strengthening the revolutionary forces in the northern half of the Republic is to prepare ourselves well, politically and ideologically.

No task is more honourable and worth-while for us who, as I have said, are living in the era of revolution, in the era of struggle, than the fight for the complete defeat of imperialism, for the accomplishment of the revolution in our country and for victory in the world revolution.

We must adequately educate all the youth and the rest of the people politically and ideologically so that their revolutionary preparedness is heightened and they become staunch revolutionaries who will fight for the revolution to the last. My report to the Party Conference stressed the importance of revolutionization and working-classization. This was aimed at training all the people to be revolutionaries.

As we always say, a person can be proud of the way he lives only when he is making revolution. Those who waste their time, eating the bread of idleness and not making revolution, cannot live a worthy life. An indolent life devoid of any struggle, particularly in this turbulent age of revolution, cannot be called a real life. Such people are worthless.

Here is a fable which I used to tell students when I was engaged in the youth movement:

Once upon a time a man was going to celebrate his birthday. He decided to kill an idle animal for the dinner party. He kept some animals—a cat, a dog, a pig, a cow, a horse and some chickens. One day these animals held a meeting to determine who was an idler. The horse spoke first. He said he was not at all apprehensive about his safety because he did a lot of work, carrying his master on his back and pulling a cart. He was followed by the cow who said that she, too, would not be the victim since she did ploughing and undertook all the hard jobs in that household. The cat then jumped forward and asserted that she had no reason to be victimized as she served the master by catching rats and keeping watch over the rice jars at night. The dog declared that he would also be safe because he did a legitimate job standing guard over the house. The cock said that his folk would be all right because the cocks crowed every morning to wake their master and the hens laid eggs for him. Lastly,

the pig, who had been listening to it all, lamented tearfully that, after all, he was the only possible victim since he ate the food of idleness all the time.

This old tale, though simple, contains the profound truth that everyone should have the spirit of industry and work hard. I am telling you this story today particularly to emphasize that a person can feel pride and the worth of life only when he works sincerely and fights for the revolution. The life of those who merely seek self-interest for personal happiness, hate to work and live in indolence and depravity instead of contributing to the revolutionary cause in this age of revolution, is as meaningless as the existence of a pig destined for a birthday dinner.

Since we are people living in the age of revolution, we must fight for the revolution. Vigorous and courageous young people, in particular, should all become the builders of socialism and communism. In case of emergency, they must fight at the front at the risk of their lives, and those who are unable to go there must engage in production in the rear, guarding the factories, and advance science. Everyone should devote himself to the revolutionary struggle in this way, wherever he may work or whatever he may do.

We should never work simply to get paid a few pennies. True, in a socialist society, which is not yet a communist society with highly developed productive forces, one still needs a certain amount of money to live. But you should not regard it as salary, still less yourselves as mere salary earners.

When we were carrying out our revolutionary struggle in the mountains, we were not paid at all. No one had instructed us to make revolution either. We, too, were well aware that family life was comfortable and those enjoying it were in no danger of being killed. Why then did we take up arms and fight those hard-fought battles against the enemy almost every day, crossing mountains and rivers with packs on our backs, sleeping under the trees at night and suffering from hunger? It was solely for the victory of the revolution—in order to smash imperialism, restore our lost homeland and

build a new society in which all the Koreans could lead a happy life—that we voluntarily joined the revolutionary ranks without getting even a penny, and fought in the mountains day in, day out for 15 years, despite all hardships.

The revolution is sacred, meaningful and worth-while. That is why we always pride ourselves on the revolutionary road we have fought and consider it the highest honour to dedicate ourselves to the cause of revolution.

Once a foreign guest asked me what was the difference between north and south Korea. It would have taken a long lecture to explain all the differences. But circumstances did not permit that. So I told him briefly: We have fought for the country and people against the Japanese and the American bandits. We are the people who are working for the country and the people. In north Korea we patriots set up a people's government and are leading it with the support of the people. But Pak Jung Hi in south Korea was a Japanese pawn who brandished his sword and oppressed the Korean people during Japanese imperialist rule. He is now a stooge of the U.S. imperialists, selling out the country. Despite the people's opposition, he took "power" with the help of the Yankees. So we are real patriots who love our country and the people, our fatherland and the nation, whereas the south Korean rulers are a band of traitors who have been betraying the country and the nation and oppressing and persecuting the people. Ours is a genuine people's government, whereas the south Korean "government" is a reactionary puppet regime. This is the fundamental difference between north and south Korea. That was what I told him. Then he nodded, saying that now he could see the difference clearly.

If you want to carry out your revolutionary activities well, you must become staunch revolutionaries like the anti-Japanese guerrillas. Only then will your lives always be full of pride and meaning. How shameful it would be if, living in this wonderful age, you did not join in the fight to smash imperialism and if you did not participate actively in the building of socialism!

We now have an important revolutionary task before us: to help the south Korean people destroy the American gangsters and their stooges, the Pak Jung Hi clique, and to reunify the country and achieve the nation-wide victory of the Korean revolution. If we are to fulfil this task, we must first build up our economy, culture and defences successfully in the northern half of the Republic. The youth must devote all their knowledge and energy to the building of socialism with a high level of political and ideological consciousness and actively fight to defend the country and the socialist system.

In order to ensure their adequate political and ideological preparation we must rally all youth closely around our Party and arm them firmly with our Party's monolithic ideology.

Quite a few young people are still not free from backward thinking of one sort or another. Some have been influenced by their fathers who were well-off in the past, and some others have been affected by their fathers who were given to evil ways. Nevertheless, we cannot push them aside. Although the fathers followed the wrong path, we must do all we can to win their sons and daughters over to our side and take them along with us.

You comrades engaged in youth work should do your work with these people carefully, while carrying out the class struggle. It goes without saying that we must continue the class struggle in socialist society, too. We must fight uncompromisingly to the end against the hostile elements who oppose our socialist system and attempt to harm the building of socialism, and we must exercise rigid dictatorship over them. However, we must educate and remould all those who repent of their past crimes and want to follow us, and thus rally them around the Party and lead them forward. Exercising dictatorship over the enemies who oppose us and educating, remoulding and revolutionizing all the people who want to follow us—this is precisely the method of class struggle under the socialist system. This question was explicitly dealt with in my report to the Party Conference.

If we convince the youth of the evil of the landlord and capitalist system, imbue them with anti-imperialist thinking and get them to realize that the socialist system is a really good system and that the struggle for the building of socialism and communism is genuinely in the people's interests, we can remould all of them except for a handful of vicious elements, and they will follow us. Therefore, we must conduct the work of educating and remoulding the youth more actively and broaden its scope.

In this work we must be particularly careful not to commit the slightest Right error or "Left" deviation. If we do not do ideological education among the youth or wage a struggle against the hostile elements, society will be thrown into confusion and the young people will be imbued with capitalist ideology and will degenerate. On the other hand, if we push aside even those who do not oppose but want to come along with us, on the ground that their fathers were bad elements or on other pretexts, a great many people will become our enemies and we will encounter tremendous obstacles in the building of socialism.

We must not commit either a revisionist or a "Left" adventurist error. We must adhere to the principle of uniting all people around the Party by revolutionizing and working-classing them in strict accordance with our Party's ideology and policies.

Our functionaries often commit Right or "Left" deviations in their work because they are not fully equipped with the Party's monolithic ideology, despite their pledge to arm themselves with it. These deviations are to be found in Party workers as well as in youth, trade union and women's union workers. So the cadres themselves must be the first to study the Party's ideology more deeply and fully grasp its content and essence. Only then can they correctly put into effect the strategy and tactics our Party has worked out to suit our revolutionary practice, without committing Right or "Left" errors in their work.

In order to equip ourselves with the Party's monolithic

ideology it is vitally important to thoroughly oppose flunkeyism, dogmatism, revisionism and "Left" adventurism.

If these obsolete ways of thinking are allowed to remain in the minds of the young people, the Party's ideology will gradually disappear and *Juche* be lost. As a consequence, our youth will gradually take to worshipping other countries and revisionism, which rejects the revolution, will find its way into their minds, and "evil spirits" of all kinds will raise their heads. Therefore, unless we thoroughly reject flunkeyism, revisionism and other outmoded ideas, we cannot arm ourselves with the ideology of our Party and firmly establish its monolithic ideological system.

Flunkeyism and revisionism are the remnants of feudal and capitalist ideology and are deep-rooted and obstinate. Flunkeyism is particularly deep-seated in the history of our country, and it has greatly harmed our revolution.

As I have always pointed out, our country lies between large countries. So our people long ago got into the habit of fearing big countries and worshipping them and got into the bad habit of materializing their ambitions with their backing. Since flunkeyism has come down through the ages, it does not easily disappear and even now remains a great deal.

In south Korea today some people do not feel strong hatred for the U.S. imperialists and fail to fight them bravely. It is also due to flunkeyism. They fear and worship the United States because it is a big country which possesses atomic bombs. That is why they do not wage an active struggle against it.

Many people were killed during the temporary retreat in the Fatherland Liberation War mainly because their class consciousness was dulled and they took to flunkeyism. Coupled with dogmatism, this brought even more serious consequences. The bad elements who wormed their way into the Party immediately after liberation and indulged in flunkeyism and dogmatism did not imbue our people with the Party's *Juche* idea, educate them in our revolutionary traditions or teach them how to struggle against the enemy. As a result,

when the difficult days of the war came, many people lost their confidence in victory and gave no thought to fighting the enemy, only to be killed mercilessly. If we had educated the people deeply in our revolutionary traditions before the war, teaching them how the anti-Japanese guerrillas had fought, and armed them firmly with independent and revolutionary thinking, we would not have suffered such a great loss.

Historical experience shows that flunkeyism makes a person become an idiot, a nation fall into ruin and the revolution suffer inevitable setback. That is why we must strongly oppose flunkeyism. Because flunkeyism has been deeply rooted in our country, we must continue to fight it from generation to generation. We must never look up to others, but always believe in our own strength, use our own brains and act independently. We must firmly arm the entire people, including the youth, with our Party's *Juche* idea and its brilliant revolutionary traditions.

Revisionism is no less dangerous and harmful than flunkeyism. It creates illusions about imperialism and numbs the spirit to fight the enemy bravely.

During the Fatherland Liberation War some people thought that the American gangsters would never kill them, and remained at home only to get killed. Another regrettable thing was that in some areas our Party members meekly got themselves caught and were killed at the hands of "peace maintenance corps" members who were armed with hunting guns or clubs. But the people who fought back, moving about in the mountains in groups of a score or so, though poorly armed with a few rifles, axes or sickles, managed to survive. Indeed, 40 days is not a long period. Yet some people, having illusions about the enemy, sat with folded arms instead of actively fighting and met a tragic end, unable to endure this short period of hardship. This was really heartbreaking.

We must clearly understand that when we neglect the education of the people and they get illusions about the enemy, it gives rise to very serious consequences.

Once the anti-Party, counterrevolutionary factionalists, infected as they were with revisionism, tried to spread illusions about imperialism in our country. They opposed pointing the finger at U.S. imperialism; they insisted that it should be called "Washington" or the "Pentagon." This is a plain expression of revisionist ideology. If things went on like this, the people would not hate imperialism and their vigilance against the enemy would become dulled.

We must not have any illusion about imperialism, nor must we relax our revolutionary vigilance even for a moment. We must educate the youth and the rest of the people to hate imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular, and fully prepare them ideologically so that they fight uncompromisingly against all class enemies to the end.

We should also continue to maintain sharp vigilance against "Left" adventurism and fight it persistently.

The enemy is now taking the political offensive against us. To crush this ideological onslaught, we must do our political and ideological work energetically.

In view of the enemy's intensified offensive we should not be on the defensive but make a positive counteroffensive. We ourselves must be firmly armed with our Party's revolutionary ideas and Marxist-Leninist ideology and launch an offensive against the enemy, propagating our Party's anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. stand, communist ideas and the achievements scored in our revolution and construction.

This is true, too, of the work of the LSWY. We are face to face with the enemy, who is launching a massive anti-communist propaganda campaign over the radio and by means of leaflets. In these conditions, if we do not heighten vigilance our young people may succumb to its influence. So we must not be on the defensive politically but take the offensive. We must actively direct educational work towards those who are ideologically weak and apt to waver as a result of the enemy's reactionary propaganda. We must educate them patiently and persistently; when we fail to convince them in one try, we should have another try, and when we fail again we should

have a third try and when that also proves useless, we should try again and again. A Korean saying goes: "Cut ten times and even a huge tree will fall." When we do educational work patiently, we can win all except scoundrels over to our side and can arm them firmly with our Party's ideology.

In work with people with problematic backgrounds, too, we should follow the same principle: offensive instead of defensive. As for those who have committed errors or who have complex social backgrounds, we must educate them and exert political influence on them through their families, relatives and friends. As for the sons and daughters of people of our basic classes who fell into the hands of the enemy and committed crimes, we should educate them well and win them over to our fold. We should tell them: "Your father does not belong to a hostile class but he was duped and used by the enemy. Therefore, you should see his error clearly, actively participate in socialist construction and fight well against the U.S. imperialists and return to your original class position again."

If we give positive ideological education like this and equip all the youth firmly with our Party's ideology, nobody will listen to the enemy's reactionary propaganda no matter how much he may intensify it and, in the end, his reactionary propaganda campaign will bear no fruit at all.

Being a mass youth organization, it is very important for the LSWY to train a communist core. A mass organization without this core cannot play its role satisfactorily.

Needless to say, Party members play the core role within the LSWY, but they alone are not enough. They are too few. The LSWY is a very large mass organization embracing 2.7 million young people, and it has great influence. In order to turn all its members into staunch Communists, into ardent revolutionaries, and set the organization on the move as a powerful combat force, we should train a huge army of communist nuclei and get them to play a proper role among the youth.

At this meeting you have put forward the slogan that

you will become the Party's guards and death-defying corps in your struggle to implement its orders and instructions. This, I think, is a very good thing. It is a good idea for the LSWY to initiate a "youth vanguard" movement for bringing up communist nuclei. We must organize this movement in order to get core members in large numbers from each workteam, rather than awarding the title of "youth vanguard" to all the members of a workteam or a workshop at one time as in the Chollima Workteam Movement. If all the 2.7 million young people become "youth vanguards" through the success of this movement, it will be all the more gratifying, and even if not all but 700,000, 600,000 or 500,000, do so, it will still be a good thing.

In the future, the LSWY should formulate rules for this movement and steadily push it forward, making energetic efforts to train communist nuclei.

Another important aspect in strengthening our revolutionary forces is to carry out economic construction successfully and reinforce the material base of the country.

As we have always emphasized, we should complete the Korean revolution mainly by our own efforts. Of course this does not mean that we advocate rejecting foreign aid in making our revolution. For the victory of the Korean revolution we must receive foreign aid in case of need. However, we must not rely only on other countries for accomplishing the Korean revolution. Any foreign aid is of secondary importance. What is essential is our own strength.

In order to accomplish the Korean revolution by our own efforts we must possess a sound economic base.

In the Fatherland Liberation War our People's Army advanced as far as the Rakdong-gang River in pursuit of the enemy but then had to retreat before they could liberate all of south Korea. Why? It was not because our army was demoralized or inefficient in battle. Even faced with the difficult situation where the U.S. imperialist army of aggression pounced on us and brought in a large number of troops to land at In-chon, cutting our front off the rear, our soldiers did not

lose heart in the least and kept on fighting the enemy courageously. But at that time we were short of guns. That was the only reason we had no choice but to retreat. There was no other reason. Had we had as many guns at that time as we have today and had we placed the entire people under arms, the enemy would not have been able to land at Inchon and the main force of the People's Army which had advanced to the Rakdong-gang River would have liberated the whole of south Korea without retreating.

Although we had built a munitions factory right after liberation, it was on too small a scale for mass production. Still worse, the plant drew all its material supplies from abroad. As these supplies were cut off with the outbreak of the war, production had to be suspended. This made it impossible to supply all the weapons required at the front.

In order not to repeat this regrettable mistake our Party took the bitter lesson to heart and, in the first days of the ceasefire, put forward the line of building an independent national economy and waged an energetic struggle to lay firm economic foundations and, on this basis, increase the nation's defence capabilities. As a result, our situation is entirely different from what it was at the time of the Fatherland Liberation War. We now have solid foundations for an independent national economy and are able to produce by our own efforts any amount of different war materials we need to defend the country.

However, we must not become complacent over the successes we have already achieved. We must continue to increase the country's economic power by speeding up socialist economic construction. Increasing our economic power means, precisely, strengthening the nation's defence capabilities, because only when we have a firm economic base can we ourselves produce what is necessary for increasing our defence power.

In order to have a clear idea of how important increasing the country's economic might is in reinforcing our defence capabilities, you should see a film of an offensive operation undertaken by a battalion. You will see how different weapons are

used and what an enormous amount of shells and ammunition are spent, even in a single offensive operation by one battalion. You cannot use them again. Once they are fired they burst in the air, never to return. So you can imagine what an enormous amount of combat material we would need in a war. You can easily understand that we cannot provide all of it without a firm economic base of our own. Therefore, in preparation for the forthcoming great revolutionary event, we must do everything in our power to consolidate the country's economic foundations.

We must give top priority to the power industry. There is not a single branch of our national economy that does not use electricity. Steel is produced by it. Chemical factories, in particular, depend almost entirely on it. Nothing can be produced without it either in peace time or war. This is why our Party has put great energy into the development of the power industry, has built many power stations and is planning to build more in the future. We must increase the generating capacity of present power stations and speed up the construction of new ones now under way.

We must devote great efforts to the extractive industries, the first process in production, so that different ores and coal and lumber can be produced in larger quantities.

Steel is the most needed metal in all sectors of economic and defence construction. If you want to build a house or make a machine, you need steel. Without this metal, you cannot produce automobiles, tractors and ships or guns, tanks and other weapons. So it can be said that steel acquires vital importance in economic construction and in modernizing the People's Army, arming all the people and fortifying the entire country.

In order to produce plenty of steel, mines must extract and send large quantities of iron ore to the steel works. This country has many iron mines. These mines must uphold the Party Conference decision on building up the economy and defences simultaneously and strive to produce more high-grade ore.

We must also produce more gold. If we dig out and sell a lot to other countries we can import as many factories as we want. If we import many machinery and chemical plants, we will be able to produce the goods we need in greater quantity. We can buy anything from the capitalists if we pay them in gold. Why then should we keep it buried underground? It is of no use just boasting about our abundant treasures but leaving them underground. We must dig out as much gold as possible and sell it before capitalism collapses.

Next, we must produce much copper. This metal is indispensable for the electrification, mechanization and automation of the national economy. Not only electric wire but also electric motors and various kinds of communication equipment all need copper.

Lead is also very important in economic and defence construction. It is indispensable for making cable wire and various electric machines. Storage batteries cannot be made without it.

Besides these, zinc, tin, wolfram, molybdenum and nickel are all very important metals. We must strive to extract more ores containing these metals.

Along with ore, we must produce more coal and lumber. Without coal, we cannot run factories or smelt ore however much of it we dig out. Without that black mineral, thermal power stations cannot operate either. Lumber, too, is needed in construction and in so many other fields.

The extractive industries are necessary whether we fight war or not. We must introduce big innovations in these industries. The young people in this sector, in particular, must devote all their talents and energy to the vigorous struggle to develop the industries and more than double their output.

In order to produce more pig iron, steel and various non-ferrous metals, we must give priority to geological surveying and develop the mining industry and, at the same time, direct efforts to the metallurgical industry.

What is important in developing the ferrous metallurgical industry is to establish *Juche* firmly so that iron can be produced with our own fuel. We should strive to mine more high

calorific and gas coal at home. Iron works must use as little coke as possible in producing pig iron.

The rapid development of the building-materials industry is a matter of pressing urgency for guaranteeing successful economic and defence construction. The young people and workers in this industry must wage a dynamic struggle to produce more metal building materials, cement, firebricks, various resins and plywood.

We must continue to exert great efforts to develop the chemical industry. In the period of peaceful construction, this industry serves economic construction and the improvement of the people's living standards, and in wartime it plays an important role in guaranteeing victory. If we produce more nitric ammonium fertilizers by rapidly developing the chemical industry, we can increase agricultural production. So the more produced, the better.

We must put special emphasis today on the machine-building industry. Otherwise, we cannot build up the economy and defence.

To meet the demands of the present situation we must take active steps to push this industry to a higher level.

Light industry and fishing, too, must be advanced. As sectors directly serving daily life, they are of great importance in raising the people's standard of living.

As for light industry it must, before everything else, turn out more good-quality fabric so as to provide the people with adequate clothes. In particular, plenty of overcoats, padded clothes, caps and shoes for winter must be supplied to our children and to the people in general.

In the fishing industry, deep-sea fishing must be increased, along with inshore fishing. Only then will we be able to catch a lot of fish.

In order to fully guarantee growth in all fields of our national economy, rapid progress should be made in transport. We must exert great efforts to improve railway, land and water transport.

Next, we must continue to strive for the advancement of

agriculture. Most important here is to farm properly and produce plenty of grain. Only when we do this and have enough food can we carry out economic construction well. We need plenty of grain also for livestock and poultry breeding. In agriculture, therefore, every effort must be devoted to grain production. Energetic efforts must be made to develop livestock and poultry breeding and fruit growing along with grain production. In particular, a widespread movement must be launched to raise rabbits. If we breed them in great numbers, we will be able to provide our children with fur overcoats, caps and shoes.

To fulfil these economic tasks we must bring about a great new upswing in all fields of the national economy. Our struggle is very hard. In all sectors we must produce more with less labour. To cope with the present situation where our enemies are scheming more openly to commit aggression we must dynamically push ahead with defence construction, while building new factories and increasing production to steadily raise the people's living standards. This means that we must manage the nation's economic life more assiduously and each of us must do the work of two or three and double or treble production. In all fields of the national economy and in all production units, a mass movement must be launched to stop waste once and for all and to produce more, by economizing on labour and materials to the maximum.

We still have a lot of latent reserves. The greatest reserve can be obtained by increasing the workers' revolutionary enthusiasm and their creativity through good political work and replacing manual work with machines through an intensified drive for technical innovations. Members of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and many other cadres are seeking out reserves by having talks with workers at factories and enterprises. An enormous amount of reserve has been found so far. One machine-building factory has resolved to turn out 250 excavators more than they planned to produce. I was told that this factory will not receive extra manpower, instead it will transfer part of its existing work force to some

other tasks. Another machine-tool plant has determined to produce 500 machine tools above its plan. In the same lofty spirit, all factories and enterprises across the country are now launching a movement for increased production and economy. We must continue to push it ahead vigorously.

The wide use of materials lying idle constitutes one of the important reserves. The collection of a large amount of scrap iron, cotton waste, waste paper and the like will be of great help to production. If you collect a lot of scrap iron you can economize on pig iron in producing steel, and you can save lumber by using waste paper. We must wage a mass movement to collect waste materials.

All these things seem unimportant at a glance, but if they are utilized properly, it will be a great help to the nation's economic life.

We must thoroughly oppose revisionism in the economic field if our socialist economic construction is to be successful.

First, we must firmly oppose the revisionist idea of putting exaggerated emphasis on material interest in economic construction.

Since the world revolution has not yet been completed, we should not let young people think of doing less work or only increase their material interest, but must intensify their ideological education so that they will work harder for the world revolution. If they work one hour a day more and help the underdeveloped nations, the world revolution will be hastened. If people are ideologically mobilized to build even one more machine of better quality and we sell it to newly independent countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America cheaper than the imperialists do, they will all defend the socialist market and support and follow the cause of socialism.

We must never make our working people and young men and women interested only in money. In every sector of our economy, we must put forward as the most important task the thorough establishment of the T'aean work system, our unique revolutionary work system, and the enhancement of people's politico-ideological consciousness. We must emphasize and in-

crease political and moral incentives in this way, while, at the same time, properly combining them with material incentives. Only by doing so, can we develop the national economy rapidly.

Another Right opportunist economic theory is that in socialist society when industry has reached a certain level of development, the rate of growth will decrease.

Several years ago some of our leadership cadres in the economic field suggested that our economic goals be set a bit lower, alleging that since the scale of the economy had expanded, it was impossible to guarantee such a high rate of industrial growth as in the past.

Our experience in building socialism irrefutably proves that this theory is absolutely incorrect.

At the 1966 Party Conference we made a decision to increase the rate of growth in production through another innovation drive, and roused all the working people to its implementation. As a result, last year saw a very high rate of growth in production on all fronts in socialist economic construction. Reality shows that even though industry reaches a certain level of development, a high rate of economic growth can be ensured if innovations are constantly introduced by rounding out industry and by raising the working people's ideological consciousness.

Without opposing revisionism we will not be able to implement the Party's policy correctly—the policy of carrying on economic and defence construction simultaneously to raise the people's living standards, manufacture more armaments and lay up large reserves so as to meet the great revolutionary event fully prepared. Therefore, we must not tolerate even one iota of revisionism in the economic field. In particular, LSWY members in all fields of the national economy must thoroughly oppose its slightest expression, must strive to give no room for its poison to work.

Sometime ago, I read the manuscript of a textbook prepared by instructors of the National Economy Institute on the routine duties of factory managers and workshop and work-team leaders. Before meeting the authors to give my comments

on the manuscript, I visited the Pyongyang Electric Wire Factory to reaffirm what I had studied on this subject. I asked a workshop leader about the rated capacity of the machines. He said they had no definite rated capacity, and added that if his people improved inadequate production processes and worked hard, they could turn out as many products as the Party wanted them to. He was right. I think he was well versed in the Party's policies.

As we have often mentioned, the rated production capacity of the blooming shop at the Kangson Steel Plant was originally 60,000 tons. In 1957 we went there and explained the situation in the country to the workers, appealing to them to produce more rolled steel. Because we conducted ideological work in this way, they resolved to produce 90,000 tons. They made such vigorous efforts that they produced not 90,000 tons but 120,000 tons that year. No large extension has been added, but the shop will produce 450,000 tons before long, although its rated capacity was originally only 60,000 tons.

As you see, the rated capacity of a machine is not invariable. You can boost it by any amount by reinforcing the machine for increased production, introducing technical innovations and raising people's ideological consciousness as well as their technical levels. When people work consciously and with determination, they are equal to any task.

Everywhere you go, you can find instances where production has been boosted a good deal as a result of active endeavours on the part of the working people.

Last year, functionaries of a certain mine came up with a very low production target. So the Cabinet persuaded them to set it a little higher. After that, the Party Central Committee summoned the pit leaders and the company and platoon leaders of the mine to a meeting to do some political work for them. There they decided to extract more ore than the quota set by the Cabinet. Thanks to the devoted struggle of all its workers, last year this mine produced much more ore than it had decided. They say that this year they will do twice as well as last year.

Let me take another mine as an example. There they said they could produce only half the amount of ore the Party had asked for, on the pretext that the quality of the ore was worse than before and so on. But during a recess yesterday, young people from that mine present at this meeting told me that this year they would produce all the ore the Party wanted them to. So at lunch time I asked the chief Party secretary of that province if it was true that the mine had resolved to do this. He said that its workers were trying hard to carry out the Party's policy, and that since they had struck a good vein they would certainly get out the amount demanded this year, and next year, too. I asked him about their ore-dressing capacity. He replied that they were going to receive a huge grinder and if it was assembled in time, it could be in operation by June, so there would be no problem in maintaining that capacity.

Once some bad elements visited this mine and told the miners not to blow their own trumpets but just produce a moderate amount. This prevented the miners from producing more although they were willing to do so. Those scoundrels acted in that way because they had been poisoned by revisionism. As our country still remains divided and we stand face to face with the enemy, how can we rest content with just a moderate output? We must produce more ore, even if it is only a little more, to obtain foreign currency and lay a firmer economic base more rapidly. The workers of this mine are said to be determined to hit this year's ore production goal set by the Party without fail, in order also to defend the Party's monolithic ideology.

Innovations are not confined to these mines. Others, too, have resolved to produce more, and ore is being extracted in huge amounts everywhere.

So we are now hardly able to smelt the ore on time. In fact, until only recently smelters were complaining for the lack of ore. But now they are crying because they have too much of it to smelt.

All these facts clearly show that the theory that the rate of growth decreases when industry reaches a certain level of de-

velopment is a revisionist one which has nothing in common with Marxist-Leninist economic theory.

On the problem of socialist economic construction, we should analyse a proposition of Lenin's. He said that communism was Soviet power plus electrification. We must not neglect his proposition. Since he died before he could undertake communist construction, we must interpret it correctly. By Soviet power he meant proletarian dictatorship. This power must continue the class struggle, carry out the ideological and cultural revolutions to raise people's consciousness and cultural standards, and discharge the duty to working-classize and revolutionize the whole of society. By electrification he meant carrying out the technical revolution and laying a firm material and technological basis for society to such an extent as to operate all machines by electricity and attain a high level of automation. To sum up, this proposition of Lenin's teaches us that communism will be achieved when the ideological and cultural revolutions are accomplished and the whole of society is revolutionized and working-classized through the strengthened dictatorship of the proletariat, and, at the same time, when a sound material and technological basis is laid for very great productive forces through the completion of the technical revolution.

Revisionists, however, will not correctly understand and carry out this proposition of Lenin's. So it is only natural that they cannot develop the economy rapidly.

In order to push ahead with socialist construction at an even higher rate in the future, we must strongly oppose revisionism in the economic field.

Along with revisionism we must oppose the "Left" opportunist tendency to neglect the building of the socialist economy.

You must oppose revisionism as well as "Left" opportunism, thoroughly defend our Party's revolutionary ideas and theories in the economic field and energetically struggle for their implementation.

Next, we should pay deep attention to reinforcing our revolutionary base militarily.

What is most important in our military preparations is to carry out the Party's line of turning the entire army into an army of cadres and modernizing it from top to bottom. Party and LSWY members serving in the People's Army must actively participate in combat and political training and patiently temper themselves to become competent revolutionary fighters firmly armed politically and ideologically and well versed in modern military science and technique.

While strengthening the People's Army, we must arm all the people and fortify the entire country. All young people must endeavour to become crack shots and acquire a thorough military knowledge, so that all of them can destroy the enemy in case of need.

Some people seem to be afraid that we will not get enough guns in emergency. But they need not be the least afraid. True, when we started the revolution we lacked guns, and we had to arm the Young Volunteers' Corps with spears in the guerilla bases. But that is a thing of the past. We have plenty of rifles now and can make as many as we want when necessary. When we have to fight the enemy in the future, we will equip our young men and women and other people not with spears but with superb modern weapons. So you should not worry about guns but must exert every effort to be more thoroughly prepared, militarily and politically, and to convert the entire country into an even stronger fortress of iron.

With a view to achieving the nation-wide victory of the Korean revolution, we must pay deep attention to strengthening the revolutionary forces in south Korea while firmly building our revolutionary base in the northern half of the Republic, politically, economically and militarily.

South Korean revolutionaries must expand the revolutionary organizations of workers, peasants, youth and students and those in the puppet army and prepare broad sections of the population for revolutionary struggle. Correctly combining underground, armed and other forms of struggle, they must actively carry on the revolutionary battle and, through it, constantly expand the revolutionary forces.

Lastly, in order to accomplish the Korean revolution, we must firmly unite with the revolutionary peoples of Viet Nam, Cuba, and other Asian, African, Latin-American countries as well as with those in other parts of the world, and cement our militant solidarity with them.

The revolutionary nations have the same spirit with us. They are now actively supporting our stand. We must strive to win more friends in countries that are determined to make revolution.

In order to get more sympathy and support from the people of the world and strengthen solidarity with them, we are carrying on energetic external activities.

Last May Day, representatives of 50 to 60 nations visited this country at our invitation. This was also aimed at strengthening our solidarity with revolutionary peoples.

We are giving aid to the newly independent countries. We are not very well-off, but we must help the anti-imperialist nations as much as we can. Needless to say, if we did not give aid to foreign countries we would be better clothed and enjoy a more comfortable life. But we must not be narrow-minded. We must render every form of active assistance to any people who try to destroy Yankees. Thus, we will cement our solidarity with the peoples who are making revolution.

However, unity with the revolutionary people the world over cannot be assured just by giving them a lot of aid. It goes without saying that we would not get much sympathy from others no matter how much aid we gave them, if we gave up our revolution and took to revisionism or attached any political and economic strings to our aid and meddled in their internal affairs. The point is whether our political and ideological stand is revolutionary or not. We are not in a position to give as much material aid as big powers can. But we enjoy the active support of the revolutionary people of the world, because we march bravely and correctly along the road of revolution, holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the banner of anti-imperialist and anti-U.S. struggle.

Many peoples fighting for revolution maintain close relations with us and sympathize with our revolutionary demands and theories and actively support them. Our Party Conference report, the Ten-Point Political Programme of the Government of the Republic and the article *Let Us Intensify the Anti-imperialist, Anti-U.S. Struggle* have aroused a great response from people all over the world. This is because these documents expound correct methods of carrying out revolution.

People in many countries have now resolved to make revolution, firmly convinced, through their own experience in actual struggle, that they will not succeed as long as they simply rely on big powers and sit back with folded arms, and that even small countries will be able to win victory if they establish *Juche* and their peoples fight in unity as our Party advocates.

Sometime ago a Zimbabwean made a statement in which he described our experiences in anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare. I guess you have read it, too. He said the Korean guerrillas had fought for 15 long years with no foreign aid, even in great adversities—in the teeth of raging snowstorms and under the torture of starvation. He pointed out that there was no reason why revolution could not be made in Africa where conditions are very favourable. This continent has no cold winter season and abounds in bananas, coconuts and other fruit. So the African people have no need to dig up grass-roots for food or clothe themselves as heavily as we have to. He emphasized that they had to firmly establish *Juche* in Africa, too, to carry on revolution by their own efforts. I believe he is a fine man who is willing to make revolution.

We must patiently endeavour to unite with these revolutionary peoples. It is true that there may be some difficulties because of the language barrier, different customs and many other ways in which we differ from other peoples of the world. But for the benefit of revolution, we must patiently carry out effective external activities and cement solidarity with them.

Once many anti-imperialist nations, even if they are small,

unite closely and pool their strength, they will be able to defeat a big enemy. The revolutionary peoples should be encouraged to tear the left and right legs and left and right arms off the Yankees, cut off their ears, pull out their teeth, or at least pinch them or pull out their hair in all parts of the world. The Yankees look strong, but if many peoples join in dismembering them this way, they will be destroyed completely. This is the strategy for our revolution, and it can also be the strategy for small revolutionary nations in their struggle. The American bandits know we are using this strategy.

The Yankees are more afraid of a joint attack by many countries than anything else. They hide the fact that other countries oppose them and support the Vietnamese people, because they are afraid of world public opinion.

We must never take to flunkeyism in our struggle against the U.S. imperialists. Some people think it impossible to defeat them unless big countries fight them. This is not true. If we strike and ceaselessly harass the Yankees in Korea, Viet Nam, Cuba and other parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America, they will not be able to stay, even though big powers do not fight.

Our seizure of the U.S. imperialist armed spy ship *Pueblo* was an example of how the Yankees were scared. At the time, it was reported that the scoundrel Johnson was awakened at two o'clock in the morning and could not get a wink of sleep for the rest of the night.

The seizure of the *Pueblo* was coupled with an assault on Seoul by a group of south Korean armed guerrillas and a large-scale offensive against the cities by the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces. So the Yankees are alleging that we co-ordinated our attack with the Vietnamese. In fact there was no such co-ordination. The community of our revolutionary ideas was reflected in the coincidence of our actions.

The Vietnamese people are now tearing one leg off U.S. imperialism, and we should do the same in the future. Viet Nam and our country should tear off one of its legs each, and

Latin America and Africa one of its arms each, so as to behead it in the end. No matter how savage they are, the U.S. imperialists will eventually be crushed by the struggle of the peoples of Korea, Viet Nam, Cuba and of the other revolutionary peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Today, our Party is calling on all the people to bring about a great revolutionary upsurge in socialist construction in order to hasten the ultimate victory of our revolution; it is appealing to the youth, in particular, to lead this struggle valiantly. All LSWY members must rise as one in enthusiastic response to the Party's revolutionary call, true to the spirit of this meeting and the decisions of the 17th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee to be held in a few days. You comrades, especially, who have attended this meeting must be exemplary in carrying out your revolutionary tasks back at your posts, and you must also arm all the young people with our Party's revolutionary ideas, rally them more closely around it and bring about a new, great revolutionary upswing on all fronts of economic and defence construction.

By making our revolutionary forces stronger politically, economically and militarily in this way, we will keep ourselves in perfect readiness to crush the enemy with one blow if he recklessly provokes us, and to help our brothers and sisters in the southern half promptly when they rise up and need our support.

I firmly believe that all our youth will whole-heartedly respond to the militant call our Party has set forth in the light of the current situation, give full play to their revolutionary ardour and creative initiative and fulfil their honourable revolutionary tasks successfully so as to live up to the expectations of the Party and the revolution in an exemplary way

LET US DEVELOP THE CHOLLIMA WORKTEAM MOVEMENT IN DEPTH, A GREAT IMPETUS TO SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

**Speech Delivered at the Second National
Meeting of the Vanguard in the
Chollima Workteam Movement**

May 11, 1968

Comrades,

At this meeting of the vanguards in the Chollima Workteam Movement, we have listened with deep interest to the report of Comrade Chairman of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions and to the speeches of many vanguards in the Chollima Workteam Movement about the need to continually strengthen and develop the Chollima Movement and thus bring about a new revolutionary upsurge in socialist construction.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, I would like to extend warm thanks to you vanguards of the Chollima Workteam Movement present at this meeting, who, deeply conscious of the urgent requirements of our revolution's development and of the historic mission entrusted to you, are waging an unyielding struggle to accelerate economic construction and defence building as rapidly as possible. Through you, I also send my deep thanks to all the Chollima riders and our heroic working class.

I would like to take advantage of this opportunity to speak about the Chollima Workteam Movement and what we

must do to strengthen and develop it. At the First National Meeting of the Vanguarders in the Chollima Workteam Movement and at the Fourth Party Congress, I made detailed mention of the significance and tasks of the Chollima Workteam Movement. Therefore, today I would like to stress only a few points.

The Chollima Workteam Movement, which is unique to our country, is a great communist, mass progressive movement to educate the people in communist ideology and rouse them to collective innovation and heroism.

The history of the Chollima Workteam Movement is not very long, a little over ten years. In this period, however, truly enormous progress has been made, and what amount to miracles winning the admiration of people all over the world have been realized in our country.

Without launching the Chollima Workteam Movement as vigorously as we did, we could not have built Pyongyang, our magnificent democratic capital, or many other cities, large and small, we have today; we would not have been able to construct thousands of factories and enterprises equipped with modern technology or develop an advanced socialist agriculture, thus laying the solid foundations of an independent national economy. In other words, we could never have built a paradise of socialism where all the people lead a full, happy life.

In our country today everyone receives an education and anyone who is sick gets free medical care.

Furthermore, we have no unemployment and there are conditions for everyone to work. You may take this for granted, but in fact it is by no means easy to provide all the people with jobs. I was told that a foreign delegation visiting the Hwanghae Iron Works yesterday asked the management if there were any unemployment in our country. The manager of the works answered that on the contrary, far from having unemployment, we are faced with a labour shortage today; accordingly, a very pressing task set by our Party is to carry out the technical revolution and save every worker we can.

Without considerably developing the national economy and maintaining the rapid pace of economic growth, it will be impossible to provide jobs for all the employable people whose number is steadily growing as a result of the increase of the population. Therefore, the fact that all these people in our country work means that our economic foundations have attained large proportions and are rapidly expanding.

Our country inherited a very underdeveloped economy from the backward colonial, semi-feudal society which had not gone through the capitalist stage of development in the regular way. Worse still, everything in our country was reduced to ashes in the fierce three-long years of war unleashed by the U.S. imperialist gangsters. How, then, has it been possible to build such magnificent modern cities and attractive villages, lay strong economic foundations and make great strides forward in all spheres of social life in such a short time, slightly over ten years?

It was possible only because our people firmly followed our Party's unique and correct line of economic construction which gave priority to the growth of heavy industry simultaneous with the development of light industry and agriculture, and consistently rushed forward with the vigour of Chollima riders to carry through this line, valiantly overcoming all obstacles and difficulties.

It is the requirement of the laws of socialist and communist construction to create more material and cultural riches by steadily raising the people's level of ideological consciousness and boosting their zeal for production, thus encouraging them to make continuous advance and uninterrupted innovation. The Chollima Movement correctly reflects this requirement. The original meaning of the word Chollima is a steed that can cover a thousand *ri* a day, and the term has been used from the time of our remote ancestors to symbolize rapid progress. Conforming to the national sentiments and predilections of our people, the Chollima Movement expresses their desire to charge ahead at the speed of this steed as is required by the law of socialist economic development.

Let us look back on how the Chollima Workteam Movement started in our country, though you know all about it.

The situation of our revolution and construction nationally and internationally was very difficult and complex when the Chollima Workteam Movement was launched.

Our Party and people had successfully carried out the Three-Year Plan for Postwar Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy, by and large restoring the ruined economy and stabilizing the people's life to a considerable extent. But the overall situation in our country was very difficult. Many people were ill-clad, rice had to be imported and a large part of the population was still living in shacks in the ground because of the lack of houses.

To add to this, great-power chauvinists pressured us on the pretext that our Party did not follow their guidance. Certain people, opposing our Party's line of giving priority to the building of heavy industry with the machine-building industry as its core and, on this basis, laying the foundations of an independent economy of the country as a whole, argued by saying, "Why do you only buy machines instead of buying consumer goods? Do you plan to live on machines?"

Within the Party, factionalists infected with flunkeyism towards great powers raised their voices against the Party's line with the backing of their masters. They challenged the Party with such nonsense as: "It is wrong to build heavy industry;" "There is no need to develop the machine-building industry;" and, "The people's standard of living is being neglected." At that time a certain scoundrel even vilified us for having built the Nampo Glass Factory. "The Nampo Glass Factory is too big," he said. "There is no such a glass factory elsewhere in the world." What is wrong with building a glass factory and good houses with glazed windows for the working people? Even having built the factory, we are still short of glass and cannot glaze all the new houses in our villages. Therefore, we are going to expand the existing factory and build a few more in the future. Nonetheless, this economic ignoramus came out against the Party's policy with his rubbish.

That was not the only difficulty we faced. The U.S. imperialists occupying south Korea and their stooges, the Syngman Rhee traitorous clique, noisily clamoured for a "march north" and made wild attempts to undermine the gains of our revolution and wreck our people's work of construction by encouraging the remnants of the overthrown exploiting classes.

At that moment our Party had no one to trust but the working class, the main force of our revolution and the reliable defender of the Party.

Now, in that trying situation, too, our Party decided to go to the working class, discuss things with them and break through the existing difficulties—just as it had overcome obstacles and difficulties by putting its faith in the working class and drawing on their strength in all the arduous revolutionary struggles in the past.

Authorized by the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, I went to the Kangson Steel Plant.

At the time our country had one blooming mill with a rated capacity of only 60,000 tons. We had to build towns and villages, erect factories and manufacture more machines. Sixty thousand tons of steel could get us nowhere. So, we asked the leading functionaries of the Kangson Steel Plant if they could not raise the output to around 90,000 tons. Some of them shook their heads dubiously, saying it would be difficult. The workers of Kangson, however, decided to tackle the job in response to the Party's appeal and turned out 120,000 tons that year—120,000 tons at a blooming mill with a rated capacity of 60,000. Thus, we were able to build more houses and factories.

Precisely at the Kangson Steel Plant and in the course of the struggle to produce 120,000 tons of steel, Comrade Chin Ung Won stepped forward with a proposal to initiate the Chollima Workteam Movement. From that moment on, the movement gained ground. This was the beginning of the honoured history of our great Chollima Workteam Movement, and the Kangson Steel Plant was its birthplace.

True, the three-year struggle of postwar rehabilitation and

construction also represented a grand Chollima advance. But it was in 1957 that the movement got into its stride in industry, and it would therefore be proper to mark down that year as the starting point in the history of the Chollima Workteam Movement.

The Chollima Movement is a movement of communist education, its aim being to convert large numbers of people into activists of socialist construction who make continuous advance and uninterrupted innovation; it is a forward movement of communism to get large numbers of people to display mass heroism and vigorously push ahead with socialist construction.

In other words, the main objective of the Chollima Movement is to turn the passive elements into activists—ensuring that not even one person lags behind—by educating and remoulding all people in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, and to build socialism and communism rapidly by bringing all people to display mass heroism.

In fact, it is possible for us to press forward at Chollima speed; and far from being criticizable, rapid progress is a positive thing.

Let me give you a few examples.

The steel workers of the Kangson Steel Plant have improved their blooming mill from one that had a rated capacity of no more than 60,000 tons to one that now has a capacity of 450,000 tons. What is this, if not a Chollima advance? What a good thing it is to break away from the old rated capacity instead of leisurely maintaining it and to increase it eight times through unending innovation and advance!

Take an individual.

As Comrade Li Hwa Sun mentioned in her speech, she has become a multi-loom operator in the heat of the great revolutionary upswing and has now established a world record by tending 72 looms by herself. To handle these machines she runs a distance of 180-200 *ri* every eight-hour day. I have heard that she has not missed one day's work until today. Assuming she works 300 days in a year, it means she has run

60,000 *ri*. They say our country covers 3,000 *ri*. And she has run 60,000 *ri*, which amounts to having made 20 trips a year from one end of our country to the other. The fabrics woven by this comrade in one year alone run to a million metres. She is a genuine Chollima rider, a heroine of our times and a true revolutionary.

If we were to have not one but hundreds and thousands of innovators like Comrade Li Hwa Sun, it will be a good thing and not bad.

Let's look at the brave workers of the Songhung Mine.

Through innovations the mining platoons of the Songhung Mine fulfilled in three and a half months this year's production plan which was two times greater than last year's. The more such platoons increase, the faster our economy will develop and the more prosperous the people will become. And as our country grows in strength, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys—Pak Jung Hi, the landlords and capitalists of south Korea—will have greater cause to fear us. Therefore, such progress is far from being negative.

Yet villains imbued with revisionist ideas opposed the Chollima Movement. According to information obtained from a recent checkup, a certain fellow crossed out the words "Chollima" and "match for a hundred" from the text of a new song *March of the People's Army* submitted by the General Federation of the Unions of Literature and Arts. It is also said that he gave instructions to strike out the words "match for a hundred" from the report to be delivered at a mass meeting. The meaning of the words "match for a hundred" is that a man is so strong as to be able to cope with a hundred opponents. From olden times they have been used in our country in referring to a mighty warrior, an illustrious general. So, in 1963 when we visited the 2nd Army, we said that our People's Army should become a match-for-a-hundred army by conducting political work more effectively, intensifying military training in all the units and thus converting the army into an army of cadres and modernizing it. Nevertheless, that fellow, a sheer ignoramus, imprudently opposed the slogan we suggested.

Comrades in the People's Army, however, did not comply with his instructions. They said that no one was entitled to erase a slogan put up by the Party leadership.

These rascals imbued with revisionism not only tried to ban the use of the words "Chollima" and "match for a hundred" but actually hindered our working class from driving ahead at Chollima speed.

In his speech yesterday, one comrade told us about a certain individual who visited the Komdok Mine which was ready to rush forward in the spirit of Chollima. He called the workers together and advised them to work with moderation instead of pushing themselves to raise production; and then he arbitrarily reduced their production quota of ore set by the Party to half. Though the scoundrels tried their best to obliterate the "match for a hundred" slogan, the People's Army obstinately refused to accept it. The management of the Komdok Mine, however, listened to their jargon rather than to our words, and fell back in production. This was most regrettable. If the Komdok Mine had followed the Party's instructions to increase production, our annual earnings in foreign currency could have gone up by several million pounds, and we could already have imported many more plants.

You must clearly understand the great harm those scoundrels have done. As we said before at the time of the anti-factionalist struggle, factionalists are never seen in bright places because they are afraid; they sneak around only in the dark and work mischievously like mice. Slinking about in shady places, these rogues also did a lot of evil, opposing the Party slogan.

Such is the behaviour of servers of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into our revolutionary ranks, a hostile act which benefits our national and class enemies, such as the Yankees and Pak Jung Hi.

No one has the right to oppose the Chollima Movement. Although it started at the Kangson Steel Plant, the Chollima Movement received the unanimous support and approval of all our people, including the working class, and was adopted

as the Party's general line in socialist construction at the Fourth Congress of our Party.

The validity and great vitality of the Chollima Movement have more than adequately been displayed in the people's day-to-day struggle to speed up socialist construction.

We must not give up but carry forward with even greater persistence the Chollima Movement and the Chollima Workteam Movement—the general line of our Party in socialist construction and a strong impetus to the development of the national economy.

Furthermore, the present situation in our country makes it imperative for us to push ahead more energetically with the revolutionary struggle and work of construction and further increase our rate of advance, not in the least being carried away by past successes. Our country is not yet reunified and the revolution is not complete. Under such conditions, we have to keep moving ahead with vigour, spurring on the galloping Chollima.

What, then, is to be done to develop the Chollima Workteam Movement in depth in keeping with the reality of today?

The central tasks in the Chollima Workteam Movement are as follows: first, to work with people correctly; second, to work with equipment and materials efficiently; and third, to work with books properly. By working with people we mean to make the ideological revolution; by working with equipment and materials, the technical revolution; and by working with books, the cultural revolution. To do these three kinds of work well, that is, to carry on the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions properly is precisely the basic task of the Chollima Workteam Movement.

The ideological, technical and cultural revolutions are an objective requirement of socialist and communist construction. For Chollima riders and all working people, it is the most honourable duty to fight selflessly for the successful accomplishment of these three revolutions. The Chollima riders who lead the Chollima Workteam Movement should not only set examples for the masses in carrying out the ideological, tech-

nical and cultural revolutions but also endeavour to convert all working people without exception into revolutionaries boundlessly loyal to the Party by doing work with people correctly, bring about collective innovations in the economic construction of socialism through an efficient management of equipment and materials, and strive, through the proper use of books, to convert all people into educated and technically qualified men of a new, communist type.

I would like to speak first of the need to work well with people.

The most important element in working with people is to thoroughly establish the monolithic ideological system of the Party.

Chollima riders, more than anyone else, should arm themselves closely with the monolithic ideology of our Party, and make every effort possible to establish that system firmly in all the working people.

If a person fails to arm himself firmly with the Party's monolithic ideology, he cannot correctly tell right from wrong nor bravely fight his way through difficult and complex circumstances.

Due precisely to this failure in the past, the management of the Komdok Mine became passive in ore production by complying with the bad elements' instructions, and the personnel of the General Federation of the Unions of Literature and Arts meekly agreed with the rogues who advised them to eliminate the word "Chollima" from the text of the song *March of the People's Army*.

If the management of the Komdok Mine had fully integrated the Party's monolithic ideological system, they would never have accepted the bad elements' instructions; rather they would already have increased their production of ore to the 100,000-ton mark as the Party Central Committee advised.

The same is true of the personnel of the General Federation of the Unions of Literature and Arts. Had they been firmly armed with the Party's monolithic ideology, they would certainly have defied the scoundrel when he crossed out "Chol-

lima". "How dare you strike out the word 'Chollima' when it is a slogan put forth by the Party Central Committee and when the Chollima Movement is the general line of our Party adopted at the Party Congress?" However, unarmed with the Party's monolithic ideology, they accepted it in silence although clearly aware that it ran counter to the Party's line.

These examples are positive proof that people who are not firmly armed with the Party's monolithic ideology can neither introduce innovations in economic construction nor lay bare the conspiratorial manoeuvres of the anti-Party factionalists in good time.

Without thoroughly establishing the monolithic ideological system of the Party, it is likewise impossible to effectively combat any kind of negative idea, including revisionism, "Left" adventurism, great-power chauvinism, flunkeyism towards great powers, dogmatism, capitalist ideology and feudal-Confucian ideas.

Survivals of the old, exploiter society linger in the minds of our people in no small measure. In addition, as long as imperialism exists, capitalist ideology, revisionism and all other kinds of opportunism can infiltrate from without. Pernicious ideas of this kind that come from the outside spread and soon exercise a negative effect first of all on those who still retain many obsolete notions.

We have a good example of this in some leaders in the economic field. Still captivated by flunkeyism towards the great powers, they used to crane their necks in an attempt to see if there was anything worth-while imitating in the enterprise management systems of other countries. Some people opposed the Chollima Movement and other lines and policies of our Party mainly because they were affected by flunkeyism and strongly influenced by revisionism.

When a person retains old ideas in his mind, not arming himself with the *Juche* idea of the Party, it is inevitable that he should be susceptible to evil ideas infiltrating from the outside. Only when we are well armed with our Party's *Juche* idea—the idea permeated with the revolutionary spirit of in-

dependence, self-support and self-defence—can we uproot the remnants of outmoded ideas from our minds and prevent the influence of all kinds of unhealthy foreign ideas. This is an immutable truth confirmed through our experience in the revolutionary struggle.

In our future work with people, we should concentrate on fixing the Party's monolithic ideological system and, thereby, firmly equipping all the working people with the revolutionary ideas of our Party. This is the most important task facing the Chollima riders today to develop the Chollima Workteam Movement in depth.

Next in importance in our work with people is to educate all the working people to energetically fight individualism and selfishness and love collective life and political, organizational life.

Socialism and communism is a society whose ideological basis is collectivism. Therefore, in order to build socialist and communist society successfully it is imperative that we combat individualism and selfishness and educate people in collectivism. Individualism and selfishness are capitalist ideas. They cannot coexist with communist ideas, collectivist ideas. In order to cultivate collectivist ideas in the people, we must, before anything else, root out individualism and selfishness from their minds.

In order to stamp out individualism and selfishness and educate the working people in collectivism, it is necessary to strengthen collective life and, particularly, political, organizational life among them. Party members should be faithful to their Party organizational life; trade union members, to trade-union organizational life; members of the Agricultural Working People's Union, to their union's organizational life; Socialist Working Youth Leaguers, to their league's organizational life; and Women's Union members, to the organizational life of the Women's Union.

Party and working people's organizations should properly assign work to every member and sum up the results of its implementation in time; and as soon as one task is fulfilled,

another should be given. In this way, everybody should get used to living under the rigid discipline and revolutionary order of his organization and under the strict control of the masses. As for a person who hates collective life and likes to get away from it, it is necessary to admonish him in a comradely manner and persuade him to correct his shortcomings. If a man with defects is left alone without being admonished in time, he will become worse and worse until eventually he slides into evil ways. Therefore, his deficiencies must be corrected without fail by admonishing him ten times if once is ineffective, and a hundred times if ten warnings are not enough.

We should thus train all working people to be honourable Chollima riders, ardent revolutionary fighters who hold the interests of the collective dearer than personal interests and take an active part in socialist and communist construction for the prosperity and development of society as a whole.

While thoroughly establishing the monolithic ideological system of the Party among the working people and strengthening their collective and political, organizational life, we should energetically push ahead with the working-classizing and revolutionizing of the whole society by intensifying communist education as well as education in our revolutionary traditions.

Unless the working people are working-classized and revolutionized, it is impossible to build socialism and communism successfully. That was why our Party presented the problem of working-classization and revolutionization of the working people as an important revolutionary task at the Party Conference.

All the Chollima riders here belong to the working class; they are its most exemplary members. We can say, therefore, that all of you have been working-classized. In our society, however, in addition to the revolutionary working class like you, there are also the peasantry and the intelligentsia. We must working-classize and revolutionize all the farmers and intellectuals.

The working class also has to revolutionize itself. As we

often say, no one automatically becomes a revolutionary simply because he belongs to the working class. To a certain degree workers, too, harbour obsolete ideas because they lived under the capitalist system in the past. Moreover, among the working class of our country there are many former peasants and quite a few former small and medium traders and entrepreneurs. They have more survivals of old ideas in their minds than other people. Although these traders and manufacturers have now become workers, they have not yet completely rid themselves of the idea of living in idleness and exploiting others as they did in the past. We must educate all such people to become true members of the working class and ardent revolutionaries.

According to a platoon leader of a certain mine who spoke yesterday, in his platoon there was the son of a man who had been fairly well-off in the old days. Although personally he was on good terms with his mates, he often had ideological differences with them and occasionally made mistakes in his work. The platoon set out to educate him patiently and in the end made a good man of him, so that the whole platoon became honourable Chollima riders. This is an excellent example to follow.

In contrast, however, on the pretext of strengthening the ranks of workers in their factories, some functionaries try to dismiss those who had problems in their social and political life instead of educating them. They are quite wrong. Needless to say, we should tighten the ranks of the working class; this is our Party's policy. But when the Party calls upon us to strengthen the ranks of the working class, it by no means asks us to expel people by administrative means. Rather, it means educating all of the workers to become fine members of the working class.

Former small and medium traders and manufacturers have now become workers according to our Party's policy of socialist transformation. They ceased to be exploiters long ago. They have neither private means of production nor people to hire for work. In other words, they have neither the means nor the

objects of exploitation. They are workers today like everyone else. We have converted them into workers, and if we expel them from the factories now, where will they go? We should not oust them from factories but should properly educate and revolutionize all of them.

As I clearly reported to the Party Conference, the class struggle in socialist society should be conducted by methods of educating and remoulding, not by dismissing or expelling people indiscriminately. Of course, we must be merciless with those who turn against us. However, we should arm all of those who want to follow us with our Party's ideology, revolutionize them and rally them closely around the Party, thereby taking them along with us.

To proceed. It is necessary to work well with equipment and materials.

Equipment is the most important means of production—our weapon for mastering nature. Just as an army cannot take on its enemy without weapons, so factories cannot carry on production, nor can we successfully dominate nature without equipment.

Our factories and enterprises now have a variety of equipment, including machine tools and boilers, all of which are our precious assets. The tools and goods produced with them are being used for the happy life of our people and the eternal prosperity of the country. Therefore, the Chollima workteams should operate this equipment well so that the machinery and equipment we have may be used more effectively.

When we talk about working well with equipment, we mean, above all, to value and love equipment by taking excellent care of it. Good maintenance is essential in order to prevent problems, work to full capacity and lengthen its years of service.

Careful work with equipment also means being at home with it and knowing how to handle it proficiently. However good it may be, a piece of equipment cannot be worked to full capacity if its operator is inexperienced.

When we visited the Anju Coal Mine in the past one of

the pit managers there could not even handle properly a basic piece of mining equipment, although he had worked in the mine for over ten years. Under these conditions, how can we expect him to direct production let alone boost it?

In the same way that soldiers must understand their arms and handle them skilfully, Chollima riders and all the working people should be at home with their equipment and operate it competently. Chollima riders should be well acquainted with the structure, action and efficiency of their tools, be able to repair them rapidly and work them to full capacity.

In addition to taking scrupulous care of equipment and being experienced in its operation, Chollima riders should also constantly try to improve it. In other words, they should continually strive to make technological innovations.

The Chollima riders and all the working people must always be studying ways to increase the efficiency of their machinery and equipment and to mechanize and automate the production processes. They should look to the workers of the Kangson Steel Plant who constantly improved the blooming mill, increasing production capacity from 60,000 tons to 450,000 tons, to the Anju Coal Mine workers who devised a cylindrical hewing machine, thereby increasing production several times and making their work easier, to the comrades of the Songhung Mine who, by making a new, automatic air screw and introducing it into production, boosted their productivity several times and simplified their work. Following these examples all the Chollima riders should be fired in their unceasing efforts for technical renovation and improved efficiency of equipment.

We are living in the age of the technical revolution. Therefore, we should constantly strive for technical renovation and create new techniques in all branches of the national economy; the remodelling of all machinery and equipment to facilitate handling and increase efficiency should be a constant preoccupation.

The industrial foundations of our country today are enormous. If all our Chollima riders and working people make

that extra effort to push forward the technical revolution, our factories with their present machinery and equipment will display a force several times greater than they do now.

The conditions are favourable for this dynamic advance in the technical revolution. Our situation today is fundamentally different from what it was ten years ago when the Cholima Workteam Movement began.

The economic foundations of the country have been consolidated beyond compare and almost all the working people have received at least a secondary education. At present the majority of the workers in the factories and enterprises are graduates of middle school and higher. Those old people who did not go to secondary school as children have, for the most part, finished the working people's middle schools or evening middle schools connected with their work centres. Under such conditions, we can expect an even bigger leap in the technical renovation—assuming that the entire working people fully demonstrate their revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, smash the mystification of technology with collective efforts and think and act boldly.

In the People's Army, a struggle should be launched to make the weapons lighter and more efficient.

Of course, the rifles our soldiers are carrying now are far lighter, handier, more powerful and better suited to the physiques of Koreans than those used during the Fatherland Liberation War. The Yankees and the south Korean puppet soldiers dread our rifles today.

However, the army should not be content with this improvement already made. It should keep trying to lighten its weapons even more. It should make continued efforts to improve not only small arms, but also larger weapons and combat and technical equipment of every description—making them efficient, light and handy.

Along with equipment, we should work with materials well and save them to the maximum.

I have visited factories and enterprises that do not even have an adequate place to store goods and, therefore, waste a

great deal of materials. Any factory worthy of the name should first build storehouses to protect production materials from exposure or any other potential danger. However, many factories and enterprises have still not built storehouses and are wasting precious materials through careless management. Coal and cement, for example, keep indefinitely if they are stored. But piled carelessly in the open air, they are spoiled by the rain or blown away and uselessly lost. As I also stressed at the recent plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee, there is still too much wastage. If we could eliminate this problem alone, we would be enjoying a far better life today.

With the attitude of a master towards the nation's economic life, Chollima riders should preserve and economize the precious materials of the country, resolutely fight against wastage and strive to raise production and construction using fewer materials.

Third, we should work with books well.

An important task of the Chollima riders and all the working people is to study constantly in an effort to steadily improve their political, cultural and technical qualifications.

In point of fact, successful implementation of the tasks of the ideological and technical revolutions depends largely on how well we conduct the cultural revolution.

We have already achieved enormous success in the cultural revolution and have prepared conditions to drive it forward more energetically in the future. Compulsory secondary education in our country—and, of course, primary—was introduced a long time ago, and a nine-year technical education became obligatory last year. This is a genuine people's system of education radically different from the so-called "compulsory education" in capitalist society which only serves the sons and daughters of the handful of landlords and capitalists.

As a result of this compulsory education, everyone in our country is acquiring the basic knowledge which will enable him to study for himself. Under such conditions, if all the working people strive to study more, we can raise the cultural revolution to a higher plane. The cultural revolution can be

successful only if all the working people love books and are anxious to learn.

Books are an indispensable food for revolutionaries. If a person does not read but rather idles his time away, merely filling himself with bread, life becomes meaningless. Books are a rich and diversified source of knowledge on politics, economy, culture, military matters and all other subjects. Without reading books, a revolutionary can neither act nor live. Reading is essential if we are to conduct political or cultural work and develop our economy and technology.

Our working people, however, have not acquired the habit of studying properly. Everyone should always carry a book with him, try to read even a page in spare moments and hold books dear. But many people fail to do this.

The reason our functionaries do not read now as they should is not that books are scarce or expensive. We have plenty of books and have provided people with every condition for study. The point is that our functionaries do not make the effort.

In the past when we were engaged in the guerrilla struggle, it was very difficult to obtain a book. When we were able to get one, we passed it around among us until its pages were worn-out and the words were difficult to read. When a word became totally illegible, we would write it in again; and when the pages were falling apart, we repaired them and read the book over and over.

The same applied to newspapers. At that time just getting one page of a newspaper was a major effort. When we could get our hands on it, we circulated it until it was illegible.

It is true that in general books and newspapers are still somewhat short of the demand. But there are enough of both for working people on the job to study. As for newspapers alone, there are dozens of them including *Rodong Sinmun*, *Minju Choson*, the paper of the Socialist Working Youth League, and the People's Army paper, all issued in hundreds of thousands or millions of copies. If reading sessions are properly organized and publications are well used, everybody will be

reading books and newspapers. The question does not lie in the shortage of reading materials, but rather in the fact that they are not effectively used or properly read.

Therefore, while it is important to produce more paper and print more books and newspapers, our first job is to increase the use we make of reading material we already have.

At present our cadres go to the lower units to give guidance, but they do not ask whether functionaries go over newspapers regularly or inquire about the number of books they read—even though they check on everything else. In the future they must not fail to find out about the study programme of the leading personnel and working people. A campaign to build study habits and read more books should be waged in every work centre, whether they be Party organs, people's government bodies, schools, factories, enterprises, villages or units of the People's Army. In this way we should encourage a positive attitude toward study throughout society and initiate a movement which has everyone reading for two or three hours a day.

What books then should you read?

You should begin by studying Party literature, then material on our revolutionary traditions, books on Marxism-Leninism and on the technology in your field. You should also read literature. A person's cultural life is inseparable from the rest of his life. But the necessity to read should not lead you to decadent, bourgeois novels. We should read books useful for the revolution, useful for socialist construction. We need not and should not read any other kinds of books.

These are the tasks for developing the Chollima Workteam Movement in depth.

We should develop it this way, thus maintaining the great revolutionary upsurge in our construction of socialism.

By great upsurge we mean to rise high like the surging tide. Yet, this term can be misinterpreted because the tide falls after a rise; in the same way, socialist construction may also be thought to recede a certain degree after an advance. Therefore, I feel it is necessary to replace the term with a

more appropriate one. But since we cannot think of other expression right now, we will use the phrase in this way: "Let us sustain the great upsurge." Our intention is to have the rise without the fall.

The prevailing situation in our country is very tense now, just as it was around 1956-57 when the anti-Party factionalists made their challenge and the great-power chauvinists began to pressure our Party. Today U.S. imperialism is using the incident of the armed spy ship *Pueblo* as an occasion to intensify open military provocations against the northern half of the Republic and is obsessed with preparations for war.

In the light of this situation, we must combine economic construction better still with defence building and thus make national defence impregnable at the same time as we further cement the country's economic foundations and better the people's standard of living through our own efforts. To do this we must launch an intensive struggle to bring about a new revolutionary upsurge in all fields of socialist construction.

Another great revolutionary upsurge has swept across the whole country since the workers of the Songhung Mine and the Ryongsong Machine Plant valorously responded last year to the Party Conference resolution. The upsurge is of great dimensions, and remarkable innovations are being made almost daily in our socialist construction. This impressive revolutionary upsurge taking place today must be sustained.

To do so, it is most important that we intensify the struggle against passivism and conservatism.

Passivism and conservatism are inevitable in the course of social development. It is the rule that in both the revolutionary struggle and our daily lives there are passive elements as well as active ones, cowards and brave men, the old and stagnant alongside the new and progressive. Therefore, the revolutionary struggle is accompanied by a ceaseless fight between activists and passivists, between the new and the old. The struggle against passivism and conservatism is an important one in the revolutionary process.

Some of our functionaries today are afraid to march for-

ward boldly in socialist construction precisely because they are affected by passivism and conservatism. We must launch a vigorous ideological struggle against passivism, conservatism, mystification of technology and all other "evil spirits."

We will be able to keep up the great revolutionary upsurge as well as push forward socialist construction more dynamically if we wage a powerful battle against all practices that are obsolete and unsound—if we sweep away all "evil spirits." Of course, we may run up against difficulties and sometimes make mistakes in the course of furthering the revolutionary cause and the work of construction. But great victory is certain if we continue to march forward courageously, not yielding to difficulties or losing spirits in the face of failure.

Society develops and revolution advances only when the new and the progressive triumph in the struggle between the new and the old, between the progressive and the stagnant. As a matter of course, the new and the progressive, however small, will win victory sooner or later. This is an objective law. The point, though, is how to speed up this inevitable victory. For an early victory of the new and the progressive, we must expand our ranks of activists; and the new should grow rapidly to become a powerful, irresistible force. When there are many activists and their force is great, they can persuade the passive and conservative elements and move them forward dynamically.

Therefore, in order to shatter passivism and conservatism and sustain the great revolutionary upsurge in socialist construction, we must swell the ranks of the Chollima forerunners, representatives of the new force and the most active elements.

For an army to win a war, it is not enough that one platoon or a company or a unit be good fighters. All platoons, all companies and all units have to fight well. Likewise, in order to build socialism successfully, the example of one or two people, one workteam, one workshop or one factory will not do because all the people, all workteams, workshops, factories and work places have to work well. Therefore, as I already

mentioned at the First Meeting of Vanguard Workers in the Chollima Workteam Movement, we should energetically strive to ensure that not one or two workteams, but all workteams, all workshops and all factories alike ride Chollima. Thus, the whole country will be galloping forward at the speed of Chollima.

The more heroes born of the working people while everyone rides Chollima, the better. This, in turn, will stimulate collectivism and mass heroism. As a manifestation of egoism, individualistic heroism is wrong. But heroism of the masses is an excellent thing and more important than anything else.

Through promoting the Chollima Workteam Movement, you should be able to help shatter passivism and conservatism, display a high degree of collective heroism and thereby speed up economic construction and defence building.

The tasks of economic and defence construction were examined in the report and resolutions of the recent plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee, so I would like to emphasize only a few points here.

Every minute and every second is precious to us now. We have to make the most of our time in order to boost production significantly and speed up construction.

The first and foremost task in all branches of the national economy today is to give every possible assistance to the building up of our defence capability.

Under no circumstances should we turn to other countries for arms. It is true that our fraternal allies could probably help us if war should break out. But, more often than not, war supplies are needed urgently. Even if brotherly countries gave us internationalist arms aid, this would not be nearly as good as if we made them for ourselves. In addition, we should never forget the bitter lesson of the Fatherland Liberation War when we were forced to retreat, though temporarily, because we did not have enough guns. We must fully demonstrate the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and produce for ourselves the munitions we need.

The first task of factories and enterprises in all sectors,

including metallurgical and engineering plants, is to produce materials and equipment necessary to build up our national defence.

Afterwards, we should direct our efforts toward developing the mining industry to extract more nonferrous minerals, such as gold, silver, lead, zinc and copper.

The Songhung Mine has resolved to produce 2.3 times more ore this year than last, and the Komdok Mine is also out to more than double their last year's output of nonferrous ore. This is a very good thing. The Songhung Mine and Komdok Mine as well as all others should push themselves to turn out more nonferrous minerals.

Nonferrous metals constitute one of the important sources of foreign currency and are also essential for strengthening our defences. Among others, copper is needed in great quantities in munitions production. Without this metal it is impossible to make either shell cartridges, telephone wire or various other items for military use. Therefore, we should mine our copper quickly and use it now when it is needed instead of merely boasting about our rich deposits. If we extract a lot of copper ore and make copper wire, we can lay electric wire and speed up the electrification of our railways.

Aside from these reasons, the mining of sizable quantities of nonferrous metals is essential to obtain the foreign currency we need to set up new factories, install new equipment and buy necessary materials, all of which contribute to the consolidation of our economic foundations. We built the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant with foreign currency earned in the past. Had we not built it, many of our factories would be at a standstill now, for lack of electricity. Owing to the long drought since last autumn, the hydroelectric power stations are low on water and cannot turn out much electricity. But we have built the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant, and it is playing a very important role in the dry season. Before long we can boost the capacity of this power plant. At its new capacity, efficient operation of the plant during a single year will be enough to repay all costs.

The workers in the mining industry should make still greater efforts to hit the target they have set for next year to increase their profits from foreign trade without fail. You have resolved to raise income from foreign trade and must carry out your determination with honour by working harder in the future.

The metallurgical industry should produce steel and structural steel in greater quantities and supply them to the machine-building industry so that more machines and equipment can be produced.

In the electric power industry, the power plants now under construction should be completed at an early date; in the coal industry mechanization should be actively introduced in production to boost coal output. The building-materials industry should turn out more and better products for capital construction.

The central task in light industry is to augment the production of textiles and daily necessities and improve their quality.

First of all, high-quality textiles should be turned out in large quantities and innovations made in the clothing industry to provide the people with fashionable clothes. Footwear should also be more attractive and durable, and we should produce a variety of well-designed daily necessities.

In agriculture a vigorous campaign should be launched to increase grain output by 500 kilogrammes per *chongbo*.

It appears that the damage caused by drought this spring is very serious throughout the world. In our country, too, the drought may inflict extensive damage on the grain harvest if we do not cope with it properly. Of course, there will be no big problem for us because we have irrigated hundreds of thousands of *chongbo* of land. However, our early dry field crops may be damaged. Therefore, South Pyongan Province and North and South Hwanghae Provinces should prepare enough fertilizer and seeds so that if the early crops fail, we can make up for them with late crops. Thus, they should be able to harvest a bumper crop this year just as they did last.

It is necessary to produce supplementary food properly along with regular grain production. All the co-operative farms, civil service organizations and enterprises should direct close attention to increasing the output of vegetables and animal products in accordance with the decisions of the recent plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee.

In the fishing industry, we should increase our catch, and fish should be processed carefully to avoid the slightest possible spoilage.

Another important job is to intensify the struggle for economization and create sufficient material reserves in every branch and every unit of the national economy.

To begin with, we should economize on fabrics as much as possible in the summer so that everyone—children and grownups alike—will be provided with enough winter clothes.

We must also lay up great reserves of rice. Without food we cannot produce or fight the enemy. Grain should never be wasted just because there was an abundant crop last year. We must vigorously fight grain wastage and store up larger reserves.

In the meantime, we should try hard to economize on the materials we have to import, such as rubber and gasoline.

Thus, the central task facing us in the present situation is to increase production and practise economy to the maximum, improving our work by the minute to produce and build more.

Even if war should break out tomorrow morning, we should struggle until midnight tonight to increase production and economize to the fullest, following the line set forth by the Party and energetically continue the simultaneous work of socialist economic construction and defence building. If we increase the country's economic power and complete positive defence arrangements by struggling to achieve higher production and thrift in all branches and units of the national economy, the Yankees will not dare attack us, and even if they embark on a reckless adventure, we can smash them in one stroke.

Thus, we can be fully prepared for our great revolution-

ary event only by successfully building up the economy and defences.

Like all other revolutionary events, the great revolutionary event of our country will not come automatically. It can be brought about only through a purposeful, positive struggle on our part.

As we have mentioned time and again, it is necessary to build up three revolutionary forces if our revolution is to triumph.

First, the revolutionary force in the northern half of the Republic should be increased. We must strengthen the northern half in the political, economic and military spheres alike by keeping up the great upsurge, and thereby speeding up socialist construction, through the continued grand march of Chollima.

Next, in order to achieve the final victory of our revolution, we must constantly assist the people of south Korea to strengthen their revolutionary forces and accomplish the south Korean revolution, while building up our revolutionary base in the northern half of the Republic in all spheres. When the revolutionary forces in south Korea have grown enough so that the south Korean youth and people rise in the struggle to crush the Yankees and their stooges and call for our help, we should give them all possible assistance. When the south Korean revolutionaries ask us for materials, we should give them materials; when they ask for guns, we should give them guns; and when they ask for men, we must send them men.

Meanwhile, we should strengthen our solidarity with the international revolutionary forces and assist the struggle of the revolutionary peoples all over the world.

Today the peoples of many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America actively support us because we have strengthened our solidarity with the revolutionary peoples and adhere to a principled stand in the revolution. They carry our documents, including the Ten-Point Political Programme of the Government of the Republic, in their newspapers and denounce the aggressive acts of U.S. imperialism in our coun-

try. When we captured the U.S. imperialists' armed spy ship *Pueblo*, many countries including Viet Nam and Cuba and other fraternal parties issued statements of support. All this says that the international solidarity of our revolution has been strengthened a great deal.

We are now helping the revolutionary peoples of Viet Nam and many other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. True, if we hold back material aid to other countries in their revolution, we will have more to promote our own socialist construction and standard of living. But we should not do this. It is national egoism and revisionism to care only for one's own easy life without assisting other revolutionary peoples.

We must actively support the revolutionary peoples for the sake of the world revolution, for the purpose of crushing U.S. imperialism, our sworn enemy. By doing so, we can help them knock down as many Yankees as possible.

Whether it is in our country or in others, the more Yankees that are killed, the better. Wherever Yankees are smashed and a hundred of them finished off, it will mean a hundred less of the enemy and if a thousand or ten thousand are wiped out, our revolution will benefit that much more.

We must, therefore, do all we can to continue strengthening our solidarity with the revolutionary people of the world and defeat Yankees wherever we find them. By fighting the Yankees all over the world—by tearing off their limbs one by one everywhere—U.S. imperialism will ultimately be destroyed.

Small countries, too, are fully capable of beating U.S. imperialism if they fight in unity. This is a law of dialectics.

Let me cite an example from the course of our socialist economic construction in the past. In 1959 when the First Five-Year Plan was going ahead full steam, our economic foundations were not solid and there was a scarcity of equipment. Therefore, we had to tackle countless difficulties whenever we tried to make anything. At that time the workers of the Ryongsong Machine Plant were assigned to make a sheet-steel rolling machine for the Hwanghae Iron Works, but they

did not have the necessary large machine tools to build it. The workers, however, proceeded to cut the big piece of material on all sides with many small machine tools in the same way ants gnaw away at a big bone and, at last, they succeeded in making the rolling machine.

Although the Yankees now brag of their invincibility, they cannot escape their doom when they are attacked in many parts of the world and their limbs dismembered one by one, just as the big piece of material was processed by the workers of the Ryongsong Machine Plant with small machine tools.

One must not think that unless a country is big it cannot smash U.S. imperialism. Of course, it would be more gratifying if large countries were to join us in fighting the Yankees. That is why we try to unite with big countries as well.

But no one can ever say that a country has to be big to fight and defeat U.S. imperialism. In the final analysis, it is flunkeyism to think that only large countries can vanquish the Yankees. If all peoples fighting in the cause of revolution strengthen their solidarity and put up a powerful, united resistance, they are bound to win.

Our tasks, then, are to firmly build up the northern half of the Republic through a successful building of socialism, steadily increase the revolutionary forces in south Korea, unite with the revolutionary people of the world and get an increasing number of countries to struggle against U.S. imperialism. This will lead us to an easy victory over the Yankees and achieve the nation-wide triumph of the Korean revolution.

Such is our work to prepare to meet the great event of the Korean revolution, and our Party is directing all its activities now in this direction.

The Chollima riders are entrusted with a weighty and honourable task in preparing to greet our great revolutionary event. They should make new leaps forward, bringing about fresh wonders through uninterrupted innovation and continuous advance in all domains of the national economy. And they should sustain the great revolutionary upsurge in socialist construction by putting spurs to the grand Chollima march. At the

same time, they should thoroughly arm all the working people with the monolithic ideology of our Party and intensify the struggle for revolutionization and working-classization. Through such efforts they can help rally all the people closely around the Central Committee of our Party and turn them into a unified, powerful political force.

I am firmly convinced that you will make a great contribution to accelerate the final victory of our revolution by continuing to deepen and develop the Chollima Workteam Movement.

ON STRENGTHENING THE GUIDANCE OF THE PARTY LIFE OF PARTY MEMBERS AND PROPERLY IMPLEMENTING THE CADRE POLICY OF OUR PARTY

Speech to the Heads of the Organizational and Personnel Departments of Provincial Party Committees

May 27, 1968

I have spoken many times about Party work as a whole. Today I should like to emphasize only those matters which should be the centre of your work when you return to your provincial Party committees.

Some of you are experienced in Party organizational work or in personnel administration and others are not. But there is no need to worry about too much even if you are newcomers in Party organizational work or personnel administration. All that is required of you is that you should act entirely according to the basic principles of Party work.

The essence of Party work is work with people. This means work with cadres, with Party members and with the masses. Therefore, no department, whether organizational or personnel, should lose sight of this central principle in its activities; and if anything, the main stress should be laid on work with cadres.

1. ON THE WORK OF THE HEAD OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL DEPARTMENT

The organizational department keeps Party organizations moving and guides Party members in their organizational life.

In a general sense, the party is a political organization made up of large numbers of people who struggle for a common goal. Our Party is a revolutionary organization composed of the most advanced elements from among the workers, peasants and working intellectuals, who are prepared to dedicate themselves to the victory of the cause of socialism and communism. Anyone who joins the Party participates in the organizational life of his Party cell as required by Party Rules. It is precisely the organizational department that guides the Party organizational life of its members. That is why it can be considered a department with leadership over Party life.

The organizational department can be likened to the human heart. Beating ceaselessly, the heart's function is to send blood to all parts of the body. A man is healthy only when his heart beats regularly, enabling all his organs to function normally with the blood smoothly distributed to all parts of his body. Likewise, individual Party organizations can work properly and the Party as a whole can operate on a sound basis only when the organizational department, which guides the Party members' lives, functions regularly. But, just as a man cannot be healthy if his heart fails to beat normally, neither can a Party organization function properly nor the Party become a militant organization if the organizational department works poorly. After all, the proper functioning of a Party organization largely depends on whether the organizational department works well or not. Therefore, we can say that the organizational department is the most important of all departments in the Party.

What, then, should the organizational department do in order to rouse Party organizations to activity and properly guide Party members in their organizational life?

First of all, it must exercise day-to-day supervision in terms of the correct recruitment of members to Party organizations according to Party Rules.

Along with this, the organizational department should always guide and supervise Party organizations so that through proper education and assignment of tasks all Party members will be aroused to action. We admit working people to the Party not just to grant them membership in an organization. Our Party has been organized to make revolution. Once people have been admitted to the Party, therefore, its organizations should encourage all of them to devote themselves to revolutionary work by educating them in the revolutionary ideas of our Party and giving them revolutionary assignments. The organizational department should always observe whether Party organizations regularly assign Party members proper tasks, whether their assistance to the members after making an assignment is effective so that the task can be well implemented, and whether they give new assignments when the first ones are fulfilled. It should note how Party organizations encourage Party members who have discharged their revolutionary tasks in an exemplary way and how they deal with others who have committed errors in carrying out their revolutionary work. When there is any problem, the organizational department should promptly solve it.

Wherever there are Party members, there is a Party organization, be it in a government body, an economic agency, a factory, an enterprise, an educational institution, a cultural establishment, a town or a village. The organizational department should carefully observe and supervise all these Party organizations so that their work is up to standard and their functions correctly discharged.

What, then, should the head of the organizational department do to help his department handle these problems correctly?

First, the head of the organizational department should always participate in meetings of Party organizations.

He should not only take an active part in the meetings of his own Party cell, but should also attend cell meetings or committee meetings of other Party organizations. Take the organizational head of a provincial Party committee, for example. He should attend propaganda, educational and other department Party cell meetings, Party cell meetings of provincial, city and county people's committee departments, and those in schools, residential districts and villages. He should also attend Party committee meetings at provincial factories and enterprises.

If he does not go among the masses or attend Party meetings, he cannot acquaint himself well with the real problems at the lower units; he risks falling into subjectivism. A party in power often becomes bureaucratic and suffers from subjectivism mainly because it does not lend an ear to the voices of the masses and fails to go deeply among them, relying on them in its work. In the past when we were waging an underground struggle, we met people individually to hear their opinions, discussed how to carry out our revolutionary tasks with Party members at cell meetings, and employed all the means at our disposal to rely on the masses in our activities. When a party has not taken power, peremptory dictation or command with no base in the masses will not work; neither can it arouse the broad masses to the revolutionary struggle. But when the party achieves power, some functionaries who are not fully equipped with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook more often than not brandish party authority, regarding their office as something like a high government post of the old days, pay no heed to the voices of the people and unilaterally impose on them their subjective will. If Party functionaries want to avoid bureaucratic and subjective errors in their work, they have no choice but to penetrate the masses and listen to what they have to say.

Only by visiting the lower units and attending Party cell or Party committee meetings will they hear the voices of the

masses and gain concrete knowledge as to how the Party organizations are working and how the Party members are leading their organizational life. When they attend Party meetings, they can judge whether Party organizations are following Party Rules. In other words, they can obtain full information about the Party organizations' correct handling of new Party membership, proper education of Party members, Party assignments to every member accompanied by a timely analysis of work done; assignment of new tasks following completion of old ones and who has discharged his assignment credibly and who has not. Then, they can take necessary measures in good time. Regular attendance of Party meetings will enable you to gain useful experience and practical lessons in the guidance of Party organizational life and to find out how to conduct your work in the future. In particular, when you hear the full speeches made by Party members at a cell or committee meeting and then meet and talk with individual members, you can see if the Party's policies are being correctly carried out or if there is any practice that runs counter to them. In the event that the Party's policies are not properly executed, you can find out why, thereby having a better understanding of the level of each Party member and what he needs.

When the head of the organizational department acquires all of this information, he must confirm it before passing it on to the executive committee of the provincial Party committee.

In the course of a Party meeting the organizational head may discover some point at variance with the Party's policies. His response should not be to make a subjective conclusion. Rather, he should verify whether it is an isolated case in that place or a common phenomenon. This work of confirmation should be done by the organizational department head's going out to other Party organizations himself or by assigning the task to instructors. If he sends instructors, he should give explicit directions in the following manner: At a certain Party cell meeting, I have found such and such shortcomings. When you go out, attend Party cell meetings and talk with Party

members, find out whether they have similar shortcomings. Now, you go to this Party cell, and you, to that one.

If the synthesis and analysis of the defects he found and the information brought back by the instructors after visiting the lower units confirm that the defects are undeniably a common and not an isolated phenomenon, he should submit them in a report to the secretary in charge of organizational work or to the chief secretary. If necessary, he should bring the matter up before the executive committee of the provincial Party committee.

Today, however, the directors of organizational departments just sit in their offices, summarizing the data gathered by instructors on their visits to lower units, present them to their superiors, or writing up and sending circulars down to the lower units. Instructors may have an inadequate understanding of the Party's intentions because they are on a lower level than the organizational department heads and, for example, do not always attend the executive committee meetings of the provincial Party committees. Some of the information they present may be based on subjective views rather than an objective analysis; something important may be omitted inadvertently, other minor points exaggerated. Organizational department heads cannot grasp matters correctly in good time nor deal with them in a proper manner until they go and observe lower units for themselves.

Only by attending a Party meeting is it possible to judge whether it is being properly conducted. There are many kinds of Party meetings; some are designed to educate Party members, others, to give them assignments, yet others, to sum up the results of these assignments, and so on. The organizational department heads should attend these meetings and always carefully see if questions are correctly raised and discussions follow the right course.

Organizational department directors should make it a rule to attend meetings of Party organizations and penetrate to the depths of the Party members' organizational life. They should know beforehand which Party cell will hold a meeting when

and to discuss what, include it in their work plans and attend the meeting according to plan. In future the organizational department heads of the provincial Party committees should do their office work in the mornings and participate in Party organization meetings in the afternoons.

Second, the heads of the organizational departments should always meet cadres.

They should primarily meet Party cadres, that is, secretaries in charge of organizational affairs and organizational section chiefs of city and county Party committees, secretaries in charge of organizational affairs of factory Party committees, secretaries of primary Party committees in people's committees, schools and commercial institutions, and those in other institutions and enterprises under the provincial Party committees.

Needless to say, the directors of organizational departments have quite a lot to do. But their main activity in the provincial Party committees should always be work with Party cadres. Nothing is more important than meeting functionaries who are engaged in Party work. Heads of the organizational departments of provincial Party committees should always plan to meet Party cadres even if it might prevent them to a certain extent from attending to other tasks.

They should meet primary Party committee secretaries and other Party workers and ask them concretely how they have arranged their work for the present and what sort of work it is, how many Party members they have and what is on their minds, what assignments they have given to Party members and how they are fulfilled, what merits and shortcomings have been revealed in carrying out their revolutionary tasks and what suggestions they have in regard to their work. Then they should set right anything that has gone awry and untie knotty problems.

If you meet one man today, another tomorrow and yet another the day after, following this method, you are able to get a good idea of their strengths and weaknesses and can rouse them all to activity. When primary Party committee or Party

cell secretaries are stirred to brisk activity, the organizations they lead will, in the long run, be vitalized.

If, in the course of one week, one organizational department head attends six Party cell meetings and activates these cells, and meets six primary Party committee or Party cell secretaries and spurs them into action, the final result is that he has acquainted himself with and activated 12 Party organizations. That is a significant piece of work. If he gets the first-hand knowledge of 12 Party organizations and manages to invigorate them in a week's time, it will not be long before he acquires an understanding of the activities of the Party organizations in institutions, factories and enterprises even at county level, to say nothing of those at the provincial level, and brings them all into action.

If the organizational department heads do not have enough time, they should attend Party meetings three afternoons a week and meet cadres the remaining three afternoons.

As well as meeting with the secretaries of Party cells and primary Party committees, they should also meet leadership cadres of working people's organizations, such as the trade unions, the Agricultural Working People's Union, Socialist Working Youth League and Democratic Women's Union, assign definite tasks and lead them to work with added vigour along the lines required by the Party.

In the meantime, these directors should get the instructors in their department to work among rank and file Party members at all times.

In the past, bad elements hung about and played their tricks but they were not discovered. This was because the head and instructors of the organizational department did not frequently meet cadres of Party organizations under their provincial Party committee, including Party cell and primary Party committee secretaries, and only rarely attended Party cell meetings to acquaint themselves with the activities of Party organizations.

If the functionaries of the organizational department had always worked with Party members and cadres and properly

educated them in the Party's policies, the Party organizations could have discerned right away if an instruction, whoever may have given it and whatever kind it may have been, tallied with the Party's policies.

Moreover, whatever trick the bad elements may play, the head and all other functionaries of the organizational department can bring it to light immediately if they are all as active as they should be.

Suppose that while studying the progress of work in a *ri* of a certain county through talks with the *ri* Party committee secretary and Party cell secretaries there, the head of the organizational department learns that a "model lecture" was given on what they called the "ten-year perspective plan." The deputy head of the organizational department has also heard about it in the course of his discussions with the *ri* Party committee secretary of another *ri*. Instructors of the organizational department have learned the same thing while studying the activities of functionaries at other places. Bringing together all this information will promptly enable them to realize that something alien to our Party's ideology has been imposed upon the lower units.

In the early days of my anti-Japanese armed struggle, I was also in charge of a certain local Party committee for some time. Then, too, we used to go and stay at Party cells, attending meetings and making individual contact with cadres to get to know them. At that time we had many cells under this committee. Now and then, I was too busy to visit Party cells, in which case I made a point of sending for the heads of the Party cells and having them report on their work.

In the Guerrilla Army, too, my political work usually included spending time with different companies. While staying with a company, I not only attended Party cell meetings but also talked with the commander, political instructor, man in charge of the Party cell, platoon leaders, instructor for youth affairs, and Party activists. After staying in a company a couple of days, and attending a cell meeting and having talks with the men one by one, I was able to know everything about

whether the company was carrying out its revolutionary tasks well, whether the mass line was strictly observed and what the Party members were thinking.

The keynote of work for organizational department heads should be to go to the rank and file Party members, acquaint themselves with how the work is progressing and get Party organizations and members to act.

Needless to say, there are two possible ways of guiding Party members' and cadres' organizational life—visiting them personally or calling them in. There is no reason why you necessarily have to go out to see them. When they are nearby you can visit them personally, but you may call in those Party functionaries who live far away.

2. ON THE WORK OF THE HEAD OF THE PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT

A personnel department head should also frequently meet cadres instead of occupying himself primarily with paper work, for personnel management means work with people.

Who, then, should the head of the personnel department meet?

Inasmuch as the personnel department deals with cadres not handled by the organizational department, its director should see all those cadres not covered by the organizational department head. In other words, the latter should see Party workers, and the head of the personnel department, workers in government administration and in economic management.

If the organizational head always meets Party workers, the personnel head frequently sees administrative and economic workers, and the assistant heads and instructors of both departments also make it routine to meet people, all these functionaries will get to know every cadre who comes under the provincial Party executive committee. This will enable them

to gain a thorough knowledge of everyone's work ability, thoughts and personal life.

When you confine yourselves to paper work instead of working with people, you are unable to have such knowledge.

Yet, some of our Party workers are not well informed about cadres at the lower units and lack a concrete plan for the individual education suitable to each person. This is because they have not rid themselves of the bureaucratic work style invented by Ho Ga I in the past and are absorbed in their offices by paper work.

It happens that when a lower Party organization proposes someone for promotion, there are some comrades who do not even meet the man, but appoint him to a post simply following the opinions of people from below. Then, before long, we hear them suggest the man's removal from that post: "He lacks work ability, he is unpopular with the masses, his family background is questionable," and so on. If personnel affairs are so carelessly handled that, without concrete knowledge of them beforehand, people are promoted to a higher position one day and then removed the next, personnel administration cannot go well, and many people are made uneasy for no reason.

Promotion to a higher post, removal, recommendation, or punishment are in no way simple matters.

Personnel administration is very important work connected with the political lives of people; Party workers, then, should be prudent in dealing with people and under no circumstances should act hastily.

Once you have taken a false step, you may appoint a scoundrel to a leading post, thinking him a good man, or you may mishandle a good man, taking him for someone bad. Therefore, the head of the personnel department should never dispose of personnel affairs without himself seeing the people in question.

Of the cadres coming under the provincial Party executive committee, those under the personnel department must be, at the most, a thousand. This is not a very large number. If the

department head meets only three men a day, he will be able to receive all of them once a year.

It goes without saying that the personnel department head has a great deal of work to handle at his office. He has to submit documents for endorsement to the secretary in charge of organizational affairs. He has to study the papers about cadres to be presented to the provincial Party executive committee. He must receive reports from instructors on their work. But the personnel department head, like the organizational department head, should do his paper work in the morning and devote his entire afternoon to work with people.

If the head of personnel finds it impossible to see all the cadres under the department, he may assign part of this task to the deputy head or instructors. They could each see all the cadres in two or three years even if they met them alternately so that cadres received by the department head this year are interviewed by the deputy head or instructors the following year.

The personnel department should interview all the cadres under it at least once a year, even if this might prevent it somewhat from attending to other tasks. For those whose work ability is weak, even two or three interviews a year could be arranged, and for other comrades, one without fail to know how they carry out their duties, whether they study regularly, what kind of books they read and whether they have been contaminated ideologically.

When a lower rank functionary is to be appointed a cadre or to be transferred, or when there is cause to penalize him, it is especially important for the personnel department head to meet him.

When a county Party committee proposes someone for promotion as a cadre or for punishment, the head of the personnel department should first have an instructor meet the man, and then, after examining the information furnished by the instructor, he should see him personally.

Thus, we must ensure that no matter is disposed of with-

out the full knowledge of the director of the personnel department.

In addition, the personnel department head should attend often meetings of Party organizations. By listening to speeches at Party meetings, he will easily be able to gauge the qualifications of the functionaries and the extent to which they have been steered from the Party point of view.

The personnel head should educate all functionaries properly so that they know who appoints cadres and how.

At present, some people tend to think they were appointed cadres through the "good offices" of certain individuals. If everyone thinks this way, it may create illusions about the influence of individual cadres and bring about grave consequences that will obscure our Party's monolithic ideological system. In other words, deviations such as currying favour with individual ministers or vice-premiers may crop up. When this situation gets worse, individual cadres will become arrogant and tend toward individualistic heroism; and they may eventually go the length of engaging in factional activities against the Party.

That was exactly the way bad elements behaved in the past. Abusing the authority of the Party, they would appoint their favourites as cadres, without regard to principle, and say, "I have promoted you to this post." Thus, they acted basely to give people illusions about themselves and to gather a large coterie around themselves.

We should not remain mere onlookers, but deal timely blows to the slightest tendency to harbour illusions about an individual cadre's influence. All cadres, high or low, should fully realize that, trusted by the Party Central Committee, they are appointed by decision of the Party organizations concerned.

3. ON THE PROPER SELECTION AND ALLOCATION OF CADRES

All problems are solved by cadres. Therefore, proper selection and allocation of cadres and consolidation of cadre ranks are very important questions on which the success of the revolutionary struggle and construction depends.

Party organizations at all levels should direct primary attention to the proper selection and allocation of cadres.

This requires both a clear knowledge of a cadre's qualifications as prescribed by our Party and an appropriate personnel administration.

What, then, is our Party's criterion for a cadre? Our Party considers that a person who is politically and ideologically reliable, that is, one who is true to revolutionary principles to the end, without the slightest vacillation in any adversity, and who staunchly forges ahead in single-hearted response to the Party's call, fulfils the criterion for a cadre.

In general, this criterion is met by those whose family class origin has exerted a positive political influence and who have firmly established their world outlook through social and political trials which equip them to devote themselves to the revolutionary cause of the working class.

Steel can withstand long use only when it is made from high-grade iron ore and has been adequately tempered in a blast furnace or a steel-making furnace; otherwise it very soon becomes unusable. Likewise, a man with a good class origin and seasoned through social and political experience is consistent in the revolutionary world outlook of the working class and rarely becomes corrupted in storm or stress. Otherwise, he is liable to waver in the face of difficulties and proves weak in revolutionary trials.

The people who meet our Party's criterion for cadres are

the sons and daughters of those Party and government officials and military cadres who died a heroic death during the Fatherland Liberation War and the former workers, farm hands and poor peasants who lived in misery and were harshly exploited and oppressed by the landlords and capitalists.

In appointing cadres not only class origin should be taken into account but social status should also be seriously considered.

Those who laboured for years or who were personally exploited as farm hands or poor peasants in the past have the strong revolutionary spirit to smash the landlord and capitalist classes and build a new society free from exploitation and oppression. Those who have themselves been exploited and tempered through labour long, i.e., those who know from bitter experience what a hard and needy life means, should be highly valued as candidates for cadres. Comrades unexperienced in hardship are weak in the face of difficulties and are liable to waver in trial.

At the same time, it is necessary to select as cadres people who, after liberation, enthusiastically participated in the agrarian reform to liquidate the landlord class or in the nationalization of industries to deprive the Japanese imperialists and the comprador capitalists of their means of production, and who have up until now devoted themselves to the revolutionary struggle. Cadres should also be selected from people who fought well in the Fatherland Liberation War and people with a long record of service in the People's Army. Long service in the army should be considered the same as long work in industry.

In particular, honoured disabled veterans should be regarded as precious candidates for cadres. Many comrades among them who are ideologically sound should be picked out and appointed as Party workers.

Among our honoured disabled veterans there are many good comrades in the provinces who are eligible for Party cadres, but neither provincial nor county Party organizations pay them any attention. They have no grounds to regard them

as unqualified just because they lack an arm or have an artificial leg. These comrades are not so old; and they are fully capable of doing Party work if they are given an education.

Sometime ago we dropped in at the Nampo Honoured Disabled Veterans Factory where we met a woman comrade, an honoured disabled soldier.

In the course of discharging her duty as a radio operator at the Supreme Command and at the Front Headquarters during the Fatherland Liberation War, the comrade was severely wounded during an enemy bombing and had to be demobilized. They told us that her husband, also an honoured disabled soldier, died of illness a few years ago. In our opinion she is a very good comrade, but up to then the local Party organization had not given her any education. So we have seen to it that she is being sent to school.

Thus, an important principle of ours in personnel administration must be to systematically train and appoint as cadres the ideologically steadfast comrades from among families of the fallen during the Fatherland Liberation War or the subsequent revolutionary struggle and families victimized by enemy barbarities, sons and daughters of former workers, farm hands and poor peasants, people steeled through industrial labour and suffered exploitation, the demobilized and the honoured disabled veterans.

This does not mean, however, that all existing cadres from old-time intellectuals and their sons and daughters are useless. Many of them, it is true, are the children of former landlords or capitalists and were well-off. But after liberation, many joined us in the struggle to found the Party, establish the people's power and carry out the agrarian reform and all other democratic reforms. They participated with us in the three-year Fatherland Liberation War against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and underwent many ordeals. After the war, they upheld our Party's lines and policies and took an active part in the struggle for the socialist revolution and the building of socialism under extremely difficult circumstances.

Many of the intellectuals in south Korea today are also

the sons and daughters of landlords or capitalists, and are actively involved in the revolutionary struggle.

Almost all the people who were imprisoned and sentenced to heavy penalties or capital punishment by the U.S. imperialists and the south Korean puppet clique sometime ago on charges of complicity in the so-called "case of the Society for Comparative Study of Nationalism" and the "case of the Operative Group for Communizing South Korea" were intellectuals. Because their parents have landed estates and are fairly rich, many of them graduated from universities or even studied abroad.

I have heard that many scholars in south Korea are now wondering how south Korean intellectuals will be dealt with in the future when the country is reunified.

We must do good work with intellectuals and, particularly in view of the country's division, conduct this work with great care and prudence.

It will have an adverse effect on the intellectuals in south Korea if we leave the old-time intellectuals out in the cold, defaming their social origins and seeing faults in them now, despite the fact that after liberation they joined us in the agrarian reform to confiscate the landlords' land and in the work of expropriating the comprador capitalists and pro-Japanese elements from their factories, and that they shared in the ordeals of the three-year war against the U.S. imperialists and devoted themselves to the arduous struggle for postwar reconstruction. In other words, those now active in the revolutionary struggle in south Korea will lose their confidence in us. After all, this will only cause a loss to our revolution.

My 40-odd years' experience in revolutionary struggle has taught me that people do not follow exactly the same course in shaping their revolutionary world outlook and that even people from the propertied classes can take an active part in the revolutionary struggle when they are gradually awakened through revolutionary influence.

The same rule should not be applied to all the old-time intellectuals. We should bear in mind the fact that they have

been educated under our socialist system in the twenty-odd years since liberation and, accordingly, may have acquired the revolutionary world outlook.

Main stress should be laid on the way these intellectuals think today rather than on their former social background.

In personnel administration we should stick to the basic criterion for cadres and draw a distinct class line; meanwhile, we should also put confidence in and move forward hand in hand with the old-time intellectuals who have taken the side of the revolution and want to follow us the whole way.

Another important rule in personnel administration is to study individual cases in detail because everyone has taken a different path in his social and political life.

If we mechanically apply the same rule and pattern to everyone's problems, we will not be able to find correct solutions. Perfect regulations for personnel administration would require a special provision for every one of the population, say, ten million of them. But this would be impossible.

We already have all the basic principles for personnel administration. We should examine each person's case according to these basic principles.

The events that happened during the temporary retreat in the Fatherland Liberation War were very complicated. Therefore, it is necessary to examine each person's circumstances closely, case by case.

Suppose a comrade failed to retreat and remained in enemy-held area. His case should be examined in various aspects: Why did he fail to retreat? What did he do while he was there instead of evacuating? If he joined the "peace maintenance corps," did he do so consciously or because of enemy coercion? How did he behave in the "peace maintenance corps?"

There were cases where some who joined the "peace maintenance corps" did not act viciously but saved many patriots from death behind the enemy's back. People should not be indiscriminately branded as bad just because they failed to evacuate, remained in enemy-held zone, or joined the "peace maintenance corps."

Neither should ex-prisoners of war be daubed with the same brush. Minute inquiries should be made about the circumstances that brought them to the POW camp, their behaviour there and their conduct after returning. On this basis, we should deal with them.

Personnel management should not be handled in a stereotyped manner. While strictly abiding by class principles, we should deal with people prudently and only after each individual case is adequately studied, remembering that everyone has followed a different course in their social and political life.

Main emphasis in personnel management should always be put on studying the person in question. As for his personal relations, an important consideration should be who has actually influenced him.

Suppose a functionary's personal history records that his uncle was a landlord or policeman. We should not just take this on face value; rather we should ascertain what influence he actually underwent: Whether he lived with his uncle, for how many years, and what kind of influence his uncle exerted.

It should matter little to this man that his uncle was a landlord or a policeman if he had no contact with him and was not under his influence. But it is another question if he was supported and influenced by his uncle while living in his house.

But some people worry needlessly that if they reveal the truth about one of their relatives being a former landlord or policeman, they will neither be admitted to the Party nor promoted as a cadre. So, when writing their personal histories, they deliberately leave this information out. If they write the truth, no trouble will come of it.

Although their documents say that their uncles were landlords or policemen, our examination of the functionaries shows—and this is revealed by a close survey—that many of them suffered mistreatment and persecution of all kinds at the hands of their uncles. Nevertheless, our Party workers are quite

ready to refer to a personal history and say, "Why, his uncle was a policeman. This is a serious case. How can a man of this sort be a cadre?" Then, they try to remove him.

Such practice will divorce us from the masses and estrange those who want to come along with us.

Last year we met many sons and daughters of revolutionary martyrs. Among them was one whose story went as follows: His father died a revolutionary; subsequently, he went to live with his uncle, a landlord, because he was homeless. Upon his arrival the uncle said, "You son of a bitch! Your father caused us enough trouble, making what he called revolution. Now you have come to bring calamity on us, eh? Go away and never cross my threshold again!" With this, I was told, the uncle drove him away. Turned out of the uncle's home, this comrade had to go begging from door to door until he greeted the nation's liberation. Now, his personal record says that his father died a revolutionary and his uncle was a landlord. Anyone reviewing it may be surprised to learn that his uncle was a landlord. You should not be surprised by facts of this kind.

To know a cadre you should not simply rely on papers; you should make it a principle to survey the influences he has undergone in his actual situation. Only then is it possible to tell whether he is truly trustworthy or not.

In addition, we should not attach too much importance to people's close friends in personnel administration.

The reason is that although a man may have been on friendly terms with someone yesterday, this relationship will end if today the latter becomes a turncoat. We have experienced this many times in the course of our revolutionary struggle.

In studying a person, you should neither simply accept evidence on hearsay that he is related to or on friendly terms with such-and-such a man and that so-and-so was a friend of his father's, nor cling exclusively to such material records. You should delve deeply into the man's actual life and closely inquire into the influences he has undergone.

In selecting and allocating cadres you should properly take into account these diverse elements.

If you abide by this principle in your work, you will not commit any Right or "Left" deviations in personnel administration.

4. ON EDUCATING CADRES WITH UNTIRING EFFORTS

After the proper selection and assignment of cadres, the important task is that of giving them effective education and assistance.

However fully they come up to the standards of a cadre, people may commit errors or be infected with bad ideas if they are not continually educated in Marxism-Leninism and our Party's revolutionary monolithic ideology after they have been appointed cadres.

Man undergoes constant changes in the course of his social activities. This is a law of development. Therefore, it is necessary to study everything from the viewpoint of materialist dialectics.

Just as iron gets rusty when left outside a long time, so man is spoiled, tainted with bad ideas such as feudalism and capitalism, revisionism and flunkeyism when left without an education.

Therefore, after a cadre has been properly selected and promoted to a post, you should always show concern about and take care of him lest he should degenerate, and should educate him continually to prevent him from becoming tarnished.

If iron is polished well, painted or plated carefully, it will not corrode but will stand the test of time even when in contact with oxygen and exposed to the rain. But even in this case, it can also get rusty if it is neglected too long. It may

have been tended once or twice, but still must be checked some time later to see if it has become rusty. If there are rusty spots, they should be cleaned and repainted or replated. Likewise, men should also be re-examined some time after they have been taught one or two times. If a man is found to have committed errors, you should call him in for a talk or personally go to give him help.

There can be various ways and means of educating cadres, including talks, meetings and training courses. But regardless of the form or method employed in cadre education, its primary object is to arm the functionaries firmly with the revolutionary *Juche* idea, the monolithic ideology of our Party. Education in the Party's monolithic ideology should not be missed out either in talking with someone, in conducting a Party meeting, organizing a short course or in whatever else you may arrange for the purpose of educating Party members.

In particular, the Party meeting, whether a cell meeting or a committee meeting, should in all cases be an opportunity for ideological tempering where you analyse everything by the yardstick of the Party's monolithic ideology to judge what has been done correctly and what has not and then to rectify shortcomings. Even a meeting designed to settle urgent problems should never be a meeting for merely technical and business discussion. It should mainly be aimed at educating Party members.

Administrative as well as Party meetings should be conducted so that work accomplished can be checked from the angle of the Party's monolithic ideology. Needless to say, there can be meetings to discuss purely technical and practical matters, for example, technical conferences and scientific and technical symposia. But all other meetings should use the yardstick of the Party's monolithic ideology to examine work that has been done.

In educating cadres now, our Party workers often conduct collective education through meetings, short courses, etc., but they seldom resort to individual education of various forms and methods that include talks and the individual assignment

of tasks. Along with talks, an individual assignment is one of the best means of educating functionaries.

If, for instance, some comrade does not study hard, you can select a book or a subject of study corresponding to his level and assign him to study it for himself and then report on it. This is one way to educate him.

Now, suppose another comrade has revealed some shortcoming in his introduction of the Tae'an work system. In this case you can assign him to study the superiority of the Tae'an work system and prepare to lecture on it. The propaganda department should help him prepare the lecture correctly. In this way he will gain a clear understanding of the superiority of the Tae'an work system.

Having cadres write articles is another means of individual education.

Party workers should not confine themselves to appointing cadres, but should make every effort to give them day-to-day education and assistance.

In the past our Party workers used to appoint good comrades as cadres and then leave them without education. The result was that not infrequently they soon began to commit grave political and ideological errors and had to be removed from their posts.

The stress of our work should be the persevering education of cadres, and we should never be guilty of unconditionally dismissing those who have made mistakes.

Upon the instructions of bad elements in higher positions some lower level functionaries in the past behaved contrary to the monolithic ideology of our Party. They were not much to blame for this. Of course, because they were ideologically unstable, they meekly accepted what the bad elements foisted on them. Also, due to improper education by Party organizations, they failed to adhere strictly to Party principles. Party organizations did not educate the functionaries well, and consequently, many of them were contaminated with bad ideas, unable to tell right from wrong, they eventually committed grave errors.

Therefore, it is always necessary with those who have made a mistake to bring them to repent it of their own accord and to educate them properly to prevent their committing similar errors. In other words, stress should be placed on the method of ideological education to arm the functionaries with the monolithic ideology of our Party, and they should never be dismissed out of hand.

Party workers should be modest and gain the confidence of the masses. You should not be superior or behave arrogantly when you are with people. If you push yourselves forward, swagger about and put on airs, you will discredit yourselves in the eyes of the masses and become isolated from them. Therefore, you should be exemplary in your life and work, learn to unite with the masses and lead them along the correct path.

I am firmly convinced that you will never fail to live up to the expectations of the Party and justify the confidence it places in you, and will faithfully discharge your duties.

ON CORRECTLY IMPLEMENTING OUR PARTY'S POLICY TOWARDS INTELLECTUALS

**Speech to Intellectuals in North
Hamgyong Province**
June 14, 1968

I would like to say a few words about our Party's policy towards intellectuals and their tasks today to you intellectuals in North Hamgyong Province, including technicians working in factories and enterprises.

1. ON OUR PARTY'S POLICY TOWARDS INTELLECTUALS

I have learned during this guidance visit that there are no big problems as far as intellectuals in North Hamgyong Province are concerned, and their class composition is comparatively good. All of them, with the exception of a few old intellectuals, are new intellectuals of worker or peasant origin, trained by our Party since liberation. Many are Party members. The overwhelming majority are now trying hard to arm themselves with the Party's monolithic ideology, to defend it and to carry out its policies.

Some comrades, however, still have a few shortcomings

which may be considered as habits typical of the intelligentsia.

One of the shortcomings is that they tend to get swelled-headed because they have a little knowledge. Some comrades look down on others as ignoramuses, considering themselves know-alls and cocks-of-the-walk. These people regard themselves as the wisest of the wise, insist that they alone have the correct opinions on any problem, reject the opinions of others out of hand, while stubbornly persisting in their own and refuse to listen to others. Still less do they accept criticism. This is why the masses do not want to have anything to do with such persons.

Another shortcoming of intellectuals is that they are apt to become timid and self-preserving. Intellectuals ought to work hard to help build socialism successfully in our country by contributing all their knowledge and skill. But some of them are extremely passive toward their work; they are not brave and bold enough in their work and do not give full play to their skill and creativity, afraid that a slight mistake might involve them in a serious trouble. Such comrades do not use their heads or strive to boost socialist construction but simply try to avoid grave mistakes and maintain the status quo. They obediently do exactly what they are told so as to escape criticism. Still worse, they sometimes follow orders mechanically even though they know very well that doing so may make a mess. And some intellectuals, though not many, have the tendency to muddle along from day to day.

Of course, these defects are not due to any opposition to the Party or discontent with our institutions, nor do they represent any serious hostility. They are totally due to an erroneous style of work stemming from their petty-bourgeois mentality. Therefore, these shortcomings can all be rectified.

Why then do these shortcomings remain unrectified? It is mainly because the local and factory Party organizations are not yet doing work with intellectuals correctly.

Some Party organizations go to extremes in their work with intellectuals. They mainly substitute orders and abuse for correct work with intellectuals and hit them hard if anything

goes wrong instead of having a correct understanding of their petty-bourgeois mentality and conducting patient ideological education to rid them of it.

For this reason intellectuals become timid and hesitant in their work and just get frightened when they make the slightest mistake. Such being the case, some have fallen a prey to passivity and the cult of self-preservation, considering it best just to do what they are told.

In contrast, some other Party organizations are afraid of contact with intellectuals and give up work with them. They do not systematically educate and supervise the intellectuals at all times but leave them alone. As a result, a petty-bourgeois sense of superiority is gradually fostered among them and they become conceited. In the long run they grow reluctant to accept even criticism from the Party organization and do not make sincere efforts to carry out the revolutionary tasks assigned by the Party.

All these shortcomings are not in accord with our Party's policy towards intellectuals and fall short of what the Party expects from them. This has led me to believe that it is necessary to speak today once again about our Party's policy towards intellectuals. It would have been better to meet all you comrades individually and talk to and persuade each one of you, but I do not have enough time. That is why I am speaking to you comrades at this gathering today.

As you all know, intellectuals do not represent an independent social class. Accordingly they are not regarded as a class. Roughly speaking, modern bourgeois society consists of the working class, the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. Intellectuals make up a social stratum comprising people from these different classes.

In capitalist society intellectuals come from the capitalist class—children of rich families who have had education under favourable conditions, from the petty bourgeoisie, and a few from the working class, who have worked their way through school or studied under other adverse conditions. Since intellectuals of different class origins thus do not in themselves

represent an independent class, they serve this or that class mainly with their knowledge and skill.

In capitalist society where power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie, most intellectuals are obliged to serve the capitalist class. They can hardly find any other way but to serve the capitalists; so it is somewhat unavoidable for them to serve the capitalist class. In contrast, in socialist society where the working class is in power, intellectuals serve the working class, socialism and communism.

As we have seen, intellectuals have certain characteristics in regard to their social and class status. Basing itself on a detailed analysis of these characteristics, our Party mapped out at the outset a correct policy towards intellectuals and has constantly adhered to it.

Immediately after liberation we first thoroughly analysed the class composition of the intellectuals in our country in order to formulate a correct policy towards them. Our analysis showed that the overwhelming majority at that time were of petty-bourgeois origin and only a comparatively small number came from big capitalists. There were few, if any, from the working class, the proletariat.

The small number of intellectuals of big capitalist-class origin and the overwhelming number of petty-bourgeois origin were the outcome of the Japanese imperialists' colonial policy of cruel plunder in our country.

In the days of colonial rule by Japanese imperialism, our industry was completely under the control of Japanese monopoly capital. Japanese imperialism monopolized all the industries of Korea, ruthlessly exploited the Korean people and plundered them of the precious fruits of their labour and blocked the development of our national industry. Therefore, national capital was not able to develop. This resulted in the emergence of few, if any, big capitalists of Korean nationality. Take such fellows as Kim Song Su in south Korea, for example: strictly speaking, we cannot really say he was a big capitalist worth mentioning.

There were only a few Korean capitalists in the northern

half, whose factories were confiscated at the time of the nationalization of industries after liberation. This means there was a very small number of capitalists in our country in the past and the number of intellectuals of bourgeois origin was also small.

In this way our national capital could not develop in the past. Hence the limited number of intellectuals of bourgeois origin and the overwhelming number of intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin, who were able to receive an education with some effort.

What sort of people then are the petty-bourgeois intellectuals we are referring to? They are mostly the sons and daughters of small or medium merchants and manufacturers in the towns. In other words, they are those who were born into families of small businessmen, such as shopkeepers and dentists and small or medium manufacturers, and had schooling. They are also the sons and daughters of middle or well-to-do middle peasants in the countryside, who had an education.

In the past the small and medium merchants and manufacturers, rich and well-to-do middle peasants were insignificant in our country. Truth to tell, the living standards of our well-to-do middle peasants were lower than those of poor farmers in European countries, and the economic basis of the rich peasants in our country was insignificant compared to that of rich farmers in other countries.

By rich peasant we of course mean one who farms his land by hiring farm hands rather than renting it out. But not all the rich peasants have the same status. They may all fall within the rich peasant category but they differ widely in their specific socio-economic conditions. In foreign countries, a man who employs dozens of farm hands may be called a rich peasant, whereas in our country a farmer who in the past kept even a single farm hand is referred to as a rich peasant.

In fact, a big rich peasant in our country owned no more than several *chongbo* of land and kept a few farm hands at most. For this reason, we can say that most of our rich peasants had many petty-bourgeois characteristics. Well-to-do

middle peasants in our country barely managed to subsist until the next barley harvest. These were the general class relationships in our countryside in the past, as shown by our concrete analysis of rural class relations at the time of the agrarian reform after liberation.

As you see, our petty bourgeoisie were not too well-off, not to speak of being rich. But they did everything in their power to give their children an education, for the Koreans are a people who, by nature, hate to fall behind others and are fond of studying. Therefore, we should not automatically think of those who obtained some education before as rich people, nor would we be justified if we labelled them as exploiters. We should not just copy the foreign way of defining class relations; we should have a correct understanding of our intellectuals.

True, intellectuals in our country were not from a very rich class but they had to work in such Japanese establishments as educational institutions, banking offices or Japanese-owned companies, since they lived in a colonial, capitalist society. In those days intellectuals had no other alternative but to take jobs in such places. They were obliged to work in such institutions to earn their living, but it is a fact that they worked for Japanese imperialism and the capitalists, and we cannot get away from the fact that they served capitalism. You cannot say that these people served the working class when they worked in Japanese imperialist institutions or capitalist firms, can you?

But when the working class took power after the overthrow of the capitalists, our petty-bourgeois intellectuals embarked without hesitation on the road of serving the working class and the people.

As far back as the time when we founded the Party right after liberation we defined working intellectuals as well as workers and peasants as eligible for Party membership. Our Party admitted to membership advanced, qualified people from among the working class, from among the peasantry, especially the poor peasants, and also from among the working intellectuals. The emblem of our Party shows more graphically than

anything else that our Party is composed of workers, peasants and working intellectuals, for it is made up of a hammer, a sickle and a writing-brush.

Since the Marxist-Leninist Party is the vanguard of the working class, the first criterion for determining the composition of the Party must in all circumstances be the working class. This class must be the backbone and core of the Party. But, at the same time, our recognition of the peasants and working intellectuals as motive forces for the revolution and our definition of them as people eligible for Party membership is a most correct policy based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the social and class relations and the nature of the revolution in our country.

Though our old intellectuals served capitalism before, they possessed revolutionary qualities to a certain degree because they were intellectuals in a colonial and semi-feudal society. Although they served capitalism, they were not free from oppression by big capitalists since they were from the petty-bourgeois class, and, more particularly, they suffered unbearable national oppression and discrimination under the Japanese imperialist colonial rulers. This naturally fostered anti-imperialist revolutionary ideas among our intellectuals. Furthermore, the fact that our country had been reduced to a colony of Japanese imperialism owing to its backwardness inevitably filled them who had knowledge and skill with an ambition to develop, in every way and as quickly as possible, the productive forces and national culture of our country far removed from modern technical civilization, and to turn it into a modern industrial state, strong, prosperous, independent and sovereign. In short, the intellectuals in a backward colonial and semi-feudal society are bound to have anti-imperialist revolutionary ideas and the patriotic urge to oppose the imperialist invaders and develop their backward country as quickly as possible. Accordingly, our intellectuals were able to become a motive force in the national-liberation struggle and democratic revolution and have been able to play an important role also in the socialist revolution and construction.

Intellectuals play a very big role in the revolution. This has been proved by the history of our revolution as a whole to date and especially by our own experience in the struggle.

We can say that movements of intellectuals as well as the student movement in colonial countries constitute a revolutionary trend. Of course, the intellectuals' movements alone cannot solve the fundamental problems of revolution because they themselves waver and have a number of weaknesses. Only when their struggle is linked with the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants can it become a great force and help bring about decisive victory. Nonetheless, because of their acute awareness of the need for revolution to overthrow the old social system and create a new one, intellectuals in underdeveloped colonial countries play the role of intermediary who sows the seeds of revolution among the masses.

It was intellectuals who pioneered the national-liberation movement in our country in the past. It was also they who first introduced Marxist-Leninist ideas in the early days of the Korean communist movement. Our intellectuals played a revolutionary role not only in the 1920's when they propagated Marxism-Leninism but also in the periods that followed. Before our people's national-liberation struggle against Japanese imperialism was transformed into a mass struggle embracing the workers and peasants, that is, up until the time the workers and peasants, the main motive forces of the revolution, were sufficiently awakened to take a conscious part in the revolutionary struggle, the intermediary role in the revolution was played by the student movement and the movement among intellectuals.

The intellectuals are also playing an important part in the south Korean revolution today. The south Korean intellectuals accepted the ideas of our Party—communist ideas—earlier than any other stratum of society and they are energetically struggling to spread them among the people. This is eloquently shown by the so-called “case of the Society for Comparative Study on Nationalism” at Seoul University, about which the enemy is now making a fuss. Most of the intellectuals who are

now taking part in the revolutionary struggle in south Korea are from well-to-do families. Yet they have embraced Marxism-Leninism and the policies of our Party and have come forward in the revolutionary struggle to drive out U.S. imperialism and reunify the country. Today they are sowing the seeds of revolution among the people everywhere and fighting bravely.

True, the south Korean intellectuals have shortcomings. They still confine their activities to students and intellectuals and fail to go deep among the workers and peasants, the main forces of the revolution. At best, their struggles do not go beyond organizing student demonstrations and strikes or beyond stirring up public opinion. This being the case, they have not yet found the real source of power in their struggle and so cannot progress far in it. In order to further develop the revolution on a mass scale and win decisive victory, the intellectuals must go into the midst of the masses of workers and peasants and rouse them to struggle.

When we started the revolutionary movement, we too began with a student movement and gradually went among the workers and peasants. It was not until we had our activities among the broad masses of workers and peasants and were able to rouse them to revolutionary struggle that we came to have greater confidence in victory, and that the struggle dynamically forged ahead to enter an active stage.

As historical experience shows, intellectuals, especially those in a colonial, semi-feudal society, possess revolutionary spirit to a certain degree. Therefore, if properly organized and guided, they can serve the people and the working class and play an important role in the revolutionary struggle.

Right after liberation, basing itself on a scientific analysis of these characteristics of intellectuals, our Party boldly enlisted the old-line intellectuals, even admitting them into membership. It pursued the policy of carrying out the great revolutionary work of building up a new society, a new life, hand in hand with the intellectuals. Our Party provided them with all the conditions necessary for them to give full play to their

knowledge and skill. It opened up a road of unlimited development for them. It trusted them and fought hand in hand with them not only in the period of the democratic revolution but also in the stage of the socialist revolution, constantly educating and remoulding them.

Encouraged by this correct Party policy towards them, our intellectuals have ever since liberation taken an active part in the struggle to build up a new homeland. They have actively supported all the lines and policies of the Party and devoted all their learning and talents to the revolution and to construction. They have played a very important role in all fields of the national economy—in our industrial and agrarian construction, in science, culture, public health, etc. They have indeed done great things.

Reality clearly shows that we gave a correct definition of intellectuals at the time of the founding of the Party and that the policy towards intellectuals our Party has followed to this day has been absolutely correct.

Some intellectuals who are now engaged in the revolutionary struggle in south Korea, I am told, are very anxious to know how the north Korean intellectuals who have taken part in the revolution ever since the agrarian reform are treated and how the intellectuals who have joined the revolution in south Korea will be treated in the future. If the policy towards intellectuals our Party has pursued to date in the northern half of the Republic is fully and accurately explained to them, everything will be clear to them. There is not a shadow of doubt that in the future our Party will pursue its correct policy towards the intellectuals in the southern half, as it has done in the northern half. We must co-operate with the intellectuals in the southern half in the revolutionary struggle to force U.S. imperialism out of south Korea and reunify the country. We must also enable them to give full play to their learning and talents in the struggle to transform south Korea from a backward colonial, semi-feudal society into a socialist society.

At the Party Conference held a few years ago we brought

up the revolutionization of intellectuals along with that of the workers and peasants as an important question. The fact that our Party has now put forward the slogan of revolutionizing intellectuals by no means implies any change in its policy towards them. Our emphasis on their revolutionization aims at educating them more quickly and actively in view of the present situation at home and abroad and of our important revolutionary tasks. I explicitly mentioned this question also in my talks with intellectuals in Hamhung last year. At that time I fully explained the Party's standpoint with regard to revolutionizing intellectuals and even the methods for revolutionizing them.

But some intellectuals still do not have a correct understanding of Party policy on revolutionization. As a result, various tendencies are revealed among them. Seeing the Party emphasize the question of revolutionizing intellectuals, some of them become conceited, thinking, "Well, I'm quite all right since I come from the working class," while on the other hand some intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin feel timid, thinking, "Oh, I'm the object of revolutionization." Some comrades are even afraid if our Party's line on class struggle has changed. None of these reactions is in conformity with the Party's intentions.

In fact, the road you have traversed for the last 20 years has been the road of arduous revolutionary struggle—the process of revolutionizing yourselves. But a long record of revolutionary struggle does not always mean that there is nothing left to be desired in one's revolutionization. Remnants of outdated ideas—petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideas, dogmatism, flunkeyism, etc.—are still found in no small degree in our people's minds, and we consider this especially true of intellectuals. If you retain remnants of outdated capitalist ideas, you cannot become Communists, nor will you be able to participate actively in socialist construction. Therefore, we attach importance to the slogan of revolutionization in order to eliminate these remnants of old ideas in intellectuals as quickly as possible, in order to educate and train all of them to become

ardent Communists, genuine builders of socialism who faithfully serve the Party and the revolution, the country and the people.

As soon as our Party put forward the slogan of working-classization and revolutionization, some people asked: What is meant by working-classization and revolutionization? Doesn't working-classization mean the same as revolutionization? They say they cannot see the difference between them. These people are not yet clear on the essence of our Party's policy of working-classization and revolutionization; they consider that the working class need no revolutionization. Even in socialist society outdated ideas remain for a long time, and as long as old ideas exist the working class, too, may become corrupt and degenerate.

Revolutionization, therefore, is applicable to all members of society as well as to intellectuals.

The working class ought to revolutionize themselves. Being a member of the working class does not mean that one is automatically revolutionized. We cannot say that a worker who works with a hammer in a factory is necessarily a man with a revolutionary world outlook, in other words, is a stalwart revolutionary solidly armed with the policies of our Party and with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The working class comprises many who once belonged to the middle or petty-bourgeois class. Those who were small or medium merchants or manufacturers, or rich farmers or middle peasants yesterday still retain many petty-bourgeois ideas, though they are now workers who beat iron with a hammer in a factory or work in a blast furnace. The level of ideological consciousness cannot be exactly the same in those who have a work record of only two or three years, and those who have been workers for more than 20 years and who come from generations of workers, though they all belong to the same working class. Besides, some might have been lumberjacks who used to work around from one cutting to another, others casual labourers, and still others might have been trained at blast furnaces in big iron works or steel plants. Workers who were

engaged in different kinds of work differ widely in their sense of organization and solidarity. That is why the working class also need revolutionization, and we should not make light of the struggle to revolutionize them.

It goes without saying that we should revolutionize the peasantry, along with the working class. The peasants should both revolutionize and working-classize themselves.

In a nutshell, our Party's policy is to transform the whole of society after the pattern of the working class, and to make everyone a staunch revolutionary, a zealous Communist. Revolutionization and working-classization are all designed precisely to carry out this policy of the Party.

As we never fail to point out, there are various methods of revolutionization—explanation and persuasion, criticism and self-criticism. True, ideological struggle is the basic form of class struggle waged by the working class in power during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. This does not aim at ostracizing people or dismissing them. It is a struggle, in the true sense of the word, to eradicate the old ideas remaining in people's minds and arm them with communist ideas. It is an endeavour to achieve the unity and cohesion of the entire society. In accordance with these correct Marxist-Leninist principles our Party has struggled to revolutionize and working-classize the whole of society, and in the future, too, it will vigorously carry on this struggle on the basis of these principles.

Therefore, our Party's current emphasis on the question of revolutionizing intellectuals does not in the least mean any change in its policy towards them, nor are there any grounds for justifying such conjecture. I would like to re-emphasize that our Party's policy towards intellectuals today remains the same as it was in the past and will remain the same in the future, too. You should, therefore, uphold our Party's policy towards intellectuals and strive to working-classize and revolutionize yourselves more.

2. ON SOME REVOLUTIONARY TASKS FACING OUR INTELLECTUALS

Our Party has trusted the intellectuals and assigned them as engineers and chief engineers; it has placed factories in their charge and entrusted them with various important revolutionary tasks. Being a factory chief engineer, for instance, is by no means an ordinary job. It is as important a job as that of a chief of staff in the army. Just as the army chief of staff makes and executes all operational plans, so the chief engineer manages the factory in the technical sphere and guides all the production processes. Our Party assigns such important jobs to intellectuals because it completely trusts them. Some comrades seem to think that it is some sort of diplomacy to keep them in important posts. That is quite mistaken. There can be no diplomacy among revolutionaries. The point is whether or not you make revolution. If we did not trust intellectuals, we would not give them such honourable revolutionary tasks.

Our Party has entrusted intellectuals with important revolutionary tasks. Why then should they become timid, vacillate and fall into the self-preservation frame of mind? There is no reason why our intellectuals should take such an attitude. It is not right to be timid because of their bad class background.

Our intellectuals should be determined to become worthy of the Party's confidence by revolutionizing themselves and faithfully serving the Party and the working class and be active in all spheres and try to avoid making mistakes. Yet, instead of trying to be worthy of the deep trust of the Party, some comrades are not working whole-heartedly.

Let me take the instance of the chief engineer in a certain enterprise. As he did a fine job before, we promoted him to the post of chief engineer in 1962. His family background was somewhat complex. But we did not make a big question of it.

We trusted the man himself and boldly assigned him as chief engineer, though his family background was complex. Therefore, he should have been faithful to his job. But, contrary to the Party's expectations, he did not introduce new technology nor did he work hard. He even had licentious relations with an ideologically bad woman.

The Party organization was also to blame. It did not even criticize him, I was told, lest he should get frightened. That was a wrong method of work. The Party organization should have criticized his mistakes in time. If someone has shortcomings, he should be told frankly that such and such is wrong. That should be enough to make him correct his mistakes painlessly. Absence of timely criticism of mistakes makes the person concerned doubt things more. In fact, the chief engineer at issue grew all the more sceptical and timid and failed to do his work properly because the Party organization did not criticize his mistakes. As we see, a man of bad family background will become worse if, because of that handicap, he is left free of supervision and criticism even when he has made mistakes in carrying out the revolutionary tasks given him by the Party.

Party organizations should promptly criticize and educate intellectuals when they commit errors. Some comrades say it is hard to criticize those who are to some extent of bad origin. You should not think in that way. It is better to criticize those with shortcomings than leave them alone. Of course, criticism should be given after due consideration of whether it is better to criticize a person openly before the masses, or individually or else at a closed meeting of a few people, according to his political level and character when he has made a mistake. It is not a bad thing to bring a person before the masses when he repeats his errors many times. And intellectuals on their part should realize that they well deserve criticism for their mistakes, and accept the Party's criticism as an effective educational remedy to save them.

In the days of our guerrilla struggle we used to expose mistakes to sharp criticism and deal out severe punishment.

I would like to give you a case in point that happened

when we were waging our guerrilla struggle. Many comrades were then engaged in underground activities down in the Tanchon and Songjin areas. To establish contact with them we sent a small unit under a comrade named Kim Ju Hyon into the homeland. His job was something like that of deputy commander for logistics as we say nowadays in the People's Army. Comrade Kim Ju Hyon led his small unit into the homeland. But on the way to the destination, he took an action which he had not been instructed to do and came back without fulfilling his mission. He came back believing that he had done a good thing, but we punished him for his failure to carry out his revolutionary assignment. We sharply criticized him: "We told you to give some revolutionary tasks to the comrades who are working in the Tanchon and Songjin areas, and it is a serious thing that you did not carry out your important revolutionary task." We then decided to dismiss him from the post of deputy commander for logistics and assigned him the job of carrying a cauldron for six months. This was certainly no light punishment. How shameful it must have been for a man in a leading post as deputy commander for logistics to find himself carrying a cauldron on his back in the rear of a marching column following those who had formerly been under him! But he knew that was really the way to revolutionize himself. He was an intellectual like you comrades and was good at writing and making speeches. He made up his mind: "I will fight to the last on the road of revolution. I deserve punishment since I have made a mistake. I must correct my mistake by faithfully serving the revolutionary struggle." And then he worked tirelessly, carrying a cauldron on his back. He kept on working hard without the least complaint despite his punishment. So we wrote off his penalty before the six-month period was up and restored him to his former position.

Anyone may be punished if he makes mistakes in his work, and in a serious case he may be demoted. This is what order and discipline mean in the revolutionary struggle. Without such strict revolutionary order and discipline we cannot carry out difficult revolutionary work. Even if you are punished and

demoted, you should regard your new job as a revolutionary post assigned by the Party. In the revolutionary struggle you should not have likes or dislikes, be your post high or low. No matter what kind of post you hold, you should faithfully perform your revolutionary task and constantly strive to correct your mistakes.

Today our Party trusts all intellectuals—old and new intellectuals, intellectuals of working-class origin, of petty-bourgeois origin or of bourgeois origin. You comrades have worked for the revolution for more than ten years and some comrades have served the working class and the people for over 20 years. Therefore, you deserve to work in the important position with which the Party entrusts you. That is why intellectuals should stick to the revolutionary post entrusted to them by the Party, work harder and strive to revolutionize and working-classize themselves.

Our intellectuals must first discard all old ideas—timidity, attitudes of self-preservation, egoism, etc. They should defend socialism in every way and be loyal to the revolutionary cause of the working class to the last.

Generally speaking, intellectuals together with the petty bourgeoisie stand on the side of the Party and the working class and go ahead without vacillation as far as the stage in the socialist revolution in which the landlord's land is confiscated and the capitalists' factories are expropriated. But in the course of building socialism and on the road to communism instances are found from time to time of some intellectuals who give up revolution, and flinch and waver halfway. As you all know, many very interesting struggles take place in the periods of the national-liberation struggle, the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. In these periods, the struggles are waged mainly to solve irreconcilable contradictions and ideological struggle does not yet develop full scale, for it is of a non-antagonistic nature aimed at eliminating the survivals of obsolete capitalist ideas in the minds of people. In these periods, therefore, intellectuals zealously participate in the revolution on impulse.

But in the period of building socialism following the socialist revolution, ideological struggle is carried out on a full scale to completely root out the remnants of capitalist ideas. The struggle against egoism and other survivals of old capitalist ideas is one of the most important revolutionary tasks in the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism. As they enter the period of ideological revolution when egoism and other capitalist ideas are totally opposed some intellectuals begin to vacillate. Old ideas such as egoism survive in everyone to some degree or other. Consequently, all who are not revolutionized should remould their ideology. It is a big problem for the peasants, who are backward in ideology, and particularly intellectuals. This is one of the reasons why intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie waver in the period of ideological revolution.

Another important reason why intellectuals and some sectors of the middle class vacillate during the struggle for the complete victory of socialism, i.e., in the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism, lies in the fact that they do not realize the real advantages of the socialist system, because of their social, class or economic positions in the past and that, faced with the difficulties which may temporarily stand in the way of the building of socialism, they lose confidence in its complete victory.

All this indicates that they have not been thoroughly armed with revolutionary ideas.

It is a matter of much regret that there are cases in which our intellectuals have not discarded egoism and fail to devote themselves to the building of socialism.

In former days our revolutionaries dedicated themselves to the revolution at the cost of their lives—to the cause of creating a socialist society, even though they had never been to a socialist country. Among the people who made the revolution with us were intellectuals. They came from well-to-do families. They never wavered in their revolutionary constancy or forsook their revolutionary conscience even when in the revolutionary struggle they were captured by the enemy and

faced death. But nowadays our intellectuals lack such a strong revolutionary spirit.

At present the south Korean intellectuals, too, are taking an active part in the revolutionary struggle. This is by no means because they live in poverty. Although most intellectuals engaged in the revolution in south Korea are the sons and daughters of the well-to-do, they are bravely fighting the enemy to drive out the Yankees and overthrow the corrupt south Korean regime. It is said that they declare: "We are not making revolution because we are hungry. We have land and money. We are from well-to-do families, but we'll carry out revolution. How can we be indifferent to the *chige*-carriers wandering about the streets to earn their bread, the many homeless people sleeping under bridges and the miserable children begging around with tins in their hands or polishing shoes by the roadside, denied the chance of schooling?" The south Korean intellectuals are fighting today without yielding even when they are arrested by the enemy, and they do not give up the revolutionary struggle even when they see their comrades taken to the scaffold.

Thus, the south Korean intellectuals are fighting solely for the revolution at the risk of their lives, their families and their property. Why, then, do some of our intellectuals yield to egoism and fail to devote themselves to socialist construction?

The question depends on whether one has a revolutionary world outlook or not. The fact that many south Korean intellectuals are fighting for the revolution under cruel enemy suppression shows that they possess the revolutionary world outlook. This is why they make nothing of their comfortable homes, their large land-holdings and their wealth. They are fighting, defying the scaffold and prison, not for their own prosperity but in order to build a socialist society where everyone has an equal chance in life. Our intellectuals, however, have not yet been thoroughly educated in this revolutionary spirit, nor have they formed a solid revolutionary world outlook. That is why they are not whole-hearted in

their devotion to the revolutionary cause of the working class. When I say this, however, I do not mean that all our intellectuals are backward people lacking in revolutionary ideas. Needless to say, the absolute majority possess the revolutionary world outlook and are working faithfully for the Party and the people on all fronts of socialist construction. But some, though very few, have not yet discarded selfishness and lack a strong revolutionary spirit.

Our intellectuals should undergo ceaseless ideological tempering. They should eradicate the survivals of old ideas and arm themselves firmly with the communist idea to devote themselves to the Party and the revolution, to the country and the people, and to society and the collective.

When they are revolutionized and see things from the point of view not of egoism but of collectivism and communism, intellectuals will clearly realize the advantages of socialism and work devotedly for its complete victory.

In fact, our socialist system is a social system incomparably superior to the capitalist system. A south Korean intellectual said that in Seoul there were many *chige*-carriers, and a lot of people slept on straw-bags under bridges, whereas in north Korea there were none of such people, and in Pyongyang one could see everyone on the streets in the morning equally well-dressed, regardless of rank, and this really gave an impression of a different world. He also said that some women in Seoul painted their lips thickly, though their underwear was worn-out, but no woman over here did that. When we asked him why those south Korean women went round like that, he replied that it was because they were so badly off that they had no choice but to become prostitutes. He said young south Koreans were even forced to choose to become paid cannon fodder for the U.S. imperialists on the battlefields of South Viet Nam, in an attempt to prolong their existence even by a day, for they were in fear of starving to death at home. This shows how wretched the situation is in south Korea. It is, indeed, a great misery inconceivable in our happy northern half of the country.

Capitalist society is the land of promise for a handful of landlords and capitalists but a living hell for the absolute majority of the labouring masses. In contrast, socialist society is a society in which everyone of the working people is equally well-fed, well-dressed and well-off, and in which everyone can study and receive free medical care.

Whenever we have visitors from the newly independent countries we tell them about the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system. We vividly explain to them, by illustrating with our experience that if an underdeveloped country takes the road of capitalism after its liberation from imperialist colonial rule, it will become a colony again and will become ruined, and that only when it takes the road of socialism, will it become a rich and strong country enjoying a worth-while life.

The successful building of socialism naturally requires much time and effort because an independent national economy and national culture must be developed and national defence must be strengthened. Difficulties and obstacles will crop up, though only temporarily, in the course of building socialism. How can it be an easy job to ensure that everyone leads a happy life—able to work and study and be equally well-fed and well-dressed? Yet once we achieve the complete victory of socialism and gradually build communism through hard work and great effort, we will find no better society. Communism is the highest ideal of mankind. In that society man will attain his highest development, both mental and physical, and everyone will live a cultured and prosperous life. The fall of capitalism and the victory of socialism and communism is an inexorable law of human history.

By further revolutionizing and working-classing themselves, therefore, our intellectuals should devote all their wisdom and talents exclusively to the struggle for the defence and complete victory of socialism, without vacillating in the slightest under any adversity. Thus, they will help to step up socialist construction in our country and consolidate and develop the socialist system, thereby contributing greatly to

making all the people understand better, through their actual life, the real advantages of socialism.

As we always say, for the complete victory of socialism we must conquer two fortresses, that is, the ideological and the material. Therefore the ideological revolution and economic construction should be carried out properly, and in this intellectuals have many things to do.

Intellectuals have indeed tremendous tasks in economic construction alone.

We should endeavour to speed up the industrialization of our country and consolidate the basis of our independent national economy. It would be easy for us to provide temporary abundance for the people. If we imported oil, meat and other subsidiary foods or clothing materials with the money we earn every year, instead of building factories, our people would be able to live well for the time being. However, we must not live in such a way as to eat today when we have money and go hungry tomorrow when we have none. That is not the way to make our country prosperous and powerful. We must build our economy under a long-range programme, even if we have to tighten our belts at present, and we must lay a solid economic base for the well-being of the future generations. We must develop the chemical, iron and steel and machine-building industries and also the defence industry. In other words, we must give priority to the growth of heavy industry which constitutes a leading sector of the national economy and provides the material basis guaranteeing a high tempo of extended reproduction. This alone will guarantee a better life for our people in the future and deter the enemy from attacking.

We should not only strengthen the nation's economic base for the sake of the future but also carry on economic construction efficiently in order to improve the people's present living conditions. Our aim in building socialism and communism lies, in the final analysis, in providing all the people with abundance and all the benefits of modern life. The superiority of socialism must find expression not in factory chimneys but in a happy life for the people. For that reason, while concentrating our main

efforts on economic construction to ensure plenty in the distant future, we should never neglect today's living conditions of the people.

Of course, with the gradual strengthening of our economic base our people's standard of living has already risen as never before. But we cannot yet say that our people live a life of plenty. We must solve a few questions to raise living standards.

One to be solved at present is that of non-staple foodstuffs. We have not yet satisfactorily solved the question of oil and meat. In order to turn out large quantities of good subsidiary foodstuffs we must develop light industry and agriculture, which in turn requires a rapid growth of those branches of heavy industry that are directly related to the improvement of the people's living standards. In other words, for a plentiful supply of subsidiary food we should develop the machine-building, metallurgical and chemical industries, and thus lay a solid foundation for the efficient production of these foodstuffs. Only when the chemical industry produces fertilizers and agricultural chemicals in large quantities to ensure good farming, can we produce a large amount of feed-grain and, consequently, abundant meat. And only when we develop the engineering industry and thus build many large vessels, will we be able to catch lots of fish on the high seas.

Furthermore, the improvement of our people's standard of living calls for raising the quality of consumer goods. Quality, however, is not high, as you can see for instance in the footwear now made in the shoe factories in North Hamgyong Province. This is true not only of footwear but also of other consumer goods. And the variety of daily necessities is not large at present, to say nothing of their poor quality.

Both the work of laying a solid economic base under the long-range national plan and economic work to raise the people's present living standards can only be successfully carried out when they are pushed ahead vigorously by scientists and technicians with scientific know-how and technique. Indeed, the Party expects much from you intellectuals in economic construction.

But how are you doing things now? You are neither working heart and soul to promote our science and technology, nor tackling the elementary technical problems that need to be solved to improve the people's living conditions nor doing even simple organizational work. That is why our industrialization is not being accelerated nor are the people's living standards raised rapidly.

Take stockbreeding for example. It cannot go ahead because our functionaries are not organizing the work properly and not solving even simple technical questions to do with animal husbandry and veterinary work. I discovered on this visit that many sheep have perished in North Hamgyong Province in the last eight years. If these sheep had been saved, carefully raised and bred, they would no doubt have tremendously increased in number by now. The same situation exists in the fishing industry. At present, small-scale fishing, for instance, is not organized properly, though this is fully possible. And while vegetable growing will be successful if the sprinkling irrigation system is introduced in accordance with the Party's policy, our functionaries do not properly organize that work either. The low quality of the products of light industry is also due to your failure to give effective technical direction and to your neglect of adequate ideological education for the people. You are highly-educated technicians. Our Party has entrusted you with the task of the technical revolution and with scientific research. Yet, you are not working hard to improve quality. Since you are engineers or chief engineers, you ought to try hard to raise the quality of manufactured goods and expand their variety.

We are all materialists and believers in science. Nothing falls from heaven or springs up from the earth by itself. We must make everything we need through our own efforts. Intellectuals in particular should put in a lot of effort to help achieve this, but they fail to do so. As a result, we are not properly making what is well within our capabilities.

Is this clumsy way of doing things, then, due to a lack of adequate working conditions for our scientists and technicians?

No, that is not the case. Our intellectuals are not in such difficult circumstances as those in south Korea where their colleagues are doing scientific research under the enemy's cruel suppression. Our intellectuals are provided with all the conditions necessary for doing profound scientific research and for doing their work to the best of their ability. Our Party has entrusted intellectuals with important posts and created favourable conditions for them to do their work without worry. So they ought to work hard to live up to the Party's trust and expectations. You must understand Party policy correctly and endeavour to defend the Party positively, uphold its ideology and translate it into action.

Intellectuals should also become active propagandists for socialism and communism. They should be, so to speak, defenders of socialism not only in the field of economic construction but also in the sphere of ideological revolution. You have studied under the Party's care since liberation, growing up in its bosom, and are better educated than anyone else. Therefore, you should fully rouse other people and explain and propagate socialist and communist ideology among the masses. All our intellectuals will thus make a greater contribution to the revolutionization and working-classization of the whole of society.

Next, our intellectuals should arm themselves firmly with the *Juche* idea, the revolutionary ideology of our Party in order to become Red soldiers of the Party.

Our adherence to the *Juche* idea does not in the least mean that we have adopted nationalism. The *Juche* idea we advocate does not conflict with internationalism. Instead, it is designed to promote internationalism, for it leads to the development of the sciences and the building of the economy to suit our specific conditions, and thus contributes to increasing the strength of our country and furthering the might of the socialist camp as a whole.

Let us take the food question for example. Suppose we often asked other socialist countries to lend us food because we failed to become self-sufficient. What then would the result of that be? It would hold back the standard of living

of the peoples of those countries by that much. However, if we get good crop yields and do not ask others for food, they will be free from such worries and obstacles to their own livelihood. Furthermore, it will help improve food conditions in the socialist camp to that extent. So the building of an independent agriculture does not mean nationalism. On the contrary, it is conducive to promoting internationalism.

Our intellectuals must arm themselves with our Party's ideology and thoroughly establish *Juche*, and never practise flunkeyism. The path of flunkeyism leads to the ruin of the country and the nation. If individuals practise flunkeyism, they are bound to become fools.

Yet flunkeyism has found and is finding much expression among intellectuals—not only in the past but also at present. Flunkeyism is seldom found among the workers and peasants, but conditions are rife that give rise to flunkeyism among intellectuals working in the fields of science, technology, literature and art. For the purpose of scientific and cultural research, they read books written by foreigners as well as those published in their own country, and many go abroad for study or training to acquire advanced experience. In such cases those who are not firmly equipped with the *Juche* idea will be infected with national nihilism and flunkeyism which regard things of their own country as unworthy of attention and indiscriminately consider that everything foreign is good.

Let me take a few examples.

In former days some of the government-patronized scholars infected with flunkeyism prattled that the Koreans were the descendants of "Kija." History books by those ancient scholars made a fiction that a foreigner named "Kija," who hated serving the king of his country, rebelled against him and took several hundred technicians to Korea to build a country. These books say that among these technicians were blacksmiths, weavers and others with all sorts of skills, and that they developed our science and culture. Those scholars even had what they called the "Kija mausoleum" built in Pyong-yang. In the days of Japanese imperialist rule this was extolled

in a popular song as a spot of scenic beauty and historic interest in Pyongyang.

Under Japanese imperialist rule flunkeyism with respect to Japan was also serious. In those days a man called Li Kwang Su went to the length of babbling that the Koreans were of the "same blood" as the Japanese; in other words, the Koreans had the same ancestor and the same origin as the Japanese.

Flunkeyism of this kind has not been eradicated from the minds of our intellectuals even now.

A certain archaeologist was so full of flunkeyism that he tried to establish the origin of our nation in an absurd place. Without doing any scientific research he said that our ancestors had probably come from a foreign country because of the similarity in the shape of the skulls of Koreans in primitive society and those found in an old tomb somewhere in that country. Thus he tried to regard our people as the descendants of another nation and as very backward nation. This allegation is really nonsense.

Our present-day musicians also have tendencies to flunkeyism. A certain singer, I was told, insists on singing Italian songs, considering them the best in the world. This attitude is prompted by a fundamentally wrong ideology. Our country is beautiful by nature, our mother tongue sounds fluent and the pronunciation is articulate, and our songs, too, are melodious. Why do they only worship foreign music rather than developing our own fine national music?

The tendencies to flunkeyism are now revealed even in the way some people speak. When they have a fine language of their own, they introduce words of Chinese origin into their speech to show how learned they are. When they mention one's age, for example, they say "sibose" (15 years old—Tr.) instead of "yoldasossal" which itself sounds good. This means, in effect, that they make little effort to develop things of our nation.

In south Korea the idea of U.S.-worship is widespread among intellectuals. It was reported that a south Korean dance troupe visited Indonesia not long ago. As they were in the

habit of copying American jazz, they danced naked on the stage even in that country—only to be expelled. What a lousy show they must have put on to be kicked out even by a country not ruled by Communists! As you see, American jazz dance is all the rage in south Korea, not among the workers and peasants, but among actors and actresses who are intellectuals. U.S.-worship is also dominant in other spheres in south Korea, to say nothing of the realm of art.

We should resolutely combat this practice of hindering the development of our national culture, as well as that of distorting the history of our nation.

You would be wrong if you thought that flunkeyism existed elsewhere but not a bit here in North Hamgyong Province. Quite a lot of it exists in this province, too. When we were here in 1959, we found many manifestations of flunkeyism. On that visit I went to the theatre where I noticed a display of many quotations from foreign writers, but there were none of our own. So I asked the manager of the theatre if he knew anything about the foreign writers, and he answered he knew nothing about them. How deplorable it is to be so ignorant and to practise flunkeyism!

We should root out this flunkeyism and establish *Juche* more thoroughly in all spheres of social science.

Juche should be thoroughly established not only in social science but also in natural science. By establishing *Juche* in natural science we should see to it that domestic raw materials meet at least 70 per cent of the demand set by industry. Otherwise our industry will not develop on a stable basis.

This has been fully proved by our experience. This year our iron production was retarded by the shortage of coking coal. Though they talk much about establishing *Juche*, our functionaries have not yet discarded flunkeyism in practice and, therefore, they are not trying hard to make wide use of domestic fuel in our iron industry.

We should endeavour to develop the iron industry with domestic fuel. As we mentioned on our recent visit to the Kim Chaek Iron Works, you in North Hamgyong Province

should use iron ore produced in this province rather than bringing ore from the western region, and do research on making granulated iron by using coal available in your province instead of anthracite.

The correctness of the *Juche* idea advocated by our Party is now widely known to the world, and it is finding an echo among large numbers of people. The revolutionary intellectuals in south Korea also actively support our *Juche* idea, the idea of independence, self-support and self-defence, and are fighting for it. The *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*, the Ten-Point Political Programme of the Government of the Republic and other documents of our Party are now widely studied in many countries.

Thus, even foreigners support and study the *Juche* idea, the line of independence, set forth by our Party. Why, then, should we, who directly initiated the *Juche* idea and are building socialism, practise flunkeyism? We should never practise flunkeyism.

North Hamgyong Province in particular is vulnerable to flunkeyism because it borders on big countries. You comrades should, therefore, intensify the struggle to oppose flunkeyism and establish *Juche*.

But that does not mean we intend to follow a policy of national isolationism or closed-doorism. Even things foreign, if acceptable, should be turned to good account. Foreign experience should be studied—if it does not suit us it should be rejected, and vice versa. Flunkeyism means blind worship of everything foreign and contempt for everything of one's own. It never implies the exchange of good experience with foreign countries or the introduction of scientific and technological achievements that are suited to one's own country. Certainly we should introduce foreign things, if necessary. Nevertheless, we should value our own things highly and guard against flunkeyism at all times.

You should not misinterpret our urgings to oppose flunkeyism and establish *Juche* as an encouragement to the restoration of the old. Restorationism has nothing in common with

Juche. Nowadays certain persons claim that a husky voice should be the vocal basis of our music as in old times, and that this alone is genuine national music. They maintain that even the musical instruments used by our forefathers in ancient times should be popularized without improvement. According to them, there can be no progress in national music. We must not tend to restorationism because of our emphasis on national music. The old feudal songs tuned to *sijo*, which the feudal rulers liked to sing, were decadent and moribund. If you were to revive and sing those songs as national music, who would want to hear them? Such outmoded, corrupt songs would have no educational value at a time when you ought to sing songs that suit the proud reality of socialism rushing forward in the spirit of Chollima. Rather than following restorationism in music, you should develop our national musical instruments and sing the songs expressing the emotions and feelings arising from the present-day life of our people, songs that throb with the thrilling reality of socialist construction.

In conclusion, in order to establish *Juche* thoroughly, we must completely eliminate dogmatist attitudes to the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, blind worship of big powers and reliance on them and national nihilism. At the same time, we must oppose national chauvinism and national isolationism and strictly guard against restorationism which attempts to revive the ancient uncritically on the plea of valuing our own things. This is precisely the revolutionary essence of the *Juche* we advocate.

For the thoroughgoing establishment of *Juche* an ideological struggle against outmoded ideas should be intensified among the people. No doubt, it would be impossible to measure offhand how much each man is infected with flunkeyism. But this is not so difficult a job. If ideological struggle is conducted and each man's acts examined, everything will become clear. You should root out flunkeyism from your minds through effective ideological struggle. Our intellectuals will thus be able to take the lead in holding high the banner of anti-flunkeyism and championing the *Juche* idea of our Party.

Lastly, you should be honest in your Party life and other organizational life. Anyone will lag behind in ideology if he is not under organizational supervision and has no organizational life. Those who dislike organizational life will be badly affected by the old ideas and will be the first to be infected with the venom of capitalist ideology from outside. Therefore, you should not regard organizational life as a nuisance but actively participate in it and constantly temper yourselves ideologically.

All intellectuals will be bold and brave in their work, will find it interesting and be more faithful to the Party, overcoming all obstacles and difficulties, if they clearly understand our Party's policy towards intellectuals, actively safeguard the socialist system, form the revolutionary world outlook and thoroughly arm themselves with the *Juche* idea of our Party.

North Hamgyong Province today has many tasks to perform, which require an intense struggle. In this province there are enormous construction projects for you to undertake: the steel and rolling mills at the Kim Chaek Iron Works, the Sodusu Hydroelectric Power Station, the building of an oil refinery, and so on. It is you who have to design and undertake all these vast projects. Therefore, the tasks for scientists and technicians in this province are really important.

All your learning and energy should be devoted to the successful fulfilment of your glorious revolutionary tasks. Indolence and slackness are taboo in revolutionary work. How can you afford to be idle and easy-going when we have yet to reunify the country and perfect its economic base and especially when you have huge construction tasks in North Hamgyong Province? I was told that it took a certain enterprise six years to build a mine shaft. You should not work in such an easy-going way. You should strive to carry out your revolutionary tasks faster and better, devoting all your learning and talents to them, without slackening in the least degree.

For the successful completion of the huge construction projects in North Hamgyong Province all reserves should be

mobilized in every field. The technicians in every field of the national economy—the engineering, metallurgical and local industries, construction and transportation, etc.—should all endeavour to tap reserves.

North Hamgyong Province has abundant available reserves. It has a large population, a great many factories and enterprises as well as rich natural resources. All these should be actively enlisted in tapping reserves.

The engineering industry, above all, should be run at full capacity so as to increase production still more. The metallurgical industry also should put its existing facilities into full operation.

You should briskly mobilize all potentialities for construction in your province. All sectors of industry, the engineering and iron industries in particular, must actively support it.

All the intellectuals in North Hamgyong Province should work more energetically. Technicians in factories and enterprises as well as teachers in schools and colleges should do their utmost to carry out the province's construction projects faster and better. You should thus turn North Hamgyong Province into a still greater industrial base by doing an excellent job of completing your projects.

I firmly believe that all intellectuals in North Hamgyong Province will thoroughly arm themselves with our Party's revolutionary thinking and live up to the expectations of the Party by devoting their all to the successful fulfilment of their glorious revolutionary tasks.

**THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF
KOREA IS THE BANNER OF FREEDOM AND
INDEPENDENCE FOR OUR PEOPLE AND
A POWERFUL WEAPON FOR BUILDING
SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM**

**Report at the 20th Anniversary Celebration
of the Founding of the D.P.R.K.**

September 7, 1968

Dear comrades,
Esteemed foreign friends,

Twenty years have elapsed since the Korean people founded a genuinely independent state for the first time in their history and embarked on the creation of a new society, a new life under the banner of their glorious homeland, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Today all our people are celebrating the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Republic; they are looking back with deep emotion on the difficult yet glorious path of struggle it has traversed and are affirming their revolutionary determination to consolidate and develop the revolutionary achievements that have come out of their heroic struggle, reunify the divided country and carry through to the end the cause of socialism and communism on a nation-wide scale.

On the occasion of this highly significant national holiday, I would like to offer, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, warm congratulations to all you comrades present here and,

through you, to the workers, farmers, working intellectuals and the rest of the people of our country, who have followed the glorious path of victory and accomplished immortal feats in the struggle for the prosperity and development of our fatherland.

Numerous revolutionary fighters and patriotic democrats laid down their lives to win freedom and independence for our country and to establish and defend this Republic. The flag of our Republic represents the lofty patriotic spirit of our revolutionary forerunners in the anti-Japanese struggle, who fought so heroically and for such a long time against Japanese imperialism, arms in hand, to win back their country. It is red with the blood shed by true patriotic fighters and heroic soldiers who dedicated their lives to the struggle to safeguard the freedom and independence of our country and its people's power during the harsh trials of the Fatherland Liberation War. I pay the highest tribute to the revolutionary martyrs who laid down their precious lives for our country and its people.

Allow me also to express our fraternal support for and encouragement to the revolutionaries and the entire people of south Korea who are boundlessly inspired by the prosperity and progress of the Republic and fighting valiantly against U.S. imperialism and its puppets for freedom, liberation and national reunification.

I also extend warm greetings to our 600,000 Korean compatriots in Japan and to all other Korean citizens in foreign lands who fight persistently under the banner of the Republic for their democratic national rights and for the reunification of their homeland.

In attendance today at this celebration of the national holiday of our people are distinguished delegates from the fraternal socialist countries and many friendly, newly established, independent states of Asia and Africa and others representing the peoples of the five continents who are fighting against capitalist oppression and exploitation, and for national independence, social progress, world peace, and security for their peoples. Their presence is a manifestation of the respect of the peoples of these countries for the sovereignty of the D.P.R.K. and the

dignity of our nation, and a vivid expression of their international solidarity with the revolutionary cause of our people. On behalf of the Government of the Republic and the entire Korean people, I cordially welcome the foreign comrades and friends present at this gathering and express profound gratitude, through them, to all the governments and peoples of the countries which are kind enough to send their envoys of friendship.

Comrades,

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is our true homeland which enjoys the unreserved support and love of the entire Korean people. Ours is a most democratic and stable state which was established by the people and relies on the solidly united forces of the whole people, based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class, and which draws the broad masses of the people into state affairs. Our Republic is a genuine people's state which ensures the workers, farmers and all other strata of the people not only political freedom and rights but also their material and cultural welfare. That is why all the people of our country truly love the Republic and have carried out the arduous revolutionary struggle and great constructive work, rallied closely under its banner. The Republic encountered many obstacles in its way of progress and we underwent stern trials. But under the banner of the Republic, our people, firmly grasping their destiny in their own hands and waging an indomitable struggle, have heroically surmounted every hardship and trial and have done a tremendous job, indeed, for the prosperity and development of the country and the progress of the nation.

Twenty years is but a very short moment in the long history of our people. During this period, however, the Government of our Republic has, under the wise leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, mapped out correct policies by creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the actual conditions in our country and skilfully organized and mobilized all the people for their thorough implementation, thereby bringing about great socio-economic changes. We have brilliantly

carried out the socialist revolution to get rid of all forms of exploitation and oppression in town and country and we have laid the solid basis of an independent national economy through the grand march of Chollima. In the difficult and bitter war against the armed invasion of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, the D.P.R.K. led our people to triumph and defended the gains of the revolution with honour.

Our Republic has now become an independent socialist country with an advanced socialist system, the firm basis of an independent national economy, a powerful all-people defence system and a splendid national culture. Indeed, the D.P.R.K. is our glorious homeland, defended by our people with their blood in the decisive battles with the enemy. It is our prosperous socialist homeland created by the people's hard-fought revolutionary struggle and their heroic labour.

Our Republic has won the whole-hearted support and deep trust of all the Korean people in the course of 20 years of struggle for revolution and construction. Our people see the real guarantee of their happiness in the prosperity and progress of the Republic and they have great confidence in its invincible might. Everyone in our country is imbued with the conviction that they can build socialism and communism in their homeland under the banner of the Republic, and they are fighting for the eternal prosperity of the Republic with unexcelled patriotic devotion and creative zeal.

The prosperity and progress of our Republic exert a great revolutionary influence on the south Korean people who are languishing under the oppression and exploitation of the U.S. imperialists and their puppets. The south Korean people are keenly aware that they can only enjoy real freedom and happiness when the people take power into their hands, and they are fighting more indefatigably than ever against U.S. imperialism and its stooges, looking toward the Republic as the unconquerable bastion for national reunification.

The D.P.R.K. has become the beacon of hope for our compatriots in Japan and all other Korean citizens abroad. That multitude of Korean compatriots who were subjected to every

kind of humiliation and contempt in alien lands, a people without a country and without political rights, suffering untold hardship in their daily life, have now become able to claim their rights as citizens of a full-fledged independent country.

Truly, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is the banner of freedom, independence and happiness for the entire Korean people, and its influence is increasing with each passing day.

1. THE TWENTY GLORIOUS YEARS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Comrades,

The question of power is the fundamental question in revolution, the vital question on which depend its victory and the success of our constructive efforts. The working class can achieve complete class and national liberation and achieve victory in the cause of socialism and communism only when it firmly takes power into its hands, consistently enhances its function and role, and steadily strengthens the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the whole course of their leadership of the revolution, the Korean Communists have invariably directed the deepest attention to the question of power and made every conceivable effort towards its correct solution.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea represents a political power which inherited the brilliant revolutionary traditions of the glorious anti-Japanese armed struggle waged by the Korean Communists and other patriots; and it is the great revolutionary achievement of our people, won through an arduous struggle against the internal and external enemies under the leadership of our Party.

Our people waged a long heroic struggle for national inde-

pendence and power and shed much blood. Without revolutionary violence the working class cannot triumph in the struggle to overthrow the power machine of the exploiting classes and establish political rule of its own. The colonial ruling machine of Japanese imperialism in Korea was one of rigorous fascist repression against the Korean people and, accordingly, we could win power only by revolutionary violence. Attaching great importance to revolutionary violence and revolutionary armed force and guided by Marxist-Leninist ideas, the Korean Communists and patriots organized the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army with progressive workers, peasants and patriotic youth who were against Japanese imperialism and for the restoration of the fatherland and the national independence of the Korean people and carried on a heroic armed struggle over 15 years.

The anti-Japanese armed struggle raised the struggle of our people for the liberation of the country and for power to a new and higher stage and laid solid foundations for the establishment of people's power. In accordance with the law of revolutionary development and on the basis of a scientific analysis of national and class contradictions and socio-economic conditions in our country, the Korean Communists put forward the line that the government that had to be set up in the future should be a people's revolutionary government based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class and relying on the united front of the broad anti-Japanese forces. This line was already formulated in the Ten-Point Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland during the struggle for the liberation of the country. At the same time, in the crucible of the hard-fought anti-Japanese armed struggle, there grew up many steeled and seasoned Communists who maintained close ties of kinship with the masses and were ready to devote their all to the struggle for the people; the revolutionary backbone was thus prepared for the founding of a people's power.

Following liberation, our people, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist line of people's power already advanced and

valuable experience gained during the anti-Japanese armed struggle and under the infallible leadership of the Communists who had developed in the course of this struggle, embarked upon the road of establishing a people's government and building a new, democratic country under conditions of fierce struggle against the enemies at home and abroad.

The U.S. imperialists, who occupied south Korea in place of Japanese imperialism, whipped together reactionary forces and manoeuvred in every way to frustrate our people's struggle to build a democratic, independent and sovereign state. While the enemy was carrying out subversion and sabotage, the Right and "Left" opportunists, too, put many obstacles in the way of our people's struggle to set up a people's government. Soon after liberation, Right capitulationists demanded that a bourgeois republic be established in our country. They neglected the fundamental interests of the absolute majority of the people and came out in defence of the interests of the pro-Japanese landlords and capitalists. Meanwhile, ultra-leftists clamoured right after liberation for an immediate proletarian dictatorship and socialist revolution in our country. They wanted to skip over the democratic revolutionary stage, ignoring the objective requirements of social development in our country.

In accordance with the Party's correct political line of building the powerful democratic base in the northern half of the Republic, our people smashed each intrigue and manoeuvre of the national and class enemies and the Right and "Left" opportunists and strove to establish a true people's power with a broad mass foundation. We formed a united front with various political parties and groupings and democratic forces of all strata who aspired to build a new country, organized and mobilized the broad masses of the people to completely destroy the old apparatus of Japanese imperialist colonial rule and set up people's committees in all parts of the country and, on this basis, established the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, a new type of power.

The Provisional People's Committee of North Korea per-

formed the functions of the people's democratic dictatorship; it was a people's power that relied on a democratic national united front embracing the broad anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic forces based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class. The basic task confronting this government was that of putting into effect the Ten-Point Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland and the Twenty-Point Platform, thus carrying out the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and building the revolutionary democratic base in the northern half.

The implementation of democratic reforms was a requirement of the law that governs socio-economic development in our country. Only by carrying out democratic reforms was it possible to liquidate the economic foundations of the landlord, comprador capitalist and other reactionary classes and open up a wide avenue for social progress, consolidate the social and economic foothold of people's power and turn the northern half into a powerful revolutionary democratic base.

The question of land is a vital question that must be solved before anything else in the democratic revolutionary stage. The solution of the land question is indispensable for wiping out the economic foothold of the reactionary forces rooted in the rural areas, emancipating the peasants from the shackles of feudal exploitation and raising their political enthusiasm to a high pitch; it is indispensable also for fortifying the social and political foundations for the democratization of all political, economic and cultural life in the country. And only by carrying out agrarian reform is it possible to free the agricultural productive forces from their feudal fetters, develop them quickly and forcefully promote the rehabilitation and development of national industry and the whole of the national economy. The solution of the land question acquired a particularly important significance in our country which was a backward colonial agrarian country, with an overwhelming peasant majority.

Taking into full consideration the balance of class forces and the relations of land ownership in the rural areas of our

country as well as the centuries-old aspirations of our peasantry for land, our people's power defined those whose land had to be confiscated and carried out the reform in a thorough way, by confiscating the land of the landlords without compensation and distributing it free to the landless or land-poor peasants.

Another important question in carrying out the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution is that of nationalizing the key industries, transport, communications, banking, commerce and foreign trade formerly owned by colonial rulers and comprador capitalists so that they can be used in the interests of the people. As long as the imperialists and comprador capitalists control the key branches of the economy, it is impossible to eliminate plunder and exploitation or expect the nation's independence and sovereignty, prosperity and development. Only when the ownership of foreign monopolies and their accomplices, the comprador capitalists, is abolished and the main links of the economy are grasped by the state itself, is it possible to wipe out the political and economic foothold of the imperialists and internal reactionaries, utilize the country's important means of production for the independent development of the national economy and the promotion of the welfare of the entire people and lay the groundwork for the socialist economy.

In the wake of agrarian reform, we confiscated and nationalized all the industrial establishments which had belonged to Japanese imperialists and comprador capitalists. As a result of the nationalization of major industries, the sources of all social misery were basically removed in the industrial sphere, socialist relations of production came into being and groundwork was laid for the planned development of the national economy.

The people's power, while successfully enforcing economic reforms, carried out such democratic reforms as the Labour Law and the Law on the Equality of the Sexes to fully guarantee democratic freedoms and rights for the working people. With the enforcement of the Labour Law and the Law on the Equality of the Sexes, the unrestricted exploitation of

the working class was abolished and women were freed from the fetters of feudalism and granted equal rights with men in all spheres of social life.

One of the most important problems in the making of a new society is that of building up a solid contingent of one's own cadres. This was a key problem decisive to the success of revolution and the work of construction, particularly in view of the fact that our country had very few intellectuals of its own and the absolute majority of the population were far removed from modern technical civilization owing to the policy of colonial slave education pursued by the Japanese imperialists. The active participation of the old intellectuals in revolution and construction is extremely important for the solution of the question of cadres for the nation. We have followed a line of boldly trusting, educating and remoulding our old intellectuals and letting them take an active part in the building of a new society; we considered that most of them were of bourgeois origin and had been obliged to serve the imperialists and exploiting classes in the past, but that, nevertheless, as intellectuals of a colony, they had an anti-imperialist revolutionary consciousness since they had been victims of the oppression and national discrimination of foreign imperialism. We also believed that they could serve the working class—the most advanced class—in accord with the laws of social development inasmuch as they were learned and sought truth. Together with this, even under the difficult conditions immediately following liberation, active measures were taken to democratize education and build many schools of different levels all over the country, including institutions of higher learning and special schools for training large numbers of new intellectuals of worker and peasant origin. This policy resulted in enormous successes in the formation of our own cadres.

While solidly strengthening the democratic base in the northern half politically and economically, our Party and people's power founded the Korean People's Army, a revolutionary armed force for defending the people's democratic system against enemy encroachment.

The successful fulfilment of the tasks of the democratic revolution completely rid the socio-economic system of its colonial and semi-feudal character and fundamentally changed the socio-economic relations in the northern half. In the national economy of the northern half of the Republic the socialist economic forms, state and co-operative, came to hold the predominant place, while there remained a small commodity sector consisting of private peasants and urban handicraftsmen as well as an insignificant capitalist sector confined to private capitalist trade and manufacture in towns and a rich peasant economy in the countryside.

On the basis of the new economic relations a radical change took place in class relations in our society. Landlords, comprador capitalists, pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation were overthrown, the working people became masters of the country, the leading role of the working class was enhanced and the worker-peasant alliance was further strengthened in the northern half.

As a result, a people's democratic system was definitively established in the northern half and a powerful revolutionary democratic base, a reliable guarantee of national reunification, was laid.

With the completion of the democratic revolution conditions were created for gradually going over to socialist revolution in the northern half. Therefore, our Party set the task of further developing people's power, a weapon of our revolution, in order to carry out the tasks of the socialist revolution. The first historic democratic election was held to establish the People's Committee of North Korea. This was the first institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. The People's Committee of North Korea, a powerful arm of socialist revolution and socialist construction, strove to carry out the tasks for that period of gradual transition to socialism and develop the national economy in a planned way.

The socio-economic foundations of our people's power were consolidated thanks to the great successes scored in revolution and in construction in the three years from immediately after

liberation to August 1948. In particular, the political foundations of people's power were reinforced thanks to the efficacious policies of the Party which steadily consolidated and developed the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class and the political and moral unity of the masses at each stage of development of the revolution. In the course of the struggle to carry out the tasks of the democratic revolution, numerous nuclei and revolutionary cadres developed, the broad masses of the people were awakened and our revolutionary forces as a whole grew still further. Thus, in those three years after liberation we were able to lay a firm basis for building a unified, sovereign, independent and democratic state.

On the basis of the great socio-economic changes in the northern half, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was founded in September 1948 in accordance with the general will of the entire Korean people amidst a nation-wide struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their stooges who had become more pronounced in their colonial enslavement policy and their manoeuvres to split our nation.

The founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the embodiment of the unanimous desire of our nation to attain the freedom and independence of our country, was a brilliant victory which our people, supporting the wise policies of the Workers' Party of Korea and rallying closely around it, won in their proud struggle to build a rich and strong sovereign independent state. It was an event of epochal significance in the revolutionary struggle of our people advancing towards the bright future of socialism and communism.

With the foundation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, our people who had been deprived of their country by foreign imperialists and suffered every kind of humiliation and insult, became a mighty and dignified nation whom no one dares to flout, a sagacious people of a sovereign independent state who build their country with their own efforts, firmly holding power in their own hands. The birth of the Republic enabled the Korean people to escape once and for all the bitter fate of being a ruined nation and enter a new stage

of their history under the banner of a full-fledged independent state. It enabled our country, which had long been eclipsed on the world map, to enter the international arena on a par with all large and small countries.

The founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea provided the Korean people with a more powerful weapon for the thorough achievement of the cause of socialism and communism in Korea. Now that they had their socialist sovereign independent state, our people found themselves in a position to ensure the decisive superiority of the revolutionary forces over the counterrevolutionary forces on a nation-wide scale and push ahead successfully with their revolutionary struggle and constructive work, resolutely smashing the manoeuvres of the imperialists and all the reactionaries.

The founding of the Republic instilled boundless strength and courage in the entire Korean people who took their destinies into their own hands and rose in the revolutionary struggle to create a new, bright life and reunify the divided country. It enhanced the national pride and self-confidence of our people who had become masters of their own country.

Comrades,

For the 20 years that have passed since its birth, our Republic under the leadership of the Workers' Party has traversed a glorious and triumphant road and has honourably fulfilled its role as the weapon of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Since the first days of its appearance the Government of the Republic has brilliantly fulfilled all revolutionary tasks proposed by the Party in the political, economic, cultural and military fields, while, at the same time, steadily strengthening the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the years before the Korean war, the Government of the Republic, while suppressing the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes, waged a struggle to restrict capitalist development, ensure the predominance of the state sector in the economic sphere and develop a planned national economy. The Government of the Republic worked out the Two-

Year National Economic Plan for 1949-50 on the basis of the achievements made in the fulfilment of the national economic plans for 1947 and 1948. It vigorously organized and mobilized the popular masses for its implementation. As a result, preparations were made step by step for the socialist transformation of production relations, and tremendous successes were registered in ending the colonial lop-sidedness of economy and laying the basis of an independent national economy.

But the preparations made by the Government of the Republic for the transition to socialism as well as the peaceful labour of our people were interrupted by the piratic armed invasion of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

The three-year war forced on us by U.S. imperialism was a life-and-death struggle decisive to the destiny of our country, the severest trial for our Republic and our people. The U.S. imperialists made desperate efforts to suffocate our Republic in its cradle. However, the enemy could not subdue our heroic people who rose as one in the righteous war of resistance, with burning hatred for the aggressors.

Under the slogan "Every Effort for Victory in the War!" our Party and the Government of the Republic put all work on a war footing and dynamically aroused all the people to the heroic struggle for the defence of their country's freedom, independence and honour.

Our people displayed great patriotic devotion and a noble self-sacrificing spirit; they fought heroically through every adversity at the front and behind the lines to defend our Party and people's power which had freed them from exploitation and oppression and provided them with a new, free and happy life.

The gallant officers and men of the People's Army, educated and tempered by our Party, showed an indefatigable revolutionary spirit and mass heroism to the full, profoundly conscious of their sacred mission as defenders of our Party, our homeland and our people. Our People's Army officers and men valiantly fought the enemies for the Party and the country with unshakable confidence in victory, whether in the harsh

battles during the counterattack to liberate the territory of the southern half, in the hard trials of the temporary strategic retreat and in the fierce battles of the second advance and the positional defence. They skilfully applied original tactics unknown in prior military history and firmly held the initiative in all battles, dealing deadly blows to the enemies everywhere and defending every height, every inch of the country with their very lives.

The heroic struggle of our people for victory in the war was waged energetically not only at the front but behind the lines. Everyone in the rear—workers, peasants, youth and students, men and women, young and old—heroically fought to carry on wartime production and give their backing to the men at the front in spite of the enemy's barbarous bombings. Closely united as one they bravely overcame every trial and tribulation and reliably guaranteed victory at the front.

Because of the justice of our cause and the dynamic external activities of our Party and the Government of the Republic, our people received active support and encouragement from many countries and hundreds of millions of people the world over during the Fatherland Liberation War. The peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries supported us materially and morally, and the Chinese people dispatched volunteers who shed their blood to help us in our righteous struggle. Together with the socialist countries, all the progressive countries and peoples of the world unanimously condemned the aggression of the U.S. imperialists and actively supported our people in their struggle. This international support and encouragement was a great inspiration to our people in their righteous struggle.

The U.S. imperialists mobilized a huge armed force, over 2 million strong, on the Korean front, including one-third of their ground forces, one-fifth of their air force, the greater part of their Pacific Fleet and the troops of 15 satellite countries and south Korean puppet troops. They sent vast quantities of up-to-date combat equipment, and resorted to such barbarous ways and means of warfare as to be without prece-

dent in history. By no means, however, could they save themselves from defeat. During the three years of the Korean war the enemy suffered huge losses in troops and war materials, nearly 2.3 times as much as they lost in the four years of the Pacific War during World War II.

The Fatherland Liberation War waged by our people was a fierce anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle against the allied forces of world reaction headed by U.S. imperialism and a bitter class struggle against the enemies of the people. In this great struggle, our people fought with monolithic determination and unity under the correct leadership of the Party and the Government of the Republic. They were thereby capable of honourably withstanding the harsh trials of war and winning an historic victory by inflicting an ignominious defeat on U.S. imperialism and its running dogs.

The historic triumph in the Fatherland Liberation War was a clear demonstration of the inexhaustible vitality of our Republic and the people's democratic system and the invincible strength of our people who had become masters of the country. Our victory makes evident that no force can ever conquer a people who firmly take their destiny into their own hands and rise in the struggle for the freedom, independence and progress of their country under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party. It also proved that the decisive factor for victory in war lies not in the superiority of weapons or techniques but in the fortitude of the masses deeply convinced of the justness of their cause and firmly united as one.

By winning a great victory in the Fatherland Liberation War, our people humbled the U.S. imperialists who had boasted of being the "strongest" in the world, exploded the myth about their "mightiness" and started them on the downgrade. In the Fatherland Liberation War the Korean people foiled the aggressive designs of the U.S. imperialists who were threatening the countries of the socialist camp, staunchly defended its eastern outpost and contributed greatly to safeguarding world peace and security.

Through the bitter trials of war our people were awak-

ened and tempered still more, and our People's Army grew into an invincible revolutionary armed force, seasoned politically and ideologically and in military technique and possessed of rich combat experience. Especially, hundreds of thousands of new revolutionary cadres were formed in the fierce flames of war. These revolutionary cadres brought up in arduous revolutionary struggle are a valuable treasure which we should cherish and love—priceless assets for the victory of our revolution.

Having surmounted the hard trials and achieved the historic victory in the Fatherland Liberation War, we were confronted with the pressing need to rapidly rehabilitate the devastated national economy and normalize the living conditions of the impoverished people. The war damage to our country was indescribable. Towns and villages were reduced to ashes, all branches of the national economy were completely destroyed and even the people's means of livelihood were, to a large extent, wrecked. Under these circumstances, there was so much work to be done and the situation was so difficult that we were at a loss as to what and how to begin to rehabilitate.

But we were not in the least discouraged. We set out on postwar rehabilitation and construction, fully convinced that we were capable of building a new life again so long as there were the people, the territory, the Party and the people's power.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic defined the basic line for postwar economic construction which gave priority to the growth of heavy industry with simultaneous development of light industry and agriculture. This was the wisest line which enabled us to efficaciously determine the orientation and order of priority for rehabilitation and construction and to correctly find the main link in the chain and concentrate our efforts there.

Without the priority development of heavy industry, it would have been impossible to successfully rehabilitate and develop our country's light industry and agriculture so severely damaged in the war or create solid economic bases to improve

the people's living standards. The question of eradicating the colonial one-sidedness and technical backwardness of our national economy and laying a solid foundation for an independent national economy could be solved only by giving priority to the development of heavy industry.

And yet, we were not allowed to direct our efforts exclusively to heavy industry and simply postpone the development of light industry and agriculture. We had to expand the production of rice and cloth and other consumer goods in order to rapidly improve the people's living conditions which had been ruined by the war. We had to swiftly develop light industry and agriculture as well as heavy industry in order to build an independent national economy in our country which in the past had been very backward both in farming and light industry.

The implementation of this line under conditions of utter destruction and shortages represented an extremely difficult and complex task. But the Party and the Government had confidence in our people who had been tried and tested in the war and were united firmly around the Party, and projected the total mobilization of the masses and domestic resources and the effective utilization of the aid given by fraternal countries.

The basic line of economic construction set forth by our Party is the only correct one, based on a correct evaluation of the law of economic development and the actual potentialities of our country. It is a creative line based on the application of the Marxist-Leninist theory on expanded reproduction to the specific realities of our country. It is a revolutionary line which reflects the firm position of the Party to speedily build an independent national economy in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance.

In accordance with the basic line of economic construction put forward by our Party, the Government of the Republic drew up the Three-Year Plan for Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy, the fundamental task of which was to restore the prewar level in all fields of the national economy. It organized and mobilized the entire people in the struggle for the fulfilment of the plan.

Inspired by the correct policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic, all our working people carried the post-war Three-Year Plan through to success, tightening their belts and making immense efforts in the teeth of manifold difficulties. As a result, in a matter of three or four years, industry and agriculture had not only regained the prewar level of production but had far exceeded it.

In accordance with the basic orientation put forward by the Third Congress of our Party following the victorious fulfilment of the difficult job of postwar rehabilitation, we embarked upon the Five-Year Plan, a long-term plan, the first of its kind in our country.

The basic task of the Five-Year Plan was that of reinforcing the foundations of socialism in our country and solving, in the main, the people's food, clothing and housing problem.

The fundamental task faced in laying the basis of socialism during the Five-Year Plan was that of completing the socialist transformation of production relations in town and country and the establishment of an overall socialist system.

Inasmuch as the development of the revolution urgently demanded it and conditions became ripe for carrying it out, our Party and the Government of the Republic opportunely posed the problem of agricultural co-operativization and fought energetically to consummate the socialist transformation of agriculture.

In carrying out the socialist transformation of agriculture, we correctly determined the stages and tempo of the development of agricultural co-operativization and the forms and sizes of the co-operatives by creatively applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to suit the specific conditions of our country. We strictly adhered to the Leninist voluntary principle and brought the peasants to realize the advantages of the co-operative economy through practical examples and, on this basis, efficiently promoted this movement.

In the experimental stage, assistance by the working-class state was of decisive significance in consolidating those agricultural co-operatives which had been organized on unfertile

land, exclusively with poor peasants and with few farm implements and draught animals, and in demonstrating their superiority over private farming to the full. The Party and the Government did everything in their power to give state assistance—they gave the co-operatives preferential supplies of chemical fertilizers, farm machines and building materials relying on the industrial foundations already laid, granted them loans of grain and seed, accommodated them with financial loans on a priority basis, drastically lowered the rate of payment of agricultural tax in kind for the co-operatives, and rendered manpower assistance during the crucial moments of the farming season. Thanks to such assistance from the state and the dedicated struggle of the co-operative members who were, in effect, rural core elements, the agricultural co-operatives gradually began to show unquestionable superiority. As the practical advantages of the co-operative economy became clear and the Party's intentions were brought home to the broad sections of the peasantry, the medium-level peasants joined in the co-operative movement, which entered the stage of mass development in our country.

Since the peasants came into co-operative farming en masse, the form of co-operative farming and the method of pooling the means of production became an especially important question. In the light of the fact that the land had been the private property of the peasants and that their economic level and political preparedness varied, the Party and the Government devised three forms of co-operatives: the permanent mutual-labour-aid team in which the work was done collectively; a semi-socialist form in which land was pooled and farming was done collectively while distribution was made both according to the amount of work done and the quantity of land contributed; and a completely socialist form in which the land and the basic means of production were pooled and distribution was made only according to the work done. In organizing a co-operative any one of these forms could be selected in accord with the specific conditions. In pooling the means of production like draught animals and farm implements of the co-operative

members, the Party and the Government saw to it that they were not pooled in a mechanical way; they were pooled according to the desire of the peasants or maintained under private ownership for a fixed period for joint use and, if they were pooled, they were to be duly paid for without fail. The three forms of co-operative farming and the method of pooling the means of production induced the middle peasants to accept the co-operative economy readily and made it possible to prevent deviations which might appear in the course of co-operativization.

While strictly adhering to the voluntary principle in the agricultural co-operative movement, we never left this movement to the mercy of spontaneity, but rather saw to it that the guidance and support by the working-class Party and state were strengthened with a view to the emergence of the socialist system in the countryside and its consolidation and development.

In drawing different sectors of the peasantry into the co-operative economy, our Party and state consistently maintained the correct class policy of strongly relying on the poor peasants, strengthening the alliance with the middle peasants and, in consonance with the realities of our country, restricting and gradually transforming the rich peasants instead of expropriating and liquidating them. The measures taken by our Party with regard to the rich peasants were correct ones based on a scientific evaluation of the fact that the socialist revolutionary forces were strong, whereas the forces of the rich peasants themselves were very weak and that they could not possibly live as they had before, since the socialist transformation was progressing very rapidly in town and country and the foothold of the rich peasants was disappearing, along with the kind of relationship that made exploitation possible.

Thanks to all these intelligent and creative policies of our Party and the Government of the Republic, agricultural co-operativization had been triumphantly completed in our country in a very short period of time, only four or five years after it was started.

The socialist transformation of handicrafts and capitalist trade and industry in towns, along with agricultural co-operativization, is an important component of the socialist revolution.

In nearly half a century of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, the major branches of the economy of our country had been monopolized by Japanese imperialist capital, the development of national capital very much restricted and the participation of national capitalists in the economy negligible. After liberation, as a result of the nationalization of industries which had belonged to the Japanese imperialists and comprador capitalists, the socialist state economy came to hold the dominant position in our national economy, so that the secondary role of capitalist trade and industry, which had been insignificant originally, diminished still further. Such being the situation, we pursued the policy of gradually reorganizing the capitalist traders and manufacturers along socialist lines. In the postwar years, the necessity for a socialist transformation of capitalist traders and manufacturers became more urgent. Owing to the war, capitalist trade and industry shrank to such an extent that they were hardly discernible from handicrafts. As a result, the entrepreneurs and traders of our country were not in a position to restore their economy and improve their living standards without relying on the active assistance of the state and pooling their labour and funds. Under these conditions, we transformed the capitalist traders and manufacturers on socialist lines, together with handicraftsmen, by using different co-operative forms. By joining the producers' co-operatives, the entrepreneurs and traders completely broke with the past when they lived off others, and were transformed into socialist working people who produce material wealth by their own labour.

As a result of the socialist transformation of private handicrafts and capitalist trade and industry as well as the completion of agricultural co-operativization, the socialist forms of economy came to hold undivided sway in our towns and countryside. This opened a wide avenue for the rapid development of the country's productive forces, made it possible to liquidate the sources of exploitation and poverty which had

existed for thousands of years and markedly improve the material and cultural standards of the people.

The basic task of socialist construction in the Five-Year Plan period was to lay the basis of socialist industrialization and build up the foundations of an independent national economy.

Thanks to the successful fulfilment of the postwar Three-Year Plan, our country went over from the stage of rehabilitation to the stage of technological reconstruction. Our Party and the Government of the Republic defined the Five-Year Plan as the first stage of technological reconstruction and set forth the task of laying the base of socialist industrialization in this period in order to solidify even more firmly the foundations of an independent national economy and create conditions for equipping all branches of our national economy with up-to-date technology in the future.

The task of socialist economic construction during the Five-Year Plan called for a very high speed of productive growth but we were short of materials, funds and everything else. On top of this, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys intensified their aggressive manoeuvres and subversive activities in this period against the northern half of the Republic as never before, and the anti-Party factionalists within the Party betrayed our revolution and carried out conspiratorial activities to overthrow the leadership of our Party and Government.

At this critical moment, upholding the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, our Party and the Government of the Republic confidently led our people towards a great surge in socialist construction. They called on all the working people to demonstrate a high degree of creative enthusiasm and energy to break through all obstacles in a rush ahead in the saddle of Chollima. All the working people of our country showed boundless loyalty to the Party and resolutely supported and defended the Party Central Committee. In response to the revolutionary call of the Party, they found scarce items and produced what they did not have, smashed all the old norms and rated capacities, created new norms and worked veritable miracles, thereby bringing about a great renovation on all fronts of socialist con-

struction. As a result, socialist construction developed at a very high speed, and our people registered miraculous achievements in overfulfilling the colossal Five-Year Plan in only two years and a half in terms of total industrial output value and in four years in terms of production indices.

The Chollima Movement of our country arose in the midst of this grand upsurge of socialist construction. The Chollima Movement is a manifestation of the great creative power of our people who are closely united around our Party, an all-people movement for the maximum acceleration of socialist construction. As a mass movement organically combining collective innovation in economic and cultural construction with the education and transformation of the working people, the Chollima Movement became our Party's general line in socialist construction. Our Party and the Government of the Republic have continued to intensify and develop the Chollima Movement, and thus brought the political enthusiasm and creative power of our working people into full play and brought great innovations to all aspects of the economy and culture, ideology and morality.

As a result of the successful fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan, the historical goal of building the foundations of socialism was triumphantly completed in the northern half of our country, which now became a socialist industrial-agricultural country with solid foundations of an independent national economy.

The Fourth Congress of our Party summed up the great achievements of the Five-Year Plan and set forth the prospective tasks of the Seven-Year Plan for the further advancement of socialist construction. The basic task of the Seven-Year Plan was to carry out overall technological reconstruction and a cultural revolution and radically improve the people's standard of living, basing ourselves on the triumphant socialist system. It was of especial importance in this context to carry out a technical revolution in our country which had never passed through an industrial revolution or the normal stages of capitalist development and had inherited the backward productive forces from the old society.

All our working people, who are credited with brilliant achievements in building a new society, have waged a heroic struggle, with the great pride of victors and high hopes for the future, to fulfil the epic programme of the Seven-Year Plan that opened up new and broader vistas for us. But, when the U.S. imperialist aggressive manoeuvres became more pronounced over the past few years, we were compelled to direct additional efforts to the strengthening of our defence capabilities and, accordingly, the envisaged economic development of our country was delayed to a certain extent. Only when we make the nation's defences impregnable, even though this may somewhat affect our economic development, can our socialist achievements be defended from the encroachment of the enemy and the peaceable labour of the working people in socialist construction be securely safeguarded. The further strengthening of the national defence capability in accordance with the new situation fully conforms with the fundamental interest of the revolution as well as that of construction of our country. For this reason, our Party Conference put forward the new revolutionary line of building up our economy and defences simultaneously, and aroused the entire working people to implement this line.

Upholding the Party Conference decision, our heroic working class and all other working people unfolded a vigorous struggle in all areas of socialist economic construction and defence development in the spirit of Chollima, in the spirit of each man and woman being a match for a hundred. They have performed one miraculous feat after another, amazing the whole world. The rising crescendo of the great revolutionary upsurge continues to be evident at all factories and enterprises, in the mines, and on the railways, at harbours and the co-operative farms of our country, all of which are now greeting the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Republic. This year's plan, which has decisive significance in carrying out the Seven-Year Plan, is expected to be fulfilled far ahead of schedule. We are confident of our ability to command the heights of the Seven-Year Plan this year in a number of indus-

trial branches such as coal, chemical fertilizers, major nonferrous metals and timber.

Comrades,

Through the arduous and difficult struggle for revolution and construction over a 20-year period since the founding of the Republic, we have attained tremendous successes in all political, economic and cultural spheres and our country's might has grown incomparably.

Our industry made headway at an unprecedented tempo. By 1967 industrial output was 22 times greater than in 1948.

New technology has been introduced into our heavy industry which has been developed on the basis of domestic natural resources. The engineering industry, in particular, progressed apace; in 1967 its output value was 100 times greater than in 1948; its share in the total value of industrial output rose from 7.4 per cent in 1948 to 31.4 per cent in 1967. Today, our engineering industry turns out a great number and variety of up-to-date machines and equipment, enough to satisfy almost all our domestic requirements for these products. Our heavy industry with the engineering industry as its core, is the solid base for the consolidation of the nation's economic independence and for giving a powerful stimulus to the technical revolution in all spheres of the national economy. It displays continually increasing strength and has come to serve the development of light industry and agriculture more effectively.

The production base for consumer goods has been solidly established also. Now our country is meeting the people's needs with our own products and has laid a firm foundation for producing a variety of high-grade consumer goods in greater volume in the future. The success achieved in the growth of light industry can be attributed to the correct implementation of the Party's sagacious policy of developing large-scale factories simultaneously with medium- and small-scale local factories. In general, light industry should process the different raw materials found in all parts of the country and cover the diverse needs of the working people in every locality. It would

be impossible to organize this kind of production rationally with only large-scale, nationally-controlled industry. Therefore, along with a central industry, we developed local industry considerably by actively tapping local raw material sources and idle manpower and, in its first stages, widely introduced both handicraft and modern techniques in the production of consumer goods. This policy made it possible to boost the production of consumer goods radically with less state investment. Our local industry now accounts for half of the total output of consumer goods and plays a big role in accelerating the development of the national economy as a whole.

We scored enormous successes also in the development of agriculture. Though there was an unprecedented flood in our country last year, the grain output was 2.7 times that of the immediate post-liberation period and the production of industrial crops, vegetables, fruit and animal products also rose sharply. We are not only self-sufficient in grain but we now have a considerable reserve of it and have established the solid foundations for developing all branches of agriculture onto a higher level.

Education and culture have also made amazing progress since the founding of the Republic. Some 2,690,000 students or one-fourth of our population are now receiving free education on the different scholastic levels. Especially as universal compulsory nine-year technical education was introduced last year, following on the heels of the universal compulsory secondary education, we are in a position to form the new generation into all-round, reliable successors to our revolution and further raise the technical and cultural standards of all the working people. We now have over 425,700 engineers, assistant engineers and specialists, 19 times more than in the days immediately after the armistice, working in all branches of the national economy. Thanks to their ability, wisdom and efforts our modern factories and enterprises are decently built, managed and operated.

The elimination of exploitation and oppression and the rapid development of the economy and culture have resulted

in the continuous improvement of the material and cultural standards of the people. In 1967 the national income per capita was 9 times greater than in 1946, and 4.4 times greater than in 1949. Today, we have neither jobless persons nor beggars in our country. All the working people are free from worry about food, clothing and housing, the education of their children and medical care; everyone can live a happy life, working and learning to his heart's content.

The nation's military might has become greater than ever as a result of the dynamic acceleration of socialist economic construction and the implementation of the correct line laid down by the Party and the Government to further strengthen national defences with the aim of countering the intensified aggressive manoeuvrings of the imperialists. We have now established in our country a potent all-people defence system based on the monolithic political and ideological unity of the entire people as well as a powerful independent national economy. We have thus become capable of effectively frustrating every kind of desperate manoeuvres perpetrated by the imperialists and reliably defending the security of our country and its people.

The international prestige of our Republic has been enhanced constantly thanks to the resolute anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. position and the principled, independent foreign policy of our Party and Government. At present our country maintains relations of friendship and co-operation with the fraternal socialist countries and many newly independent countries in Asia and Africa. Contacts and interchanges are increasing and ties are becoming stronger with each passing day between our people and many other peace-loving peoples of the world. We have thus come to have numerous friends everywhere in the world and international solidarity with our revolution is growing daily.

Comrades,

The people's power has been continually strengthened and our state and social system consolidated and developed as never before as a result of the great achievements of our so-

cialist revolution and socialist construction and of the gigantic socio-economic transformations which have taken place in our country over the past 20 years. Our state is now based on socialist relations of production that hold undivided sway in town and country and on the strong foundations of an independent national economy.

Meanwhile, our people's power has come to possess a firm political foundation. With the completion of the socialist reorganization of the relations of production, the worker-peasant alliance was cemented even further now on a socialist basis, which assured the steel-like political and ideological unity of the entire people. Prevailing in the whole of society are relations of comradeship in which the working class, co-operative farmers and working intellectuals, embraced under the socialist economic system, are all working and closely co-operating with each other for the sake of the Party and the revolution, the country and the people, for the society, the collective and for their own personal welfare. Firmly rallied around the Party and the Government, all the people are fighting through thick and thin for the final victory of our revolutionary cause.

In order to continually increase its functions and role in revolution and construction, the people's power must steadily improve and perfect its system and method of work in keeping with new and changing circumstances.

Following the completion of the socialist transformation of productive relations and the establishment of a socialist system, the successful building of socialism and communism depends largely on how the socialist relations of production are adapted to the constantly developing productive forces and how they are perfected; how the superstructure is perfected to suit the established base and finally how the base itself is influenced by the superstructure. Great successes have been made in this sphere by our Party and Government; they have creatively applied the principles of Marxism-Leninism and generalized the practical experience gained in the revolution and construction in our country. With these as a basis, they took a series of important actions to reorganize the work of

state and economic institutions and to elevate the level of guidance given by their functionaries in conformity with the new, changed circumstances.

In particular, the guidance given at Chongsan-ri in February 1960 marked a new turn in the renovation of the work of state and economic institutions. A radical change took place in their activities in the course of applying the work experiences of Chongsan-ri. Guidance was brought closer to the grass-roots level, and there was established a revolutionary method of work whereby the higher bodies help the lower, the officials go deep among the masses to educate, remould and unite them and solve all problems by enlisting their revolutionary zeal and creative initiative.

After the guidance at Chongsan-ri, we took vitally important steps to reorganize the system of industrial management and establish a new system of agricultural guidance in order to implement the Chongsan-ri spirit and Chongsan-ri method more thoroughly in the management and guidance of the national economy.

The introduction of the Tae'an system, a new system of industrial management, enabled economic institutions and enterprises to perform all their work under the collective leadership of the Party committees and carry out their revolutionary tasks by giving precedence to political work and rousing the masses to action. It enabled the superior organs to help the inferior, the higher-level personnel to assist the lower level and those who are skilled to teach the unskilled, everyone to co-operate in a comradely way and all workshops, factories and branches to closely work together, so as to allow for the development of co-operation in production and the rational management of the economy along scientific lines in accordance with objective economic laws. In setting up the Tae'an work system, our Party and the Government of the Republic saw to it that unified and detailed planning is carried out in order to strengthen the discipline of democratic centralism in economic management and develop our economy in a more planned and balanced way. The introduction of unified and detailed plan-

ning further strengthened the economic organizational role of the state organs and eliminated the subjectivism of the state planning bodies and the departmentalism and localism manifested by productive workers in mapping out plans. This allowed the drawing up of truly realistic, scientific and dynamic plans by properly combining the perspectives of the state and the creative initiative of the producers themselves.

In the field of the rural economy, the Party and Government established a new system of agricultural guidance with the county co-operative farm management committee as its basic unit. The agro-technicians, farm-machine stations, irrigation control offices and other state enterprises in the service of agriculture were placed under this committee. The establishment of the new system of agricultural guidance enabled us to direct agriculture by the industrial method of management instead of the administrative method as previously. It made it possible for us to render more effective state material and technical assistance to co-operative farms and decisively strengthen the leading role of all-people property in relation to co-operative property.

The establishment of the new specialized system of agricultural guidance radically improved the work of the local government organs, too. The provincial, city and county people's committees are now able to concentrate their efforts on land administration, construction, trade, education, culture and public health services, thus bolstering work in these areas.

Through these changes all the state and economic institutions have further enhanced their functions and role in all spheres of socialist construction, the ties of kinship between the functionaries of the government organs and the masses of the people have been strengthened even more and broad sectors of the working people are able to participate in state affairs as masters.

In the past 20 years our people have, indeed, wrought epochal changes which our ancestors were not able to achieve over a period of thousands of years. We did this by valiantly marching forward under the banner of our beloved country,

the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The 20 years of the Republic is 20 years of glory, 20 years of struggle and victory and 20 years of creation and advance.

2. ON FURTHER CONSOLIDATING AND DEVELOPING THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM IN THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Comrades,

The great triumph of the Korean people in the struggle waged under the banner of the Republic over the past 20 years for the flourishing development of the country and the prosperity of the nation is entirely due to the fact that they have vigorously advanced along the socialist path, firmly relying on the indestructible vitality of socialism. Our triumph is striking proof of the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system.

The socialist system is a most advanced social system: Power is in the hands of the people, and on the basis of the public ownership of the means of production, there is a steady development of a planned production on a highly scientific and technical basis for the purpose of systematically improving the welfare of the people. Every kind of exploitation and oppression has been abolished once and for all, and each works according to his ability and takes his share according to the quality and quantity of his work.

Unlike capitalist society where the people have neither political rights nor freedom, the socialist system actually provides genuine democratic rights and freedom to the masses of the people in all spheres of politics, economy and culture. In our society, everyone participates freely in the political life of the country, exercises his sovereign rights for the revolutionary cause, chooses his occupation and profession according to ability and propensity, and works, studies and lives happily. In

capitalist society where the means of production are private property and the aim of production is to squeeze out more profits for the capitalists and landlords, the producer masses have to work to keep body and soul together and have no interests in the development of production and technology. In a socialist society, however, the means of production are public property and the working people work for the country, the society and for themselves. This encourages the people to give full play to their inexhaustible creative initiative and talents for developing production steadily and swiftly. In a socialist society all branches of the national economy and all enterprises are organically linked with each other on the basis of common aims and interests. Therefore, there is no anarchy of production or crisis of overproduction as there is in a capitalist society. The national economy develops in a planned and proportionate manner and all the manpower and material resources and potential of our country for production can be tapped and turned to account most efficiently. Moreover, under the socialist system there exist neither exploiters nor exploited and the fruits of labour are entirely devoted to the promotion of the welfare of the working people, and the living standards of the people continually rise in correspondence with the rapid growth of production.

The capitalist path is the path of exploitation and oppression, slavery and ruin, while the socialist path is the path leading to the abolition of class exploitation and national oppression, to the freedom and happiness of the entire people and complete independence and prosperity of the country.

The two diametrically different realities, that in the north and that in south Korea, furnish a striking example of what we are saying. In the northern half of the Republic, the most progressive system—the socialist system—free from exploitation and oppression, has been established, the foundations of a powerful independent national economy have been laid, and the people enjoy genuine freedom and happiness. In contrast, south Korea has been turned into U.S. imperialism's colony and military base for aggression, its economy has been utterly ruined

and the people are groaning under a regime of terrorism and tyranny, deprived of all political freedom, even elementary democratic rights, and are suffering hardships without precedent in thousands of years.

Historical experience shows that when a people throw off the colonial yoke of imperialism they must take the socialist path. A people who have won their independence must work hard to crush the subversive manoeuvres of foreign imperialism and domestic reactionary forces, and tear down the imperialists' colonial ruling machine and wipe out the economic foothold of imperialism and domestic reaction. They must positively strive to strengthen the revolutionary forces, establish a progressive social system, and build an independent national economy and national culture. Only by doing these things will they be able to advance dynamically along the short cut to freedom and happiness, national independence and prosperity, bypassing the bitter history of misery and distress which capitalism has inevitably gone through.

Capitalism has already lived out its days. It is rushing incessantly towards its doom. Socialism and communism represent the bright future of mankind. It is an inexorable law of historical development that all nations go toward socialism and communism.

We will continue to advance steadily along the socialist path without the slightest vacillation.

Our people are confronted today with the historic task of ensuring the complete triumph of socialism by promoting revolution and construction even more vigorously on the foundations of the brilliant successes already achieved in building a new society.

We have already built a firm base for socialism in the northern half of the country. But we still have much to do to win complete victory for socialism. Even after the achievement of a socialist base, the socialist state should continue to carry out the revolution thoroughly in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life.

Although the exploiting classes have been liquidated and

the socialist transformation of the relations of production has been accomplished, the class struggle continues throughout the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. It is true that when the socialist transformation is effectuated in town and country, the exploiting classes are totally liquidated as classes and their socio-economic foothold ceases to exist. But the remnants of those classes survive. They never give up the dream of restoring their old positions and continually carry out subversive activities. Even after the triumph of the socialist system, therefore, hostile elements remain in a socialist society for a prolonged period. Though insignificant in themselves, these hostile elements should never be ignored, for they are tools and agents of the foreign imperialists. While they resort to direct armed intervention to commit aggression against socialist countries, the imperialists also manoeuvre to wreck them from within by bringing together and abetting the remnants of the overthrown exploiting classes and other reactionaries in these countries.

Particularly in our country, the chieftain of world reaction, U.S. imperialism, entrenched in south Korea, is constantly instigating the reactionary classes in the southern half and the remnants of the exploiting classes in the northern half to carry out subversive and sabotage activities as well as to penetrate ideologically, with the aim of overthrowing the socialist system in the north.

Even after the establishment of the socialist system, the old thinking left over from thousands of years of exploiter societies survives for a long time in the minds of the working people. The triumph of the socialist system puts an end to the economic base that engenders obsolete ideas and it creates the social and material conditions for arming people with new ideas. But since the development of the ideological consciousness of people lags behind the changes in the material conditions of society, even after the socialist system has triumphed, old ideas left over from the exploiter society persist for a long time among the working people. Also, the venom of bourgeois ideology infiltrates ceaselessly into socialist society from the

outside owing to the ideological and cultural penetration of the imperialists.

At the same time, there remain distinctions between town and country, and also class distinctions between the working class and the peasantry, for many years after the socialist relations of production have been established in the whole of society. The lag of the countryside behind the towns is expressed above all in the fact that agriculture has weaker material and technical foundations than industry, the cultural level of the rural population is lower than that of the urban population, and the farmers are behind the workers as regards ideological consciousness. This backwardness is a legacy of the old society. It is due to this backwardness that the co-operative economy remains the predominant form in agriculture, whereas all-people property rules supreme in industry. Accordingly, there remain the class distinctions between the working class and peasantry.

We also have much to do in the way of developing the productive forces. By establishing the advanced socialist system over the past years, we have paved a broad path for the development of the productive forces and the improvement of the people's living standards. But we have only laid the basis for industrialization and taken the first step in the technical revolution; we have as yet a long way to go to attain the high level of development of the productive forces commensurate with a socialist and communist society. Also, as for the people's living standards, we have eliminated the social sources of exploitation and poverty and have developed production at a fast tempo, thus solving the most essential problems in the material and cultural life of our people. But we have not yet been able to make their life very bountiful and modern.

A society cannot yet be called a completely triumphant socialist society where the hostile classes persist in insidious manoeuvrings; where old ideas continue to exert corrosive influence; where there still remain distinctions between town and the countryside and class distinctions between the work-

ing class and peasantry; where industrialization has not been realized fully and where the material and technical basis of socialism has not been firmly laid.

In order to achieve the complete victory of socialism and win the historical cause of the working class, the socialist state must further strengthen its rôle as a weapon of class struggle and of the building of socialism and communism. In other words, the socialist state should strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, carrying on the class struggle on the one hand and vigorously pushing ahead with the building of socialist economy on the other.

Only when the socialist state acquits itself well both in exercising dictatorship against hostile elements and in carrying out the ideological revolution and economic work, can it occupy the two fortresses, ideological and material, which must be captured on the way to socialism and communism, to guarantee the complete triumph for socialism. If any one of these tasks is neglected or overlooked, it will cause great difficulties and irretrievably grave losses to the whole course of socialist construction.

If the socialist state neglects the dictatorship of the proletariat and ideological revolution to the slightest degree and slackens the class struggle, it will become impossible to consolidate and develop the triumphant socialist system or defend it against the encroachment of the internal and external enemies. The intrinsic superiority of socialism and its great vitality lie above all in the fact that the working people, freed from exploitation and oppression, unite firmly and co-operate closely with each other as comrades and display creative initiative and voluntary zeal in their work for the common goal and interest. Experience shows that without increasing the working people's class awareness and raising their level of ideological consciousness by intensifying the class struggle, this superiority of socialism cannot be brought out and the working people are prone to indolence and slackness, thereby making it impossible to carry out the tasks of economic construction and the technical revolution successfully.

On the other hand, it is also wrong to put stress only on the class struggle and ideological revolution and slight the building of the socialist economy. The ideological revolution is an important revolutionary task which the socialist state must carry out without fail. The ideological revolution is important because it roots out the old ideas that remain in the minds of the working people and calls forth their voluntary zeal and creative initiative so as to build socialism and communism successfully. The Communists not only fight for the freedom and liberation of the people but also strive to make their life happy. An important task which confronts the Communists after they have overthrown the old system and liberated the people from exploitation and oppression, is to build the socialist economy efficiently. Concern for the growing welfare of the people is the supreme principle governing the activities of the Party and the state of the working class. Our struggle for the building of socialism and communism is aimed, in the final analysis, at fully satisfying the material and cultural requirements of all the people and ensuring them a bountiful and cultured life. Only when economic construction is carried out well, can we attain the high level of development of the productive forces demanded by a socialist and communist society. Only then can the country be made rich and strong and the living standards of the people raised decisively. And only when the material and technological basis of socialism is firmly laid by vigorously promoting economic construction, can the political independence and sovereignty of the country be secured firmly and, also, its defence capabilities strengthened.

If stress is put only on the ideological revolution and the technical revolution is neglected, the revolutionary task of liberating the working people from backbreaking labour cannot be accomplished, nor can the ideological revolution itself be carried out successfully. The ideological consciousness of people is determined by the material conditions of society. So in socialist society it is also transformed as technology develops and the people's living standards rise.

Guarding against every kind of Right and "Left" deviation

which might manifest itself, we should continuously strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle and carry on economic construction efficiently. We should give definite precedence to the ideological revolution and forcefully push ahead with the technical revolution at the same time. Only by so doing is it possible to remould the ideology of people, and build up the solid material and technological foundations of socialism and thus achieve the complete victory of socialism.

We should first strengthen dictatorship over the class enemy, and thoroughly carry out the ideological revolution, thereby to revolutionize and working-classize the entire society.

The historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat lies in educating and transforming all the working people to revolutionize and working-classize them, in gradually eliminating all class distinctions and building communism, while liquidating the exploiting classes and putting down their resistance. We should correctly combine the Party's class line and mass line to isolate and suppress the handful of hostile elements and, at the same time, educate and remould the broad masses to rally them closer around the Party.

As you all know, the dictatorship of the proletariat means suppression for the few hostile elements and democracy for the absolute majority of the population—the working class, peasantry and other sections of the working people. To correctly link these two aspects of the proletarian dictatorship means to properly combine the work of rallying the absolute majority of the people through education and remoulding, with the class struggle against the intrigues and manoeuvres of the paltry handful of hostile elements. One will commit a "Leftist" error if one only emphasizes and exaggerates class struggle, forgetting that the unity and co-operation of the working class, peasantry and working intelligentsia constitute the basis of social relations in socialist society. In that case, one may tend to distrust people, treat innocent people as hostile elements, divorce the Party from the masses and bring about unrest in the society.

In contrast, a grave Rightist error will be committed if what some call "democracy" and "freedom" is granted to everybody in disregard of the fact that in socialist society, too, there exist hostile elements, the survivals of old ideology remain and class struggle continues. Democracy as a political concept intrinsically assumes a class character. The dictatorship of all exploiters is dictatorship over the exploited labouring masses and their democracy is democracy solely for the few exploiters. On the other hand, the dictatorship of the proletariat is dictatorship over the exploiting classes and democracy for the broad masses of the people. As there has been no state detached from classes in the history of mankind, so there has not been, and can not be, democracy which does not bear a class character. In any state, democracy is democracy for the class that maintains power, and is combined with dictatorship over the hostile classes. Under the conditions in which remnants of the overthrown exploiting classes are manoeuvring insidiously and class struggle continues, there can be no "pure democracy" or "complete freedom" for all. Bourgeois democracy provides the billionaires with the freedom to exploit and plunder the working people for profit and oppress them at will, but it allows the toiling masses only the freedom to wear rags and starve to death. If the class character of democracy is denied in socialist society and so-called "pure democracy" and "complete freedom" for all under the dictatorship of the proletariat are advocated, it is, in fact, tantamount to forcing bourgeois democracy and the freedom to be slaves upon the people. We are against an abstract and supra-class conception of democracy.

At present, the Western imperialists and the renegades of revolution are cheering over the so-called "democratic development" and "liberalization" fusses being made in some socialist countries, describing them as a "lawful process" in the development of socialist society, a "new wind in Eastern Europe that brings hope to the Western world," a "deep-going process of transformation for further democracy" and so on. However, in the last analysis, this is an insidious manoeuvre of the imperial-

ists and the renegades of the revolution to whittle away the achievements of socialism and open up the way to the restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries. We must heighten our vigilance against the intrigues and manoeuvres of the imperialists to subvert the socialist countries from within.

If the peoples of the socialist countries are to enjoy genuine freedom and democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat must be strengthened. Proletarian democracy consists of finally liquidating the exploiting classes, fully guaranteeing true political freedom and rights as well as material and cultural welfare to the working class and other sectors of the working people, and strengthening comradesly co-operation and mutual assistance among them in every way. There can be no better democracy than proletarian democracy. Should there be a higher form of democracy than proletarian democracy, it would not be democracy. It is wrong to think that the dictatorship of the proletariat has become unnecessary before the class distinctions between the working class and peasantry are obliterated, before the ideological survivals of the old society are eradicated, and particularly at a time when the enemies at home and abroad continue to intensify their aggressive and subversive activities against socialism. If we avoid a principled class struggle, obscuring the class lines between bourgeois democracy and proletarian democracy and negating the class character of democracy, vigilance against hostile elements may grow dull, the leading role of the Party and the working class may be nullified and the corrupting influence of the bourgeoisie be increased in society.

In short, both the Right and "Left" deviations make it impossible to clearly distinguish friend from foe, and do great harm to the construction of socialism and communism. Our Party's consistent line is to properly combine dictatorship with democracy and class struggle with the work of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the people, while opposing all Right and "Left" deviations in state activities.

We should continue to strengthen the role of proletarian dictatorship of the Government of the Republic, and thereby

successfully frustrate all intrigues and manoeuvres of the enemies, within and without, against our socialist system. We should apply strict sanctions against the remnants of the overthrown classes of landlords and capitalists who still do not give up the dream of restoring their old positions. We should opportunely make a resolute counterattack and smash to smithereens the imperialists' counterrevolutionary attempts to attack our social system in collusion with the hostile elements within. We should thus strongly defend the gains of our revolution and firmly guarantee the complete victory of socialism in our country.

While suppressing the hostile elements, we should intensify the leadership that the working class gives to all other social strata and carry out the ideological revolution thoroughly, thus revolutionizing and working-classizing all members of society.

True, suppression of the hostile elements is the basic function of the state of the proletarian dictatorship and a form of class struggle which the socialist state must carry out to the end. But this is not the only function of the proletarian dictatorship nor does it represent the only form of class struggle. Besides the class struggle to suppress the hostile elements, there is the basic form of class struggle in socialist society whose major content is the ideological revolution. This aims at rooting up obsolete ideas in the minds of the working people and arming all of them with communist ideas. Even after the triumph of the socialist system the class struggle continues, but it should then differ somewhat in content and form.

Indeed, the struggle against the survivals of old ideas among the working people in a socialist society is a class struggle in that it is a struggle between working-class ideology and bourgeois ideology. But it is entirely different from the previous class struggle. The class struggle during the socialist revolution was primarily a struggle for complete liquidation of the exploiters as a class, whereas after the establishment of the socialist system it is not designed to liquidate people but is primarily an ideological struggle to transform the people ideolog-

ically. The ideological revolution in socialist society is an internal affair of the working people who advance hand in hand to attain the common ideal. Its goal is to educate and remould all the working people into Communists. The ideological revolution should not be carried out by force as is the struggle against the hostile elements, but always by means of persuasion and education. It should become a work of cementing the unity and cohesion of the working people.

In socialist society the main targets of the ideological revolution are the remnants of old feudal, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas that survive in the minds of the working people and the virus of reactionary capitalist ideology that infiltrates from outside. Through vigorous ideological revolution the socialist state should root up all survivals of old ideas among the working people and totally prevent the penetration of bourgeois ideological poison from the outside. This is especially true in our situation where the country remains divided and we are directly confronted with the U.S. imperialists, the chieftain of world reaction. For these reasons the struggle against the enemy's schemes for subversion and sabotage and his ideological infiltration acquires greater importance, and we must always pay deep attention to this. While steadily enhancing the leadership role of the working class, we should conduct patient education on the Party's policies and revolutionary traditions, communist education with class education as its basic theme and education in socialist patriotism. In this way we will revolutionize and working-classize all the working people.

The final solution of the rural question and raising of cooperative property to the level of all-people property is one of the most important tasks confronting the state which exercises proletarian dictatorship after the triumph of the socialist system and one of the basic conditions for the complete victory of socialism. Only when the rural question is finally solved and the backwardness of the countryside is completely overcome, will the socialist state have swept away the hangouts and footholds where the reactionary bourgeois virus coming in from the outside, and the remnants of the overthrown exploiting

classes within, breed and engage in insidious scheming. And only when co-operative property is raised to the level of all-people property, can the agricultural productive forces be highly developed. Only then will the selfishness remaining among the farmers be rooted out, only then will all working people be guided undeviatingly along the path to collectivism under which they work for the whole of society and the entire people with a high degree of conscious enthusiasm. Our Party, generalizing the achievements and the experiences gained in our rural work, has already set forth the basic principles and the concrete ways to solve the rural question in socialist society. In accordance with the clear-cut policy set by the Party, we should vigorously step up the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the countryside to put an end to the technical lag of agriculture behind modern industry, the cultural backwardness of the countryside in comparison with the advanced towns and the ideological lag of the peasantry behind the working class, the most revolutionary class. Moreover, we should continue to strengthen the leadership and assistance given to the rural areas by the working-class Party and state and develop all-people property and co-operative property as an organic whole while steadily bringing the latter closer to the former.

To win complete victory for socialism, socialist economic construction should be vigorously promoted, while every kind of class distinction is eliminated and co-operative property is elevated to the level of all-people property. Our task in the domain of socialist economic construction is to carry through the industrialization of the country and also the technical and cultural revolutions, thus assuring that the material and technological foundations of socialism are laid out solidly and that all working people have the know-how and skill to handle up-to-date machines efficiently.

We should continue to develop industry at a fast rate and introduce modern technology into all branches of the national economy including agriculture, thus forging a modernized industry and advanced agriculture in our country. We should

rear all people into well-rounded, competent builders of communism. In this way our people, who have already rid themselves of exploitation, will be relieved from backbreaking labour. There will gradually be obliterated the distinctions between industrial and agricultural labour, heavy and light work, physical and mental labour, allowing for the production of a greater amount of material wealth with less expenditure of manpower. On the basis of the rapid growth of industrial and agricultural production we should raise the material and cultural level of all the working people to at least that of the old middle classes. Doing so, we will guarantee that all the people see the true superiority of the socialist system more clearly in their daily experience and devotedly fight for its consolidation and development, firmly confident of the complete victory of socialism. Only when this is realized can we say the triumph of socialism is complete.

An important immediate task confronting us for the complete victory of socialism is the thorough implementation of the line of simultaneous economic and defence construction, while vigorously tackling the problem of working-classing and revolutionizing the entire society by giving definite precedence to the ideological revolution in accordance with the policy set forth in the decision of the Party Conference and in the Ten-Point Political Programme of the Government of the Republic.

What acquires prime importance for the implementation of the Party Conference decision is the early overfulfilment of the national economic plan for the current year and the thorough preparation for the coming year's productive effort to scale the main heights of the Seven-Year Plan which are of decisive importance in the socialist construction of our country.

We should direct primary attention to giving definite precedence to the electric power and extractive industries, which are a prerequisite for the normalization of production in all branches of the national economy.

In the power industry, we must fully improve the installations and equipment of the existing power plants to increase their capacity to the maximum. We should also actively push

ahead with the building of large power stations to consolidate the power bases. Specifically, the existing thermal power plants should be managed more efficiently and the building of new ones should be stepped up, so that fluctuations in electric power output will be eliminated. In this way the requirements of industry, transport and other branches of the national economy for electric power will be met more satisfactorily and rural electrification should be completed by 1970.

There should be no complacency in the coal industry even if the height of the Seven-Year Plan is captured this year. Rather, we should continue our vigorous struggle to increase coal production. Geological prospecting and tunnelling should be kept substantially ahead of other processes to provide enough cutting faces. Dynamic technological innovation drives should be launched to spur the introduction of mechanization and automation in the operations, and advanced methods including open cast mining should be widely introduced. Continued innovations should be made in coal production, so that the national economy's fast growing demand for coal can be met satisfactorily.

While existing ore mines are expanded, the development of new nonferrous ore deposits with big prospects should be stepped up. At the same time, the construction of ore dressing plants now under way should be terminated quickly and all necessary types of mining equipment supplied, so that the output of ores can be increased.

It is of very great importance for the development of the national economy as a whole to normalize production of the ferrous metallurgical industry that supplies iron and steel to the engineering industry, to capital construction and other branches of the national economy. Scientific research should be carried on more energetically in this sector to make the iron and steel industry more independent. We must push ahead vigorously with the building of iron and steel centres using domestic supplies of anthracite so as to ensure adequate production of pig iron, steel and structural steel.

The engineering industry, and in particular, the production

of heavy machinery, should be further developed, to fully guarantee that many large-scale projects for remaking nature can be carried out in the future. We should expand and bolster the bases to produce heavy equipment such as heavy-duty excavators and trucks, big tractors, vessels and machine tools.

In order to fully ensure the vast amount of construction work scheduled for the coming year, we should direct great efforts to radically advancing the building-materials industry, particularly the production of cement.

There is a great strain on transport in our country, particularly on the railways. Easing this strain is a vital condition for guaranteeing the success of our production efforts next year. To diminish the strain on the railways, we should push ahead dynamically with their electrification, expand the production and repair capacity of rolling stocks, lay more shunting tracks and mechanize the loading and unloading operations so as to make more efficient use of our rolling stocks in every way.

In the field of agriculture, every effort should be directed to finishing the forthcoming harvest quickly, to increasing grain output and developing livestock breeding next year. The rate of mechanization and chemicalization should be increased steadily in order to shore up the material and technological bases of agriculture. Preparations should be stepped up energetically for an extensive land reclamation and development programme in the future.

Next year's plan must thus be fulfilled so that we may capture all the major heights of the Seven-Year Plan, our epic programme for socialist construction. The completion of the Seven-Year Plan will be an epoch-making event which will signify great progress in the consolidation and development of the socialist system in the Republic and in the struggle for the complete victory of socialism. With the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan our industry will have become firmly independent, with a more perfected structure, a dependable raw material base and new technology. It will be capable of turning out larger quantities of diverse types of high-quality means of

production and consumer goods needed for the development of the national economy and the improvement of the people's living standards. The material and technological bases of agriculture will have been consolidated and the achievements of advanced agronomical science will have been introduced widely. As a consequence, all sectors of agricultural production including grain growing can develop rapidly and our farmers will be freed, to a large extent, from arduous labour. Our towns and villages will be more beautiful and the life of our people will have become more bountiful and cultured. Our country will have been converted from an industrial-agricultural nation into an advanced socialist industrial state.

All the working people should work in a more revolutionary way, never slackening their high revolutionary spirit in the least. They should make the best use of the economic foundations already established and of all our potentialities in order to step up production and construction, thereby further expediting the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan.

Comrades,

To achieve the final victory of socialism, it is necessary to strengthen the class alliance of the socialist countries, the unity and cohesion of the socialist camp. It must be made invincible.

Individual countries where the proletariat has seized power under conditions of international capitalist encirclement cannot be free from the danger of imperialist aggression and capitalist restoration until communism is triumphant on a world-wide scale. Therefore, in order to win final revolutionary victory, the proletariat of each country that has assumed power should consolidate its own internal revolutionary forces in every way, while receiving active support from other contingents of the world socialist revolution and cementing true internationalist solidarity with the working class of all countries and the oppressed peoples of the entire world.

Here is where the formation of the socialist camp and its expansion and development are of great significance. The historical mission of the working class is to do away with all sys-

tems of exploitation and to build socialism and communism, the highest ideal of mankind, on a world-wide scale. The final victory of the world revolution will be achieved by the complete victory of socialist revolutions in numerous countries, and the gradual expansion, consolidation and development of the socialist camp. The socialist camp is the invincible revolutionary base of the international working class for the ultimate victory of socialism and communism, the reliable bulwark of victory for the oppressed and all progressive peoples of the world and the powerful fortress of world peace.

That is why the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism together with all other reactionaries, fear the existence of the socialist camp more than anything else. That is why they are making desperate attempts to destroy it. They are scheming to smash by force of arms, one after another, those countries which march forward along the path of revolution, holding aloft the banner of anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle. They are manoeuvring to disintegrate from within, through intensified ideological and cultural infiltration, those countries which refuse to follow a positive revolutionary path, spreading illusions among the people about imperialism and only insisting on an unprincipled compromise with imperialism.

These circumstances make it necessary for the socialist countries, through their unified efforts, to frustrate the schemes of the allied forces of world imperialism for aggression and subversion and to jointly defend the socialist camp. This requires the monolithic unity of the socialist camp.

The unity and cohesion of the socialist camp are an important guarantee for firmly defending each socialist state against imperialist aggression and for ensuring the final victory of the socialist revolution for the socialist camp as a whole.

The existence of the socialist camp and its united forces constitute an essential factor that is decisive to the destiny, not only of the peoples of the socialist countries, but of mankind as a whole. The solution to all the problems of the world revolution at the present time depends largely on the united efforts of the socialist countries.

Only by steadily strengthening the unshakable unity and might of the socialist camp, can we successfully expedite the cause of socialism and communism. Only in this way can we provide powerful support and encouragement to the anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle of the peoples in the colonial and dependent countries and newly independent countries and the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries.

Unity is the mightiest weapon of the working class. Since its first days in the arena of history, the working class has always regarded unity as its most precious weapon in the struggle against international capital, and on the strength of unity it has won arduous struggles. Even today, the success of the world revolutionary movement in breaking the chains of capitalism which are linked together internationally, can be won only by the united force of the international communist movement based on the principle of proletarian internationalism. It can be firmly guaranteed only by strengthening, in the first place, the unity of its centre, the socialist camp.

Every condition for unity exists in the socialist countries. In the socialist countries power is in the hands of the working class and the exploitation and oppression of man by man has been liquidated on the basis of the establishment of the public ownership of the means of production; Marxism-Leninism is the guiding doctrine for revolution and construction in these countries. The socialist countries are all opposed to imperialism and colonialism and fight for the common goal of building a socialist and communist society which represents freedom and happiness. The socialist camp is not an artificial product, nor is it the outcome of any international treaty, nor is it a temporary alliance. It developed as a result of the fact that the international working class, winning victories in the course of its revolutionary struggle against international capital, became united into a permanent alliance in accord with the inevitable need for class solidarity.

If every socialist country firmly adheres to the class position and proceeds from the fundamental interests of the rev-

olution, the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries will be constantly strengthened.

Differences may arise between fraternal parties and countries. Differences may come either from the different historical and geographical conditions within which the activities of the fraternal parties and countries are carried out and from their different national duties or from their mistaken conception of Marxist-Leninist principles and their lack of a consistent revolutionary stand. Such differences do not represent any contradiction between the differing state and social systems nor do they mean fundamentally incompatible interests between hostile classes. However serious they may be, the differences between the socialist countries are an internal affair of the socialist camp and the international communist movement; they are a problem which should be solved through the method of ideological struggle proceeding from the desire for unity of class brothers. The fraternal parties and states, the class comrades-in-arms who should share life and death, the sweet and the bitter in the struggle for the common cause of socialism and communism, should never feud and quarrel or be antagonistic to each other because of ideological differences. Communists should always be able to distinguish between class brothers and class enemies and should under no circumstances depart from the class point of view. The international communist movement cannot exist and the socialist camp is inconceivable without the principle of class solidarity. If fraternal countries feud and quarrel and are antagonistic to each other, it can only gladden the imperialists and bring losses to the international communist movement.

Communists cannot remain indifferent to this grave situation that affects the very existence of the socialist camp and the destiny of the world revolution. Splits should be healed and unity should be safeguarded and strengthened.

If the fraternal parties and countries desire genuine unity, they must abide strictly by the standards governing their mutual relations, the main content of which is complete equality, independence, mutual respect, noninterference in

each other's internal affairs and comradesly co-operation. When fraternal parties and socialist countries strictly apply these standards of mutual relations, the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement will then have a really conscious and lasting basis. If these standards are violated, complicated problems will arise between fraternal parties and countries and the unity of the socialist camp will be badly affected.

The socialist countries and Communist and Workers' Parties are completely equal and independent. Because of the class solidarity of the working class, each of them, as an equal and independent national detachment of the international revolutionary ranks, is not only responsible to its own people for the revolution in its own country but also to the world's people for the world revolution. No one can lay claim to a privileged position in the ranks of the communist movement and there can be no relationship of superior and inferior between the socialist countries. To cement the class solidarity of the socialist countries, all fraternal countries should respect each other and provide sincere mutual assistance on the basis of equality.

At the same time, they should not renounce their autonomy under pressure from outside and blindly follow other parties and countries. To follow others blindly, forfeiting one's own independence, does not help to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp nor does it mean loyalty to proletarian internationalism. On the contrary, it will do serious harm to revolution and construction in one's own country and, accordingly, result in weakening the international revolutionary forces as well. Only when each of the Communist and Workers' Parties and socialist countries maintains autonomy and independence in its activities, can it work out correct policies suited to the peculiarities of its own country and successfully promote its revolutionary cause and the work of construction. In leading revolution and construction, the Communists should never relinquish the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism nor should they ignore national peculiarities and dogmatically copy the experiences of fraternal countries.

The socialist countries, while strengthening independence in politics, should have confidence in their own strength and endeavour to develop the economy through the labour of their own people and with their own domestic resources. Only by building an independent national economy, can each country accelerate socialist construction and thus increase the might of the entire socialist camp. The economies of all the socialist countries, as independent units of the world socialist economic system, develop steadily in close mutual relationship and co-operation. The might of the socialist economic system as a whole will be reinforced when each of its units grows powerful. If the national economy of each of the socialist countries fails to develop in an all-round way and thus is incapable of standing on its own two feet and fulfilling its own functions, each link in the whole chain of the socialist camp will be weakened and, in the end, the world socialist economic system as a whole will become undermined. The important thing is that mutual economic co-operation be strengthened in line with the principles of proletarian internationalism, equality and mutual benefit, on the basis of the development of a sound economy in all socialist countries which will allow each of them to play its independent role fully, so that the world socialist economic system as a whole can function smoothly and manifest its potential to the full. Only in this way will the unity of the national and international interests be ensured in the construction of socialism in each country. And only by so doing, can the socialist countries successfully foil the imperialist powers' policy of economic aggression and blockade and, moreover, aggravate the general crisis of the world capitalist economic system.

The independence we advocate does not by any means conflict with proletarian internationalism. It is, on the contrary, aimed to strengthen it still further. Independence should serve to strengthen proletarian internationalism and should never weaken it. There can be no internationalism apart from independence, and vice versa. If one turns his back on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and takes to national egoism, under the pretext of maintaining independ-

ence, he is making a grave mistake. What is more, the renunciation of the principle of class solidarity and the rejection of joint action and joint struggle by class brothers, using "independence" as a rationale, is not an attitude befitting a Communist. Such acts will do enormous harm to the development of the world revolution and, moreover, result in undermining the revolution in one's own country.

The defence of independence and at the same time the cementing of the proletarian internationalist unity of the socialist countries, unity and co-operation on the basis of complete equality and independence—this is the position which our Party and the Government of the Republic have consistently maintained. Proceeding from the national and international duties of our revolution, we will, in the future too, exert all our efforts to strengthen friendship and unity with the socialist countries on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, complete equality and independence.

3. ON INTENSIFYING THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST, ANTI- U.S. STRUGGLE TO CRUSH U.S. IMPERIALISM, REUNIFY THE COUNTRY AND DEFEND WORLD PEACE

Comrades,

The building of socialism in the northern half of the Republic is part of the Korean revolution and the Korean revolution is a link in the whole chain of the world revolution. Our people are striving to accelerate socialist construction to the maximum in the north and, at the same time, to force U.S. imperialism out of south Korea and reunify the country. We are exerting all our efforts to develop the joint struggle of the people of the entire world for peace and democracy, national independence and socialism.

In foreign affairs, our Republic consistently follows the line

of opposing the policies of aggression and war pursued by the imperialists with U.S. imperialism at their head, and of fighting for world peace and human progress.

U.S. imperialism is the most barbarous and most shameless aggressor of modern times and the chieftain of world imperialism. It is working desperately to find a way out of its impending doom by aggravating international tension, stepping up the arms drive and unleashing a new war of aggression. No place on earth is safe from its tentacles of aggression and no country is free from the menace of its aggression. U.S. imperialism is extending its aggressive claws to all parts and all countries of the world—Asia and Europe, Africa and Latin America and countries big and small.

In particular, the U.S. imperialists have intensified their aggression and subversive activities against the socialist countries in recent years. While stepping up the barbarous genocidal war in South Viet Nam, they perpetrate brigandish acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Still occupying Guantanamo on the Cuban territory, they are incessantly carrying out aggressive activities and provocative schemes against the Republic of Cuba. The U.S. imperialist manoeuvres to provoke a new war in Korea have already reached a serious stage. They have made active preparations in south Korea for another war, committing armed provocations more and more openly against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The U.S. imperialists are brutally repressing the national-liberation movements of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples and are showing themselves to be a heinous strangler of national independence. They are stepping up armed intervention in Laos as well as trampling upon the territorial integrity of Cambodia, and continuing their provocative acts against its people. They instigated the Israeli expansionists to launch an aggressive war against the Arab peoples and maliciously attempt to stifle the latter's struggle for national independence and a new life.

In recent years the U.S. imperialists' subversive activities

and plots to overthrow the new independent national states have become more overt. With "aid" used as an entrée, they have penetrated the newly independent countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America to meddle in their internal affairs. Having bribed and brought together the reactionaries, they are engineering reactionary military coups more frequently in a number of these countries. The purpose of their plotting is to sway these countries to the Right and wean them away from the anti-imperialist front one by one.

The U.S. imperialists have actively revived Japanese and West German militarism, thereby creating hotbeds for a fresh war in Asia and Europe and jeopardizing peace and the people's security everywhere on earth.

All these facts show that U.S. imperialism is the main force for aggression and war and the most ferocious common enemy of mankind. It is target No. 1 in the struggle of the peoples of the entire world.

As long as imperialism exists, the world cannot live in peace nor will aggression and war disappear. Without struggling against imperialism—U.S. imperialism in particular—world peace cannot be safeguarded nor can national liberation and independence or the victory of democracy and socialism be achieved. There should be no illusions about imperialism; under the banner of revolution, we must intensify the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle without letup, until imperialism is finally defeated.

The Korean people do not want war but are not afraid of it. If the enemy forces a new war upon us, all our people will rise as one in a heroic struggle to defend the great socialist gains in the northern half of the Republic, to win the complete liberation and reunification of our country and safeguard peace in Asia and the world, and they will deal the enemy an annihilating blow.

In order to fight against U.S. imperialism and defend world peace, it is imperative to fight against the lackeys and allies of U.S. imperialism.

In U.S. imperialist strategy an important place is held by

efforts to bolster the opposition by all the forces of reaction to socialism and the national-liberation movements. In executing their policies of aggression and war, the U.S. imperialists depend on reactionary forces in many countries to act as their guide for aggression.

Typical are the examples of Japanese and West German militarism. Under the active patronage of U.S. imperialism, these two militarist forces that have caused so much misery and suffering to mankind have been rapidly revived in Japan and West Germany. Japanese and West German militarism are once again becoming dangerous aggressive forces in Asia and Europe. This is a serious development and no one who truly values peace in Asia, Europe and the rest of the world can simply remain silent.

At present, the U.S. imperialists are directing their spearhead of aggression toward Asia in particular. Japanese militarism faithfully serves as their "shock brigade" in Asian aggression. In an implausible attempt to materialize its old dream of conquering Asia with U.S. imperialist backing, Japanese militarism has gone so far as to project a war against Korea and other socialist countries in Asia. It has openly begun to stretch out its crooked fingers of aggression to other regions also. At the behest of U.S. imperialism the Japanese militarists are making active preparations for a new war. Moreover, Japan is serving it as a logistics and staging area for aggression against Asian countries. Under these circumstances, the struggle against Japanese militarism must not be neglected.

The struggle against Japanese militarism is part of the struggle against U.S. imperialism. It is a struggle to defend peace in Asia and the rest of the world. If the danger of Japanese militarism is underestimated and if a resolute struggle is not waged against it, this would be tantamount to encouraging the aggressive designs of the reactionary ruling circles of Japan and to allowing the consolidation of the U.S. imperialist position in Asia. The socialist countries may have economic relations with Japan or, should contradictions between the United States and Japan become aggravated at some future

date, they may take advantage of them in the interests of the anti-imperialist struggle, but they should never renounce or weaken the struggle against Japanese militarism for that reason. All the socialist countries should wage a joint struggle against Japanese militarism in Asia as well as against U.S. imperialism in general. Japan's aggressive ambitions should be checked and thwarted by concerted action.

In order to defeat U.S. imperialism, a struggle must be waged against it vigorously all over the world. The broad forces of anti-imperialism should join together in dealing blows at U.S. imperialism and in exerting pressure on it in Asia and Europe, Africa and Latin America, in all countries, big and small—in all areas and all nations where the tentacles of U.S. imperialist aggression reach. Only this will make possible the maximum dispersion and debilitation of U.S. imperialist strength and the successful frustration of its strategy of conquering the socialist countries as well as the small nations, one by one.

It is particularly important that the peoples of small countries which are carrying out revolutions have complete confidence in victory and that they pool their strength to deal an annihilating blow to U.S. imperialism. Experience shows that if a nation, no matter how small, believes in and relies on the strength of its people, establishes *Juche* and rises in a resolute struggle, it can defeat any imperialist forces of aggression. If more countries, even though small, pool their strength and fight determinedly against imperialism, their peoples can overwhelm U.S. imperialism on each and every front. The peoples of all countries making revolution should rip the limbs off the U.S. devils and behead them in every part of the world. The U.S. imperialists appear strong, but when the people of many countries attack from all sides and dismember them together, they will become impotent and bite the dust in the end.

We should not tend to underestimate or to overestimate the power of U.S. imperialism. Like all other imperialisms on the globe, it is also on the steady decline and getting closer to the end. The stepped-up aggressive manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists are not manifestations of their might but, on the

contrary, proof of their vulnerability. The more malevolently the U.S. imperialists act, the more difficult their position becomes. On the other hand, the struggle of the peoples against imperialism gains momentum and their fighting ranks are continually growing.

The complete collapse of world imperialism led by U.S. imperialism and of all varieties of reactionaries is inevitable and so is the final triumph of the common struggle of the people of the entire world for peace and democracy, national independence and socialism. This is the basic trend of our times which no force can check.

The invariable policy pursued by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in international relations is that of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist camp, developing friendly and co-operative relations with newly independent states in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and rendering active support and encouragement to the peoples of these areas in their liberation struggle against imperialism and the peoples of all countries in their revolutionary struggle. We consider this policy an internationalist duty and spare no effort towards its implementation.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people decidedly oppose the criminal war of aggression by the U.S. imperialists in Viet Nam and resolutely support the just struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people. Our people consider the struggle of the Vietnamese people their own and are fully ready to fight together with the Vietnamese people whenever requested to do so by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The Korean people sternly condemn the incessant aggressive manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists against the Republic of Cuba. They resolutely support the heroic struggle of the fraternal Cuban people who are safeguarding their nation and their revolutionary gains, and are successfully building socialism.

Our people extend warm fraternal greetings to the peoples of the socialist countries fighting against the policy of aggres-

sion and war pursued by the imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists, and for the victory of the common cause of socialism and communism.

The Korean people strongly denounce the U.S. imperialists for their armed intervention in Laos and actively support the Laotian people in their just struggle for national independence.

Our people give full support to the Cambodian people's righteous struggle against the interference of U.S. imperialism and its puppets and for the defence of their territorial integrity and national sovereignty.

Our people support and express militant solidarity with the Japanese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and domestic monopoly capital and for the achievement of the country's complete independence, democracy and peace.

The Korean people resolutely support the peoples of the United Arab Republic, Syria and other Arab countries in their struggle against the armed aggression of U.S. imperialism and its expansionist lackey, Israel, and for the defence of national independence and the building of a new life.

The Korean people actively support the peoples of Algeria, Guinea, Mali, the Congo (B), Tanzania, Mauritania, South Yemen, the Yemen Arab Republic, Burundi, Somalia and Zambia in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and for the consolidation of national independence and the prosperity of their countries.

Our people support the peoples of the Congo (K), Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and other African countries in their struggle for freedom and liberation. They back the Palestinian people in their struggle against the imperialists led by U.S. imperialism and against the Israeli expansionists for the liberation and independence of their homeland. They support the struggle of the Zimbabwe people against the "independence" of Southern Rhodesia, unlawfully and arbitrarily concocted by the Smith clique, and the struggle of the South African people against racial discrimination.

We support the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of

Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, Peru and other Latin-American countries who are waging valiant armed struggles against U.S. imperialism and pro-U.S. reactionary dictatorships.

The Korean people express firm solidarity with the working class and other toiling peoples in the capitalist countries who are fighting against capitalist exploitation and oppression and for their democratic rights and socialism; they give them ardent encouragement in their struggle.

Our people will always stand firmly by the peoples fighting for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, and strive to strengthen solidarity with them.

Comrades,

The struggle of our people to drive the U.S. imperialist aggressors out of south Korea and reunify the country is surging forward hand in hand with the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle which is dynamically going on on a world-wide scale.

South Korea is not only a complete colony of the U.S. imperialists but also their military base for invading the whole of Korea and Asia. Our country is one of the most tense battle fronts in the anti-imperialist struggle where we stand face to face with the chieftain of world imperialism. We must force the U.S. imperialist aggressors out of south Korea and accomplish the reunification of our homeland, thereby fulfilling our national and international duties.

U.S. imperialism is the Korean people's sworn enemy which has engaged in aggression against our country for over 100 years, ever since the intrusion of the U.S.S. *General Sherman*. The U.S. imperialists, despite their ignominious defeat in the first attempted aggression, constantly carried out aggression and barbarous plunder in our country, committing countless, unpardonable crimes against the Korean people. Before liberation the U.S. imperialists supported the occupation and colonial rule of Korea by Japanese imperialism. After liberation, they replaced the Japanese imperialists in the direct occupation of south Korea and haughtily acted as new colonial rulers.

The U.S. imperialists have enforced the most reactionary,

colonial fascist military rule in south Korea for over 20 years. They have reduced south Korea to their complete colony and a military base of aggression. They have plunged the south Korean people into a living hell where poverty and hunger, terrorism and massacre prevail. All the brutalities committed by the U.S. imperialists in the southern half of our country since liberation make one of the most shameful pages in the history of modern imperialist aggression.

In an attempt to conceal their foul nature as colonial rulers of south Korea, the U.S. imperialists claim that south Korea is an "independent state" and has an "independent government." But this is no more than a clumsy farce which cannot deceive anyone today.

The Korean people are a single nation and have only one state and one government. The Korean nation's only state is the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Only the Government of the D.P.R.K. represents the real national interests and will of the entire people of north and south Korea. The so-called "Republic of Korea Government" in south Korea is a puppet regime which can never represent the south Korean people nor exercise any sovereignty.

The Government of our Republic is a patriotic and anti-imperialist power, whereas the "government" of south Korea is a traitorous one. The Government of the Republic is led by patriotic revolutionary fighters who have fought long and valiantly against foreign imperialist aggressors for the liberation and independence of the country. However, the successive rulers of the south Korean puppet regime are, without exception, stooges fostered by the U.S. and Japanese imperialists and traitors to the nation who sold out the country and the nation to their masters. The present rulers who form the south Korean puppet regime today are traitors who in the past, like all their predecessors, betrayed the country and the people. While we Communists were waging 15 years of bloody struggle against Japanese imperialism, with weapons in our hands, for the freedom and independence of the country, the present south Korean rulers swore their allegiance to the Japanese "Emperor" and

perpetrated barbarities by brutally suppressing and slaughtering those revolutionaries and other patriots who rose in the anti-Japanese struggle. They are militaristic gangsters who, after the surrender of Japanese imperialism, changed their master and became faithful lackeys of the U.S. imperialists, men who usurped power in a crooked way with the backing of the U.S. imperialists.

Furthermore, the Government of the Republic is an independent and sovereign government, whereas the so-called "government" of south Korea is an out-and-out colonial and dependent "government."

The Government of the Republic is a power set up by ourselves on the basis of the programme formulated by us. It has been consolidated and developed thanks to the conscious efforts and struggles of our people. All the domestic and foreign policies of the Government of the Republic are drawn up entirely in keeping with the national interests and will of the Korean people and embody the principles of complete independence, self-support and self-defence. On the contrary, the puppet regime of south Korea is a "government" originally manufactured by the U.S. imperialists by force of arms against the will of the Korean people. The U.S. imperialist occupiers forcibly dissolved the people's committees instituted on the initiative of the south Korean people after liberation and proclaimed a "military government," enforcing an overt colonial fascist military rule in south Korea. When the "military government" met with the powerful resistance of the south Korean people, the U.S. imperialists replaced the sign of the "U.S. military government" with that of the so-called "Republic of Korea Government" with the odious aim of disguising their colonial rule. This is how the south Korean puppet regime came into being and, as a consequence, this "government" only acts on the directives of the U.S. occupiers, and puts everything in south Korea at the service of their war policy. On orders from its master, the puppet regime of south Korea has herded a large contingent of our innocent south Korean compatriots into the dirty war of aggression in Viet Nam to die a dog's death as cannon fodder for the

U.S. imperialists. This single fact clearly shows what a faithful stooge of U.S. imperialism the so-called "government" of south Korea is.

Moreover, there is no doubt that the Government of the Republic is a true people's power representing and protecting the interests of the workers, farmers and other sectors of the working people, and that the south Korean puppet regime is an anti-popular reactionary "government" that represents the interests of the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats. All the so-called policies of this "government" are aimed at plundering and exploiting the people to provide comfort and enjoyment to the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. Therefore, south Korean society is a paradise for the U.S. imperialists and their running dogs, but it is a living hell for the people.

All this shows that the actual rulers, those who hold real power in south Korea, are none but the U.S. imperialists themselves. The so-called "Republic of Korea Government" of south Korea exists, to all intents and purposes, as a camouflage to "legalize" their military occupation and cloak their colonial rule. It has only served as a faithful instrument in the execution of the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism's occupation of south Korea and its aggressive policy constitute the source of all the misery and suffering of our compatriots in the south. The south Korean people should fight more stubbornly against the occupation of south Korea by U.S. imperialism, to smash its colonial rule and overthrow its stooges—the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats. The south Korean people can wipe out the oppressors and win genuine freedom and liberation only through their own determined struggle. The south Korean people should dovetail the struggle to drive the U.S. imperialists out of south Korea and demolish their colonial rule with the struggle to seize power, and should subordinate all forms of struggle to it.

A people's freedom and liberation do not come of themselves, without struggle, and only by using the revolutionary

method can the people win power. True, it is possible, for the growth of the revolutionary forces, to properly combine diverse forms of struggle—political and economic, legal and illegal, violent and nonviolent, small- and large-scale—to suit the existing subjective and objective situations, thus developing the revolutionary struggle. It is quite wrong to simply wait for favourable conditions to arise and neglect active struggle on the grounds that the revolution is too difficult. However, no matter what form is chosen, these struggles should all be preparatory to the decisive struggle for winning power, and this determined struggle can be crowned with victory only by force.

It is no more than a naive illusion to think that the south Korean people can take power by a peaceful means, without a violent struggle. History knows no instance of any colonial rulers or reactionary ruling circles renouncing their rule over the people and relinquishing power of their own accord before they are overthrown by revolutionary violence. Moreover, the U.S. imperialists, the chieftain of world imperialism, are entrenched in south Korea and try to maintain their colonial domination over south Korea by hook or by crook, since they harbour aggressive designs on the northern half of the Republic and Asia. The U.S. imperialists have experienced many serious crises in south Korea owing to the heroic struggle of the people. But each time, they offered desperate resistance and bloodily suppressed the people by using their armed forces. The fall of the Syngman Rhee puppet regime under the impact of the heroic April 19 Uprising of the south Korean people virtually brought about the total collapse of U.S. imperialist colonial domination over south Korea. But even then, the U.S. imperialists refused to withdraw from south Korea and answered the demand of the people for freedom and liberation by setting up the worst type of fascist military rule.

Their bitter experience of over 20 years has taught the south Korean people ever more clearly that they must not harbour any illusion about the U.S. imperialists and that only when they smash the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys com-

pletely by nation-wide resistance, can they achieve freedom and liberation and regain their lost people's power.

The revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people is now expanding and developing into different forms of active anti-U.S. national-salvation struggle, armed struggle included. Their struggle is becoming gradually organized, is taking deep root among the workers and peasants, the main force of the revolution, and is vigorously developing among broader sectors of the people of all social strata. While further expanding their revolutionary organizations, the revolutionaries and other patriots of south Korea are waging an unbending struggle against the enemy in towns and villages, fighting in the underground and in the mountains, even in the prisons and in the "courts." The activities of the revolutionary armed groups operating in various parts of south Korea and the revolutionary advance of different sectors of the people including the workers, peasants, fishermen, soldiers, student youth, newspapermen, educators and even conscientious national capitalists, have struck terror into the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and thrown them into utter confusion.

The important achievements gained by the revolutionaries and patriotic people in south Korea in their sacred fight for the freedom and liberation of the people, for the reunification and independence of our homeland will shine forever in our country's glorious history of revolution.

The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are raising a frenzied anti-communist hue and cry, describing the revolutionary struggle of the patriotic people in diverse areas of south Korea as "invasion from north Korea" and charging that the present crisis in south Korea has been caused by the "threat from the north." A striking example of this is the case of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification which the south Korean puppets are of late describing as a product of north Korea. As is universally known, all of the more than 100 revolutionary fighters involved in this case—university professors, journalists, soldiers and officials—are from south Korea. Such being the case, how can it be said the north Koreans are responsible? This is a bra-

zen and inept scheme of the south Korean puppet ruling circles indulging in fraud and deception. It is nothing but a stereotyped trick to divert public attention. Wherever exploitation and oppression exist, there is always popular resistance. It is inevitable that the south Korean people should fight against the oppressors for their freedom and liberation. Unable to endure the harsh fascist terror rule of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys any longer, the south Korean people have bravely taken up arms to overthrow U.S. imperialist colonial rule, with the firm resolve that it is better to rise up and fight than to be passive and die. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys can never cover up the stark truth that the present crisis in south Korea is precisely the outcome of U.S. imperialist colonial rule.

In spite of fascist suppression and every conceivable kind of fraudulent artifice of the U.S. imperialists and their puppet clique, the south Korean people will continue to become awakened and tempered through struggle. They will grow into an invincible revolutionary force which will eventually overthrow U.S. imperialist colonial rule. So, in due course of time they will definitely drive out the U.S. imperialist aggressors, overthrow their lackeys, and win victory in their revolution.

The south Korean revolution is carried on under very severe conditions and still has a difficult road ahead, since it is confronted with a strong enemy who is armed to the teeth. But no matter how arduous their revolutionary struggle may be, the south Korean people are not by any means alone. They are fighting under conditions far more favourable than those faced by the Korean Communists when they fought against the Japanese imperialists. We Communists fought for 15 years and defeated the Japanese imperialists who boasted that they were "invincible." They did this under conditions of no state backing, no regular army assistance and no support from the international revolutionary forces that can be compared with that of today. However, now the south Korean people have a powerful revolutionary base in the northern half of the country and enjoy the active support of its people. Under the leadership of our Party, everyone in the northern half of the Republic will do

all they can to support the south Korean people in their revolutionary struggle. We are making full preparations to mobilize ourselves whenever necessary in the decisive struggle for the completion of the national-liberation revolution and to fulfil the great task of national reunification in concert with the south Korean people.

When U.S. imperialism is driven out, the people's democratic revolution is crowned with victory in south Korea and the people there take power into their own hands, national reunification will be achieved by the united strength of the socialist forces in the northern half and the democratic forces in south Korea.

The reunification of the country is both the unanimous aspiration of the people in north and south Korea and the supreme national task, the solution of which brooks not a moment's delay. Through their own experience over the past 20 years and more, our people have become keenly aware that they cannot live on with the north and south remaining divided.

Since the first days of its founding, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has put forward the most reasonable and concrete proposals for the reunification of the country, expressing the unanimous will and desire of the entire Korean people. It has exerted every possible effort to make them a reality. The basic line for national reunification maintained since the beginning by the Government of our Republic has been that of assuring the reunification of the north and south by the Korean people themselves independently on the basis of democratic principles without the interference of any outside forces subsequent to the withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea. This proposal of ours on peaceful reunification is a most fair and realistic proposal, acceptable to all.

The U.S. imperialists and the successive rulers of south Korea have persistently opposed the just proposals on national reunification of the Government of the Republic and have always answered our sincere efforts with aggressive provocations. Such phrases as the "danger of communization" uttered by the U.S. imperialists and their successive lackeys are only an

excuse for perpetuating the division of our country. The "elections under U.N. supervision" which they advocate, are, in fact, nothing but an artifice for handing over the whole of Korea to the U.S. imperialists.

At present, the traitorous clique of south Korea, faithful henchmen of U.S. imperialism, doggedly opposes the peaceful reunification of the country. It recklessly arrests and imprisons people and severely punishes them for merely pronouncing the words "peaceful reunification." The peaceful reunification of the country is impossible as long as U.S. imperialism and its stooges are allowed to remain in south Korea. It can be achieved only after the present puppet regime is overturned and the progressive forces seize power in south Korea.

Our position with regard to peaceful reunification of the country does not rule out the struggle against the U.S. imperialists in any way. It has nothing in common with any "compromise" with the nation's enemy or with the so-called theory of "peaceful transition" of one social system to another. The question of reunifying our country represents the paramount demand of our nation for an end to the catastrophic partition of the country, for the restoration of the territory and population taken over by foreign imperialist aggressors, and for the achievement of the country's complete independence. National reunification, whatever may be the manner in which it is achieved, can be realized only when the U.S. imperialist aggressors are driven off our soil and the south Korean puppet regime is overthrown.

If the south Korean revolution emerges victorious and the country is reunified, then we shall, from that day on, pool the energies and wisdom of the entire people in north and south Korea and develop and exploit the abundant resources of the country in a unified way so as to create on our land of three thousand *ri* a wealthy and powerful country—a new, more prosperous Korea—so wonderful that we will not have to envy anyone.

To hasten that day of triumph and glory, the south Korean people should prepare the revolutionary forces faster and

develop the anti-U.S., national-salvation struggle more vigorously on a mass scale. Meanwhile, the people in the northern half should further consolidate our revolutionary base politically, economically and militarily, continue to render active support to the south Korean people in their revolutionary struggle and steadily strengthen our militant solidarity with the international revolutionary forces.

Comrades,

In the course of its struggle over 20 years, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has unequivocally proved its invincible vitality and might. The Korean people have gained great victories in the revolution and construction under the banner of the Republic.

Today our Republic has entered an era of unprecedented prosperity. Our people are marching forward with increasing vigour, working, learning and living full of joy and pride in the Republic, firmly convinced of the justice of their cause and of victory.

All the victories and achievements of our people have been attained thanks to the correct line and wise leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea. Our Party has always led our people to victory and glory, creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the realities of our country.

The Korean people, who, led by a seasoned Marxist-Leninist Party, firmly hold power in their hands and enjoy the active support and encouragement of all the peoples of the world, will be ever-victorious in carrying out their just revolutionary cause.

Let us all unite, as firm as a rock, around the Workers' Party and march forward more vigorously, holding aloft the banner of the Republic, for the ultimate victory of the Korean revolution and the bright morrow of socialism and communism!

Long live the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—the glorious homeland of the Korean people!

ON SPEEDING UP CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND SOLIDLY DEVELOPING THE COUNTIES

**Speech Delivered at a Consultative Meeting of Chief
Secretaries of the City and County Committees
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

September 24, 1968

Comrades,

All the chief secretaries of the city and county Party committees are present here. Today I would like to discuss some questions related to the speeding up of the socialist rural construction and the solid development of the counties.

1. ON SPEEDING UP CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Socialist rural construction holds a very important place in the building of socialism.

The countryside has fallen behind the cities in all respects. Its backwardness is a legacy of the old capitalist society. While developing only the urban economy and culture for their own enrichment and pleasure, the capitalists utterly neglected the countryside. To them the countryside was no more than an

object of unlimited exploitation and plunder. The capitalists and imperialist rulers caused the countryside to lag far behind the towns, and this was one of their biggest crimes that affected the development of human society.

Owing to the Japanese imperialists' colonial rule the outdated feudal relations of production remained dominant in our countryside before, the technical foundations of agriculture were weak and the methods of farming very backward. The peasants also trailed far behind the workers and urban dwellers in their cultural standard and mode of life.

To bring the countryside up to the level of towns and eliminate the distinctions between them by rapidly developing the former is an important historic task that we Communists must solve without fail in the stage of socialist construction. The rural question remains an important one not only in the stage of the socialist revolution but even after the establishment of the socialist system. Thereafter the rural question consists in rapidly developing the countryside and, on this basis, wiping out all underdevelopment and obliterating the distinctions between town and country, between the working class and the peasantry.

As long as the countryside remains backward, it is impossible to accelerate the development of our society as a whole and achieve the complete victory of socialism.

Unless agriculture moves forward quickly, it is impossible, above all, to solve the problem of food for the people.

The three problems of food, clothing and housing are basic to the people's lives. And the problem of food is entirely dependent on agriculture. This is common for all countries. Before industry developed, clothing, too, relied almost wholly upon agriculture. Formerly, our people wove and made their clothes mainly from cotton grown in the countryside; where cotton did not grow, they planted hemp for clothing. Later, with industrial development and mass-production of chemical fibres in our country, the question of clothing could be solved entirely by industrial methods.

The food problem, however, cannot be solved in this way

yet. We cannot predict the future, but so far industry has failed to produce chemically foods such as rice, meat and eggs. Science has been unable to solve this problem up to now.

Needless to say, industry has a great effect on the development of agriculture. The rapid growth of industry will enable us to dynamically drive forward the technical revolution in the countryside and, accordingly, swiftly increase agricultural production. Despite industry's speedy development, however, it cannot directly take the place of agricultural production at the present level of science and technology. In order to solve the people's food problem satisfactorily, we must continuously increase agricultural production through our emphasis on the development of the rural economy.

In addition, without doing away with the backwardness of the countryside at an early date, we will not be able to working-classize the peasants.

No matter how far industry may develop, the peasantry will make up a considerable proportion of the country's population as long as a rural co-operative economy exists. While the countryside remains backward technologically and culturally, the peasants' low level of ideological consciousness cannot be quickly raised. If the peasants are not awakened ideologically, feudal-Confucian ideas may revive in the countryside and capitalist ideology may readily infiltrate. In other words, the backwardness of the countryside paves the way for the penetration of all kinds of virulent ideological poison and provides a hotbed for its growth. It is a serious obstacle to the building of socialism.

Belittling the importance of solving the rural question and paying slight attention to it in the process of socialist construction is a capitalist approach. If a socialist state fails to put great stress on rural construction, its countryside will be left behind, and eventually it will be compelled to buy even grain for food from other countries. In such a case, the complete victory of socialism would be impossible, and the country indefinitely lamed.

Needless to say, the elimination of all backwardness in the

countryside at an early date and the correct solution of the socialist rural question are not an easy task. It is one of the most difficult and complicated questions in the building of socialism.

The imperialists, flinging mud at the socialist system, are now claiming, "Socialist countries go to ruin as they have re-fashioned their countryside along socialist lines." Of course, this is no more than the imperialists' intentionally false propaganda against the socialist countries.

The socialist rural question is being solved very smoothly and successfully in our country. We not only completed the socialist transformation of agriculture in a short period after the war but have long been self-sufficient in food, and every branch of agriculture is developing very rapidly. This is a brilliant victory for our Party's agricultural policy.

Since the solution of the rural question is very important and difficult in socialist construction, we should handle this question in an even more exemplary way in the future through continuous, great efforts in socialist rural construction.

In order to solve the socialist rural question successfully, great efforts should be made to develop industry, heavy industry in particular, so that industry will give powerful assistance to the countryside. We cannot develop agriculture without giving priority to the growth of heavy industry. Only when the metallurgical and machine-building industries are developed and modern farm machinery and various equipment are supplied to the countryside in large quantities can we effect the mechanization and irrigation of agriculture, and only when the power and chemical industries are developed can we introduce electrification in the countryside and chemicalization in agricultural production.

The general principles and concrete ways to solve the rural question are clearly set out in *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. The Theses are our Party's programme for the socialist rural construction and the rules for the work of our Party functionaries and personnel in the field of agriculture.

As days go by, the realities of our country show ever more clearly the full validity of our *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. We can confidently say that the path indicated in the Theses is the most correct and straight one to the solution of the socialist rural question.

The point is that our functionaries must correctly implement the Party's rural Theses clause by clause.

To implement the Theses correctly, the functionaries of the county Party committees, county co-operative farm management committees and county people's committees should work better than anybody else. At present some of the leading agricultural workers consider *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* a mere book and have not yet overcome conservatism in the struggle to put them into effect.

All workers, but particularly agricultural functionaries, should not only make a close study of the Theses but strive with all devotion to carry them into practice point by point.

In carrying out the Theses, the present emphasis should be placed on the vigorous acceleration of the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside.

As I already said in my report at the 20th anniversary celebration of the founding of the Republic, we should never fail to capture the two fortresses, ideological and material, in order to build a socialist and communist society. And this calls for the energetic promotion of the ideological and technical revolutions.

The ideological and technical revolutions are closely interrelated. The proper implementation of the technical revolution is essential for the successful progress of the ideological revolution, and the primary aim of the ideological revolution lies in speeding up the construction of socialism and communism by successfully carrying out the technical revolution.

We should not neglect the ideological revolution, attaching importance to the technical revolution alone, or vice versa. If we fail to direct close attention to the ideological revolution while stressing the technical one alone, we will not

be successful in preventing the corrosive action of old ideas and the ideological and cultural penetration of the imperialists. If people are ideologically unawakened, become work-shy and choose an indolent, dissolute life, it will be impossible to build socialism successfully and even firmly defend the socialist system we have already established, no matter how highly developed the economy and technology or how bountiful the people's lives. And if we do not vigorously promote the technical revolution but stress only the ideological one simply because it is important, we will be unable to develop the country's economy and technology and enhance the people's living standards; this will eventually make it impossible for us to successfully carry out the tasks of the ideological revolution itself.

We must forcefully advance the technical and ideological revolutions, firmly taking them both in hand.

It can be said that our country has now reached a new stage where it can raise the rural technical revolution to a higher plane and promote the ideological revolution more vigorously.

We have, of course, directed great efforts to the technical revolution in the countryside for many years. But we were unable to introduce mechanization and chemicalization of agriculture on a full scale while our industry was not yet demonstrating all its strength. The situation is different today. Our industry has been placed on a solid foundation where it can produce and supply a sufficient amount of modern means of production agriculture requires such as tractors, trucks, chemical fertilizer and other chemicals. We are now able to fulfil all the tasks of the rural technical revolution set forth in the Theses and carry out the tasks of the ideological revolution as well with greater success.

I will not make any further remarks about the ideological revolution since I have already dealt with it in detail on many occasions. Today I will limit myself mainly to some tasks for speeding up the rural technical revolution.

The rural technical revolution is an honourable revolu-

tionary task that aims to develop agriculture rapidly on the basis of modern technology and liberate the peasants from heavy labour.

The rural technical revolution alone renders it possible to increase agricultural production swiftly, allowing the farmers to work more easily, and introduce for the farmers the same eight-hour day the workers have. An eight-hour day will enable the farmers to study more than now and enrich their cultural life; this is the only way to eliminate the distinctions between town and country and hasten the complete victory of socialism. That is why the Party has set it as an important fighting task to promote energetically the rural technical revolution.

First of all, we should vigorously push forward the mechanization of agriculture.

Our countryside now has large numbers of modern farm machines, including tractors, and the amount will greatly increase in the coming few years. We can manufacture as many tractors as we want if the tractor factories are supplied with enough steel. Indeed, today it offers no serious problem for us to supply the countryside with machines.

An important task in speeding up the mechanization of agriculture is to increase the utilization of farm machines, including tractors.

In order to make better use of tractors, we must strengthen our repair bases for their timely repair and maintenance and, at the same time, properly readjust the fields.

Without methodically readjusting the fields, farm work cannot be mechanized, regardless of the number of tractors. Extensive work should be undertaken to readjust fields on all co-operative farms. If every field-team copes with at least one or two plots of land a year, a large cultivated area will be readjusted in the next few years.

Laborious vast work such as field readjustment cannot all be done by men carrying earth on the back. Bulldozers and other machines should be widely used. Where there is no bulldozer, one can use tractors coupled with bulldozer blades.

Every means should be employed to readjust all fields systematically in the near future, and paths to fields properly laid. Thus, we will ensure that machines can enter any plot and work freely.

Close attention should also be paid to soil conservation along with land readjustment. Because agricultural personnel neglect this, a sizable amount of land is lost in the rainy season. We must dredge river-beds and build the embankments where necessary so that such things never occur again in the future. Simply piling the edges of fields with stones or planting willows is quite enough to prevent earth from being washed away.

Next, efforts should be directed to the chemicalization of agriculture.

The chemicalization of agriculture has a very great significance in freeing the farmers from toilsome labour and saving manpower in the countryside. It is also an important guarantee for increasing agricultural production.

Chemicalization will enable us to dispense with rice transplanting and weeding, the most labour-consuming of all farm work. The farmers consider such work extremely difficult, and students returning from the countryside where they have helped in farm work agree. In the early period of our revolutionary activities when we went out and operated in the rural areas, we also did a lot of varied farm work that included weeding with the peasants; and weeding was indeed arduous work. If chemistry is applied in agriculture and various herbicides are widely used, the farmers can be freed once and for all from such a backbreaking labour.

The experiments we have conducted with herbicides for several years at the Academy of Agricultural Science and on some co-operative farms, for example, the Chongsan Co-operative Farm, Kangso County, have convinced us of the excellence of this farming method.

I am told that the Chongsan Co-operative Farm expects this year's harvest to be as high as seven or eight tons of rice per *chongbo*, and this without transplanting and weeding since

the rice has grown right where it was sown and herbicides have been used. Farmers are delighted that they have learned to grow rice without transplanting its seedlings and weeding. A few days ago we went to Chongsan-ri and talked with an old farmer who had grown old farming there. But he said it was the first time in his life he would reap such a high yield while working with ease and neither transplanting nor weeding. He added that, after living a life of hardship, he had at last seen the blessed era when farming was done without weeding; it was only a pity he was old.

The use of herbicides not only frees farmers from heavy work but also saves a good deal of manpower.

At present 200-300 man-days per *chongbo* are expended where rice is cultivated without herbicides; only 120 are required with herbicides, even if rice is transplanted. If we grow rice without transplanting, much more manpower will be saved. Even the initial results of the experiments so far show that 55 man-days per *chongbo* are expended when rice is directly sown on dry paddies and 67 on watered paddies. Thus, 60 man-days per *chongbo* are needed when rice is grown without transplanting. This means that as much as three-fourths of the present manpower will be saved in rice cultivation if we apply chemicals. At present a co-operative farmer has difficulty tending even one *chongbo* of paddies. In the future when agricultural chemicals are extensively used, he will be able to cultivate more than three *chongbo* even if rice is transplanted.

In realizing chemicalization in agriculture we must first stress the use of herbicides so that the farmers may cultivate the land without weeding.

Indeed, it would be better still to grow rice right where it is sown in order to dispense with transplanting seedlings. But this requires further study and several more years of experiment. The experiments so far show that rice growing without transplantation has two shortcomings. The first is that the rice plants are easily blown down because they fail to strike deep roots; and the second, that they are frost-bitten

before ripe as their growth rate does not coincide with the natural and climatic conditions of our country. For rice to be sown directly, we should investigate further the question of getting deeply-rooted rice plants and produce rice seeds of new, early-ripening variety. We have one or two early-ripening varieties at present, but they need several more years of testing. It is, therefore, advisable to postpone the extensive application of direct sowing until these two problems are solved and continue small-scale experiments for the present. Such experiments should be done intensively, mainly on a few experimental farms designated by the state; other co-operative farms should each test one or two *chongbo* when they are supplied with herbicides.

But since it is a firmly established fact that herbicides relieve farmers of weeding, they should be used widely according as they are mass-produced.

According to the results up to now, herbicides like P.C.P. and cimadin are very efficient. They are applicable to both paddy and dry fields. In rice farming herbicides should be sprayed first on the nursery to kill barnyard grass and then used again to kill other weeds after young rice plants are bedded out. Herbicides should also be extensively applied in dry-field farming, including maize cultivation.

The application of herbicides in agricultural production is largely dependent on industry although it also hinges on the agricultural guidance workers and farmers themselves. Chemicalization cannot be effected in agricultural production unless industry supplies a sizable quantity of herbicides.

A herbicide factory should be built as early as possible to send large amounts of various herbicides to the rural districts. In order to free the farmers from arduous labour soon, we should turn out herbicides in large quantities, though it is also important to continue increasing the output of chemical fertilizer. Chemical fertilizer, too, only produces its full effect when weeds are removed from the fields through an extensive application of herbicides.

Along with a herbicide factory, we should also build a

microelement fertilizer factory at an early date, so that the countryside receives various fertilizers of this type from next year.

At the same time frequent training courses should be arranged for leading agricultural workers and farmers to give them a good understanding of herbicides, that is, their variety, effectiveness, specific qualities and uses. It would also be useful to make a scientific film on herbicides and show it to the farmers.

Meanwhile, the leading agricultural workers should skillfully conduct explanatory work among the farmers. Farmers are reluctant to readily introduce new techniques because they are still plagued with many conservative ideas. The agricultural guidance workers should patiently explain the use of herbicides to the farmers and properly carry on different kinds of organizational and political work to help them fully appreciate the advantages of chemicalization through practice and come to have firm faith in it.

Thus making meticulous material, technical and ideological preparations, the chemicalization of agriculture should be pushed ahead step by step.

Next, we must energetically stimulate the cultural revolution in the countryside.

In order to carry out the rural cultural revolution successfully, it is necessary, first of all, to ensure that every farm house is supplied with electricity.

Electrification in our countryside is now nearing completion. Sometime ago I went to North Pyongan Province and looked around rural districts and found that only a few solitary farm houses in remote valleys did not yet have electricity. We should exert a little more effort so that electricity even reaches all such mountain villages in the near future.

In order to provide all the farmers in mountainous areas with electric light, I think we have to take measures to concentrate the houses scattered in ones and twos. If electricity is to be supplied to every house, leaving them all where they are, there will not be enough electric wire. And not only that.

When houses are isolated, children have difficulties going to school and there are many inconveniences in life. Some rural functionaries say that they leave solitary houses where they are in the mountains to prevent wild animals from damaging crops. But there is no need to do so. What is required is to set up a hut and send a few young people there during the summer. Why make a whole family live all the time in inconvenience and isolation far away in the mountains? If a suitable place is chosen for a village and houses are built close together for each sub-workteam of the co-operative farm, we can quickly bring in electricity and make life much easier.

If possible, we should avoid building the village in the middle of the fields; rather, we should situate it at the foot of a mountain where there is good water, sunshine and no danger of landslides.

The village of Kumbu-*ri* in Sakju County, North Pyongan Province, is a good example of such a rural village. It lies at the foot of a hill covered with fruit trees, a murmuring stream flowing in front and paddies stretching along its length. The village looks like an unrolled scroll. Each time I pass by I purposely slow down to take in a view of the whole village. In the future all our villages should be built up neatly and attractively in beautiful places like Kumbu-*ri* village.

For a secluded mountain village far from the main power line it would be good to install a small generator after relocating its scattered houses in one place. To lay electricity on in such a village, we need time and much material, for long lines have to be laid. In such a place a small generator should be installed to provide electric light for everyone at an early date.

Also important in the rural cultural revolution is to provide the possibility for the whole rural population to hear wire broadcasts.

Only when every home in the countryside hears wire broadcasts, can the voice of the Party centre ringing out from Pyongyang simultaneously reach every nook and corner of our country.

The wire broadcasting network covers almost all the rural *ri* in our country now, not to mention the county seats. This is a great success for us in the rural cultural revolution. Yet, we cannot rest content with this achievement. Some of the *ri* already supplied with electricity still have no broadcasting service.

We should unfold a vigorous struggle to enable the entire rural population to hear the wire broadcasts. All the *ri* which have electricity should get the first wire broadcast installations; as for *ri* without an electric supply, they should be provided with a wire broadcast service as soon as electricity can be brought to them in the future.

Next, there should be a newspaper or a magazine for every country home. Only then is it possible to propagate our Party's policy widely among the farmers and swiftly raise their technical and cultural levels.

Our publishing work should be improved so that newspapers and magazines are put out in large quantities. Although we must increase the number of copies of the central newspapers, that of the provincial dailies, in particular, must also be sharply raised. Provincial daily papers should not limit themselves only to high-speed rotary presses; they should make good use of existing printing machines in order to print more copies. It is reasonable that local industry factories produce the paper needed for provincial dailies.

While increasing the circulation of newspapers and magazines, we should decisively improve distribution. At present the number of newspapers and magazines fall short of the people's needs. To make matters worse, a large part of them are distributed to offices, which means that only a small portion reaches people's homes. Newspapers and magazines should be delivered to individual houses in the future rather than to offices. Only then can working people read newspapers with care at home in the morning, the evening or on days off. The distribution of newspapers and magazines to every house will also make them available to housewives who do not work and to students.

I have so far spoken about some of the tasks arising in

carrying out the technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside.

The successful fulfilment of the above-mentioned tasks will change the general look of our countryside beyond recognition and markedly narrow the gap between town and country. The farmers will be freed from arduous labour; conditions will be created to introduce an eight-hour workday in rural areas; all villages will be supplied with electricity; and the entire rural population will be able to listen to the radio and read newspapers and magazines. The state will also build a greater number of modern dwellings for the farmers. When this is realized, the farmers will not yearn for the city. They will not try to abandon the countryside with its beautiful landscapes, fresh air and fine living conditions for the towns.

2. ON SOLIDLY DEVELOPING THE COUNTY AND INCREASING ITS ROLE

Developing the county well and increasing its role is a very urgent task that confronts us today in promoting socialist rural construction.

As already mentioned at the Changsong Joint Conference of Local Party and Economic Functionaries and as clearly elucidated in *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*, the county plays the role of passing on the Party's lines and policies to the countryside, training cadres needed for socialist rural construction and disseminating the advanced culture of the city to the countryside. At the same time, the county, responsible for directly organizing and guiding agricultural production, purchasing farm produce and sending it to urban centres, is also the base for supplying goods manufactured in towns to rural areas. In short, it is the base linking town and country in all spheres of politics, the economy and culture. Therefore, in order to develop agriculture and

successfully carry out the tasks of the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the countryside, we must build up the county as both a strong supply base serving rural districts and a centre for the ideological and cultural revolutions there and enhance the role it plays.

To enhance the county's role is an urgent question not only for socialist rural construction but also for the development of the whole work of the nation. As the lowest guiding unit of the Party and of government administration the county is responsible for giving unified guidance to local industry, agriculture, education, culture, public security, military affairs and all other work in its region. Therefore, if each county works well the overall work of the country will go well; if it fails to fulfil its functions properly, the whole work of the country cannot proceed as it should.

Since the counties hold such an important position and play a great role in undertaking socialist rural construction and developing the overall work of the country, our Party has always directed close attention to reinforcing them. As early as wartime, the Party reorganized the system of state administration, abolishing the *myon* that played an intermediary role between the county and the *ri* and subdividing counties instead so they could give direct guidance to the *ri*, the lowest administrative unit. Afterwards, it took various measures to strengthen the counties so that they could better serve the development of agriculture and the improvement of the material and cultural standards of the rural population. Thanks to such Party measures, the role of the counties has been enhanced. Particularly, through the struggle to implement the tasks set forth at the Changsong Joint Conference of Local Party and Economic Functionaries and in *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*, a signal success has been achieved in the work of developing the counties and increasing their role.

However, we still have much work to do if we are to build up the counties well and raise their role as required by the Party.

First of all, the ranks of cadres at county level should be firmly built up and their sense of responsibility and role enhanced.

It can be said that whether or not the county fulfils its role properly and correctly guides rural construction depends entirely on whether its cadres responsibly carry out their assignments. As experience shows, work at county level goes well where the chief secretaries of county Party committees and other county cadres uphold the ideas of *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* and persistently strive to put them into effect; county work, however, fails to develop and only marks time where the cadres fail to study their work and do it in a slipshod manner. Consequently, in order to improve county work, cadres of the county Party committee in charge of guidance for all county work should, more than anybody else, raise their sense of responsibility, rectify the method and style of their work, organize their work and life in a revolutionary manner and devote all their energy and talents to the thorough implementation of the Party's policies.

Some leadership workers of county Party committees brandish Party authority, are temperamental and even commit acts that may cause people inconveniences, thus worsening the relations between the Party and the masses. They should not do this. As we stress time and again, the Party is not an organization which brandishes its authority. The county Party committee is an organ which always works for the interests of the people; it is the general staff which guides all work of the county in a unified way. The duties and responsibilities you assume before the Party are heavy indeed. Leadership workers of the county Party committees must bear this in mind and organize county work responsibly.

To improve work at county level, it is also necessary to further enhance the sense of responsibility and the role of leading personnel in county administrative and economic bodies, including the chairmen of the county people's committees.

As I said at a plenary meeting of the North Pyongan Provincial Party Committee sometime ago, no matter how well the county Party committee may steer the right course in administrative and economic work, the Party's policies cannot be correctly carried out if the chairman of the county people's committee, chairman of the county co-operative farm management committee and other functionaries of the administrative and economic bodies who directly execute work, fail to fulfil their role properly.

At present many county administrative and economic functionaries do not study their tasks deeply or show creativeness in their work; they are not closely armed with the revolutionary spirit to carry through the Party's policies to the end. The chairman of a certain county people's committee in North Pyongan Province was almost ignorant of the economic life in his county; he did not even know the functionaries well whom he deals with in everyday work. When he was assigned to make uniforms for pupils and students, he did not conduct any organizational work to carry out the job. When the chairman of the county people's committee, who is personally responsible for the economic life and the exercise of power in his county, is thus unclear about the affairs of his county and is irresponsible in implementing Party policies, it is hardly possible for things to go well in his county.

When we say this, it does not mean you should punish all comrades who have defects. The question is that the county Party committees must guide the Party life of the administrative and economic workers effectively and intensify their education so that they may faithfully carry out their revolutionary tasks.

My investigation into the work of county Party committees shows that in quite a few cases guidance in the organizational life of the county cadres is not undertaken by leadership functionaries but is left to poorly qualified instructors untested in work. This is incorrect. The education of the cadres of county administrative and economic bodies should be

conducted directly by responsible functionaries of the county Party committees.

The county Party committee should intensify its guidance to the Party organizational life of cadres and, especially, should tighten its control over their studies.

A big defect today is that chief secretaries of county Party committees and other county cadres do not study well. While ordinary Party members are all studying earnestly, cadres do not study well, moving about here and there on the plea of pressure from work. If our cadres, the commanding staff of the revolution and construction, do not study, the Party's lines and policies cannot be implemented properly nor can their vitality be displayed, regardless of how good they may be.

Society and science constantly change and develop. Those who do not study and constantly refresh their knowledge in keeping with changing reality will naturally become ignorant and fall behind the times. Some comrades fail to fulfil their tasks correctly or make mistakes mainly because they neglect their studies.

By intensifying study among cadres, we should make all the functionaries have a clear knowledge of the Party's lines and policies and use them as a yardstick in conducting their work at any time and at any place. At the same time, it is necessary that functionaries of the county people's committees study the work method of the people's committee, and those of the county Party committees the method of Party work, so that all the cadres proceed with a clear knowledge of the functions they have to discharge. Only then can the overall work of the county go well and the county raise its role in socialist rural construction.

Furthermore, the county should be well developed. This is essential to ensure that the county fulfil its role satisfactorily as the base linking the towns and the countryside in all spheres of politics, economy and culture.

One of the important tasks in building up the county is to organize its trade network properly and develop local in-

dustry so that it may successfully play the role of supply base for the villages.

For smooth commodity circulation between town and country it is necessary to properly build up the county retail trade management office, in charge of commodity supplies for the villages, rationally distribute the network of procurement shops and give them better guidance to facilitate the timely purchase of farm produce. Only the timely purchase of agricultural produce from the farmers can develop local industry and, particularly, increase their zeal for production. Procurement shops should be logically distributed and the work of procurement well organized in the counties to purchase farm produce while it is still fresh; also, the ranks of procurement workers should be formed with people who are honest and faithful to the Party.

Development of local industry is very important both in supplying the rural population with various consumer goods and raising the farmers' living standards by promoting agricultural production and rural sidelines. Counties now have many local industry factories, including furniture, foodstuff and textile factories. Although it is necessary to build more local industry factories by enlisting unused reserves in local areas, more important is to normalize production at the existing local industry factories and improve the quality of their products. Ten years have already passed since local industry started to develop in our country. But some local industry factories have still failed to establish a solid material and technical foundation of their own, and the quality of local industry products is low as well. Let me take county foodstuff factories as an example. Bean paste and soy sauce produced there are not palatable nor is production going as it should due to the shortage of raw materials. The counties should give proper guidance to local industries so that they may raise the quality of their products and normalize production on their own solid raw material bases.

A new slaughter-house and refrigeration plant should be built in every county. Farmers are now raising many pigs,

but they are not purchased in time because there is no storage of pork. Erecting a slaughter-house and a refrigeration plant in each county in the future will allow us to purchase their domestically-raised animals in time, refrigerate the meat and supply it regularly to the people.

It is also necessary to lay solid bases for the repair of farm machinery.

For the county to play its role properly as the base of the technical revolution in the countryside, it should guarantee the production and supply of spare parts for farm machines and the immediate repair of tractors and automobiles so that they operate normally. Take Pyongyang, for instance. No district there has a farm machinery repair station that is up to standard. I visited a workteam of a co-operative farm in Samsok District, Pyongyang. Although there was a truck, I found that it was laid up because of the lack of spare parts. This practice is not confined to Pyongyang alone. The situation is similar in rural areas. Though there are many tractors and automobiles in the countryside, only a small number of them are in actual operation. Counties should build up farm machine repair bases well so as to get tractors and automobiles repaired immediately; they should also make their own simple farm implements, such as hoes and sickles.

Also important is to build up the county as a strong base for the cultural revolution in the countryside.

First of all, we should strengthen the educational institutions and give them better guidance.

A county should have higher technical schools, including a higher agricultural school, and a higher school. Presently, there is no higher school where there is a higher technical school, and vice versa. In the future, each county should have both such schools.

As a county cadre training organ the county Party school which mainly trains and re-educates rural cadres will be enough.

While the necessary educational institutions and cadre training organs are set up in the counties, the county Party

committees should intensify their guidance of the schools. Only then is it possible to bring up fine personnel who will serve socialist rural construction and successfully carry out the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the countryside which are outlined in the Theses

Still failing to understand clearly the schools' role in fulfilling the ideological and cultural revolutions, some cadres do not give due concern to work with teachers and students. We must correct the erroneous viewpoint of cadres who regard work with schools as a matter of secondary importance and improve guidance to the educational institutions so that schools may enhance their role in carrying out the ideological and cultural revolutions.

The distribution of films should also be correctly done. Films are a powerful means for the ideological and cultural education of the working people; thus, it is very important to improve film distribution in order to carry out the ideological and cultural revolutions. Many new films are coming out now. If good films are produced but are not shown to the people in due time and thus not widely used in educating the masses, they are of no value. We should improve film distribution and show films soon after they are completed to all working people.

Proper attention should also be given in the counties to strengthen wire broadcasting and improve the work of the post offices so that rural dwellers can get newspapers, magazines and other mail in good time.

In addition, county hospitals should be strengthened to deliver better medical service to the rural population. The ranks of medical personnel should include more qualified people, and the hospitals should get more medicine and medical equipment. Particularly for the country women, there should be a maternity hospital in every county; and in areas where it is difficult to set up a maternity hospital right now, we should introduce a system of midwives for every district.

The county should also have a bus station. We should set one up in each county and open regular bus services be-

tween the county seat and all the *ri*, thus providing the farmers with better conveniences.

At the same time, we should supply water and build sewage works to provide the county seats with modern amenities and sanitation.

I firmly believe that by striving energetically to develop the counties on a solid basis and enhance their role, you will carry out more successfully the tasks of socialist rural construction which are laid down in *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*.

LET US STRENGTHEN THE TRAINING OF TECHNICAL PERSONNEL TO MEET THE NEW REQUIREMENTS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

**Speech to the Faculty and Students of the
Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute**

October 2, 1968

To begin with, I warmly congratulate the faculty and students of the Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute on the 20th anniversary of its inauguration.

Over the past 20 years the Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute has trained armies of technical personnel and sent them out to many branches of the national economy. They are now playing an important role at varied posts of socialist construction--in our factories and enterprises and state and economic institutions. This means that the Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute has rendered great service, and this is a valuable result of the tireless efforts its teaching staff has made in upholding the Party's educational policy. The institute, whose growth coincides with the history of our Republic, has contributed greatly to the country's prosperity, development and socialist construction.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and of the Government of the Republic, I extend warm thanks to the faculty and students of the Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute.

Our Party's educational policy is correct and our achievements in education are tremendous. This is clearly proved

by life itself, and foreigners, too, have a high opinion of our policy and achievements.

Representatives of many countries attending our Republic's 20th anniversary celebration sometime ago were unanimous in their unstinted praise for our educational system and very much envied our pupils and students. They particularly admired our students who were active in supporting and defending the Party's line and policies and who showed themselves firmly united around the Party.

In our country today, students are a source of great pride and a valuable asset, not a source of trouble and anxiety. This is a great victory won in the implementation of the Party's educational policy.

We have achieved great successes in the development of science and technology as well as in education.

True, we still have much to do to catch up with the advanced industrial countries. But under the leadership of the Party our people have performed a great miracle in a short historical period of time—abolishing technological and economic backwardness, a legacy of the old society, and building a powerful independent national economy with a modern industry and a developed agriculture.

Today our industry has a fairly strong foundation. The foundation of heavy industry is especially firm. This is graphic evidence of the correctness of our Party's line on the building of the economy, the line of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry while simultaneously developing light industry and agriculture.

Over the past years we have won truly great victories in socialist construction and, in particular, have achieved a big success in education. However, we must not become at all complacent over this. We have much more work to do than we have done so far.

Our task now is to raise our industry to a higher level by relying on the industrial base we have already laid. This requires the continued, energetic promotion of the technical revolution.

The Party's Fourth Congress set the technical revolution as one of the central tasks of socialist economic construction. This task is now proceeding successfully, but it cannot be completed within the Seven-Year Plan period. The complete victory of socialism and the laying of the sound material and technical foundations of socialism and communism make it imperative to advance the technical revolution to a higher plane.

The first and foremost task in this is the development of electronics.

This is the age of electronics, and we must develop electronics quickly. The development of electronics is essential for the extensive introduction of automation in all branches of the national economy. This will enable us to produce more material wealth with less manpower while making work lighter. It will also help us eliminate the distinctions between heavy and light and industrial and farm labour and, furthermore, between mental and physical labour.

The rapid development of electronics is also necessary for the defence industry. With our present industrial base, we can produce all the conventional weapons we need. However, if we are to develop the defence industry to manufacture large quantities of modern automatic weapons, we must improve the automation system and electronics. At one time we told you to stop building helicopters and the like. But it is now high time to make helicopters and other types of planes and modern automatic weapons such as rockets in our country. You should now put your minds to producing such modern automatic weapons. When we develop electronics, we will be able to manufacture as many of these modern weapons as we want.

As you see, the development of electronics is very important for the advancement of the country's productive forces, for the final emancipation of the working people from heavy labour and for boosting national defence power.

But electronics is a field which we have only just begun to explore because our country had a very weak industrial

base in the past. The industrial base must reach a certain level for the development of electronics. In the complete absence of this base, electronics is out of the question. Today, however, a firm industrial base has been laid and the engineering industry, in particular, has attained a pretty high level. So it is with full confidence that we say it is high time to place the question of developing electronics on the order of the day. We should develop electronics on a large scale.

Another important problem in the field of science and technology, if the technical revolution is to be carried to a higher level, is to increase the production of light and pure metals and alloy steel.

Of course, the establishment of *Juche* in the production of iron is very important, and metallurgy should continue to concentrate on the work of strengthening the independence of the iron industry. But the production of light and pure metals and alloy steel should never be neglected. Without expanding production of these, it is impossible to make further advance in the engineering, electronics and defence industries or to carry out the tasks of the higher phase of the technical revolution successfully.

First of all, the work of establishing our own aluminium production base must be speeded up. Until recently no deposits of bauxite were found in our country and the technical problem of producing aluminium from nephelite, which we do have, was not solved. This compelled us to defer construction of an aluminium factory. Our prospectors, however, found bauxite deposits recently. Therefore, we must speed up the construction of the factory and turn out aluminium ourselves as soon as possible. In addition to aluminium, we must produce magnesium, and further the production of alloy steel and various pure metals including titanium.

The new and higher phase of the technical revolution urgently demands a corresponding improvement in the training of technical personnel. So a very important and honourable task faces the Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute, our country's biggest, integrated centre for training technological ca-

dres. Up to now the institute has undertaken the duty of training technical workers needed in the stage of industrialization. Now it faces the task of training more technical personnel capable of carrying out the higher phase of the technical revolution.

We have quite a few fields of science and technology to be explored and many scientific and technological problems to be solved. That explains why we need larger numbers of competent technical personnel.

Let me take an instance.

To rapidly raise the cultural and technical levels of the working people as a whole, we are planning to cover the whole country with a TV network. We have already built a TV broadcasting station with a big tower. However, a broad section of the working people cannot watch television because there is a shortage of TV sets. Though we import a small number every year, this is not enough to bring the nation under a TV network soon. To solve this problem we must mass-produce TV sets by the hundreds of thousands every year. But we are still barred from this because our country does not have many electronics technicians and the electronics industry is underdeveloped.

In order to open up new branches of industry and advance industry as a whole to a higher level, technicians are needed in every field. The training of technical personnel must be decisively improved so that our technicians will be able to meet the rapidly growing demands of socialist economic construction.

This is why the Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute, an important training centre for technicians in our country, must strengthen its work. It must increase its enrolment to train more competent technicians.

We should continue to encourage night and correspondence courses. Since this form of education is an excellent one which enables working people to study and work at the same time, it must be consolidated. It is possible that students following these courses fall somewhat behind their counterparts

taking regular courses, but this problem can be solved if the school term is extended a little.

Next, the work of revolutionizing the students must be carried forward unremittingly.

As everyone knows, the building of socialism and communism necessitates the capture of two fortresses, the material and ideological. Consequently, in addition to the technical revolution, the ideological revolution must be energetically pushed forward. It is incorrect to emphasize only the technical revolution and neglect the ideological one which is aimed at getting rid of the backward ideas in people's minds. Nor is it correct to emphasize only the ideological revolution and neglect the technical one. Undue emphasis on one or the other will prevent the successful building of socialist and communist society.

We must energetically struggle to conquer the ideological as well as the material fortress throughout the course of socialist and communist construction. In the training of technicians, too, the ideological education of the students must be intensified along with technological education. The colleges must revolutionize all the students, in other words, bring them up to be true Communists before sending them out into society. A dynamic struggle is now under way in our country to root out the bourgeois, feudal-Confucian and revisionist thinking and all other unsound ideas remaining in the minds of the working people and to revolutionize and working-classize the whole of society.

Colleges, too, must thoroughly revolutionize all their students, not to mention the teachers, through an energetic struggle against the old ideas. They must not send half-baked graduates out into society only to become objects of remoulding. Some of the old intellectuals might need remoulding. But why should the new intellectuals who have been trained in our colleges be made objects of remoulding after graduation?

Experience shows that as long as the old ideas remain in their minds, people tend to become lazy and degenerate as economic growth gives rise to abundance and makes work

easier. Consequently, the ideological education of the working people, and particularly of intellectuals, must not slack off in the least throughout the course of the building of socialism.

It is difficult for a college to revolutionize the students completely in four or five short years. Therefore, the proper combination of ideological education with science training and of social with natural science is important not only in higher education but throughout the school system, from the early stages.

Infected with the theories of time-worn bourgeois pedagogy, some people once asserted that children only needed the cultivation of the emotions confined to the appreciation of such things as the property of red, blue and other colours and that revolutionary ideological education should not be given them. They were entirely wrong. People must be systematically given revolutionary education from childhood so that their minds are kept free of all manner of unsound ideas, including bourgeois ideas, and they arm themselves firmly with the revolutionary world outlook as they grow up. It will not do to neglect ideological education and then try to rid people's minds of obsolete ideas only after they have already become seriously infected with them. If proper college education is given to those who have received a systematic ideological education from childhood, cases where graduates become objects of reform will not occur.

The Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute must not neglect politico-ideological education by giving only technological education to the students just because it is a technical college. All college life must be so organized as to give the students intensive ideological training to help them enhance their revolutionary world outlook while equipping them with a high degree of technological knowledge. The education programme at the institute should be perfected along such lines. Of course, many social science subjects are included in the institute's curriculum, along with technological subjects. In the future, too, importance should be attached to teaching social science, including Party policy.

In revolutionizing students it is important to adhere strictly to the Party's policy on college enrolment. Our experience proves the excellence of the system under which middle school graduates are tempered in the army or in society for a few years before they are admitted to college. We must continue to encourage this.

True, after a break of a few years in their studies, the students may have some initial difficulties in tackling technological subjects on entering colleges. However, if they are well taught in primary and middle schools, they will not forget what they have learned during their period of military or civilian service. Even if they have forgotten some, six months or a year of good individual tutoring in college will enable them to catch up quickly. Having been tempered in society or in the army, all of them will become fine intellectuals meeting the Party's requirements, provided they are given a good college training.

Some people used to say that to become a genius one needs systematic studies from childhood, and he should be kept away from all other pursuits. They maintained that middle-school graduates should go to college immediately. We cannot agree with their concept. Indeed, if a boy enters college straight from middle school as those people insisted, he might show fairly good progress in certain technological subjects. But his revolutionization will be that much slower, because he lacks social training. This will inevitably lead to the turning out of a half-baked intellectual who will have to go through the process of revolutionization again after he goes out into society. No matter how many there may be, we have no need of genteel, half-baked intellectuals who have to be remoulded after graduation. We need Red communist intellectuals who have been working-classed and revolutionized. A few years of social training after secondary education will be of far greater benefit than any "loss" resulting from it. Some people used to allege that demobilized soldiers were only capable of taking a social science course at best, and that if they took a natural science course, they would not be able to cope.

This does not hold water. Experience shows that demobilized soldiers can become competent technicians if they are given a good individual tutoring when they are admitted to technical colleges.

We must categorically reject the outmoded viewpoint which goes in for education of the best brains and stick to the Party's policy on college enrolment. Institutes of higher learning should thus turn out fully revolutionized intellectuals who befit this era of the Workers' Party.

To proceed. We must continue to establish *Juche* thoroughly in all fields.

Some of our people are not yet completely free of flunkeyism towards great powers. Intellectuals especially retain much of that tendency.

When, then, will our country be rid of flunkeyism? The complete establishment of *Juche* is conditional on the elimination of flunkeyism, and to abolish flunkeyism altogether we need a higher level of economic development and standard of living and, especially, more advanced science and technology than other countries.

True, intensified ideological struggle alongside ideological education will help overcome flunkeyism to a considerable degree. But ideological struggle alone is not enough to wipe it out. Only when our country is far more advanced than other countries in all fields of science, whether social or natural, or has at least come abreast of them so that our people will no longer cast envious eyes at them over the fence, will flunkeyism finally disappear and *Juche* be firmly established in our country. Within our time we must put an end to flunkeyism which has been handed down through the ages in our country. This requires accelerated development in all branches of science and technology, concomitantly with the economy. A huge responsibility in this rests on scientists and professors.

Here the question arises: Is it possible for our country to outstrip developed countries in science and technology? It is our belief that we can definitely overtake and outstrip them if all of us put our shoulders to the wheel.

Are Koreans inferior to other peoples in intelligence? Cannot Koreans study and solve problems if others can? Cannot we develop science and technology when they do? If the entire Party and people buckle down to the job and tackle things with determination, we can and must get ahead of developed countries.

In the realm of social science, we can say we are now making rapid progress.

We have solved many difficult and complex problems of socialist construction in a unique manner suited to the actual conditions of our country. We have accumulated a wealth of valuable experience in the building of the state, the economy and national defence and in education, culture, the health service and all the other spheres of the revolution and construction. Our Party's lines and policies are correct, and time is proving their great vitality.

But this should never make us complacent. We have yet to tackle many problems in the domain of social science. We must continue to develop social science. Society advances constantly and so do the revolution and construction. Thus we are confronted with many new problems. Look at our own situation. With regard to systems of management in industry and agriculture, we have formulated correct theories and policies and accumulated a certain amount of experience, but we still have a number of problems in regard to trade, for instance. Although the basic principle that socialist trade should be a supply system for the people has been clarified, we cannot yet say that a series of questions such as how to ensure quicker and more equitable supplies has been completely solved. We should never allow ourselves to become complacent, but should make further progress in social science and creatively solve the new, urgent problems arising in the revolution and construction.

Natural science in our country, we should note, is lagging behind social science. Our level is still low in the field of natural science and so are our scientists' and technicians' qualifications.

Let me take an instance from several years back.

Sometime after we gave guidance at the Changsong Joint Conference of Local Party and Economic Functionaries, we visited a stock farm and had a consultative meeting there with scientists and workers in the field of stockbreeding. I said at the meeting that a wide use of microelements was necessary if we were to improve our stockbreeding, and asked if we had any good solution to the problem. None of them could give a definite answer.

After the meeting, our scientists studied the problem in real earnest and succeeded in using microelements in poultry farming. As a result, poultry raising made rapid progress in a few years. As is the case with all other scientific and technological problems, the use of microelements is not such a difficult problem to someone who has gone into it. Naturally, science seems difficult to the uninitiated, but you will find it easy as soon as you become acquainted with it. Science which is accessible only to a few persons serves no purpose, it is not science but magic.

We have hardly begun to explore many fields of science, such as electronics and the metallurgy of pure metals. Our scientists and technicians should make strenuous efforts to open up new areas of science so that they can conquer as soon as possible the new peaks of science which mankind has already reached.

In order to make advances in science we must lay a sound material basis for scientific research.

Despite our great efforts to promote the sciences, the economic conditions and tense situation in our country have prevented us from laying satisfactory foundations for scientific research.

Up to now you have worked hard to make a lot of apparatus for yourselves and to build your own laboratories. This is very good. But your experimental apparatus leaves much to be desired and you have a long way to go to equip your laboratories to the standards required by modern science and technology. In the future, you should equip your laboratories better.

To do so, you must make all the apparatus you can yourselves and import only that which is beyond you.

Practical work and field trips should be widely organized. I have heard that you have not yet visited our electron tube factory and semiconductor plant. This is a great mistake. If it is necessary for you to go on inspection tours to foreign countries when it helps to push our science and technology forward, why then not go and see our own factories? If you students of the Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute visit these factories you might be able to make ingenious suggestions for improving their equipment. From now on, the institute should widely organize practical work and field trips. They are indispensable to scientific research.

It is also advisable for you to use foreign books on science and technology extensively.

You should thus take bold steps forward in your scientific research and soon overtake and outstrip advanced countries in science and technology.

The history of industrial development in capitalist countries such as Britain and Japan dates back a century or even a few centuries, but ours, even when counting from the establishment of the Republic, covers no more than 20 years. If we leave out the time spent on recovering from the ravages of war, our modern industry has a history of only a little more than ten years. This, however, should not lead us to think that it will take our country 100 or 300 years to overtake the developed countries. We must and can outstrip them in the near future.

Only a few years ago our agricultural workers considered the production of 4.8 tons of rice per *chongbo* in a foreign country something extraordinary. But now the average per-*chongbo* rice yield amounts to 5.7 tons in Mundok and Sukchon Counties, South Pyongan Province, and in Anak County, South Hwanghae Province. So these counties have already outstripped foreign countries.

Now that sound foundations have been laid for it stock-breeding can make swift progress.

If we apply microelements and vigorously step up the chemicalization of agriculture, we shall be able to overtake and surpass the advanced countries in the next few years.

In metallurgy, too, we can reach world levels before long. Even now, for example, we are by no means behind others in alloy steel production. Steel plants in our country have a comparatively long history and have accumulated a considerable amount of experience in alloy steel production. The level of their workers and technicians is very high. The alloy steel produced in our country, though still limited in quantity, is not in the least inferior to that of other countries in terms of quality.

In the production of light and pure metals, too, we can quickly overtake and outstrip the advanced countries provided we tackle the job boldly and exert ourselves.

We must intensify our struggle to establish *Juche* in the iron and steel industry.

I think it necessary to introduce the semi-steel process which is being studied in the Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute to production. Semi-steel is said to contain a considerable amount of sulphur. But that does not matter much. It is better to produce steel from domestic raw materials, though it is slightly inferior in quality, than to have to ask other countries to sell coke to us. Moreover, if we promote research on the elimination of sulphur, we will definitely be able to solve the problem. We cannot build up a *Juche*-motivated iron industry if we are passive, only worrying about the problem instead of daring to have a go at it. When the new iron works in the western region is completed, the semi-steel process must be boldly introduced. You should concentrate your energies on research on semi-steel and complete it at an early date.

In order to develop a *Juche*-motivated industry, those raw materials which we still have to purchase from other countries should be sought in our own country by stepping up geological prospecting. Intensified geological surveys will enable us to discover new sources of raw materials.

It would indeed be expecting too much to find every raw

material we need in our own country. But in accordance with the Party's policy we must locate every single mineral deposit through intensified geological prospecting, and make substitute materials through the development of science and technology or, if this is impossible, strive to use less imported raw materials. We should enhance the independence of our industry in every respect.

South Korea today depends upon the United States and Japan for almost all its industrial raw materials. If they stopped supplying them even for a single day, all its factories and mills would have to suspend operations.

We must not build industries that are entirely dependent on other countries for raw materials, as is the case in south Korea.

Let me emphasize once again that if we want to eliminate flunkeyism towards great powers completely, we must build a stronger economic base in our country and raise our living standards above those enjoyed in other countries. We should far surpass others in everything—policy and theory, science and technology. To do this, we must make faster progress in social and natural science. In other words, the ideological struggle alone is not enough to get rid of flunkeyism. It must be matched by the material base, the building of which requires the rapid advancement of science and technology.

Some people may ask: We are internationalists, so why should we constantly stress the need to get ahead of others? I would like to ask them in return: Why should we always tag along at the heels of others? We must catch up with the advanced countries in all spheres as soon as possible. There is nothing wrong in our being in the lead.

It is my firm belief that all the faculty and students of the Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute, one of the biggest palaces of science and technology in our country, will make new and greater progress in their scientific research and in the training of technical personnel, fully living up to the expectations of the Party.

THE GREAT ANTI-IMPERIALIST REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE OF THE ASIAN, AFRICAN AND LATIN-AMERICAN PEOPLES IS INVINCIBLE

**The Treatise Published on the Occasion of the First
Anniversary of the Death of Che Guevara in Battle,
in the Eighth Issue of *Tricontinental*, Theoretical
Organ of the Organization of Solidarity of the
Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America**

October 8, 1968

It is nearly a year now since Comrade Ernesto Che Guevara, an indomitable revolutionary soldier and a true internationalist fighter coming from the Latin-American people, died a heroic death on the battlefield of Bolivia. In deep grief and with burning hatred for the enemy, the Korean people join the revolutionary peoples throughout the world in commemorating the first anniversary of Comrade Che Guevara's death.

Che Guevara took the path of sacred battle to bring freedom and liberation to the people, holding aloft the banner of the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle from early youth, and devoted his whole life to the revolutionary cause of the oppressed.

Ever since the curtain rose on the bloodstained history of the modern bourgeoisie—replacing the medieval exploitation camouflaged by religious and political illusions with a naked, shameless, direct and cruel one and turning the dignity

of man into an exchange value—many Communists and revolutionary fighters all over the world have shed their blood and laid down their lives in the long course of a revolutionary tempest that is sweeping away everything obsolete and corrupt and reorganizing the whole structure of society in a revolutionary way, crushing the ruling circles of that former, cursed society and laying the bases of a free and happy new society. Che Guevara dedicated his precious life to this sacred struggle and thus became an honourable member of the ranks of world revolutionary martyrs.

Che Guevara was a revolutionary indefatigable in battle and a true internationalist champion completely free of narrow nationalist sentiments. His whole life was a fine example of the steadfast revolutionary fighter and true internationalist.

Along with other Cuban revolutionaries led by Comrade Fidel Castro, Che Guevara carried on a heroic armed struggle which contributed greatly to crushing U.S. imperialism and the dictatorial regime of its lackey Batista, and which led to the triumph of the Cuban revolution. Fired with revolutionary enthusiasm, Che Guevara left triumphant Cuba in 1965 and moved the scene of his struggle, setting up a new outpost where innumerable difficulties and stern trials awaited him. Everywhere he went in Latin America, he organized and mobilized the masses in armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and its sycophants and fought bravely in the vanguard to the end of his life.

Che Guevara's revolutionary activities made a tremendous contribution to further consolidating the triumph of the Cuban revolution and stepping up the advancement of the Latin-American revolution as a whole.

The Cuban revolution is the first socialist revolutionary victory in Latin America, and it is a continuation, in Latin America, of the Great October Revolution. With the triumph of the Cuban revolution, the Red banner of socialism now flies high over Latin America, which was regarded until quite recently as the hereditary estate of U.S. imperialism; thus the socialist camp is extended to the Western Hemisphere and has

grown much stronger. Today the Republic of Cuba, marching firmly at the forefront of the Latin-American revolution, is the beacon of hope for the fighting people of Latin America that casts its victorious beam along the road of struggle. The triumph of the Cuban revolution shook the U.S. imperialist colonial system to its very foundation in the Western Hemisphere and has thrown the whole of Latin America into revolutionary turbulence, dramatically arousing the people to join in the dedicated struggle for independence and freedom. Indeed, the triumph of the Cuban revolution marked the beginning of the disintegration of the system of U.S. imperialist colonial rule in Latin America; it sternly judged and sentenced to destruction that imperialism which had exploited and oppressed the peoples in this area for so long.

Consolidation of the triumph of the Cuban revolution is not only an important problem on which the life or death, the rise or fall of the Cuban people depend. It is also a key factor influencing the general development of the Latin-American revolution.

Revolution begins with brilliant successes in one country but undergoes a lengthy period filled with pain. Countries whose proletariat has seized power within the encirclement of international capitalism are threatened with the danger of imperialist aggression and the restoration of capitalism during the entire historical period of revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. The exploiting class which has been overthrown always attempts to recover its lost positions, and foreign imperialists incessantly engage in armed invasion and subversive political and ideological intrigue and manoeuvres.

The U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries of Latin America deeply hate and fear the very existence of the Republic of Cuba and are manoeuvring stubbornly and maliciously to crush it. They are working hard to destroy the Cuban revolution so that they may drive out the "spectre" of communism haunting the Western Hemisphere and check the liberation struggle spreading like a prairie fire among the peoples of Latin America. While scheming to strangle Cuba by directly mobilizing their

own armed forces, the U.S. imperialists are instigating the reactionary dictatorial Latin-American regimes under their domination and subjugation to put political and economic pressure on Cuba and to suffocate her with their policy of blockade.

To attain the ultimate victory of the revolution, the peoples who have gained power within the encirclement of international capital—while reinforcing their own internal forces in every way—should receive solid support from other forces of the world socialist revolution and broad international assistance from the working class and the oppressed peoples of all countries. In other words, revolutions should take place consecutively in a majority of countries of the world, in several adjacent countries at least, so as to replace imperialist encirclement with socialist encirclement. The barriers of imperialism that surround a socialist country should be torn down so that the dictatorship of the proletariat can become a world-wide system; and one country's isolation as the socialist fortress within the encirclement should be ended with the formation of strong ties of militant solidarity of the international working class and the oppressed peoples of the world. Only then will it be possible to prevent all armed intervention by the imperialists and frustrate their attempt to restore capitalism and to say that the ultimate victory of socialism has been secured.

Just as the forces of capital are international, so the liberation struggle of the peoples has an international character. The revolutionary movements in individual countries are national movements, and at the same time, constitute part of the world revolution. The revolutionary struggles of the peoples in all countries support and complement each other and join together in one current of world revolution. A victorious revolution should assist those countries whose revolutions have not yet triumphed, providing them with experiences and examples and render active political, economic and military support to the liberation struggle of the peoples of the world. The peoples in countries which have not yet won their revolutions should fight more actively to defend the successful revolutions of other countries against the imperialist policy of strangulation and

hasten victory for their own revolutions. This is the law of the development of the world revolutionary movement and the fine tradition already formed in the course of the people's liberation struggle.

The Cuban revolution is an organic part of the world revolution and, in particular, constitutes the decisive link in the chain of Latin-American revolution. To defend the Cuban revolution and to consolidate and follow up its victories is not only the duty of the Cuban people but also the internationalist duty of the oppressed peoples of Latin America and all the revolutionary peoples of the world. In the same way that the defence of the gains of the October Revolution in Russia—which made the first breach in the world capitalist system—was an important question decisive to the fate of world revolutionary development, so, too, the defence of the gains of the Cuban revolution—which made the first breach in the colonial system of U.S. imperialism in Latin America—is crucial to the fate of the Latin-American revolution.

It is of great importance to the defence of the Cuban revolution that the revolutionary movement in neighbouring Latin-American countries advance. If the flames of revolution flare up intensely in many countries of Latin America where U.S. imperialism sets foot, its force will be dispersed, its energy sapped, and the attempts of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys to strangle Cuba by concentrated force will inevitably fail. Furthermore, if the revolution triumphs in other Latin-American countries, Cuba will be free from the imperialism which hems her in on all sides, a favourable phase in the Cuban and Latin-American revolutions will be opened, and the world revolution will be stepped up even more.

For a revolution to take place, the subjective and objective conditions must be created. Each country's revolution should be carried out to suit its specific realities in which the objective revolutionary situation is created. However, this by no means signifies that the revolution can develop or ripen by itself. It is always the case that the revolution can be advanced and brought to maturity only through hard, active struggle by rev-

olutionaries. If, because revolution is difficult, we just wait for a favourable situation to grow and fail to struggle actively, then revolutionary forces cannot be developed. Revolutionary forces cannot rise up spontaneously without struggle; they can be fostered and strengthened only through hard struggle. Without preparing for the decisive hour of the revolution, preserving revolutionary forces from enemy suppression while constantly accumulating and building them through positive struggle, it will be impossible to succeed in the revolution even when the objective situation has been created. To turn aside from revolution on the pretext of avoiding sacrifice is in fact tantamount to forcing the people both to accept lifelong slavery to capital and tolerate cruel exploitation and oppression, unbearable maltreatment and humiliation, enormous suffering and victimization forever. It can be said that the acute pain experienced at a revolutionary turning point is always much easier to endure than the chronic pain caused by the cancer of the old society. Social revolution cannot be achieved as easily as going down a royal road in broad daylight or as smoothly as a boat sailing before the wind. There may be rough and thorny questions, turns and twists, along the path of revolution, and there may be temporary setbacks and partial sacrifices. To flinch before difficulties and hesitate in the revolution for fear of sacrifice is not the attitude befitting a revolutionary.

It is the task of revolutionaries of every country to define a scientific, careful method of struggle on the basis of a correct assessment of the internal and external situation and a proper calculation of the balance of forces between friends and enemies; they must accumulate and build up the revolutionary forces by cultivating the nucleus and awakening the masses in the trying crucible of revolution, unfolding an active struggle, yet circumventing the snags and avoiding unnecessary sacrifices at ordinary times. And it is their task to make full preparations to meet the great revolutionary event. Once the revolutionary situation is created, they should seize the opportunity without hesitation and rise up in a showdown to shatter the reactionary regime.

The forms and methods of revolutionary struggle, too, are determined not by the wishes of individuals, but always by the prevailing subjective and objective situation created and the resistance of the reactionary ruling classes. Revolutionaries should be prepared for all forms of struggle; and they should effectively advance the revolutionary movement by properly combining various forms and methods of that struggle—political, economic, violent, nonviolent, legal and illegal.

Counterrevolutionary violence is indispensable to the rule of all exploiting classes. Human history as yet knows no instance of a ruling class submissively turning over its supremacy, nor any instance of a reactionary class meekly waiving its power without resorting to counterrevolutionary violence. In particular, the imperialists cling ever more desperately to violent means of maintaining control as they approach their doom. While suppressing the peoples of their own countries, the imperialists brutally suppress all the revolutionary advances of the oppressed nations by mobilizing their military forces in order to invade and plunder other countries.

Under such conditions the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples cannot emerge victorious without using revolutionary violence to crush foreign imperialists and overthrow the reactionary dictatorial machinery of their own exploiting classes that work hand in glove with imperialism. It is imperative to meet violence with violence and crush counterrevolutionary armed forces with revolutionary armed forces.

The revolutionary fires now raging furiously in Latin America are the natural outcome of the revolutionary situation created in this area.

The absolute majority of Latin-American countries have come under the complete domination and bondage of U.S. imperialism. Pro-U.S. dictatorships have been established in many Latin-American countries and their economy has been completely turned into an appendage to the U.S. monopolies. The U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression and plunder in Latin America is the major fetter impeding social progress in this area and has plunged the people into unbearable hardships and

distress. The U.S. imperialists and the pro-U.S. dictatorships in Latin America set up extensive repressive apparatuses, including the army and police, and suppress all forms of revolutionary advance by the people in the most brutal way.

It is obvious that unless the ragged, hungry, oppressed and humiliated people in Latin America bravely rise in arms to struggle against their oppressors, they cannot attain freedom and liberation.

It is quite justifiable and admirable that under the banner of proletarian internationalism, under the banner of an anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle, Che Guevara, together with other Latin-American revolutionaries, took up arms and unfolded an active, heroic revolutionary struggle in various Latin-American countries in the teeth of sacrifices in order to defend the Cuban revolution and hasten the day of liberation for the oppressed peoples in that area. The revolutionary people of the whole world express profound sympathy with the brave act of Che Guevara who waged a heroic armed struggle along with other Latin-American revolutionaries. The brilliant example of Che Guevara is a paragon not only for the Latin-American peoples in their revolutionary struggle, but for the Asian and African peoples also struggling for liberation. It inspires them to great feats of heroism.

Che Guevara is not with us now. But the blood he shed will never be wasted. His name and the everlasting revolutionary exploits he performed will go down forever in the history of the liberation of mankind, and his lofty revolutionary spirit will be immortal. Thousands, tens of thousands, of Che Guevaras will appear on the decisive scenes of battle in the revolutionary struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the revolutionary cause which he left unrealized will surely be won by the struggle of the Latin-American revolutionaries and revolutionary peoples the world over.

Today Asia, Africa and Latin America have become the most determined anti-imperialist front. Imperialism has met with the strong resistance of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples and has suffered the heaviest blows from

them. Nevertheless, imperialism is desperately trying to find its old footing and to regain its lost positions in those areas.

The cause of liberation of Asians, Africans and Latin Americans has not yet been realized. So long as imperialism exists on the globe and oppresses and plunders the people, the people cannot stop their anti-imperialist struggle even for a moment. The struggle must continue until all shades of colonialism are wiped off the face of the earth once and for all, until all the oppressed and humiliated nations build their independent states and achieve social progress and national prosperity.

Imperialism will never give up its rule over colonial and dependent countries without being kicked out. It is the nature of imperialism to perpetrate aggression and plunder. Imperialism which is not aggressive would no longer be imperialism. Imperialism will not change its aggressive nature before it dies. That is why one must dispel all illusions about imperialism and decide to fight it out. Only when a principled stand is maintained against it and a staunch anti-imperialist struggle intensified can the oppressed nations win freedom and independence; only then can the liberated peoples check imperialist aggression, consolidate national independence, and achieve prosperity for their countries and nations.

U.S. imperialism is the most barbarous and heinous imperialism of modern times; it is the chieftain of world imperialism. It is not only the Asian or the Latin-American or the African countries that are having their sovereignty and territories violated by U.S. imperialism or that are being menaced by U.S. imperialist aggression. There is no place on earth to which U.S. imperialism has not stretched out its tentacles of aggression, and wherever U.S. imperialism sets foot blood is spilled. The U.S. imperialists pursue the invariable aim of putting the whole world under their control. To realize this aim, they incessantly perpetrate armed invasion and subversive activities against the socialist and newly independent countries and brutally suppress the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This wild aggressive design of U.S. imperialism must be decisively frustrated.

It is clear that world peace cannot be safeguarded, nor can national liberation and independence or the victory of democracy and socialism be achieved without the struggle against U.S. imperialism. The battle against U.S. imperialism is the inescapable duty and the principal revolutionary task common to all the peoples of the world.

For the successful defeat of U.S. imperialism, it is necessary to penetrate its world strategy thoroughly.

U.S. imperialism's basic strategy for world aggression at the present stage is to destroy, one by one and by force of arms, the small and divided revolutionary socialist countries and the newly independent countries while refraining from worsening its relations with big powers and avoiding confrontation with them as far as possible. In addition, it is to intensify its ideological and political offensives in an attempt to subvert from within these countries which are weak ideologically and reluctant to make revolution and which spread illusions about imperialism among the people and want to live with it on good terms, clamouring for nothing less than unprincipled coexistence.

On the basis of this world strategy, the U.S. imperialists are greatly increasing their armaments and further reinforcing their military bases and aggressive military alliances to attack both the socialist and progressive countries. They are extensively preparing total and nuclear war and have openly embarked on "local war" and "special war" in Viet Nam and elsewhere.

At the same time, while desperately trying to bribe and manipulate the cowards within the working-class movement who fear revolution, the U.S. imperialists resort to a new form of cold war that encourages "liberalization" and "democratic development" in certain countries. They cry out for the "most favoured nation" treatment and the expansion of "East-West contacts and interchange" and by this means, seek to infiltrate their reactionary ideology and culture, degrading the peoples ideologically, hampering economic development and thus subverting those countries from within. The imperialists are carrying out sabotage and subversion to tear the newly

independent states away from the anti-imperialist front one at a time. While resorting to overt force, they use "aid" as a bait to penetrate these countries and meddle in their internal affairs. The U.S. imperialists whip together Right-wing reactionaries and pit them against progressive forces, and seek to sway certain newly independent countries to follow the road of counterrevolution.

In other words, wielding an olive branch in one hand and arrows in the other, the U.S. imperialists are plotting to swallow up the revolutionary countries one by one through armed aggression and subvert the ideologically weak countries through ideological and cultural aggression, combining nuclear blackmail with "peaceful penetration" and repression with appeasement and deception.

The peoples of the whole world should maintain the sharpest vigilance against such intrigues and manoeuvres by U.S. imperialism and should be fully prepared to counter the enemy's aggression in whatever forms it may appear.

In order to develop the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle vigorously, it is important to cement as firmly as possible the militant unity of all areas, countries, parties, people—to cement all forces opposing imperialism.

The revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples are closely linked on the basis of common desires and aspirations. When Latin America groans under the imperialist yoke, the Asian and African peoples cannot live in peace; and when U.S. imperialism collapses in the Asian and African areas, a favourable phase will be created for the national-liberation movement of the Latin-American peoples, too. The militant unity and close ties of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples will multiply the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. revolutionary forces several times, tens of times, and become an invincible force which can successfully frustrate imperialist aggression and the united front of international reaction. Therefore, wherever U.S. imperialism is entrenched, the peoples should pool their strength and strike hard at it.

In Asia, Africa and Latin América there are socialist and neutral, big and small countries. All these countries except the imperialists' puppet regimes and satellite states constitute anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. forces. Despite the differences of state socio-political systems, political views and religious beliefs, the peoples of these countries, because they are oppressed and exploited by the imperialists and colonialists, oppose imperialism and old and new colonialism and commonly aspire toward national independence and national prosperity. The differences in state socio-political systems, political views or religious beliefs can by no means be an obstacle to joint struggle against U.S. imperialism. All countries should form an anti-imperialist united front and take anti-U.S. joint action to crush the common enemy and attain the common goal.

True, there may be various categories of people among those who oppose imperialism. Some may actively oppose imperialism, others may vacillate in the anti-imperialist struggle, and still others may join the struggle reluctantly under pressure from their own people and the peoples of the world. But whatever their motives, it is necessary to enlist all these forces except the henchmen of imperialism in the combined anti-U.S. struggle. If more forces—however inconsistent and unsteady—are drawn into the anti-U.S. joint struggle to isolate U.S. imperialism to the greatest extent possible and unite in attacking it, that will be a positive achievement. Those who avoid the anti-imperialist struggle should be induced to join it and those who are passive should be encouraged to become active. To split the anti-U.S. united front or reject anti-U.S. joint action will only lead to the serious consequence of weakening the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle.

To defeat U.S. imperialism, all countries, big and small, should fight against it. Particularly important here is that small countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America give up flunkeyism, i.e., the tendency to rely on big powers, and take an active part in the anti-U.S. struggle. It is incorrect to think that U.S. imperialism cannot be beaten down unless big countries fight it. It would certainly be better if big countries would join small

countries to fight U.S. imperialism. That is why small countries should endeavour to unite with big countries. But, this by no means signifies that only a big country can fight and defeat U.S. imperialism. It is clear that a small nation will not be able to make revolution if it depends on big countries and sits by doing nothing; other peoples cannot and will not make the revolution for it. Even a small country can defeat a powerful enemy once it establishes *Juche*, unites the masses of the people and valiantly wages battle, regardless of the sacrifice. This is a very plain truth of our times which has been borne out in real life. The experience of the Korean war proved this truth. And the triumph of the Cuban revolution and the Vietnamese people's heroic war of resistance against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation have eloquently proved this truth.

Moreover, when many countries, however small, pool their strength to fight imperialism, the peoples will overwhelm the enemy by superior forces however strong he may be. The peoples of the countries making revolution should join efforts to tear the left and the right arms from U.S. imperialism, then the left and the right legs and, finally, behead it everywhere it raises its ugly head of aggression. The U.S. imperialists are bluffing now. But when the revolutionary people of the world join in dismembering them, they will totter and finally crash into oblivion. We small nations should unite and counter U.S. imperialism's strategy of swallowing us up one by one, by each one of us chopping off its head and limbs. This is the strategy small countries must employ to defeat U.S. imperialism.

For more than 20 years, the Korean people have fought against the occupation of south Korea by the U.S. imperialists and for the reunification of the country. The Korean revolution is part of the international revolutionary movement, and the revolutionary struggle of the Korean people is developing within the joint struggle of the peoples of the whole world for peace and democracy, for national independence and socialism. The Korean people are fighting to realize their cause of national liberation and, at the same time, are doing everything in their power to accelerate the advancement of the international rev-

olutionary movement as a whole. Our people unite with all forces opposing U.S. imperialism and consistently support the peoples everywhere in their struggle against U.S. imperialism. We consider this an important factor in bringing victory to the Korean revolution.

Imperialism is a moribund force whose days are numbered, whereas the peoples' liberation struggle is a new force which aspires for the progress of mankind. There may be innumerable difficulties and obstacles and turns and twists along the path of this liberation struggle. But it is the inevitable law of historical development that imperialism is doomed and the liberation struggle of the peoples is certain of victory. The imperialists, headed by U.S. imperialism, are desperately trying to check the surging liberation struggle of the peoples, and theirs is nothing but the deathbed tremor of those condemned to destruction. The more frenetically the U.S. imperialists act, the more difficult their position becomes. U.S. imperialism is going downhill. Its sun is setting, never to rise again. The U.S. imperialists will definitely be forced out of Asia, Africa and Latin America by the peoples' liberation struggle. The great anti-imperialist revolutionary cause of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples is invincible.

ON RELIEVING THE STRAIN ON TRANSPORT

**Concluding Speech at the 18th Enlarged Plenary
Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee
of the Workers' Party of Korea**
November 16, 1968

Comrades,

For several days we have had a serious discussion on the problem of strengthening the work of transport.

As noted in the report and speeches, the transport workers have achieved great successes in their work and made a big contribution to the development of the national economy in recent years. Railway transport, for instance, has made much progress in this period.

No one can say our successes in the field of transport are insignificant. Without these successes, it would have been impossible to attain a high rate of growth in the national economy. Last year alone, industrial output rose 17 per cent over the previous year. This was possible because raw and other materials, equipment and accessories were transported in good time. It would be wrong not to see our successes but to see only our shortcomings. We should make a correct appraisal of the successes achieved in transport up till now.

As transport achievements were mentioned in the report, I will not make further remarks on them.

In railway transport there are not a few shortcomings inspite of many successes, and there is now a great strain on our transport, particularly the railways. But this does not

mean in any sense that the Party's policy has been wrong or that the workers in this field have neglected their work.

The Party has a policy for furthering the work of railway transport. There is a clear policy for every aspect: switching over to electric traction, manufacturing heavy-duty cars and tank cars, extending shunting tracks and introducing technical improvements on railway lines.

Workers in this field have all worked hard and endeavoured to carry out their Party assignments. Our railway workers are waging a strenuous struggle today and contributing greatly to socialist construction.

Speaking of railway electrification, it is proceeding rapidly, I would say, though going somewhat slower than we would wish. The Kowon-Hamhung line was switched over to electric traction last year and the Hamhung-Hongwon line this year. It is not an easy job to undertake such a vast railway electrification project every year. Other countries will probably be unable to do so even in several years.

The present defect in the work of transport is that it fails to meet the fast-growing requirements of the national economy. It is a defect that goes with progress—the railways fail to catch up with the transport requirements of the very rapidly developing national economy. So it would be more correct to regard this not as a defect but as a matter of how to organize transport more efficiently.

We intend to press forward more rapidly and increase the speed of Chollima the way "a man whips the galloping horse," as the saying goes. That is why we discuss and criticize shortcomings. When we criticize, it is by no means because the workers have neglected their duties or have been less enthusiastic about their work. Comrade directors of railway administrations criticized themselves at this meeting. True, they have some shortcomings, but all of them have endeavoured to do their work well, and it is in the course of the work that these shortcomings have been revealed. No one can say that the railway transport workers have done poor work.

I am satisfied that they have ensured a high rate of

development of the national economy by displaying patriotic devotion and creative initiative. I avail myself of this opportunity to express my gratitude to you and all the workers, technicians and leadership functionaries in the field of railway transport.

The most important task arising in making innovations in transport and in satisfying the increasing transport requirements of the national economy is to strengthen political work among the workers in this field.

What is most important here is to arm the workers firmly with our Party's *Juche* idea, its monolithic ideology.

While I emphasize this, I am by no means implying that the monolithic ideological system of the Party has not been established among railway transport workers. If it had not been established, today's successes could not have been achieved in railway transport nor could the national economy have developed so rapidly. But if we are to do more work in future, further develop the railways and ease the strain on transport, all the workers must be armed more firmly with our Party's *Juche* idea, the revolutionary ideas of independence, self-support and self-defence.

Thus, the revolutionary attitude to work should be thoroughly established among the workers so that they always advance towards victory without yielding to difficulties, and devote all their energy, knowledge, skill and talents to the fulfilment of their revolutionary tasks.

Meanwhile, a vigorous struggle must be waged against selfishness, departmentalism, parochialism, nepotism, factionalism, flunkeyism towards great powers, Right and "Left" opportunism, feudal ideas and all other unsound ideas which run counter to our Party's ideology, communist ideology.

Successful combat against these unhealthy ideas, particularly departmentalism which is glaring in railway transport, will help us to tap many reserves. As mentioned in speeches at this meeting, the Hamhung and Chongjin Railway Administrations have indulged in departmentalism in the past to each other's detriment, causing the delay of many trains and much

waste of transport equipment. Other administrations have not turned empty freight cars over to one another even when they had many in their sections, thus preventing the transportation of more freight.

Departmentalism is a variety of selfishness and an expression of capitalist ideology. It is nothing short of selfishness that has been projected from individuals to departments. The same applies to parochialism. Both departmentalism and parochialism have nothing in common with communist ideology and do much harm to our revolution and construction.

We should resolutely fight against such remnants of backward ideas and see to it that all workers acquire lofty communist ideological awareness which prompts them to help and pull each other along and devote themselves to the interests of the state and society.

Inasmuch as the railways serve all branches of the national economy and the entire people, the railway transport workers should possess a higher spirit of working for the state and society than those in other fields. All engine drivers, station masters and dispatchers in railway transport and all workers in road and water transport should realize clearly how much production at factories and enterprises will be adversely affected and how much people will be inconvenienced if trains, trucks or ships are delayed even by one hour or carry even one ton less of freight. Only then will they stop practising departmentalism and introduce innovations in transport.

Next, iron discipline should be established on the railways.

Discipline should be maintained in all domains of the national economy and, particularly on the railways, there must be an iron discipline as in the army. Just as an army with relaxed discipline falls off in combat efficiency, so the railways with relaxed discipline will not be able to discharge their duties properly. Discipline is the life and soul of the railways. In the field of railway transport a vigorous struggle should be launched against every single undisciplined practice so as to establish iron discipline and revolutionary order.

What we need is voluntary, not forced discipline. To establish discipline a fine or a penalty may be imposed, but it is far more important to get all workers to observe discipline willingly. Political work should be intensified among all the workers in railway transport to get them to observe the existing regulations and order voluntarily, so that the on-schedule operation of trains is assured and not even a single accident occurs.

While on the subject of discipline, I once again stress that people should not be allowed to walk along the railway tracks and that an all-people campaign should be launched to protect the railways.

The main reason why there is no end to railway accidents lies in the failure of Party organizations and the organs of people's power at different levels to educate the people to get them to value and take good care of the railways and consciously observe railway discipline. It also lies in the fact that local Party and government bodies have not taken steps to lay foot-paths and build bridges so that people do not need to walk on the railway tracks, and to provide safety and protection arrangements to avoid accidents.

Railway accidents cannot be avoided by the efforts of the railway workers alone. They can be prevented only when the entire people value and take good care of the railways and observe railway discipline willingly.

All the Party organizations, organs of people's power, working people's organizations and educational establishments should persist in giving explanations and in propaganda to get the entire people to value and take good care of the railways, a precious asset of the country, and to observe railway discipline voluntarily.

Meanwhile, scrupulous and thoroughgoing practical measures should be taken to protect the railways and prevent accidents. Party organizations and government bodies at all levels should quickly locate and investigate danger spots where accidents are liable to occur and build detour roads and bridges.

An important way of satisfying the growing transport requirements of the national economy is the constant and ener-

getic promotion of the electrification of the railways according to the policy our Party has already set forth.

There is no other effective way to ease the strain on the railways than to raise the traffic capacity of the existing railways by switching over to electric traction. Some comrades propose building new railways or double-tracking, but at present priority should be given to electrification.

Electrification will sharply increase railway carrying capacity in a short span of time.

An electric locomotive can haul 1,500-1,600 tons while a steam locomotive only manages 700-800 tons. Hence, pulling capacity can be doubled if the existing railways are electrified, even without laying new tracks.

This graphically shows that electrification is the shortest and easiest way to lessen the strain on the railways in our country and that, consequently, the Party's policy of railway electrification is entirely correct.

Following the Party's policy, we must continue to push ahead with the electrification of railways dynamically. Unremitting efforts will enable us to finish electrifying nearly all of the country's trunk lines in the next few years.

Along with electrification we should go ahead with the technological reconstruction of the railways—replacement of the existing rails with heavy ones, the mass-production of heavy-duty freight cars, etc.

The strength of rails should be increased to suit the growing tonnage and speed of trains resulting from electrification. Otherwise, they will not hold up and will cause frequent accidents, and electric locomotives will be unable to get up speed and haul big loads. The existing light rails should therefore be replaced by heavy ones soon.

Increased strength of rails requires not only good rails but also good sleepers. Railway tracks with inferior sleepers do not last long.

Moreover, a large number of heavy-duty freight cars of the 60-ton class should be produced. While we use the present 30-ton freight cars, trains will be unable to haul big loads be-

cause they will be too long for the shunting tracks. If we introduce 60-ton freight cars, the length of trains can be cut and, accordingly, there will be no need to extend the shunting tracks. This will make it possible to carry more goods.

Such things as the replacement of rails with heavy rails, of sleepers with good-quality ones, and the production of heavy-duty freight cars should be done simultaneously. It is wrong to consider that the mere production of electric locomotives and the laying of cables will suffice without creating these technical conditions. Lacking all these conditions, electrification will not be able to prove its worth.

We should not spare money in switching over to electric traction, replacing rails and sleepers and producing heavy-duty freight cars.

The Ministry of Metal Industry must, without fail, see to it that the heavy rails needed are produced so as to replace all the existing light rails. It was proposed in the report that 400 kilometres of rails be replaced every year but, in my opinion it seems better to replace all light rails by heavy ones in a year or two at the latest.

Sleepers, too, should be replaced quickly by good ones. The output capacity for concrete sleepers should be increased, while the existing capacity is used to the best advantage by supplying reinforcement rods and cement. And the Ministry of Forestry must supply good timber for railway sleepers. If timber is short, good logs should be selected and supplied to the railways first, even if this entails some delay in other construction.

At the same time, the Ministry of Metal Industry should supply enough steel to the rolling-stock works so that they can turn out a large number of heavy-duty freight cars. The rolling-stock works are not at present able to produce freight cars as planned because of the insufficient supply of steel, although they have the capacity.

We should produce tank cars, too. We must at once supply steel plates to the Wonsan Rolling-Stock Works so that it can produce tank cars quickly. By making only some 200 to 300 tank cars to start with, we can break the immediate bottleneck.

Shunting tracks should also be extended at railway stations. As electric locomotives can haul more than twice as much as steam locomotives, it is necessary to extend the tracks a little. I do not think this is such a difficult task.

Electric and diesel locomotives should also be produced in large numbers.

We are now making electric locomotives ourselves, so we can turn out as many as we need, if we produce enough copper.

Steam locomotives now operating in the western region should be transferred to the northern coastal area skirting the East Sea where bituminous coal is plentiful. Diesel traction should be introduced on the lines in the western region that have not been electrified. This requires the manufacture of diesel engines. We should complete the trial production of the 2,500-hp engines for diesel locomotives quickly and go over to mass-production.

Along with the 2,500-hp diesel engine we should also make small diesel engines for shunting. This type of diesel engine is in demand wherever I go, at the Hwanghae Iron Works and the Kangson Steel Plant, for instance. If we order them from abroad, it will take three years to get them. Resolute steps must be taken to make them ourselves.

Automation should be energetically introduced on the railways. This is essential for economizing on labour power, raising traffic capacity and assuring safety in railway operations. Automation must be stepped up wherever possible.

At the same time, the signal system should be improved on the railways. Communication lines for the exclusive use of railway dispatchers should be laid quickly, even if they are not made available for other purposes.

The railways will carry much more freight than now and the strain on transport will be eased, if we take a series of measures—electrify the Pyongyang-Chongjin line completely and the uphill sections leading to Hyesan and the Huichon-Koin line, produce locomotive engines, heavy-duty freight cars and tank cars in order to cover the shortage, and improve the technical conditions of the tracks.

Of course, with the national economy continuing to develop apace, we will have to build new railways and double-track the lines in the future. The Party is inclined to think it better to lay a new line linking the western and eastern regions than to double-track the existing Pyongyang-Chongjin line. The Chihari-Sepu line is now under construction, and this is tantamount to double-tracking the Pyongyang-Wonsan line. The new Chihari-Sepu line will increase the traffic capacity of the Pyongyang-Wonsan line, but not that of the Pyongyang-Chongjin line. So we are planning to lay a new line from Unbong to Musan, instead of double-tracking the lines running along the coast. If we have to build tunnels and cross steep grades, it will be better to open another line across the inland region. This will be helpful for both developing the inland areas and exploiting their resources. This project will be undertaken in the Six-Year Plan period.

An important thing that has to be done is to improve the organization of railway transport and thus eliminate inefficient practices such as sending back and duplicating freight carriage.

These and other irrational practices still exist and impose unnecessary burdens on the railways and increase the strain on railway transport.

For example, bean oil extracted in Sakju where many workers live is sent to other districts, while the working people in that town are supplied with oil brought from another locality. Coal mined in Kangdong is carried to other places while Kangdong gets coal from elsewhere. Timber is brought to Pyongyang from the east coast for making wooden barrels which are then taken back to Sinpo. In addition, there are many instances where unnecessary triangular or rectangular routes are followed. This complicates railway transport and gives rise to confusion in production and supply.

The cause of such irrational practices lies in the failure to carry through the Party's policy of unified and detailed planning in drawing up the transport plan, and the regional planning commissions are largely responsible for this.

If the regional planning commissions had played their role

properly, they would not have failed to discover these irrational practices, such as transporting Sakju bean oil to Nampo and Nampo oil to another district, but would have certainly put an end to them by asking the State Planning Commission to take measures. We set up the regional planning commissions to do precisely this kind of work. Yet though they are heavily staffed, they are not even aware of these irrationalities in transport.

The State Planning Commission, the regional planning commissions and other units talk a lot about unified and detailed planning but they are half-hearted in waging a struggle to implement the Party's line on it.

Unless transport plans are scrupulously co-ordinated under the present conditions when production has gone up rapidly and the volume of transport has grown immeasurably, we cannot abolish irrational practices and, accordingly, cannot ease the strain on transport. Each regional planning commission should have a higher sense of responsibility, obtain detailed knowledge and control of the irrational practices in the transport sectors under it, consult with the State Planning Commission and take positive measures to eliminate them.

Along with this, an intense struggle should be launched against the practice of working out transport plans in an irresponsible and slipshod manner at factories and enterprises. At almost all factories and enterprises transport plans are now drawn up haphazardly by the heads of their transport sections alone and then handed over to the railway transport offices; they are neither discussed at the factory Party committees nor examined by the managers. To cite an extreme case, a certain concrete block factory is said to have transported its goods all last year without presenting its transport plan, but only asking for temporary allocation of freight cars. True, temporary allocation of freight cars involves a fine. But this does not affect the manager at all because the fine is not paid out of his own pocket but from state funds.

The socialist economy is a planned economy in which all production, distribution and transport are carried on in a planned way. Therefore, you should clearly realize that the

miscarriage of a plan by any one or in any branch of the national economy will upset it as a whole. When transport plans are drawn up haphazardly at enterprises and then revised in a disorderly manner, confusion will inevitably ensue on the railways. A quick end must be put to such irresponsible practices.

In the future strict discipline should be enforced in enterprises to ensure that transport plans are unfailingly referred to collective discussion by their Party committees, approved jointly by the managers and the chief secretaries of the Party committees, and then forwarded to the railway transport offices. They are accountable to the Party and the state for the plans.

Most loading and unloading in our railway transport today take place on lines exclusively used by factories and enterprises. Accordingly, more efficient handling on these lines acquires a tremendous significance in improving the work of railway transport as a whole.

All factories and enterprises with their own railway lines should take positive steps to mechanize loading and unloading operations and should create enough storage capacity for raw and other materials, and thus radically reduce the waiting time of freight cars.

In many cases, leading workers of factories and enterprises and personnel of ministries and the State Planning Commission concentrate on production and pay little attention to providing storage facilities and loading and unloading equipment for keeping up with the growing volume of production. When working out plans, ministries and the State Planning Commission crossed out even the reasonable proposals put forward by factories and enterprises for building store houses for materials and securing loading and unloading equipment, telling them to be patient. This has prevented the prompt transportation of products and the timely unloading of raw and other materials that have arrived at factories, and thus caused freight cars to remain immobilized for a long time.

When we gave guidance to the Hwanghae Iron Works in 1965, together with the railwaymen who accompanied us, we

checked up on the general state of the railway tracks in the factory yards and made a number of suggestions for improving the tracks, making a depot for raw materials, installing cranes, starting a locomotive repair shop, etc. But afterwards, the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Metal Industry did not make an investment in the Hwanghae Iron Works to increase its transport capacity nor did the managing personnel and the Party committee of the works pay any attention to the matter. As a result, the transport problem has now become a drag on the works. Its transport capacity has failed to keep up with the increased capacity for pig iron and steel manufacture, and production is hindered.

The wharf projects at Sohaeri and the Hwanghae Iron Works have made little progress. This is also due to the lack of concern for transport work on the part of functionaries of the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Metal Industry. The matter of these wharf projects was raised in 1965 when I visited the Unryul Mine together with functionaries of the State Planning Commission. That year the Sohaeri wharf project made brisk headway as the commission made an investment and the ministry showed concern for it. Since the following year, however, the project has scarcely progressed because it was struck off the list of capital construction undertakings each time the plan was drawn up.

Iron ore is now transported by boat from Kumsunpo only every other day. If the Sohaeri wharf were completed, it would be possible to carry iron ore once every day. Had we bent a little more effort and completed this project, we could transport twice as much iron ore as now and supply the Hwanghae Iron Works with enough. But because of the slow progress of the wharf project, production is held up, and the problem of iron ore transport causes even greater trouble in winter. Those responsible have shown a lack of concern about taking far-sighted measures to solve the transport problem as instructed by the Party, and only now are feeling the urgency of the matter when it is very late.

The blame for this rests not only on the State Planning

Commission and the ministry but on the Party committee of the iron works as well. When the Party's instructions were not being carried out, the works' Party committee should have waged a struggle to ensure their implementation and should have asked the upper organs concerned to take appropriate measures, but it did not.

Leading economic personnel and the managerial staffs of enterprises should quickly correct their wrong attitude of neglecting the question of transport and should always pay close attention to this as well as to production assignments. They should all direct much effort to relieving the strain on the country's transport.

Factories and enterprises should get on with the work of installing loading and unloading equipment and building storage facilities for raw materials so that the railway freight can be handled without delay. In fact, these could be completed easily and quickly if factory and enterprise managements showed any concern for them and aroused the masses to action by proper organizational work. Take a crude oil reservoir for example. It would be possible to build it if the workers of the factory concerned turned out to dig a pit and line it with concrete on Saturdays or after work hours. Endeavours should be made to mechanize loading and unloading operations and build raw materials storage facilities and crude oil reservoirs at all factories and enterprises which have their own railways, and particularly at the Kim Chaek Iron Works, the Hwanghae Iron Works, the Kangson Steel Plant, the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory and others, which handle a large amount of freight, so that by the latter half of next year at the latest, freight cars will not be left unloaded and therefore not held up.

Furthermore, it is advisable to establish a system of direction and control over the work on railway lines exclusively serving factories and enterprises.

At present no one is responsible for their direction and control. We must therefore set up in every production ministry a bureau or department in charge of this work. Keeping close

contact with the Ministry of Railways, the bureaus should provide enterprises with necessary materials and accessories, supervise and control the work on their lines and do organizational work to improve it.

At the same time, the Ministry of Railways should also actively help factories and enterprises in the work on their own lines and increase its supervision and control of this work.

The next important thing is to use existing locomotive engines and freight cars to the greatest advantage. This makes it necessary to strengthen the centres for the production of rolling-stock accessories and the repair depots.

The number of locomotives now at the disposal of factories and enterprises alone is considerable. If they are repaired and used effectively, they will add much to the hauling capacity. But people give no thought to this, and only ask for new locomotives. In view of the shortage of rolling stock, we must raise the operation rate of locomotives to the maximum. To do this, we must strengthen the centres for the production of locomotive accessories and the repair depots and repair locomotives promptly and well.

An important task in railway transport is to provide better passenger service.

I have more than once told the railways to improve this, but the problem has not yet been solved properly.

Passenger coaches are still untidy as they are not kept clean and tidy. Sweets, cakes, fruit and the like are rarely sold on the trains and it is hard to get even a cup of hot water to drink. It is not easy for a traveller by rail to buy apples even when passing through Pukchong, an apple-producing centre, or to get chestnuts at Sinsongchon which is famous for them.

Our country is today not so badly off as to be unable to supply sweets, cakes, fruit or cider for sale on the trains. The point is that railway workers and leading functionaries of the Party and government organizations are not very ready to serve the people and are lacking in Party and working-class spirit. In words they are all working for the people, but in

deeds they are not and they pay little heed to the people's demands.

Such a wrong attitude should be rectified at the earliest possible date and service to travellers radically improved.

We should set up a new food-processing factory exclusively serving the railways or place some existing ones under the control of the railways so that working people on journeys will always be supplied with cider, soft drinks, beer and other beverages, to say nothing of confections.

Local Party and government bodies should also show concern in this respect and see to it that fruit and other special local products are always on sale for the travelling working people. We must thus ensure that when the train stops at Sinsongchon Station, travellers can buy and eat Pyongyang chestnuts; when it pulls in at Pukchong, they can have the noted Pukchong apples; and at places where crabs abound, they can buy boiled crabs.

In addition, passenger coaches should be promptly repaired and put in good order and kept neat and tidy at all times.

In the future we must make many refrigerator cars to supply more fresh fish to the people.

I shall now pass to cadre training in railway transport.

The system of cadre training in railway transport has gone into disorder over the last few years. It must be put in order at an early date.

It seems good to me to establish a three-stage training system in railway transport—a college for technical cadres, a higher technical school for technical cadres of secondary grade and a training course for junior commanding personnel similar to that run in the army for noncommissioned officers.

The railway college should be placed directly under the Ministry of Railways and receive the necessary materials from it. The Ministry of Higher Education should only give it pedagogical guidance.

A special department should be set up in the college to re-educate the technical and administrative personnel already working in railway transport.

The higher transport school now under the Ministry of Common Education should remain as it is, but the Ministry of Railways should have its own higher technical school to train technical cadres of secondary grade from among graduates of technical schools and railwaymen. This would be the equivalent of the Kang Gon Military Academy in the army.

Furthermore, there should be a training system for junior commanding personnel in railway transport.

This well-organized cadre training system is essential for the proper management of the railways which have over 100,000 employees and are being all the more modernized.

All the railway training institutions should be put on a military footing and their graduates should serve in railway transport without fail.

Another thing. It is advisable to exempt locomotive drivers from military service. They differ from other workers and, in fact, their job is as good as serving in the army. They should be given better conditions. They do harder work than anyone else. They should be provided with good houses near railway stations so that they may rest well and should be supplied with enough subsidiary foodstuffs as well. They should also be sent to rest homes for a set number of days to have a full rest.

I consider it necessary to improve the dispatchers' conditions, too. A system of assistant dispatcher should be instituted to lessen the dispatchers' burden. Under this system, assistant dispatchers would be required to help dispatchers and to compile statistics when the latter are busy. This will also serve to train reserve dispatchers systematically. The Party committees of the provinces and central counties should ensure that the ranks of railway dispatchers are made up of good people. And the railways, too, must promote good people to the post of assistant dispatchers.

Next, we should improve the work of the railway stations and tighten Party supervision over the railway workers.

Railway stations can be compared to the basic combat organizations or units in the army, such as companies, battalions

and regiments. Therefore, the strengthening of the work here is essential for improving railway transport as a whole.

But these important combat units, the railway stations, are not subjected to regular control at present because the Railway Ministry Party Committee does not guide and supervise them properly and they do not come under the local Party bodies. I think this is definitely wrong. As is the case with all other sections of the national economy, the railways should also receive constant Party guidance and be supervised by the masses. Only then can such wrong tendencies as departmentalism and bureaucracy which are manifested on the railways be criticized and remedied in good time.

To place railway stations under the respective county Party committees is good in the sense that day-to-day Party supervision can be exercised over them. But the two deviations may recur, which were revealed in the past when railway stations were placed under local Party bodies. One was that county Party bodies frequently summoned railway personnel to all kinds of meetings which had nothing to do with the railways, thus preventing them from attending to their duties properly, and they brandished Party authority and needlessly meddled in railway work causing only confusion. The other was that they often transferred railwaymen to other branches to work as cadres.

Because such bad practices appeared, the railway stations were taken out of the hands of the local Party organizations. They are now directly under the Railway Ministry Party Committee, and only the provincial Party bodies direct and supervise the work of the railway administrations. Political work does not reach railway stations well, while the situation is somewhat better with the railway administrations because they are controlled by the provincial Party bodies.

At any rate, it is necessary to ensure that day-to-day Party supervision is exercised over the railway station workers. But we should prevent the recurrence of the deviations manifested in the past when the railway stations came under the local Party organizations. Therefore, in the future, the

railway stations should be placed under the respective county Party committees for supervision. But the following conditions must be strictly fulfilled.

First, local Party organizations should not be allowed to transfer railway workers to other branches at will. This applies to both county and provincial Party bodies. If the need arises to transfer a railway worker, the matter must be submitted to the relevant sub-bureau Party committee for consent, and if he is a cadre, his transfer is subject to approval by the Railway Ministry Party Committee.

Second, local Party organizations should not meddle in railway affairs. If they arbitrarily interfere in the affairs of the railways which are operated under a unified system of command, it will only cause confusion in railway transport and prevent the railways from doing their work properly.

Although local Party organizations have to get Party members to observe the standards of Party life closely and arouse the masses to help in the work of the railways, they must on no account meddle in railway affairs in this or that way, demanding that this or that kind of goods be loaded, or more goods of a particular kind be transported to their county.

County Party committees should only be given the right to supervise the railway station workers—to find out whether they have sound ideas, whether they are honest in their Party life and whether they carry out the Party's instructions and policies correctly—and the right to criticize shortcomings, if any, and apply penalties to those who have committed mistakes. If county Party committees do not have the right to do this much, their control will carry practically no weight. But if a serious shortcoming appears, it should be reported to the higher Party body.

With these conditions, station Party organizations should be placed under the relevant county Party bodies. I think this measure will be helpful in improving the work of the railway stations.

Along with railway transport, motor transport should be developed more.

We now have an incomparably greater number of motor vehicles than in the past since our own automobile plant has been producing thousands every year. The number of different types such as the 2.5-ton, 3.5-ton and 10-ton trucks and the "Kaengsaeng" passenger car will increase in the future.

Under such conditions, it is very important to use motor vehicles effectively through the rational organization of motor transport so as to lessen the burden put on the railways and ease the strain on transport.

In the field of motor transport the collective management of motor vehicles under a unified control system should be further developed.

Experience shows that collective management through the pooling of motor vehicles on a regional basis has great advantages over the separate management of a few cars at individual offices and enterprises.

First, collective management is in line with the principles of socialism and communism. It is very helpful in fostering the spirit of collectivism among the workers.

Next, collective management is far superior to separate management because it makes it possible to use motor vehicles effectively, organize concentration of transport, build up repair depots, ensure that the vehicles are regularly checked and overhauled, etc.

It also has great strength in that the drivers can be educated and supervised systematically and their technical qualifications raised.

As long ago as the Fatherland Liberation War we had experience with the collective management of trucks. In those years we had a lot to transport, but we had very few trucks and their management was loose. So we pooled them and placed them under unified management. This was very effective. Drawing on this experience, we have tried out collective management in the city of Nampo over the past five years, and it has again clearly demonstrated its superiority. At present the volume of freight handled in Nampo is nearly twice as much as before the trucks were pooled, although the number of trucks

has remained the same. Leading personnel of the Nampo Smeltery and other factories and enterprises in the city told me that collective management was really good, and that production and construction had gone on without a hitch at their factories and enterprises because materials had been transported in good time.

While accumulating experience in the collective management of motor vehicles, we should introduce it wherever possible. It would be a good idea to try it out in such places as the cities of Haeju, Sariwon, Kanggye and Songrim and the township of Kangso, to begin with, by pooling the trucks now at the disposal of different offices and enterprises. In Sinuiju, there was a time when trucks were pooled but then they were returned to the offices and enterprises because of mismanagement. This time organizational work should be done well, so that a similar thing will not happen again.

But the pooling of motor vehicles should not be done indiscriminately and in a hurry all at once. If trucks belonging to coal or ore mines are suddenly mixed with those of a county co-operative farm management committee, it may cause great confusion. In counties, therefore, pooling should, without fail, be done gradually after going through a tentative stage. And even where cars are pooled in a city with big enterprises, a separate transport corps should be organized and attached to these enterprises, while the motor vehicle station is invested only with the authority to check and control the management and operation of the motorcars.

After pooling motor vehicles it is important to manage them properly. The motor vehicle stations should transport goods for the offices and enterprises promptly, under well thought-out, detailed plans. We are going to equip these stations with radio in the future so that they can direct their trucks efficiently.

In order to make better use of motor vehicles it is important to build up good repair depots and centres for the production of spare parts.

We cannot increase the use of motor vehicles if we do not

solidly build up their repair centres and increase the production of their parts, because many parts wear out quickly and their service life is short.

We should build more motor repair works to cope with repairs as they are needed and set up firm bases for the production of spare parts everywhere to fully satisfy the demand.

We must reform the system of spare parts supply for motor vehicles. At present spare parts, including tyres, are all supplied through the channels of the Materials Supply Commission, and there are many cases where motor vehicles are left idle because the commission fails to supply offices and enterprises with sufficient parts.

In order to eliminate such phenomena it would be a good thing to open spare parts stores where offices and enterprises can purchase what they need, while preserving the system of supplying parts through the Materials Supply Commission. The provincial people's committees should run the stores and see that necessary parts are always in good supply. To this end, they should organize the production of spare parts for themselves, in addition to receiving allotments from the Materials Supply Commission.

This will put an end to the wicked waste of letting motor vehicles lie idle for a long time for lack of parts or of running around to obtain parts as at present.

Next, the drivers' technical level and skill should be radically improved.

At present there is a serious shortage of drivers and those we do have do not possess a high level of technology and skill. This is because the training of drivers has failed to keep up with the increase in the number of motor vehicles in land transport. We should turn out more and better qualified drivers by improving their training and giving them more rigorous licencing examinations. A strict system should be instituted under which a driving licence is only given to the candidate who has taken the necessary technical course and then has become proficient in handling a truck or car by serving as an assistant driver for at least a year. Women should also be

taught to drive well. It is especially desirable that women become trolley bus drivers.

One important task today for the development of motor transport is to keep motor roads in good repair.

Since motor roads are rough at present, motor vehicles and tractors consume a lot of oil, their parts and tyres wear quickly and, consequently, their service life is short and their utilization rate low. We will be unable to meet the demand for motor vehicles, no matter how many we manufacture and no matter how much oil and how many tyres we import at the expense of precious foreign currency, if we do not improve the motor roads much more and without delay. It would be like pouring water into a bottomless pail. Keeping motor roads in good shape, therefore, is a very urgent task facing us today.

Properly building up motor roads acquires great importance from the viewpoint of national defence, too. Only when motor roads are maintained well, is it possible to supply the front with a smooth flow of munitions and provisions in case of emergency.

We must vigorously start building up motor roads and put all of them including arteries in good shape within a short span of time.

True, it would be good to pave all roads with concrete, but cement is short and, moreover, it is hardly possible to concrete so many roads all at one time.

Therefore, we should see that the arterial roads are paved with concrete according to the state plan and that other roads are paved with blocks of granite abundant in our country.

Granite pavement lasts for at least several decades. The Onchon-Nampo section in South Pyongan Province has been paved thus and it is very good.

Along with paving, roads should be repaired and reconditioned regularly.

The People's Army units dug up their motor roads and covered them with weathered granite after gravelling and rolling. They say these are not inferior to paved roads. We

should launch a wide campaign to lay this kind of road, too.

Road improvements should be carried out through an all-people movement. Not only all institutions and enterprises which have motor vehicles but also residents should regularly repair the roads in their areas. The army should also continue to do this work.

The county people's committees should assign definite road sections to the county co-operative farm management committees, farm machine stations and all other organizations and enterprises which have trucks and tractors, make each of them responsible for the repair and improvement of its assigned section, and should exercise day-to-day supervision of this work.

Furthermore, in order to lighten the burden on the railways, trucks should be used for freight carriage as far as possible for distances of up to 20 kilometres. Trucks should be used even for journeys exceeding 20 kilometres if this is rational.

Next, bus services should be improved.

In Pyongyang we still see many people queuing up at the bus stops. We must provide more trolley cars and buses and improve passenger services so that people do not have to wait at the stops. In other cities, too, passenger services should be improved, and in the future the buses will run not only between county towns but also between the county towns and the villages.

Also, since there are now many more bus drivers and conductors, it would be a good idea to build a house of culture for them in Pyongyang to provide them with education and raise their cultural level.

Our country has very favourable conditions for water transport because it is surrounded by the sea on three sides and has many big rivers. Other countries that have no sea and few rivers even dig canals at huge cost in manpower and funds. We have good seas and rivers. Why shouldn't we make use of them? If we make use of them and develop water trans-

port, it will not only lessen the burden on the railways but also enable us to transport bigger loads more cheaply.

We must devote greater efforts to developing water transport to ease the increasing strain on transport.

Here it is important to build many ships. It is our opinion that if we are to furnish enough vessels for water transport, the First Ministry of the Machine-building Industry should build many large ships and the Ministry of Land and Sea Transport should see to it that small boats are produced in large numbers.

Furthermore, to increase river transport we should open many new routes.

Developing river transport is very interesting. Because the rivers are not as rough as the sea, the construction of a river port does not require as much manpower and material as a sea port. All you have to do is to drive in several concrete piles and build a pier for boats to come alongside.

We should allot a large number of dredgers for developing river transport and open many routes on big rivers such as the Amnok-gang, Taedong-gang, Chongchon-gang and Chaeryong-gang.

The Amnok-gang is now being used to a considerable extent. In the future it should be used more extensively.

The channels of the Taedong-gang and the Chaeryong-gang should be deepened to guarantee free navigation between Pyongyang and Nampo, between Pyongyang and Songhwa, between Pyongyang and Sariwon via Chaeryong and between Pyongyang and Kangdong. Thus, we should see to it that the fruit of Songhwa, the iron ore of Unryul, the rice of Sinchon and Chaeryong Counties and coal from the Hukryong Mine are all transported by boat.

The Chongchon-gang, too, is navigable up to Kaecheon. Vessels could sail farther up if the channel were deepened a bit more. It would be a good idea to provide conditions for vessels to sail up at least to Kaecheon for the time being. Then, coal can be transported from Kaecheon to Pyongyang, Nampo, Sariwon and Songrim by boat.

Next, ports should be built on a large scale.

Our country has a great many places suitable for good ports. We must dynamically step up their construction to further marine transport.

First of all, Nampo port must be expanded.

At present, the extremely limited storage space of this port hinders the swift unloading of cargo, and many ships have to wait their turn, even though there is enough room for them to moor. The storage capacity of Nampo port should be increased so that boats can unload quickly as soon as they enter the port. As there is no space to store goods at the dockside, it is desirable to set up an open storage ground a little way from the city and carry the cargo arriving at Nampo port there quickly.

Along with storage space, the docks of the port should also be expanded. In the future, the existing fishery station and shipyard should be moved elsewhere to enable more ships to dock.

The ports of Hungnam, Chongjin, Tanchon, Tasado and Rajin should also be reconstructed and expanded under a long-range programme.

In order to guarantee the success of large-scale port construction projects, two port construction agencies should be set up, one on the east coast and one on the west, so that we can gradually push ahead with port construction while accumulating experience and training cadres in large numbers.

It is also necessary to step up the training of cadres for water transport. We should properly reinforce the College of Marine Transport as soon as possible and increase the number of higher technical schools for this sphere in order to train more technical cadres.

In the light of the projected building of large numbers of ships, we have the urgent problem of increasing the production of ship equipment and accessories. We must meet the demand for radar, automatic steering gear, compasses and radio equipment. To do this, we should set up factories specializing in their production.

While taking these measures to improve and increase marine transport, we should launch an energetic struggle to carry more cargo with existing vessels.

In the last few years our general transport requirements have sharply increased, but the volume of cargo carried by sea is falling rather than rising. So it is quite clear that the railways have had to bear a greater strain. We maintain that this is largely because the officials in water transport are passive. From now on, they should be more active in getting more cargo transported by sea and river. We should quickly complete the wharf projects at Sohaeri and at the Hwanghae Iron Works, so as to transport iron ore from Unryul by boat and carry pig iron and materials for rolled steel between the Hwanghae Iron Works and the Kangson Steel Plant, also by boat. As I have already mentioned, both coal and grain should be carried by boat so that we can rapidly increase the volume of freight handled by water transport.

The last thing I want to say on this question of transport is to stress that all realms of the national economy and all factories and enterprises should give positive assistance to transportation. Every sector of the national economy and every enterprise uses some means of transportation. No one must be indifferent to this question. The machine-building industry should not lag behind demand in producing and supplying transport equipment and accessories needed by the railways and other branches of transport. Coal and ore mines should dress coal and ore more thoroughly to prevent the carriage of useless dirt. All branches and units should raise the utilization rate of freight cars by prompt loading and unloading and take the best care of transport equipment.

SOME PROBLEMS OF MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

**Concluding Speech at the 18th Enlarged Plenary
Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

November 16, 1968

I referred in detail to manpower administration in my concluding speech at the 16th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party. So today I am not going to deal with it at length but stress just a few points.

The success of socialist construction largely depends on whether or not manpower is administered properly. Therefore, manpower administration is very important work that must be effectively grappled with throughout the course of the building of socialism and communism

A particularly urgent question in our country today, one decisive to furthering our revolution and construction, is how to alleviate the acute manpower shortage.

The strain on our labour force has reached a very grave stage. We have to step up socialist construction while being directly confronted with U.S. imperialism which is manoeuvring ever more overtly to provoke war. We must therefore reinforce our armed forces and build up our national defence on the one hand and, on the other, hit the immediate main targets of the Seven-Year Plan in order to improve the people's living conditions and strengthen the country's economic base. This requires a large labour force. However, owing to the three-

year Fatherland Liberation War, our work force will grow very little in the coming two or three years and our source of labour will remain extremely limited. So there is a wide gap between the need for manpower and its source. South Hamgyong Province, for instance, requires 17,000 more workers for next year, but only 8,000 are available.

Our country is suffering from this serious manpower shortage, but leading functionaries of the Party, state and economic organizations and enterprises show little concern for manpower administration. Even after the recent plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee had a serious discussion on how to improve manpower administration and adopted a relevant resolution, and we have emphasized this matter at every opportunity since then, none of the ministers, or chief secretaries of provincial Party committees or chairmen of provincial people's committees has scrupulously tackled the job to date.

This situation can no longer be tolerated. From this very moment, everyone must buckle down to solving the nation's acute manpower shortage.

The most important thing in labour administration is to do political work properly so that all the working people work willingly, conscientiously and strenuously.

Labour not only produces things indispensable for the people's livelihood such as food, clothing and housing but it also plays an important role in working-classizing all our working people who are building socialism and communism. Only when no one loafers and everyone voluntarily participates in labour, is it possible to build a socialist and then a communist society where all people live well, and to working-classize all members of society.

In the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, however, quite a few people hate work and are strongly influenced by the backward thinking of wanting to live a life of idleness. This backward thinking does not originate in socialist society. It is a legacy of capitalist society, where people are so hard pressed by toil that they cannot help longing for an idle life.

Formerly, though they themselves followed the plough, our peasants wanted their sons to serve at least as a clerk for a wealthy man instead of farming the land. They used to be bled white by the landlords. No matter how hard they toiled, they always ended up empty-handed while the idle landlords and capitalists lived in affluence. Therefore, the peasants could not help but regard labour as something disgraceful and even envied loafers instead of hating them.

These tenacious viruses from the old society persist for a long time even in socialist society where the people have become the masters of the country and all the means of production have been turned into the property of society.

Today many office workers idle their time away in the office doing nothing and then go home at the end of the day. Yet they take their salaries without feeling any remorse.

Our salaries are remuneration for the work we have done. They are a part of the nation's wealth, public property gained at the cost of blood and sweat of the entire people. Therefore, when taking his salary, every person should think over whether he has really done the work to deserve it. If he feels no pang of conscience at receiving a high salary while doing nothing, it means he is still captivated by the capitalist idea of getting a large salary for doing as little as possible.

Therefore, in order to alleviate the acute labour shortage, we must first intensify political work among the working people and remould their ideology. All of them must thus be taught to regard labour as most honourable and to regard as their lofty duty the devotion of all their energy, knowledge and talents to the good of the country and the people. If we lay undue stress on material incentives instead of attaching the primary importance to political work, that is, ideological work, we cannot put manpower administration on the right track.

In most cases, however, our officials think only of increasing material incentives. They consider that manpower administration is unsatisfactory mainly because technical and administrative work such as regulating wage scales and fixing work norms is not done well.

True, it is necessary to regulate wages properly and fix work norms correctly, and our Party pays great attention to this work. But you should never think that in fixing wages we discriminate between heavy and light, physical and mental and industrial and agricultural work for the sole purpose of stimulating work with material incentives. In other words, you should not think that wages are set high for certain categories of work and low for others in order to attract people to the jobs requiring hard, backbreaking labour.

In wage payment, we differentiate some categories of work from others chiefly because of the difference in labour intensity and the physical and mental energy expended. We do this so that workers can fully recover the energy expended in labour and to guarantee their livelihood.

At present miners and blast furnacemen are paid more than other workers. This is because they sweat more and get more tired both physically and mentally than those engaged in other work and should be provided with better conditions for recuperation.

When I spoke on the question of transport, I suggested that dispatchers and engine drivers be better paid. This is because their work puts a greater strain on them and is very exhausting. During our visit to North Hamgyong Province, we told the people there to provide deep-sea fishermen with good houses. We did so in order to ensure them ample conditions for rest, not to give them material incentives. If deep-sea fishermen returning home after working on the raging sea for a month or two cannot get enough rest or sleep comfortably before going out to sea again, they will not be able to do their work properly. Therefore, it is quite natural that they should be provided with a good apartment, so that they can rest well and completely recover from their fatigue before going out to sea again.

It would be a great mistake for any of you ever to try to solve the problem of manpower administration with the help of foreign books on labour economy which put the main stress on material incentives.

Today most of our workers do not work for money, nor do they need any material incentive. They want nothing other than the state to guarantee their livelihood. They all work conscientiously. Once some leading personnel who did not have a clear idea on how to apply the law of value correctly in a socialist society went to the Hwanghae Iron Works and made a bloomer when they tried to apply it incorrectly. When they made random, irresponsible statements on the law of value, the furnacemen said, "Get away with your law of value or 'law of valves.' We don't need any material incentive! So long as our livelihood is guaranteed, we'll devote our all to working for the country and the people. Stop bothering us and go away."

We must not try to administer manpower by raising wages or putting material incentives first. Instead, we must settle this problem by giving definite priority to political and moral incentives so as to constantly increase the conscious enthusiasm of the working people, while properly combining this with economic and technical work.

Even after the socialist system is established, differences between mental and physical, heavy and light and direct and indirect labour remain for quite a long time. Great differences exist between industrial and agricultural labour, particularly in countries which have inherited backward productive forces. For instance, there is a big difference between the amount of labour expended by a furnaceman and an office worker. Men who work at a blast furnace in the summer sweat so much that their bodies lose a large amount of salt. We supply them with soft drinks and labour protection and safety equipment, but this is by no means enough for them to recover all the energy they have expended.

Distinctions between heavy and light and mental and physical labour will be eliminated in the future when the productive forces are highly developed. Today in advanced countries, I am told, blast furnaces, open hearths and electric furnaces have cooling devices and are automated. The workers produce steel by pushing a few buttons. They do not sweat at all and even wear ties at work. There is little difference

between reading books in office and watching molten iron at a blast furnace. In the final analysis, to eliminate differences in various kinds of work, the productive forces must be developed quickly.

When our productive forces are greatly developed, we will not have to talk about heavy and light or mental and physical labour, or keep the present differential wage rates.

We still have a long way to go, however, before reaching that stage. For the present, since there are differences in labour, we must keep differential wage rates for various sectors and trades. We do not oppose wage adjustment itself. We oppose the attempt to stick to material incentives alone and get people to work for money, instead of doing political work among them. Making people think of nothing but money and work just for money is a capitalist method by which we will never be able to build socialism and communism.

We emphasize proper observance of the socialist principle of distribution, not because we want to give material incentives, but because it serves as an important means of combatting the backward thinking of wanting to eat the bread of idleness.

Foreigners are now asking us how to mount Chollima, but the secret of Chollima lies precisely in the successful conduct of political work.

If you think we can achieve a high rate of growth in production by increasing material incentives, in other words, by paying larger salaries or more bonuses, you are mistaken. Things will never go well if we try to build socialism by increasing material incentives alone, without doing correct political work among the working people and getting them to work willingly. It will never enable us to mount Chollima, still less make revolution. Suppose you ask somebody to make revolution for a certain amount of money. Do you think he will risk his life for the revolution? If we go in for this, we will eventually fall into the mire of capitalism.

Things did not go well in some sectors at one time because anti-Party factionalists spread bourgeois and feudal-Confucian

ideas among the working people instead of educating them in our Party's ideas.

Once these wicked people visited the Komdok Mine, gathered the miners together and persuaded them not to try to mine more ore as the Party wanted. They told them not to exert themselves to increase production and to refrain from overdoing it. The bourgeois poison spread by these bad elements caused a sharp fall in ore output. Later, when the functionaries of the mine waged a struggle to establish the Party's monolithic ideological system, ore output doubled. On the surface, those scoundrels seemed to show concern for the workers, but in actual fact they aimed at paralysing their revolutionary consciousness and preventing the state from becoming rich and strong and the people's living standards from improving through the development of the productive forces on a big scale.

In my opinion, our Party has conducted political work correctly so far. Of course, I do not mean that it has been perfect, but the defects are not due to blunders made by the lower-level functionaries but to the poison spread by the evil persons who held responsible posts. Before, in establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system, quite a few people committed different errors. Some scoundrels looked for a chance to disrupt socialist construction intentionally. But most people committed errors unintentionally because they had accepted the directions of the bad elements in high posts, believing that their mischief was in accordance with the Party's wishes.

If our functionaries do ideological work skilfully among the workers and help them to be clear on the objectives of their work and strive devotedly for the Party, the country and the people, nothing will be impossible for us.

Leaping progress and radical changes are being made these days in all spheres of the national economy because we are carrying on a struggle to wipe out the malicious ideological aftereffects of the anti-Party factionalists and establish the Party's monolithic ideological system among Party members and the working people. Such progress and changes clearly

show what great strength they display when they are armed with the Party's revolutionary ideas.

Our vanguard workers now say that they have no fixed work norm or quota but that they themselves set them in accordance with what is demanded by the Party. This not only shows how faithful our working class is to the Party but also tells us that our workers are not concerned about any material incentives or fixed quotas.

Today manpower administration personnel and leading economic officials make a fetish of labour management, talking a lot about labour quotas and wage control. But this is mistaken. There is nothing mysterious about manpower administration. Those who are engaged in this work regard wage adjustment as something very complicated. But we can manage it quite easily once we have a good grasp of the actual situation and hold fast to the Party's policies.

Needless to say, leading economic officials should take technical and practical steps such as fixing work norms and adjusting wages. But they should not confine manpower administration to that alone. They should strive to alleviate the pressing manpower shortage by strengthening political work in line with the Party's policy.

Firstly, Party members and the working people should be thoroughly imbued with the love of work. It must be brought home to all the working people that labour is essential and honourable in our society. Men should be educated from primary school days on to regard loafing as shameful and disgraceful and work as something to love. It is also necessary for films, dramas and novels to have love of labour as their theme so as to educate our working people.

That cadres set practical examples is of very great significance in educating the working people. This is a precious lesson gained in the days of our anti-Japanese armed struggle. Then none of our company or regimental commanders put on airs and sat idle. On arriving at a camp site, the commanders were the first to cut wood and prepare the quarters. In battle, they fought valiantly in the forefront. All captured enemy material

was distributed equally. This was why the men and officers closely united as one and could stand the grim trials, always emerging victorious.

Our leading personnel must work more conscientiously and willingly than anyone else and, through their own example, educate the working people in the communist attitude towards labour.

Along with educating the working people, we should establish strict order in work and tighten labour discipline.

In getting the working people to take the communist attitude towards labour and to work willingly, conscientiously and intensely, the main stress should be put on ideological education to remould their thinking. But education alone is not enough. Meanwhile, we must establish strict order in work and enforce rigid discipline so that there will be no room for anyone to loaf around doing nothing. If everyone were armed with communist ideology and worked consciously and conscientiously for the sake of the country and the people, that would be another matter. But since backward thinking persists and people are still around who are infected with the old capitalist ideas, it is imperative to establish strict labour discipline and place people under regular organizational supervision while educating them.

We often see our children, towels tied around their heads, studying hard well into the night and even skipping their meals, when they are taking exams, though usually they neglect their studies despite our repeated remonstrances. This shows that examinations are an effective means of control.

Likewise, since the ideological awareness of all the working people is not so high as to make them work willingly and conscientiously, we should do our work scrupulously, establish discipline and order and tighten supervision so that the obsolete idea of living idly will not flood their minds. When discipline is strengthened in this way, even those who are gripped to a considerable extent by outmoded ideas will find it difficult to loaf on the job.

If state institutions and enterprises relax labour discipline

and fail to establish order and exercise proper supervision, negative factors will take advantage of it and grow.

Sometimes, when walking along asphalt roads, we come across weeds growing in the cracks. They raise their heads even on asphalt-surfaced roads if there are cracks. Like these weeds, the poisonous remnants of capitalist ideas are very tenacious and raise their heads whenever there is a crevice, however small.

Individualistic ideas which greatly hinder the development of our work have become deeply rooted over a long historical period. Carried over as they are from ancient times when class society emerged, they cannot be rooted out easily in a day or two with only a few sessions of education.

Along with persistent education, rigorous discipline and strict order should be established in all domains to leave no room for capitalist and revisionist elements, however small, to raise their heads. Anyone who idles away his time should be punished by administrative means and his Party or working people's organization should also criticize him severely and press him hard. Factories, mines and other enterprises should keep a close check on the workers' attendance, establish strict order in work and wage a powerful struggle to make them turn their 480-minute work day to the fullest account.

Since people were pensioned off indiscriminately before, we came across quite a few able-bodied men idling away on pensions. We should re-examine all pensioners to make sure there are no loafers among them.

Meanwhile, ministries should take their responsibility of providing working conditions so that the workers can work for the whole 480 minutes.

A very important task now facing manpower administration is to readjust the labour force correctly and persuade everyone to work intensely.

First of all, the non-productive work force must be reduced to the minimum.

At present, there are many redundant organs and departments at higher levels, and more at lower levels, and a great

many people in the non-productive sectors dawdle away their time, doing nothing in particular.

It is said that the Ministry of Railways has a central transport design institute as well as one in each of the eastern and western regions. It has eight in all if other institutes are counted. You can get to any place in our country in one or two days, however far away it is. So if you have something to do anywhere, just one trip from the capital is enough. What is the point of this sector having institutes in so many places? They should be amalgamated. I was told that there is a large number of different scientific research institutions in South Pyongan Province and in other areas, too. We should check up on them and close down unnecessary ones and merge those which can be merged.

There is a large number of redundant personnel in the field of trade, too. A department store, for instance, has a director, a deputy director and floor-managers. There is no need to have so many chiefs.

Also, with the sharp increase in the number of procurement bodies, many of their staff are idling their time away. Hosts of idlers are emerging among purchasing agents because they are sent down to the localities without any correct idea of the amount of work they have to do. At present, many purchasing agents make the rounds of every rural *ri* to buy goods. But in my opinion this is unnecessary. Since every rural *ri* has a shop and shop assistants, you may just give them procurement quotas, and a purchasing agent can be assigned to each county seat and he will make trips by car to collect the goods purchased at the village shops.

On the plea of establishing a system of unified control over the transmission lines, the Ministry of the Electric Power and Coal Industries has incorporated all co-operative farm electricians into the national manpower pool and had linesmen posted in every rural *ri*, and they receive their salaries and provisions from the state. Now that they are on state rations they loaf around on the excuse that they are only supposed to take care of the transmission lines, although they used to look after the

electric equipment on the farms as well as checking these lines. This has compelled the farms to get electricians of their own again. They say that not only the linesmen but their family members have become idlers. This means that one loafer begets more loafers. It all arises because the functionaries of the Ministry of the Electric Power and Coal Industries did their work in a slipshod manner, seeing only the need for a system of unified control over the transmission lines and paying no attention to the great waste of manpower. And because the ministry has failed to supervise the linesmen scattered throughout the villages, this system has in fact not yet been established although their number has swollen.

We must be careful when transferring the work force of co-operative farms to the national manpower pool. Once this was done with the workers of rice-cleaning mills. Formerly, when they came under the farms, they would readily clean the rice at any time, even working on Sundays. But as soon as they received their food rations from the state, they worked only eight hours a day and stopped all Sunday work, while others toiled late into the night. This did more harm than good. So we placed them again under the control of the farms. Now the same is the case with the linesmen. In my opinion, we had better send them back to the co-operative farms, give them practical training and familiarize them with control regulations so that they will take good care of the transmission lines. Their family members, too, should be urged to work on the farms.

Furthermore, there is a lot of unnecessary setups such as designing offices and so on. We should do away with these redundant bodies and setups, amalgamating those that can be amalgamated, abolishing the unnecessary ones and transferring the manpower thus released to the productive sectors.

Functionaries of the Cabinet department in charge of setups are largely responsible for the unnecessary increase in the work force in the non-productive sectors and in management. Those in the Cabinet who are in charge of this work must base themselves on the Party's policy and make sure that non-productive and management work forces are reduced and

that all people work intensely. But they fail to do this. They have set up many unnecessary offices and increased the number of idlers. This irresponsible attitude must be completely changed.

At the same time, we must launch large numbers of women onto the labour front by taking positive action to replace the male work force in non-productive and light work with a female work force. This helps to revolutionize women and is of great significance in making up the shortage of young and middle-aged labour power.

However, serious defects are still being revealed in the use of female labour power. These days the number of women workers is decreasing in the sector of light labour, while increasing in the sector of heavy labour. The Party has asked coal and ore mines to employ fewer women workers and, particularly, not to let them work in the pits. But on the whole, the number of women workers in the mines, including those working in the pits, is steadily increasing. In contrast, the number of women workers is decreasing in light industrial enterprises, in purchasing and food administration bodies and in educational and cultural institutions in spite of the Party's instructions that many women should be drawn in these sectors.

Locally-run factories are instructed to make up more than 80 per cent of their work force with women, but they do not do so. Women can do any work, even in machine factories, except heating and pressing, to say nothing of work in light industries. They can perform any duty including the job of manager.

As for culture and the arts, many men work in the houses of culture. Here, too, women can be employed. We should also cut the number of the people in mobile film projection teams. From now on, we should provide co-operative farms with film projectors and arrange courses to train their drivers and announcers to operate the projectors as well. The counties should only take proper measures to repair projectors when they break down.

The woman labour force is not being used rationally in

agriculture, either. In the countryside many men are now assigned to stockbreeding and fruit-growing teams because the work is tough. But in fact, breeding pigs and pruning apple trees is easier than farming activities such as rice transplanting. Yet women are doing almost all the hard farm work because too many men work at stockbreeding and fruit growing. This irrational practice must be eliminated.

Women are quite able to operate water pumps. So we should transfer male pump-operators to farming workteams and replace them with women.

We should closely check up on the sections at institutions and enterprises in all branches of the national economy where women can work and replace men with women as soon as possible. But we should not transfer old people or honoured wounded veterans working at light jobs on the ground that male labour should be replaced by female labour. This work must be carried out so as to use many young and middle-aged men to the full.

Our functionaries allege that women cannot do work requiring a high level of technology and skill, but this is an expression of backward feudal ideas. Women are fully able to master technology. If men can acquire technology, there is no reason why women cannot. We must resolutely combat the tendency to prevent women from working in technical fields by making them afraid of technology.

We should give women a few months' technical training before assigning them to work requiring high technical and skill levels.

At the same time, we should promote women to responsible posts as far as possible at the co-operative farms and at enterprises where a large number of women work. Experience shows that women cadres are by no means inferior to men.

In the countryside, many women should be made work-team leaders, chairmen of management boards and secretaries in the future. It would be a good idea for a man to be the people's committee secretary where a woman is the management board chairman, and vice versa.

Meanwhile, we should energetically promote the technical revolution so as to turn heavy labour into light labour and do tough, labour-consuming work with machines.

If we mechanize and automate production processes, we can save much labour and sharply increase per capita output value. Before we mechanized and automated chicken raising, it was scarcely possible for one breeder to raise even several hundred chickens at poultry plants. But with mechanization and automation, one breeder is now taking care of 10,000. Labour productivity has gone up scores of times.

The technical revolution will not only make it possible to save labour power but will enable women to do any work formerly done by young and middle-aged men. At present most rice-cleaning mill workers are men. But the introduction of conveyers and the improvement of some equipment will save much labour power and also enable women to work without difficulty. The technical revolution must be pushed ahead vigorously in every sphere and in every unit so as to economize on labour, even by one more man-day.

We must exert our efforts to solve the problem of the acute labour shortage in this way. This is well within our power once we make up our minds and set to work on it. At the yesterday's sub-committee meetings you worked out ways of providing a reserve of nearly 180,000 men, of whom 22,000 will be released through the curtailment of the non-productive labour force, 9,000 through the amalgamation of managements, 91,000 through the replacement of male by female labour, 30,000 through technological innovations and 25,000 through improved production and labour management.

These are preliminary figures based on a rough and conservative estimate without checking the manpower ledgers. How conservative they are can be clearly seen by the mere fact that a labour force of no less than 30,000 will be released through technological innovations. I am sure that if you go back and closely examine your data, you will be able to discover much greater labour reserves.

Even the roughly estimated reserve reaches around 180,000

men. From this we can conclude that we can make up the shortage of 180,000 men, as mentioned in the report yesterday. You are always asking us to assign discharged soldiers to your factories, but there is no need to do this. Reorganize your labour force, then you will get a good reserve of young and middle-aged men.

The supply service for the welfare of the working people is one of the most important aspects of labour administration. Only when we provide them with adequate supply service and thus help them recover the energy expended in labour and take a full rest, can they maintain high efficiency in their work. That is why we regard the welfare supply service as important political work.

Today the living conditions of our working people are better than ever before. None of them has any worries about food, clothing and shelter or about the education of his sons and daughters. Before liberation, our parents ate their hearts out over their children crying because they were unable to go to school. Even those who could afford to send their children to school had a hard time because they could not pay the tuition fees on time. But this sort of worry no longer exists.

If our working people suffer any inconvenience in their daily life today, it is a slight shortage of subsidiary foodstuffs. If we solve this problem, we can raise the working people's living standards to a higher plane and they will suffer no inconveniences at all.

This is not a big problem either. We must buckle down and solve it in a short time.

Firstly, the building of the chicken plants now under way must be speeded up and completed as soon as possible. On the completion of the present projects we will have an annual production capacity of 600 million eggs at the state-run chicken plants alone. Then, in the following year, the chicken plants will be able to produce 500 million eggs and, afterwards, 600 million eggs annually.

Along with the construction of chicken plants, a broad mass movement should be launched to raise chickens. We ex-

perimented with distributing to the villages month-old chicks raised at the Mangyongdae Chicken Plant, and each of them laid as many as 200 eggs a year. Plenty of chicks should be supplied to rural districts from now on. If month-old chicks are sent out this way, we can get a great many eggs without even taking the trouble to build hencoops or provide the hens with assorted poultry fodder.

True, at present the state-run chicken plants cannot afford to supply chicks in large numbers to the countryside because they have to reach their egg production capacities, but from the second half of next year they will be able to supply a lot.

In the rural areas there are some 1.3 million households, including those of factory and office workers. Each household should be urged to keep five hens. Suppose each of these lays 180 eggs a year, every home will produce 900 eggs, and the 1.3 million rural households will produce nearly 1,200 million. At least 800 million eggs will definitely be produced in the countryside. Adding those produced at the state-run chicken plants, we will get a total of 1,400 million eggs every year from 1970 on. Of course, this figure still seems a bit small, but even this will considerably improve the working people's diet.

Along with this, we should vigorously promote the movement to get each farmhouse to produce 100 kilogrammes of meat and each co-op farm workteam two tons, in line with the resolution adopted at the last plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee. Many farms hit this target this year. We must further this success.

We must also catch fish in large quantities. Together with deep-sea fishing, inshore and medium and small-scale fisheries should be extensively developed in order to catch 800,000-1,000,000 tons a year.

In addition, large quantities of fresh vegetables should be produced by widely applying the sprinkling irrigation system. The introduction of this system to the vegetable plots will certainly enable us to produce 150 tons of vegetables per *chongbo*.

At the same time, we should grow oil-bearing plants on a

large scale to solve the problem of cooking oil, and we should also produce a large amount of fruit by carefully tending the fruit trees. If we work well, we will have a large apple crop next year, and 500,000 tons of fruit a year from 1970 on.

The problem of subsidiary foodstuffs will be completely solved if the working people are supplied with eggs, meat, fish, vegetables and fruit in abundance.

All Party organizations, government bodies, working people's organizations and administrative and economic organs must be deeply concerned with the improvement of the supply service for the welfare of the working people. They should launch a wide mass movement to build more houses and keep them neat and clean and to produce more vegetables, eggs, meat and other subsidiary foodstuffs.

Let me emphasize once again the Party's policy on manpower administration. It is to give definite precedence to political work while properly applying the socialist principle of distribution, to get all people to work willingly and conscientiously by strengthening labour discipline and establishing an orderly system in work, to make the most effective use of the nation's manpower resources by putting the right man in the right place, to raise labour productivity and eliminate the differences in labour by expediting the technical revolution, and to guarantee an adequate standard of living for the working people. We must firmly follow this policy and resolutely strengthen manpower administration in order to step up socialist construction more dynamically.

ON SOME THEORETICAL PROBLEMS OF THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY

**Answers to the Questions Raised by
Scientific and Educational Workers**

March 1, 1969

In April 1968 I received some questions from scholars, through the Science and Education Department of the Party Central Committee, concerning problems of socialist economic theory. But, as the situation in the country was tense and we had the celebrations of the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Republic last year, I had little time to spare for a prompt answer. Recently, I was told that some leading economic functionaries and scholars still have no clear understanding of these problems and are disputing about them. Therefore, I am now going to give my opinion on these questions.

1. THE PROBLEM OF THE RELATION BETWEEN THE SCALE OF THE ECONOMY AND THE RATE OF PRODUCTION GROWTH IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

A theory is now in vogue among certain economists to the effect that although the economy grows without interruption in socialist society, its rate of growth cannot exceed 4-5 or 6-7

per cent a year after a certain stage of development is reached. I am told that some of the leading workers in our state economic bodies, too, argue that, even if our industrial output should increase by only 6 or 7 per cent a year, that would be high enough, inasmuch as in capitalist countries production barely increases by 2 or 3 per cent a year.

They base such an argument on the assumption that the reserves for production growth diminish in the period of reconstruction as compared with the previous period of rehabilitation and that, accordingly, as the economy develops and its scale expands, the possibilities for increasing production are reduced. In other words, they contend that the further industry advances, the more the reserves for growth diminish and the slower the rate of increase of production becomes. In our country, too, they say, there were plenty of growth reserves in the postwar rehabilitation period, but such reserves are no longer abundant today, when the basis of socialist industrialization has already been laid and we are in a period of all-out technological reconstruction of the national economy, and therefore production cannot be multiplied at an ever high rate.

People who think in this way are either unaware of the true advantages of the socialist economic system or are unwilling to see them.

Socialist society has unlimited potentialities for developing the economy continuously at a high rate inconceivable in capitalist society, and the further socialist construction advances and the stronger the economic basis grows, the greater these potentials become.

In capitalist society production cannot grow steadily, because the process of reproduction is periodically interrupted and much social labour wasted owing to overproduction crisis. In socialist society, however, all the labour resources and natural wealth of the country can be utilized in the most rational way, and production can be raised continually according to plan. This potential for production growth will always increase so long as the balance among the branches of the

national economy is rationally maintained and the country's economy is co-ordinated well by strengthening the economic organizing functions of the state of proletarian dictatorship and improving the economic management capacity of the functionaries. Since the socialist state controls co-ordinately and carries out production and distribution, accumulation and consumption according to plan, it can allocate large amounts to accumulation and make the most rational use of funds, and in this way carry on socialist expanded reproduction steadily on a big scale.

The production relations of socialism open a broad highway for unrestricted development of the productive forces; the socialist state, by making use of this potential, can develop technology rapidly, according to plan. The replacement of outmoded technology with a new one and then with a still newer one, the mechanization of manual labour and the further development into semi-automation, and then from semi-automation on to automation: this is a law that governs the construction of socialism and communism. It is a self-evident truth that in socialist society, with the rapid development of technology, labour productivity increases constantly and production grows at a high rate.

In socialist society, the people's high revolutionary zeal is the decisive factor forcefully pushing the development of the productive forces. The essential superiority of the socialist system lies in the fact that the working people, freed from exploitation and oppression, work with conscious enthusiasm and creative initiative for the country and the people, for society and the collective, as well as for their own welfare. In capitalist society the working people are not interested in the development of production and technology at all, for they work against their will, forced by the threat of unemployment and hunger. But in socialist society the working people work with enthusiasm for the development of production, because they are deeply aware that the fruits of their labour are their own, their people's and their country's. The more the proletarian Party and state fulfil their proper functions of strength-

ening the ideological revolution among the working people and gradually eliminating the survivals of old ideologies from their minds, the more the working people will devote their talents and stamina to the development of socialist production. In this way, continuous improvement and innovation will be brought about in all aspects of economic management, the organization of production and manpower, and the advancement of technology.

All this testifies to the sheer fallacy of the theory that in socialist society the reserves for increasing production gradually diminish and that production cannot be kept growing at a high rate as the economy develops and its scale expands.

Practical experience in the building of socialism in our country also irrefutably proves the incorrectness of such a theory.

To begin with, let me tell you what happened when we were working on the Five-Year Plan. The economic life of our country at that time was very hard in general, although our Party members and working people had, on the whole, rehabilitated the ravaged economy and stabilized the people's living conditions by successfully carrying out the Three-Year National Economic Plan. Moreover, the enemies at home and abroad were hysterically trying to encroach on the gains of our revolution and demolish our people's work of construction. Under such circumstances we were confronted with an urgent task, that of quickly laying the foundations of industrialization, in order to drive the country's economy ahead and improve the people's living conditions; and this required large quantities of rolled steel.

At that time our country had only one blooming mill and its rated capacity was only 60,000 tons. However, 60,000 tons of rolled steel were far from enough, for we had to build up the towns and the countryside, erect factories, and turn out more machines.

In all the previous arduous revolutionary struggles our Party had trusted the working class and, relying on their strength, broken through bottlenecks and difficulties. This

time, too, our Party decided to go to the working class, consult them and overcome the existing difficulties.

Entrusted by the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, we went to the Kangson Steel Plant. When we asked the leading personnel there if they could not increase the output of rolled steel to 90,000 tons, some of them shook their heads and said that it would be difficult. So we called the workers together and told them: We have barely managed to rehabilitate the ravaged economy, and now the factionalists have reared their heads against the Party and the great-power chauvinists are putting pressure on us, and the U.S. imperialists and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique are going wild with their "march north" shriekings. But can all this be an excuse for us to get disheartened and yield to the grave difficulties before the cause of revolution and construction? Unthinkable. We trust only you, the working class, the main force of our revolution, and we have no one but you to rely on. Therefore, to tide over these grave difficulties facing our Party, you must be in high spirits and work hard to produce plenty and construct well, and thus push economic construction more vigorously.

We did our political work in this way, and the workers of Kangson responded with a resolution to produce 90,000 tons of rolled steel. Roused to activity, they worked hard, improving the existing machines and equipment and solving difficult problems, with the result that 120,000 tons of rolled steel were turned out that year instead of 90,000. This steel plant was able to raise the capacity of its blooming shop to the present level of 450,000 tons, that is, nearly eight times the rated capacity.

Not only in the Kangson Steel Plant but in all branches of the national economy and all factories and enterprises, the old rated capacities were scrapped and great innovations were made. Miracles were wrought day by day that astounded the world, and our country's economy developed at a very high rate. Thus, the Five-Year Plan envisaging a 2.6-fold increase in total industrial output value was carried out in two years

and a half, and the plan for major manufactured goods was also fulfilled or overfulfilled on all production indices in four years.

During the seven or eight years that have passed since the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan, the tasks of the overall technical revolution have been vigorously carried forward in our country, with the result that a number of new branches of industry have been opened, our installed industrial technology has been radically improved, and the volume of production expanded several times. If the "theory" held by some people, that with the expansion of production scale the rate of growth decreases, were correct, it would have been impossible for our country to keep up the high rate of production growth in the period that followed the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan. But in the Seven-Year Plan period, too, the economy has developed continually at a high speed, though our country allocated more of its accumulation than planned for to defence construction in view of the U.S. imperialists' more pronounced aggressive manoeuvres. Above all, the national economic plan for 1967, the plan for the first year the Party Conference decision was in effect on simultaneous construction of the economy and defences, was a tight plan envisaging a 12.8 per cent increase in total industrial output value over the previous year. But we actually overfulfilled the plan by far and raised industrial output by 17 per cent that year. If it had not been for the extraordinary flood damage that year, industrial output would have risen more than 20 per cent. This is attributable to the fact that our Party intensified the ideological revolution among the working people, arousing their conscious enthusiasm and waging a resolute struggle against passivism, conservatism and all other kinds of old ideas that were hampering our forward movement.

Take the Songhung Mine for example.

In 1967 when the mine's management came up with a very low target plan, the Cabinet persuaded them to raise it a little. Yet, even this was too low to meet the Party's requirements. So the Party Central Committee, in order to conduct political

work among the workers of the Songhung Mine, summoned its cadres, from platoon leaders on up, to a meeting. There, we told them: In order to successfully carry out the line of simultaneous economic and defence construction, set forth by the Party Conference, the Songhung Mine will have to extract more nonferrous metal. They immediately pledged themselves to mine more than the target set by the Cabinet. In the end, they produced nearly twice as much as they had promised at first.

Let us take another example.

Officials in the machine-building industry said that they had no potential for expansion, so we went to the Ryongsong Machine Plant in 1967 and kindled the flames of innovation. The workers there all rose to the task and fulfilled the tightened-up plan for that year, including the extra production plan, by October 10, two months and 20 days ahead of schedule.

Great reserves for growth were also found in the course of the struggle to carry out last year's national economic plan.

Responding to U.S. imperialist war hysteria following the *Pueblo* incident, the Party Central Committee addressed an appeal last year to the factories and enterprises in all fields of the national economy to fulfil all their production and construction assignments ahead of schedule and produce more with the manpower, materials and equipment thus economized.

This revolutionary call by the Party met response in all the factories and enterprises, and many of them, inspired with a burning desire to drive the U.S. imperialists from our soil and reunify the country at the earliest possible date, asked for greater assignments and did a fine job of fulfilling their commitments.

All this shows that we can develop the economy as fast as we want, no matter how big its scale is, if we do our political work well, in accordance with the line set by our Party, and thereby raise the political consciousness of the masses, arouse their revolutionary zeal and constantly improve technology.

The theory that as industry reaches a certain stage of development the reserves diminish and a high rate of growth

cannot be ensured in industrial production, has nothing to do with Marxist-Leninist economic theory. The "theory" that large-scale economies cannot develop rapidly is just a sophistry brought forward by some people to justify the fact that their technological progress is slow and their economy stagnant because they have been talking about "liberalization" and "democratic development" instead of educating their working people, who, as a result, have slackened ideologically, fiddle about and loaf on the job.

Referring to the immediate tasks of Soviet power after the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, Lenin put forward the famous proposition: Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country. This proposition, though simple, has a profound meaning. I think it is of great importance for building socialism and communism that we have a correct understanding of this proposition and translate it into practice. What is meant by the Soviet power Lenin mentioned? It means proletarian dictatorship itself. Therefore, the working-class state must continue the class struggle and carry out the ideological and cultural revolutions, and thus remould the consciousness of the people and raise their technical and cultural levels, and carry out the programme of working-classing and revolutionizing the whole of society. Electrification means that we should develop technology to such a high level as to be able to make all the production processes automatic and greatly consolidate the material-production basis of society. To sum up, this proposition of Lenin's teaches us that communism will be achieved only when, on the one hand, the ideological and cultural revolutions are accomplished and the whole of society is revolutionized and working-classed through the strengthened dictatorship of the proletariat and when, on the other, a solid material and technical basis for a very high level of the productive forces is laid, relying on the fulfilment of the technical revolution.

If we neglect either the dictatorship of the proletariat or the technical revolution alluded to by Lenin, we can neither develop the socialist economy steadily at a rapid pace nor build

a communist society. We should therefore strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and step up the technical revolution dynamically in order to build a communist society. As Lenin passed away before he himself could build communism, we must correctly interpret his proposition and carry it into effect. Some people, however, refuse to correctly understand and put into effect this proposition of Lenin's. We must categorically oppose Right opportunism in the field of economic theory in order to boost socialist construction at a higher rate. If we do not oppose the Right deviation in the economic field, and instead weaken the proletarian dictatorship and fail to do political work, thus foster individual selfishness among the people, and try to move the people merely with money, we cannot arouse their collective heroism and creative initiative and, accordingly, we cannot successfully carry out the tasks either of technical revolution or of economic construction. If we followed the Right opportunist theory and failed to develop the economy rapidly, we could even find it difficult to provide everyone with jobs and food. In that case, with the very backward productive forces we inherited from the old society, how can we catch up with the advanced countries and build a communist society where everybody works according to his abilities and gets his share according to his needs? We must reject the Right opportunist theory, thoroughly defend our Party's revolutionary ideas, our Party's theory of economic construction, and carry them through to the end, thus keeping up the grand march of Chollima in building socialism.

2. PROBLEMS OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION IN THE FORM OF COMMODITY AND THE USE OF THE LAW OF VALUE IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

I have heard that some economists are arguing about the questions of whether the means of production are commodities

in socialist society and whether the law of value operates in the domain of their production and circulation.

I do not think these questions should be handled indiscriminately. In socialist society the means of production are sometimes commodities and sometimes not, as the case may be. The law of value will operate when they are commodities, and not when they are not. Because the law of value is a law of commodity production.

Then, when are the means of production commodities and when are they not? To find the right solution to this question, I think it necessary, first of all, to have a clear idea of the properties of commodities and the origin of commodity production.

Commodities are produced not for one's own consumption but for sale. In other words, not all products are commodities; only things produced for the purpose of exchange are commodities. As is clear from this, in order for a product to be a commodity there are required: first, the social division of labour through which different kinds of goods are produced; second, the seller and the buyer—the man who gives up the right to possess a thing by selling it, and the man who buys and acquires the right to possess it. That is to say, commodity production presupposes the social division of labour and the differentiation of appropriation of the products. Therefore, where there is no social division of labour and ownership is not differentiated but remains in a unified form, there can be no commodity production.

The continuance of commodity-money relations in socialist society is also due to the existence of the social division of labour and different forms of ownership of the products. As everybody knows, in socialist society the division of labour not only exists but develops day by day. As for ownership, there exist both state and co-operative property of the means of production, and private ownership of consumer goods as well, though in the course of the socialist revolution private property is abolished and different forms of economy that existed early in the transition period are gradually fused into a single,

socialist form. Besides, the socialist states must carry on foreign trade while communism has not yet triumphed on a world scale and national frontiers still exist.

All these are conditions that give rise to commodity production in socialist society. It goes without saying that in socialist society commodity production is a production of goods without capitalists and, therefore, the law of value does not operate blindly as in capitalist society but within a limited scope, and the state uses it in a planned way as an economic lever for effective management of the economy. Later, when the transition period is over and co-operative property is transformed into property of the entire people so that a single form of ownership is established, the product of society, leaving aside for a moment the consideration of foreign trade, will not be given the name "commodity" but simply called "means of production" or "consumer goods," or some other names. Then the law of value will also cease to operate. Needless to say, even then the social division of labour will continue to develop, but there will be no more commodity production.

Scholars, leading economic functionaries and many other people are now committing Right or "Left" errors both in the domain of theory and in economic management, because they have not fully understood the question of whether or not the means of production are commodities in socialist society. As a result, some fall into the Right tendency to manage the economy in a capitalist way, overrating the importance of commodity production and the law of value in the wake of revisionist theory, while others commit the ultra-left error of failing to streamline management of enterprises and causing great wastage of means of production and labour power by totally ignoring commodity production and the role of the law of value, taking no account of the transitional character of our society. A correct understanding and treatment of this question is of great importance in socialist economic construction. After all, the question of utilizing commodity-money relations is an important one which the working-class state must settle properly in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Right or "Left" mistakes on this question can do serious harm.

The factor determining when the means of production are commodities and when they are not in socialist society, should also be found in the differentiation of ownership. In socialist society the means of production, even when shifted from one place to another, are not commodities as long as they do not change hands, and they are commodities when they do change hands. An obvious conclusion follows from this:

First, when means of production made in the state sector are transferred to co-operative ownership or vice versa, they are commodities in both cases and the law of value is therefore operating; second, when means of production are exchanged within the bounds of co-operative ownership—between co-operative farms or between producers' co-operatives, or between the former and the latter—they are just as much commodities and here, too, the law of value is operating; third, when they are exported the means of production are commodities and are traded at the world market price or at the socialist market price. For instance, when countries such as Indonesia or Cambodia ask our country for machine tools, the machine tools sold to these countries are commodities for which we should receive due prices. And when a Confederation of the north and the south, though not yet realized at this time, is established in our country in accordance with our Party's proposal for national reunification, and businessmen in south Korea ask us for machines and equipment, we will have to sell them. In that case the machines and equipment we sell them will be commodities, and the law of value will be bound to come into consideration.

What, then, are the equipment, raw materials and other supplies that are transferred between the state enterprises? They are not commodities, because means of production such as these are turned out on the basis of socialist co-operation between production enterprises, and even when they are turned over from one enterprise to another they remain under the ownership of the socialist state, and such means of produc-

tion are supplied not through free trade but under state planning of equipment and material supply. When the state believes it necessary, it provides the enterprises with the means of production, even if the enterprises do not ask for them, just as it provides the army with weapons. Therefore, the machines, equipment, raw materials and other supplies, which are transferred between the state enterprises, cannot be called commodities realized through the operation of the law of value.

Then, what shall we call these means of production transferred between the state enterprises, if not commodities, and what shall we say is being made use of, if not the operation of the law of value, in fixing the prices of the means of production when they are turned over, or in calculating their costs when produced? It would be correct to say that the means of production transferred between state enterprises according to the plans for equipment and material supply and for co-operative production are not commodities, but assume the commodity form and, accordingly, that in this case the law of value does not operate in substance as in the case of commodity production, but only in form.

In other words, such means of production are not commodities in the proper sense of the word, but merely assume the commodity form, and, accordingly, what is made use of here is not the operation of the law of value in the proper sense of the word, but the law of value in its outward form; and in the case of the production and exchange of means of production, it is not value itself but the form of value which is made use of simply as an instrument of economic accounting.

Then, how do you explain that the means of production transferred between state enterprises are not really commodities but only assume the form of commodities? This occurs because the state enterprises are relatively independent in using and managing the means of production and in running the economy, just as if they were under different ownership, when in fact they are all under one and the same state ownership. Though all the cost-accounting enterprises in the state sector are owned by the state, they independently use the

means of production received from other enterprises according to unified state plan, and must net a certain profit for the state over and above their production costs.

Although such cost-accounting state enterprises are under the same ownership, their independence in management gives the impression that the means of production transferred between them are commodities like those handed over to different owners. Thus, when one enterprise delivers means of production to another, it does not give them free or dirt-cheap, but hands them over at prices fixed uniformly by the state according to the expenditure of socially necessary labour on the principle of equivalent compensation, though they are all cost-accounting enterprises in the state sector. Even between state-owned enterprises control is kept of things that are mine and thine, and transactions in means of production have to be conducted on a strict cost-accounting basis.

Why, then, should the enterprises within the state sector be granted independence in management, and, if the means of production are not commodities, why should they be delivered and received under strict accounting, on the principle of equivalence? That has something to do with the specific feature of socialist society, which is a transitional one. In socialist society the productive forces have not developed to such an extent that each person works according to his abilities and each receives according to his needs. And not all people possess so great a collectivist spirit as to value and take responsible care of state properties like their own. In quite a few cases, even those who are educated enough do not care so much about the affairs of other state bodies or enterprises as about their own affairs, nor do they devote themselves to them, to say nothing of those who still harbour such old ideological debris as stodgy departmentalism and parochialism, gnawing away at the interests of the state or other institutions and enterprises, putting the narrow interests of their own institutions and localities above everything else. Further, under socialism labour has become, of course, an honourable and worth-while thing, but not yet life's prime requirement as in communist

society. All these things require that under socialism equivalent values be strictly calculated in transactions between the enterprises, though they are all state-owned. If our society had a great affluence of goods and if the managing staffs and working people of all enterprises were free from selfishness, were concerned about all the state properties as about their own, and conducted all the state affairs as devotedly as their own, then there would be no need of keeping accounts on the basis of equivalent exchange.

A proper use of the commodity form and the commercial form in the production and circulation of the means of production is of definite significance in methodically increasing the profits of the enterprises and state accumulation, by eliminating the wastage of social labour and strengthening the regime of economy. It is therefore necessary to make proper use of them in all branches of the national economy and in all enterprises.

Above all, efforts should be made to properly use the value form in the manufacture of the means of production, so as to strengthen the strict accounting system and control by the *won* over the use of raw and other industrial materials as well as labour power and systematically lower the norm of materials consumption per unit of output.

In the domain of circulation, too, the commercial form should be fully utilized, while good plans of equipment and materials supply are mapped out, so as to do away with the wastage of machines, equipment, raw materials and other industrial supplies and use them in a rational way. When we set up the materials supply agencies and saw to it that raw and other industrial materials were bought and sold through the medium of these agencies, we aimed at ensuring their smooth supply.

Our economic functionaries, however, fail to do this properly. The textbook of political economy, too, simply says that the means of production are excluded from the sphere of commodity circulation and are supplied to enterprises according to plan, but it makes no mention whatever of how and in

what form they are supplied. The question of supply of means of production is all but left out of the textbook of political economy and, particularly, the question of purchase and sale of raw and other materials between the state enterprises is not even touched upon.

Such being the case, many shortcomings have appeared in the supply of materials. When securing raw materials and other supplies, the enterprises take them without caring much about their prices, high or low. Moreover, it is not infrequent that valuable materials lie idle in heaps at some enterprises, while at others production is interrupted for lack of these same materials.

True, this is partly owing to the defective plans of materials supply mapped out by the State Planning Commission, but the real problem is the lack of understanding of the fact that the supply of raw and other industrial materials is carried out in the form of trade. That is to say, their supply is carried out in the form of commodity circulation, inasmuch as the form of selling and buying is adopted between the state enterprises, too. But this has been ignored. As a result, if the planning organs make erroneous plans for the supply of materials, nobody is responsible for them being kept idle or wasted, and no one notices the defect.

To straighten out this question, it is necessary, first of all, to enhance the role of the materials supply agencies. When these agencies do their work well, they will not be besieged by crowds of people coming to get materials; even when scarce, the materials will be put to effective use, being supplied in adequate quantity to the enterprises which most need them; and the enterprises, on their part, will stop receiving whatever materials they can get, without considering the need for them, only to keep them idle or waste them.

We must realize that when means of production such as machines, equipment, raw materials and other supplies produced in factories and enterprises, while remaining under state ownership, are transferred between the enterprises, they assume the form of commodity circulation. Then, as prices are

the issue in this case, if defects occur in the plans, it will be possible to straighten them out during the actual supply process.

Of course, in our society everything is produced, supplied, and consumed according to plan. Moreover, under the ownership of the entire people, production, supply and consumption are completely planned. It is by no means an easy thing, however, to have everything correctly planned. We have had a planned economy for over 20 years and we have continually stressed the need for the plans to be objective. But planning is still not being done as well as it should be.

The same is true of the supply plans for raw materials and other supplies. Some kinds of materials are left out of the plan and some unnecessary things are included in the supply plan. Then, where should the defects be detected? They should be detected at the supply agencies. That is, they must be complemented and corrected in the course of selling and buying raw and other industrial materials through the agencies.

Besides, even if a materials supply plan has been all correctly drawn up, it cannot be executed when the supply work is not actually carried out properly. If the commercial form, that is, the selling-and-buying form, is ignored in the supply of raw materials and other supplies and if they are simply supplied according to plan, materials may be used at random and squandered at the enterprises. Such practices may be quite frequent so long as our functionaries and working people are not all Communists.

It is therefore necessary to raise the role of the supply agencies and make the most of the form of commodity circulation in the supply of raw and other industrial materials. Thus, things must be so arranged that if an enterprise should purchase too much of some kinds of materials, it would not be able to buy other kinds, and if materials should be wasted, the activities of the enterprise would be greatly affected. Only when such conditions are established in the supply of raw materials and other supplies, will the personnel of enterprises check up closely on their prices and transport costs, value and

take better care of these materials, and make efforts to lower the norm of their consumption per unit of output.

Now I should like to present my views on the question of making proper use of the law of value in the production and circulation of commodities.

Most important of all in the use of the law of value is to fix the prices of commodities properly. Prices should be calculated by taking full account of the requirements of the basic economic law of socialism and the law of value.

First of all, the assessment of prices should be based correctly on the socially necessary labour contained in goods. If prices were not fixed on the basis of the outlay of socially necessary labour, the price equilibrium could not be maintained, nor could socialist distribution be handled properly and the development of social production would be unfavourably affected.

Let us take an example. Once I walked into a shop in Changsong County of North Pyongan Province, and I found there a metre of twisted-yarn fabric woven with 200 grammes of yarn priced at three *won*, and a thread-ball weighing 50 grammes at 5.4 *won*. This meant that a thread-ball was priced twice as high as a piece of cloth made of twisted yarn equivalent to four thread-balls, which had been woven into fabrics and dyed. Indeed, it would seem that a lot of manpower and fairly large production costs were needed to spin thread at the local industry factory, because it was poorly mechanized. But, since the thread was not spun on hand spinning-wheels, its cost cannot be greater than the cost of fabrics. And even if the production costs were so high, the price cannot be fixed without taking into account the expenditure of socially necessary labour, and it is irrational to fix the price so preposterously.

Further, when fixing prices, low prices should be assigned to the basic consumer goods. It is a matter of course, as I have mentioned above, that the values of commodities should be taken into account in assessing their prices. But this by no means signifies that the price of a commodity cannot be deviated from its value. The working-class Party and state

should set low prices for the mass consumption goods by deliberately deviating the prices of commodities from their values. That is to say, rice, cloth, footwear, mosquito nets, thread, matches, school articles and other goods indispensable for the people's material and cultural life should be cheap. This means precisely a proper use of the law of value, and accords with the essential requirement of the socialist system to feed and dress all the working people equally and to make them equally well-off.

Otherwise, if we price the basic consumer goods high, we cannot fully display the superiority of the socialist system and may possibly inconvenience the people in their everyday life. If, for example, the prices of fabrics such as the vinalon mixtures much demanded by our people were set high, it would not be possible to have all the people dress decently. And if the prices of such school supplies as textbooks, pencils, notebooks and school-bags were set high, children would not be duly educated despite compulsory education.

Nevertheless, there is a tendency among our functionaries to increase the state budgetary revenues by unwarrantedly raising the prices of fabrics and other basic consumer goods. As a result, though we turn out a large volume of fabrics, 20 metres per capita, the working people cannot afford to buy enough to dress their children well, because the prices are high. No doubt, the major reason why not many fabrics reach the people is that our country does not yet turn out different kinds of low-cost fabrics. But it should be clearly borne in mind that the erroneous position of the functionaries who seek to secure revenues for the state by raising the price of cloth is also largely accountable for the small cloth supply to the people. Owing to this erroneous act on the part of the functionaries, the prices of fabrics have kept rising unreasonably over the past few years.

Unless our functionaries rectify such wrong ideas and work attitudes the people's living standards cannot be improved rapidly. In fact, it often happens that fabrics do not sell because of their excessive prices and lie on the counter

for a long time and, at last, have to be sold off at reduced prices. This, in the end, will not only be harmful to the people's living conditions but make it impossible to secure the state budgetary revenues.

Our Party and Government, therefore, fix definite rates on sales taxes and assign lower prices as far as the basic consumer goods are concerned and, particularly, see to it that the goods for children are priced so low that their production costs can barely be recovered, even if the state budgetary revenues are not raised. This principle should continue to be observed.

On the contrary, however, articles of luxury, sumptuous goods, high-quality suit material and other things which are in limited supply as yet, should be priced higher than the basic consumer goods in order to control the demand for them. The charges for welfare facilities, including houses, should also be fixed on the same principle as the prices of commodities. The rents on ordinarily-furnished one- or two-room apartments, for example, should be cheap, but those on well-appointed homes with three or more rooms should be high because we do not have many of them. Of course, when our productive forces are developed highly enough to fully ensure all the goods and facilities needed by the people, it will become unnecessary to go to the trouble of taking such measures.

To fix the prices of commodities correctly, we must make them uniform. The unfair prices found so far in some cases were caused by the failure on the part of the leading functionaries of the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Finance and some other economic organs to exercise control over the fixing of prices on the goods produced by locally-run enterprises, leaving it up to the chairmen of the provincial people's committees, on the pretext that these goods were supposed to be of only local significance. Therefore, just as the regional planning commissions have been set up to unify planning, regional price commissions should be established to unify the assessment of prices on all goods, including those turned out by the local industry enterprises, and the economic organs such as the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Finance and

the Price Assessment Commission should strengthen their control over the fixing of prices.

3. PROBLEMS OF THE PEASANT MARKET IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND OF THE WAY TO ABOLISH IT

The peasant market represents a form of trade whereby, at definite places, the peasants sell directly to people part of the agricultural produce, both of the collective economy of the co-operative farms and of the sideline work of individual co-operative members. Though a form of trade in socialist society, the peasant market retains a number of features that have survived from capitalism. What, then, are the capitalist survivals in the peasant market? They are to be found in the fact that in the peasant market prices are determined spontaneously according to supply and demand and, therefore, the law of value operates somewhat blindly. The state does not plan supply and demand or prices for the peasant market. Of course, the spontaneous character of the peasant market undergoes certain restrictions as state trade develops and the co-ordinating function of the state over the market grows. Yet, at the socialist stage the peasant market cannot be done away with completely.

The word *chang* (market—Tr.) was engendered neither under the socialist system nor under the capitalist; it is a term that comes to us from feudal society. *Chang* came into being as handicrafts developed in the feudal period. From of old the Koreans call a merchant *changsagun* which means a person who does business at *chang*. Thus, *chang* is a backward form of trade that has its origin in feudal society. It is therefore preferable in principle that there be no peasant market—a backward form of trade—under the advanced, socialist system.

But, since the co-operative economy and individual sideline production are in existence under socialism, it is inevitable that the peasant market exist, and this is not such a bad thing. Some comrades seem to consider that the state should even purchase all the sideline products and supply them in a planned way, but they are wrong, and it is not practicable either. As for individual sideline products, the producers should be allowed to consume them and take the surplus to the market to sell or barter for other goods according to their wish. As for the animal products and industrial crops turned out by the collective economy of co-operative farms, the greater part should be purchased by the state, but part of them should be divided among the peasants. They may consume them, or sell them to the purchasing agents, or take them to the peasant market for sale. The peasants should not be forced to sell them exclusively to the purchasing agents, but should be allowed to sell them to anybody they like. That is the way to facilitate the people's life.

The textbook of political economy does not give a good account of the peasant market. It only says that the peasant market produces an unfavourable effect on the development of the collective economy and fosters the peasants' petty-bourgeois ideas and selfishness. But no clear account is provided as to why the peasant market is necessary in socialist society, what role it plays and when it can disappear.

There is more good than bad in the continued existence of sideline production and the peasant market in socialist society. We are not yet in a position to supply everything necessary for the people's life in sufficient quantities, through state channels, especially miscellaneous goods for daily use like brooms and calabash-ladles, and subsidiary provisions like meat, eggs, sesame, both wild and cultivated. Under the circumstances, what is wrong with individuals producing these things on the side and selling them in the market? Even though it is a backward way, it should still be made use of when the advanced ways are not sufficient to cover everything.

Some functionaries are afraid that sideline production, or

the peasant market, could revive capitalism right away. But there is no basis for this fear. If too large kitchen gardens were allotted to co-operative farmers, they might become engrossed in their individual farming, neglecting collective labour, and this could foster capitalist elements. But the kitchen gardens of our farmers are no bigger than a few dozen *pyong* each, and their individual sideline animal raising amounts to no more than a couple of pigs or a dozen chickens or so per household. Just because a peasant grows a few tobacco plants on his garden plot, that will not make it a capitalist economic unit and even if he takes a few chickens to the peasant market and sells them at a somewhat high price, he will not become a capitalist.

But what would happen if the peasant market were abolished by law on the supposed ground that sideline production as well as the peasant market had a harmful effect on the collective economy and fostered selfishness? The market place would disappear, of course, but the black market would remain. Peasants would knock at kitchen-doors or hang around the back streets to sell chickens or eggs they raised on the side. Then they might be caught and fined or otherwise punished by law. So, forcible abolition of the peasant market would lead to no solution, but might rather inconvenience the people's life and senselessly turn many people into delinquents.

Therefore, as long as the state cannot produce and supply enough of all the goods necessary for the people's life, we must strictly guard against the "Left" tendency to abolish the peasant market so hastily.

When, then, will individual sideline production and the peasant market disappear?

Firstly, they will disappear only when the country is industrialized, technology highly developed, and there are plenty of all the consumer goods required by the people. No one will bother to go to the peasant market when he can buy anything he wants from state-owned shops, and it will not be offered on the peasant market, either. Suppose cheap and good-quality chemical fibres gush forth in plenty from the factories.

Then people will not take the trouble to go to the market place to buy expensive cotton; and even if some peasants want to sell it high, it will not sell. Even under the present circumstances, these goods which meet the demands of the people are not traded in the peasant market, they are sold at uniform prices in all parts of our country, alike in big cities such as Hamhung and in remote mountain villages such as Potae-ri at the foot of Mt. Paekdu-san. When goods are plentiful and sold at uniform prices in this way, it amounts to a supply system.

It must be borne in mind, however, that goods which do not meet the demands of the people are traded on the sly or resold at the peasant market, even when uniform prices are fixed on them by the state. It happens that some people buy goods from the shops and hoard them and sell them at higher prices when they are badly needed by others. Let me take the sale of eggs for example. At present we produce eggs at the chicken plants built in Pyongyang and many other places. But we do not yet produce enough of them to meet the people's requirements. So there exists a discrepancy between the state and the peasant-market prices of eggs. Taking advantage of this, the practice of reselling eggs has appeared.

We cannot, of course, be taking the people who have resold some eggs and sending them to prison as criminals. As for other methods of control, we can only take some technical measures such as regulating the volume of sale per buyer. Of course, such measures should also be taken, but all we can do with them is just to limit somewhat the tendency towards concentration of goods in the hands of a few people. Such measures can by no means do away completely with the reselling in the peasant market or black-marketeering.

In order to solve this problem large quantities of goods must be produced. If more egg factories are built and enough eggs are produced to fully meet the needs of the people, black-marketeering in eggs will disappear, and buying and selling in the peasant market, too, will naturally come to an end. If the state satisfies the demands of the people in this way and eliminates from the peasant market the goods traded there, one by

one, then the peasant market will no longer be needed in the end.

Secondly, individual sideline production and the peasant market will cease to exist only when co-operative ownership is turned into ownership of the entire people.

As was pointed out in *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question*, too, there will be no more buying and selling in the peasant market when we have converted co-operative property into the property of the entire people by integrating the two forms of ownership while steadily enhancing the leading role of property of the entire people over co-operative property.

One of the major reasons why the peasant market exists at present is that the co-operative and individual sideline economies exist, side by side with the state economy.

Therefore, when the two sorts of ownership are integrated into the single ownership of the entire people, the individual sideline economy will vanish, due to the developed productive forces, and, consequently, the peasant market will disappear and the circulation of commodities as a whole will become unnecessary. Then products will be distributed under a supply system. At present, we distribute rice and some other indispensable goods to the workers and office employees under a supply system. Needless to say, this supply system was not introduced because of an abundance of these goods, nor was it introduced under the single ownership of the entire people. We have this system with a view to exercising control so that people eat and live on an equal basis under conditions where goods are not plentiful. The system of produce supply that we intend to introduce, when the productive forces are very highly developed and the two forms of property are welded into the single property of the entire people, will be different from the one we have now for purposes of control; it will be a supply system aimed at providing the people more effectively with the consumer goods turned out in large quantities, according to their diverse needs.

To conclude, both the peasant market and black-market-eering will disappear and trade will go over finally to the sup-

ply system only when the productive forces have developed to such an extent that the state can turn out and supply enough of all the kinds of goods required by the people, and when co-operative ownership has grown into ownership of the entire people.

**PROGRESSIVE JOURNALISTS OF THE FIVE
CONTINENTS, WIELD YOUR POWERFUL
REVOLUTIONARY PEN AND STERNLY
CONDEMN U.S. IMPERIALISM!**

**Speech of Greeting at the International Conference
on the Tasks of Journalists of the Whole World
in Their Fight against the Aggression
of U.S. Imperialism**
September 18, 1969

Dear delegates,
Comrades and friends,

Reflecting the lofty aspirations and unanimous desires of the journalists of the five continents who oppose imperialism and colonialism and strive for national independence and social progress, this international conference of journalists has been convened with the revolutionary people all over the world showing great interest in it. It gives us great pleasure that a meeting of true representatives of the progressive press of the world has been convened in Pyongyang, the capital of our country, under the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle. On behalf of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, I warmly welcome the representatives of the progressive journalists of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Oceania and Europe who have come to attend this conference.

Comrades and friends,

Today we are living in a glorious age of revolutionary

change when the colonial system of imperialism is crumbling beyond repair, in a great historic age when the national-liberation revolution of the oppressed peoples is gaining signal victories.

A fierce struggle is going on in the international arena today between socialism and imperialism, between the revolutionary forces and the counterrevolutionary forces.

In this struggle the socialist and peace-loving forces are winning victory after victory while the imperialist forces of aggression are falling into decay and ruin.

The time is past when a handful of imperialist billionaires could swagger about and lord it over the earth, exploiting and plundering mankind at will. The face of the world has radically changed.

In the world arena, along with the revolutionary struggle of the people of the socialist countries, the liberation struggle of the people in the colonial and dependent countries is forging vigorously ahead. Today in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America the mighty flood tide of the national-liberation revolutionary movement is surging forward with irresistible force. Great revolutionary storms are sweeping across these continents, wiping out imperialism and colonialism. Hundreds of millions of people, in those areas, oppressed and plundered by imperialism for centuries, have thrown off the cursed yoke of colonialism and majestically emerged as heroes in this new stage of history. They are winning brilliant victories in their great cause of tearing down the old system of imperialism and colonialism and building a new life. The peoples of the countries still groaning under the imperialist colonial yoke have heroically taken up arms against the foreign imperialist aggressive forces. Under the powerful impact of the national-liberation movement the chains of colonial slavery are falling apart everywhere and the colonial system of imperialism which has spelled so much misery and suffering for humanity is crumbling to dust. There no longer exists any "safe rear" or "quiet backyard" for the imperialists. Imperialism is breathing its last.

At the same time, the revolutionary struggle of the working class and other working people in the capitalist countries—the struggle for vital rights and democratic freedoms against capitalist oppression and exploitation—is gaining strength. This makes the blood-thirsty imperialists atremble with apprehension and fear.

Political and economic crises in the imperialist world are growing more serious day by day and the contradictions among the imperialist powers in their struggle for markets and spheres of influence are becoming more acute.

Hard hit from within and without, the imperialists are being driven further into a blind alley.

In spite of the twists and turns, and temporary failures and setbacks in the course of the revolution, the general trend remains favourable for socialism and the forces of revolution and unfavourable for imperialism and the forces of reaction.

But the U.S. and other imperialists will never quit the stage of history of their own accord. Still dreaming of its past position, imperialism is desperately trying to recover its lost footholds and to save itself from doom by resorting to aggression and war.

The U.S. imperialists are resorting to open violence: they are committing aggressive acts against the socialist countries and independent national states, brutally suppressing the national-liberation movement of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples and viciously disturbing peace in all parts of the world. While continuing their barbarous holocaust against the South Vietnamese people for some years, the U.S. imperialists are committing gangster acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. They are making frenzied attempts to strangle the Republic of Cuba, the first country to win the socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere and the beacon of hope for the Latin-American peoples. The U.S. imperialists are stepping up their armed intervention in Laos and ceaselessly egging the Zionists on to acts of aggression and war against the Arab peoples in the Middle East. By rearming Jap-

anese and West German militarism they are again creating dangerous hotbeds for fresh conflagrations of war in Asia and Europe.

The imperialists headed by the United States put on a show of advocating independence and freedom for the people, but in reality they are making frantic efforts to maintain their colonial rule in a more crafty and underhand way, and are foolishly trying to catch the people of the newly independent countries again in a noose of neo-colonialism.

They are pursuing a policy of colonial subjugation in many of the Asian, African and Latin-American countries by bribing and whipping up Right-wing circles such as the top military brass and representatives of the tribal upper crust who have turned reactionary. If the puppets they have put in power get in the way of their colonial policy in the slightest degree, the imperialists engineer a reactionary military coup, establish a fascist military dictatorship, and do not hesitate to intervene openly by force of arms. Such outrageous plots and manoeuvrings constitute a standing threat to the newly independent countries and have reduced a number of governments to colonial ruling machines for imperialism, thereby diverting them to the Right and virtually tying them down to the status of colony or semi-colony.

The imperialist policy of reducing the developing countries to economic subordination is one of the main features of neo-colonialism. U.S. imperialism uses its "aid" policy as a major tool for overseas expansion, hypocritically calling it "joint development of underdeveloped countries." Its "aid" paves the way for overseas infiltration of monopoly capital. By exporting huge amounts of capital and obtaining various colonial concessions, the imperialists have seized the levers of control of the economy in many countries of the world. Thus, imperialist monopoly capital ruthlessly continues to rob these countries of their rich natural resources and their industrious people of the fruits of their labour. Through "economic aid" the imperialists are not only holding back the development of independent national economies in the backward countries, but

are also flagrantly interfering in their internal affairs and reducing their political independence to a mere name.

Together with economic infiltration, ideological and cultural infiltration is an important method of neo-colonialism. By intensifying their reactionary ideological and cultural offensive against a number of countries under the spurious titles of "peace corps," "African crossroads programme," etc., the U.S. imperialists are paralysing the people's sense of national independence and their revolutionary consciousness, instilling in them U.S. worship and anti-communist ideas, imbuing them with national nihilism, spreading the decadent Yankee brand of immorality and depravity among them and continuing their wrecking and subversive activities behind the screen of "peace."

Under the signboards of "anti-communism" and "mutual security," the U.S. and other imperialists have enmeshed a number of countries in aggressive military blocs and bilateral military alliances and treaties, making them dependent militarily and turning them into their colonial military bases.

By such neo-colonialist manipulation, U.S. imperialism seized the hegemony of the capitalist world from the old colonialists and emerged as the colonial "emperor" after the Second World War. It has stretched its vicious claws of aggression into every part of the world.

Today, on this earth, there is no place, whether in Asia, Africa or Latin America, that is free from the reach of U.S. imperialism's tentacles of aggression, and there is no country, big or small, free from the threat of U.S. imperialist aggression.

All this proves ever more clearly that U.S. imperialism is the most barbarous and shameless aggressor of modern times, the main force of aggression and war, the ringleader of world reaction, the bulwark of modern colonialism, the strangler of national liberation and independence, and the disrupter of world peace.

The present situation demands that the revolutionary people of the five continents fight more resolutely against impe-

rialism, against old and new colonialism, and concentrate their attack on U.S. imperialism in particular. Without combatting U.S. imperialism, neither peace nor national independence, nor the victory of democracy and socialism is conceivable today.

The revolutionary people throughout the world should put strong pressure from all sides on the U.S.-led imperialists and tie them hand and foot so that they cannot have things their own way.

Above anyone else, the people of the socialist countries, should play a big role in this. They should not only expedite the building of socialism and communism vigorously in their own countries, exercising vigilance to smash the subversion and sabotage of the imperialists and the remnants of the overthrown exploiting classes, but, proceeding from Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ethics, should also regard giving active support to the national-liberation movement as an internationalist duty. As bases of the world revolution, the socialist countries should resolutely oppose the war policy of the imperialists and their predatory colonial policy. They should energetically assist the oppressed nations in all their revolutionary struggles. This will strengthen the allied forces of the socialist countries and the international working class, and is the way to hasten the common victory in the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle.

Together with the people of the socialist countries, the working class in the capitalist countries, too, should fight more vigorously against imperialism and thereby give powerful support and encouragement to the liberation movement of the oppressed nations. The working class of the metropolitan states and the oppressed peoples of the colonies are in the same position. In order to increase their plunder and exploitation of the people of the colonial and dependent countries, the imperialists make every effort to estrange the working class of the metropolitan countries from the peoples of the colonies. They manoeuvre to poison the working class with the stinking ideas of racism and national chauvinism and to disorganize the mili-

tant ranks of the working class, from within by bribing the labour aristocrats with a portion of the superprofits they have raked in from the colonies. The working class of the metropolitan countries must thoroughly smash this underhand trick and stoutly fight against the imperialists' aggression and plunder of colonial and dependent countries. They must also fully support the right of the people of the colonial and dependent countries to complete independence and wage revolutionary struggle more energetically so as to overthrow the old system. This is the way for the working class of the capitalist countries to achieve their class emancipation and to contribute to the national-liberation movement in colonies.

Colonies are the life line of the imperialists and their last strongholds. The imperialists will not give them up of their own accord, nor will they make a gift of independence. The peoples of the colonial countries must combine their strength and wage a resolute, do-or-die struggle to drive the imperialists out and win complete freedom and independence.

The newly independent countries that have thrown off the yoke of imperialism are confronted with the weighty task of safeguarding their national independence, carrying the revolution forward, and assisting the liberation struggle of the peoples of the countries still in imperialist fetters. The peoples who have won independence must abrogate all the shackling treaties and agreements and military alliances concluded with the imperialists, eliminate the political and economic footholds which foreign imperialists and their accomplices—the domestic reactionary forces—can rely on in their underhand manoeuvres, and rally the revolutionary forces to effect the revolutionary reform of society. In particular, they must be clear on the true nature of the neo-colonialist policy pursued by the imperialists in the political, economic, military and cultural domains and thoroughly expose and frustrate it, and should not be caught in their trap again. This is the only way they can firmly defend their revolutionary gains, achieve national prosperity and contribute to the common cause of the people of the whole world, the burial of imperialism.

The international democratic and peace movements hold a very important place today on the common anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. front. These movements unite hundreds of millions of working people and progressive personalities in the world. Peace-loving people throughout the world must fight more stubbornly for a lasting peace and a bright future for mankind and to check and frustrate the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

When all the revolutionary forces of the world dynamically wage the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle on every front they hold, imperialism will be wiped out once and for all and the people of every country will achieve genuine national independence and social progress.

Esteemed delegates,

As you all know, this international conference of journalists opens at a grave moment when the U.S. imperialists have become more rabid in their aggressive manoeuvres and the revolutionary people of the world are faced with the weighty, historic task of combatting U.S. imperialism more resolutely than ever before. This is a good time for the delegates of progressive journalists from the five continents, who regard it as a sacred duty to fight for the just revolutionary cause of the people, to meet together today to discuss how to struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression. This fully conforms to the aspirations of the revolutionary people of the world.

This conference will enhance the militant role of progressive journalist throughout the world in the struggle against the U.S. imperialists and will thus arouse the masses of the people in the vigorous anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle and contribute greatly to their common cause of socialism and national independence, peace and democracy.

Progressive journalists and publications—the advocates and propagators of advanced ideas and the mouthpieces and organizers of public opinion—play a very great and inspiring role in social revolution and construction.

As everyone knows, it is the people who create history and push it forward. But this does not mean in any way that they

join in the revolutionary struggle spontaneously. Only when they are armed with revolutionary consciousness and devote themselves to the bloody struggle to destroy the ruling circles of the old society can they truly become the main force of revolution, the powerful motive force of social development and the worthy creator of a new historical era. In any revolutionary movement, the higher the level of consciousness of the masses who take part in it, the greater their force and the more decisive their role in the revolutionary struggle. It is the progressives representing the interests of the masses who should infuse the latter with revolutionary consciousness and enlighten them with progressive ideas. The progressive personalities fighting for the masses of the people arm them with the revolutionary idea of overthrowing the old system and building a new society, put up correct fighting slogans, encourage and rally them, and arouse them to vigorous revolutionary struggle.

Progressive journalists—those masters of advanced ideas and fighters who love justice and truth and bring to light all manner of injustices and social evil—have never failed to correctly grasp the objective requirements of social development and have firmly taken up their revolutionary pens to defend the interests of the progressive classes. And they have bitterly denounced the decaying old system and inexorably condemned the moribund reactionary ruling classes to their doom.

The progressive journalists have shed much blood and fought heroically, in the arena of this sacred struggle, defying all of the reactionaries' harsh suppression. Even in prison and on the gallows they have fought bravely to the last moment of their lives without abandoning revolutionary principles. Thus, journalists have performed immortal feats that will go down in the history of the struggle for the liberation of mankind. The people pay high tribute to those revolutionary journalists who shed their precious blood in the sacred battle for the liberation of mankind, and will long remember what they did.

By inheriting these splendid traditions of your forerunners, you progressive journalists have taken on the heavy but honourable tasks of scathingly condemning the crimes of U.S. imperialism which blocks the way to the freedom and liberation of mankind, and of rousing the people of the world courageously to join in the decisive battle against U.S. imperialism, the most vicious common enemy of humanity.

Progressive journalists the world over should fully expose the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression and war and reveal their brutal nature in all its rawness. In this way, they will be able to turn widespread public opinion against U.S. imperialism everywhere in the world. There must not be even the slightest illusion about U.S. imperialism. History clearly shows that spreading illusions about U.S. imperialism and preaching unprincipled compromise with it only leads to dulling the revolutionary vigilance of the people, making the U.S. imperialists more arrogant and insolent, high-handed and outrageous, and encouraging their schemes of aggression and war. The progressive journalists should widely propagate among the broad masses the plain truth that a firm fight against imperialism should be waged to the end and that only it is through determined and stubborn struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression and war that colonial fetters can be thrown off, independence won, revolutionary gains defended and consolidated, and a durable peace preserved.

Along with this, they should educate the masses to reject ideas of worshipping and kowtowing to, fearing and submitting to and depending on America, and imbue them with implacable hatred for U.S. imperialism. The reactionary ideology of U.S. imperialism is an instrument for debasing people ideologically and deforming them politically. Progressive journalists, the representatives of advanced ideas, should steadfastly repel its reactionary ideological and cultural offensive.

When the revolutionary consciousness of the masses is enhanced through the energetic writings of progressive journalists on the ideological front, they will fight more tenaciously to crush U.S. imperialism, mankind's worst enemy.

Active support of the people of all countries and all regions in their struggle against the imperialist forces of aggression headed by the U.S. imperialists is the bounden revolutionary duty of the progressive journalists of the world.

Aggression by the U.S. and other imperialists against the revolutionary people of the world is also a vicious attack on and a challenge to the men of the press who are fighting for the cause of the liberation of mankind. To defend freedom of speech and of the press and their rights and interests, journalists should always breathe the same air and think in the same way as the Vietnamese and other heroic peoples of the world who are fighting arms in hand against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, as the people who are gallantly building a new life while resolutely thwarting the subversive schemes of foreign aggressors and domestic reactionaries, and as the working people of all countries who have gone into the streets to resist and denounce the U.S. imperialists. So all articles, critiques and political essays written by journalists should serve as convincing indictments summoning the U.S. imperialists before the court of history and a powerful militant banner inspiring the masses of the people to wage a struggle of resistance against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation.

For the international movement of progressive journalists to develop soundly and achieve its aim, they should be firmly united under the banner of anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle. Though these journalists of all countries live under different social systems and their party affiliations and political views, customs and religious beliefs, nationality and colour, written and spoken language are different, they are comrades-in-arms standing on the same front with the common idea and goal of fighting against U.S. imperialism for peace and democracy, national independence and social progress. Only under the banner of anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle, can the world's progressive journalists be broadly united and can the international journalist movement contribute to the cause of justice of the world's people effectively as a militant revolutionary movement. All such journalists in the world should combine

their strength in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and should denounce it in one voice.

I am firmly confident that through the sincere joint efforts of the delegates, this international journalists' conference will reach agreement on the ways to combat U.S. imperialist aggression and will achieve the desired results, living up to the expectations and hopes of revolutionary people and progressive journalists throughout the world. I hope the conference will thus write a glorious page in the annals of the struggle of the world's journalists against imperialism and colonialism.

Dear delegates,

You are not only delegates to the International Conference on the Tasks of Journalists of the Whole World in Their Fight against the Aggression of U.S. Imperialism but you are also our distinguished guests.

Our people, who are constantly threatened by direct U.S. imperialist aggression, receive great encouragement from the fact that anti-imperialist fighters have come from so many countries to attend this conference in Pyongyang, the capital of our country.

The U.S. imperialists have occupied half of our country for more than 20 years, maintaining a most reactionary, colonial fascist military rule in south Korea. They have turned south Korea into a total colony, into a military base for invading the whole of Korea and Asia and, then, all the socialist countries. They have trampled even the elementary democratic freedom and vital rights of the south Korean people underfoot and plunged them into a living hell ridden with famine, poverty, terrorism and murder. The U.S. imperialists and their faithful stooge, the puppet clique of south Korea, are making every vicious attempt to perpetuate the division of Korea and smother the national aspirations the entire north and south Korean people cherish for the reunification of the country. The occupation of south Korea by the U.S. imperialists and their policy of aggression are the root cause of all our nation's misery, the main obstacle to the reunification of our country and a constant source of war in Korea. The supreme national

task of the Korean people is to drive the U.S. imperialist aggressor army out of south Korea, accomplish the national-liberation revolution and achieve the reunification of the country.

The progressive journalists all over the world, and you in particular, have shown deep understanding of and sympathy for the Korean people's just cause and always strongly denounced the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and war on the Korean peninsula. During the Fatherland Liberation War, which was caused by the U.S. imperialists with the piratical design to swallow up the whole of Korea, the world's progressive journalists condemned their criminal atrocities and gave active support and encouragement to our people as they rose to defend the country's freedom and independence, national dignity and revolutionary gains. Even today the progressive journalists are using their powerful pen in support of the Korean people's just struggle to drive out the U.S. imperialists and reunify the artificially divided country. The International Journalist Prize awarded in the name of the progressive journalists of the world to Comrade Kim Jong Tae, an indomitable revolutionary fighter and impassioned journalist born of the Korean people, is another expression of their great support for our people's just anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle. I should like to express my deep gratitude to you for this, on behalf of the entire Korean people.

Our people receive you as true friends, as reliable comrades-in-arms. Everywhere you go during your stay in our country, they will give you a warm welcome and you will see for yourselves their ardent desire to strengthen militant solidarity with the revolutionary people of the world.

Because of our similar position in the past and our common fighting goals, the Korean people have always stood firmly by the oppressed and supported their struggle for freedom and liberation in every way. Our people's militant friendship and solidarity with the revolutionary people of the world are further strengthened today. We regard this as an important guarantee of victory for our revolution and will continue, in the future too, to strive tirelessly for firm militant solidarity with

the peoples of all countries at the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. battle front.

In conclusion, I should like to extend my militant greetings to you here present who are devotedly engaged in mankind's sacred revolutionary cause and, through you, to the progressive journalists of the whole world, and sincerely wish the revolutionary journalists, who are ardent anti-imperialist political activists, even greater success in their fruitful work.

ON SOME EXPERIENCES OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONS IN OUR COUNTRY

Lecture to Cadres of Party and State Organizations

October 11, 1969

Under the wise leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, our people have successfully carried out the democratic and socialist revolutions and gained a lot of valuable experience and learned many lessons. But our young cadres do not have a clear understanding of the experience and lessons our Party has derived from the revolutionary struggle and from construction. Therefore, availing myself of the cadres' Saturday study hours today, I would like to tell you something of our experiences in the democratic and socialist revolutions in our country.

1. ON THE AGRARIAN REFORM

Agrarian reform is the task having top priority in solving the peasant and agricultural questions in the stage of the democratic revolution. Unless the agrarian question is solved correctly it is impossible to free the peasants from feudal exploitation and oppression and develop the productive forces in agriculture quickly.

After liberation, our Party put forward agrarian revolution as the central task of the democratic revolution and organized and mobilized its entire membership and all the people to bring this historic task to victory within a brief period.

The most important thing in the agrarian reform was to decide correctly whose land should be confiscated. This is necessary if we are to work out correct strategy and tactics for the class struggle—on the question of with whom to ally, whom to oppose and whom to isolate.

On the basis of our detailed investigation and analysis of land ownership and class relations in our countryside, we decided to confiscate the land in the hands of the Japanese imperialists and their lackeys, the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, that of landlords owning more than five *chongbo* of land and all rented land.

This revolutionary policy defined by our Party enabled it to defend the interests of the broad masses of the peasants at the expense of the interests of the small number of landlords and reactionaries and firmly rally the masses of people around itself. Since the Japanese imperialists had surrendered and been expelled, the first target in the struggle for agrarian reform was the landlord class. At that time our country had only 44,000 landlord families with more than five *chongbo*, whereas more than 720,000 peasant families had little or no land. Therefore, in the final analysis, the agrarian reform was a people's policy to rid our peasants of feudal exploitation and penury by depriving the 44,000 landlord families of their land and distributing it to the more than 720,000 households of poor and hired peasants.

Our Party's definition of whose land was to be confiscated was also a correct policy for dispersing and weakening the hostile forces to the maximum by isolating the rich peasants and winning over the middle peasants.

During the agrarian reform we did not make the rich peasants a target of struggle. If we had done this at that time, the number of hostile elements would have increased and the class struggle would have become difficult and complicated. In

order to successfully carry out the class struggle against the landlords, we had to prevent the rich peasants from siding with the landlords and weaken the hostile forces. True, because all rented land was confiscated irrespective of size, the rich peasants, too, were hit to a certain degree and so there was the possibility that they would come out in opposition to the agrarian reform. However, our Party allowed them to continue to possess the land they had not rented out but tilled themselves, thus forestalling their frontal opposition.

The middle peasants had no reason to think ill of us for depriving the landlords of their land because the agrarian reform did not infringe on their interests in the least. On the contrary, they welcomed the land being confiscated from the landlords and distributed to the poor and hired peasants. Therefore, they were our ally in the agrarian reform.

This correct classification of the land to be confiscated enabled our Party to guarantee the decisive ascendancy of the revolutionary forces over the hostile forces by firmly relying on the poor and hired peasants, definitely winning over the middle peasants and isolating the rich peasants in our struggle against the landlords.

Next in importance for the agrarian reform was to create adequate prerequisites for depriving the landlords of their land.

We first had to strengthen our organs of power.

Historical experience shows that no class can enforce progressive reforms without organs of power strong enough to suppress the resistance of the hostile classes. Agrarian revolution also needs organs of power such as the people's government, armed forces and security organizations capable of exercising dictatorship over the landlords and other reactionaries. We cannot carry out the agrarian reform simply by issuing an ordinance to the effect that landlords with more than five *chongbo* of land are to be expropriated. Only when we have powerful instruments of dictatorship, can we strip the landlords of their land and promptly suppress those who resist and defy the agrarian reform law.

Landlords will never meekly let themselves be deprived of their land. In our country, as in others, some landlords and reactionaries resisted the agrarian reform. As soon as the Agrarian Reform Law was promulgated, reactionaries began to subvert and sabotage in an attempt to frustrate the reform. By that time, however, we had set up a people's government, which was still a provisional people's committee, and a security cadres training centre which constituted our people's armed forces, and security agencies. Because we had our own organs of power, we could promptly smash all the counterrevolutionary activities of the enemy.

Our Party had rooted itself deeply in the working class and assumed firm leadership over it. This was another important factor for guaranteeing the successful carrying out of the agrarian reform. Our Party was not numerically large at the time. But it was so deeply rooted in the workers, the main force of the revolution, that it could vigorously organize and mobilize them to help carry out the agrarian reform.

Our Party took hold of these strong organs of power and was capable of organizing and mobilizing the working class, the most revolutionary class. That is why it could confidently push ahead with the struggle to deprive the landlords of their land.

Another important thing in carrying out the agrarian reform was to organize and mobilize the peasant masses for a vigorous struggle against the landlords.

Unless the Party does this skilfully victory cannot be assured, no matter how correct its line and policies. Our Party increased the peasants' revolutionary enthusiasm in the agrarian reform so that they always took the initiative in the struggle against the landlords.

Our struggle to take away the landlords' land began with the peasants' campaign to request that the land be given to the tillers. Immediately after liberation, poor and hired peasants wrote many letters to our Party and people's government bodies, asking us to take the land away from the landlords and distribute it among them. We saw these letters demanding

land piled mountain-high at the South Pyongan Provincial Party Committee. This widespread petitioning campaign launched by our peasants after liberation, was a great contributing factor in arousing their class consciousness to a high degree and increasing their desire and determination to seize the landlords' land. Furthermore, it struck great terror into the landlords as the word went around that their land was going to be taken away from them.

After the proclamation of the Agrarian Reform Law we formed rural committees of the poor and hired peasants so that they themselves could put the agrarian reform into effect.

At the same time, our Party organized agrarian-reform-support detachments among the workers and sent them to the countryside to give the peasants active help in their struggle. Progressive workers were sent to the rural areas from the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory, the Sadong Colliery in Pyongyang and many other factories and collieries and from ore mines. This working-class assistance not only helped strengthen the worker-peasant alliance but also greatly heightened the peasants' enthusiasm for the struggle. Having seen the workers personally helping them to enforce the agrarian reform, the peasants clearly realized that they were not alone in the battle against the landlord class but had the working class on their side. Thus they became more confident and courageous in the struggle to strip the landlords of their land.

In our country thanks to the Party's correct line and policies, the agrarian reform was carried through to victory in a very short time, actually less than a month after the Agrarian Reform Law was proclaimed.

One of the outstanding features of the agrarian reform in our country was that it went on rather smoothly without strong resistance from the hostile elements. This was because many people received land and supported the agrarian reform thanks to the correct class policy, strategy and tactics of the Party, whereas only a few were deprived of their land and their forces were very weak.

In the course of the agrarian reform the rich peasants were

isolated, the middle peasants became the allies of the poor and hired peasants, and the working class actively supported the peasants' struggle to confiscate the landlords' land. While so many people supported the agrarian reform, the landlord households deprived of their land numbered only 44,000, nearly 20 per cent of which were in the towns. The absentee landlords were largely engaged in trade or other enterprises and appeared on their tenanted land only once in a while to collect the rents, so they had no foothold in the countryside. Our Party's policy was to leave private trade and manufacturing intact, and these landlords were not deprived of their enterprises such as breweries and hosieries in the towns but were allowed to run them. So they thought they were lucky and did not try to put up any strong opposition to the seizure of the few *chongbo* of land they rented out.

While eliminating the landlords as a class, our Party gave them enough means to subsist. We moved those who did not resist and obediently handed over their land to other places where we allotted them land to farm by themselves. This policy helped weaken landlord resistance. The resettlement of the landlords also prevented them from exerting a negative influence on their former tenants and other peasants who were not yet politically awakened.

More negligible were the forces of the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation—one of the main targets in the agrarian reform. They used to assert their authority with the backing of Japanese imperialism, but after its surrender they had no one to rely on and were powerless.

The hostile classes failed to put up strong resistance because the landlords and reactionaries were an insignificant force and, moreover, our Party mobilized the working class and all the other revolutionary forces to attack them. The landlords did offer some resistance in several places in South Pyongan Province during the agrarian reform, but there was not much trouble anywhere.

There was no stubborn resistance on the part of the hostile elements. Nor was there any serious deviation in enforcing the

Agrarian Reform Law. In the first stage, a "Left" deviation was manifested in Hwanghae Province, which went so far as to wipe out rich peasants, and this put us in danger of increasing our enemies. There were Right deviations in some parts of North Pyongan Province. But the agrarian reform proceeded smoothly because we spotted and corrected these deviations in time.

Another feature of the agrarian reform in our country was that it was carried out thoroughly.

In making preparations for the agrarian reform, we made a serious study of the experiences of foreign countries which had carried out agrarian reform. In some countries, they did not confiscate all the land of the landlords who had been defined as objects of confiscation but allowed them to retain a considerable amount. What is more, they did not apply the principle of confiscation without compensation and distribution free of charge. They paid compensation for land confiscated and then distributed it to the peasants at some charges. The actual conditions of our country did not allow us to draw on these experiences mechanically.

We confiscated all the land of the landlords possessing more than five *chongbo* without compensation and distributed it to the landless and land-short peasants free of charge. This policy of our Party towards the landlords was of great significance in preventing them from turning into rich peasants. If we had expropriated only those landlords with more than eight or ten *chongbo* instead of five, or if we had not confiscated all the land of the landlords defined as objects of confiscation but had let them retain a large part of it, then some of the landlords would have lost no land or only a small amount and they would have become rich peasants.

As for the rich peasants, we took restrictive measures. They had to farm their land themselves; and were allowed to employ seasonal labour but never to hire hands all the year round. These measures were designed to limit the growth of the rich peasant economy and create favourable pre-conditions for the subsequent co-operativization of agriculture. It was necessary to prevent excessive growth of the rich peasant

economy during the agrarian reform, since the rich peasants would be our main target in agricultural co-operativization. At the time, however, we could not talk about these restrictive tactics openly. So you will not be able to understand our policy of restricting the rich peasants very well from the reports or speeches we delivered during that period.

Furthermore, we confiscated all land which had been rented out, irrespective of size.

Our Party forbade the peasants to buy or sell the land they had received and prohibited them from renting it out or mortgaging it. In our country the confiscated landlords' land was not taken over as state property. We allowed the peasants to possess it considering their centuries-old hunger for land. Our peasants were overjoyed at this and it was highly effective in arousing their enthusiasm and activity in work. When we put the confiscated land into the possession of the peasants, we declared that they could till it generation after generation as long as they farmed it themselves, but that they were not allowed to sell it or rent it out to other people and that they had to return it to the state if they stopped ploughing it themselves. These measures were tantamount to nationalizing the confiscated land. Although we transferred the ownership of the land to the peasants, we exercised control, banning them from selling it or renting it out so that the tenant system could not be restored and the rich peasants could not grow in strength.

By carrying out the agrarian reform so thoroughly, we did away with the feudal tenant system and exploitation in the countryside once and for all and created advantageous conditions for the socialist revolution.

After agrarian reform is completed it is very important to organize and guide correctly the work of consolidating the success achieved. If you just deprive the landlords of their land and distribute it to the peasants and do not meticulously carry things through to the end, you cannot consolidate the success of the agrarian reform nor ensure the rapid development of agriculture.

Following the agrarian reform, our Party and state were confronted with difficult tasks, such as supplying the peasants who had received land with draught animals, farm implements, seed grain, etc. This problem is not confined to our country; we can say it is common in other countries, too. In some countries, I was told, even when the land is distributed to the peasants by agrarian reform, they are forced to beg the landlords again for draught cattle, farm tools, seed and the like, because they do not have any. Consequently, the agrarian reform gradually loses its effect.

A similar thing happened in our country right after the agrarian reform. The peasants were hard pressed in the first year after the reform because of the shortage of draught cattle, farm tools and seed although they had been given land thanks to the agrarian reform. At this critical moment, the overthrown landlords and reactionaries began to spread all kinds of rumours in a cunning attempt to make peasants who were unawakened waver. In one region in South Pyongan Province landlords blustered: "You have taken away my land but what's the use of it? If you want to farm it, you'll have to come back and bow to me to borrow my draught cattle and seed."

Our Party was faced with the urgent task of ensuring a timely spring ploughing, so as to consolidate and develop the victory of the agrarian reform. But grasping the situation in time, the Party put forth the slogan: "Don't let even an inch of land lie idle!" and energetically organized and mobilized the peasants for the spring ploughing. At the same time, it rallied the working class and the broad masses to come to the aid of the countryside and took active measures to supply the peasants with draught cattle, farm implements and seed.

In order to solve the problem of draught cattle, the state financed the purchase of tens of thousands of draught cattle in the mountain areas and distributed them to the peasants on the lowlands although its economic situation was extremely difficult. At the same time, the state loaned money to the peasants so that they could buy cattle from the rich peasants and also took measures for them to purchase some with funds

raised among themselves. In this way we were able to solve the problem of draught cattle completely, which was one of our headaches.

The state also had to supply seed to the peasants who had received land. To solve this question we persuaded the middle peasants to share their seed grain with the former poor and hired peasants. In addition, we shared out the seed we had confiscated from the landlords during the agrarian reform. Thus, we also settled this problem successfully and managed to get the first spring ploughing and sowing after the agrarian reform done on time.

The introduction of the agricultural tax in kind proved of vital significance in stimulating the peasants' enthusiasm for production and consolidating and developing the victory of the agrarian reform. Following the agrarian reform, our Party had the law on tax in kind proclaimed to free our peasants from the onerous burden of forced delivery and miscellaneous levies and to provide them with favourable conditions for improving their material and cultural life.

As soon as the law was announced, the peasants welcomed and supported it actively. Why did they hail it so enthusiastically? They felt very grateful to the state for having distributed the land free of charge during the agrarian reform. However, they were somewhat apprehensive that the state might take some sort of action after the harvest and seize all their crop as in the days of Japanese imperialist rule. It was at this moment that the agricultural tax in kind was introduced. Now the peasants were to pay only 25 per cent of their crop to the state, and all the rest would be theirs to keep. They were overjoyed.

The state also supplied them with chemical fertilizer and let them pay for it with grain in the autumn, thus providing them with favourable conditions for better farming on the distributed land.

All the policies mapped out by our Party helped consolidate the victory of the agrarian reform, greatly increase the peasants' patriotic devotion and their zeal for production and deepen their support and trust in our Party and Government.

These changes in our rural areas coming after the reform fully demonstrated the correctness and great vitality of the Party's policy on the agrarian reform.

From the year of the agrarian reform we had bumper crops every year and the peasants' standard of living rose considerably in the next three or four years. On the Namuri plain in Hwanghae Province, for example, a year's rice crop provided the peasants with a substantial surplus even after they had paid their agricultural tax and put aside enough food grain for themselves.

Deeply touched by the profound concern of the Party and the people's government that had given them the land free of charge and made their lives happy, the peasants initiated a patriotic movement to donate rice. A peasant, Kim Je Won, was the pioneer of this movement. The widespread patriotic rice donation movement was not, of course, ordered from above or manipulated by anyone. It was a patriotic movement voluntarily launched by our peasants who had benefited from the agrarian reform, out of their desire to repay the Party and the Government for their solicitude in the best way they could. With the rice our patriotic peasants whole-heartedly donated to the country we built the Mangyongdae Revolution School to educate the sons and daughters of the revolutionary martyrs and a people's university to train cadres for the nation.

The great vitality of the agrarian reform was displayed to the full during the Fatherland Liberation War to defend the freedom and independence of the country. With patriotic devotion and self-sacrifice, our peasants fought heroically at the front and in the rear to defend the Party and the people's government that had given them land and made their lives free and happy and to protect the gains of the democratic reforms.

As you see, the victory of the agrarian reform was of tremendous significance in developing our rural economy and in consolidating and improving our social system.

2. ON THE AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The socialist transformation of the old relations of production in town and country is a cardinal task in the socialist revolution.

The co-operativization of agriculture is most important in this transformation. Only when the individual peasant economy is transformed along socialist lines in the countryside, can we totally rid the peasants of all sources of exploitation and poverty and speedily increase agricultural production in a planned way.

Already, before the war, we began to organize our socialist co-operative economy. At that time we formed fishermen's co-operatives for the fishing industry and consumers' co-operatives for commodity circulation. This was the beginning of socialist co-operativization in our country.

In agriculture, however, the socialist co-operative economy started to bud during the Fatherland Liberation War. We set up several agricultural co-operatives on an experimental basis in order to fix an orientation for rehabilitating the deteriorated agriculture after the war. They proved to be far superior to the individual economy even under wartime conditions when we lacked everything. On the basis of this experience our Party put forward the task of agricultural co-operativization immediately after the armistice.

Until then people had thought that agriculture could only be co-operativized after industrialization. This was the general thinking on agricultural co-operativization. Hence, some people infected with dogmatism were doubtful about the Party's policy of agricultural co-operativization. They alleged that industry had to be developed before co-operativizing the individual peasant economy, and asked how we would co-operativize it without machines.

Others argued that since our country was divided into the north and the south and the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution had not triumphed on a nation-wide scale, it would be premature to carry out the socialist revolution only in the northern half. They said that if we abolished private ownership and went over to collective ownership by co-operativizing agriculture, in disregard of the partition of our country, many peasants in the southern half, the rich peasants in particular, would be against us.

Still others questioned how we could carry out co-operativization when the agricultural co-operative movement was not yet in full swing in other countries. Of course, there were not many people with these views.

Those who alleged that agricultural co-operativization would be impossible before industry was developed or that it would be premature in our country were ignorant of the post-war situation in our country and the objective law of the development of the revolution.

Agricultural co-operativization was an urgent demand in our country after the war.

Correct timing is very important in any revolution. This applies to the co-operative movement, too. If you start it too early or too late instead of seizing the right time, you may face many difficulties. In our country the most appropriate time was the postwar period.

Following the war, our countryside badly needed draught cattle and farm implements and almost all of the work force there comprised of women and old people. This being the case, we would not have been able to quickly restore the damaged productive forces in agriculture or speedily improve the living conditions of the impoverished peasants if we had left the private peasant economy intact. Co-operativization of this economy was the only way for us to clear away the obstacles in the path of agricultural advance after the war.

Lenin pointed out that even a collective economy that merely pooled the peasants' land and farm implements could achieve an economic improvement that was impossible in the

individual small peasant economy, and could double or treble the productivity of labour. We were guided by this theory in our agricultural co-operative movement.

In our postwar countryside most of the peasants were in such great straits that they could not farm the land, without pooling their efforts in one way or another. Consequently, they themselves urgently demanded agricultural co-operativization. Moreover, they had little interest in land ownership because they could hardly manage to till all their land on their own.

After the war the rich peasants found themselves almost bankrupt. The war destroyed almost all their houses, farm implements, draught animals and much of the rest of their property. All that they had was the land and the idea of exploiting others. Both the middle and well-to-do middle peasants were in the same plight. In the postwar countryside there were only a few people who could manage to lead a decent life.

Our Party considered this period the most timely for co-operativization, since the rich and middle peasants had been largely ruined and the peasants could scarcely manage to farm the land without pooling their efforts. It put forward the policy of agricultural co-operativization and started to carry it out without delay. If we had not actively stepped up the agricultural co-operative movement but had delayed co-operativization of the rich and middle peasants until they had revived, we would have had a hard time drawing them into the co-operatives.

In agricultural co-operativization our Party first organized several agricultural co-operatives in each county with the poor peasants and rural activists, and strengthened them with a view to letting our cadres accumulate experience and showing the practical advantages of the co-operative economy to the peasants, particularly to the middle peasants. With assistance from the Party and the state, these agricultural co-operatives clearly proved the superiority of co-operative over individual farming, although they had no modern machinery. They also enabled us to introduce the achievements of advanced science and technology widely in agriculture.

At the November 1954 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, our Party analysed the success achieved in the experimental stage of the co-operative movement and proposed the task of launching a mass movement for agricultural co-operativization. Later, we fully expounded the goals of the socialist revolution in the April Thesis of 1955.

Our peasants actively supported the Party's policy of a mass co-operative movement as soon as it was announced and enthusiastically participated in it. At the beginning, we set up three types of agricultural co-operatives and let the peasants themselves choose the one which suited them; we took into consideration the differences in their political awareness and economic conditions. The majority, however, chose the third type from the start, the one which was the same as our present co-operative farms. Our country had not many co-operatives of the first and second types. As a result of our peasants' active support for the Party's policy of agricultural co-operativization and their enthusiastic participation in the movement, the socialist transformation of our agriculture was completed within a short period of only four or five years after the war.

In leading the co-operative movement our Party strictly adhered to the voluntary principle. We demonstrated the advantages of co-operative farming to the peasants in practice so that the broad peasant masses, the middle peasants in particular, willingly joined the co-operatives.

In getting the peasants to join the co-operatives of their own free will, we had no big headaches as far as the poor peasants were concerned but the case was not the same with the middle peasants. The latter hesitate to join co-operatives that pool the land and all other basic means of production because they use their own land and draught cattle for farming. Therefore, in order to get them to join the co-operatives willingly, the Party and state must adopt a correct policy. Our Party strictly guarded against the tendency to force them into the co-operative economy or infringe on their interests and thus weaken our alliance with them. It got the middle peasants to join the co-operatives voluntarily by proving to them the

advantages of the co-operative economy through competition between individual and co-operative economies.

In order to display the superiority of the co-operative economy in this way, the Party and state must give it powerful assistance.

Our Party took different measures to support the co-operatives formed by the poor peasants. During co-operativization the state extended long-term loans to the co-operative farmers and short-term loans to the private peasants. This measure was aimed at shoring up the agricultural co-operatives as quickly as possible by enabling the co-operative farmers to buy draught cattle, farm implements, etc. Moreover, we supplied the co-operative farmers with more fertilizer at lower prices than the private peasants. As for the agricultural tax in kind for the former, the state lowered it by five per cent as against that for the latter, and the former were given priority for the use of the irrigation facilities built with the state funds.

In addition, the state set up farm-machine hire stations which supplied the co-operative farms with tractors for ploughing at a low charge so that they could do their farming easily. The state charge for the work done by tractors was much lower than the hire for draught cattle charged by the rich and well-to-do middle peasants. This was one of the very important measures taken to prevent the rich and well-to-do middle peasants from exploiting the poor peasants and to restrict the growth of the rich peasants. In the past the rich peasants and well-to-do middle peasants had exploited the poor peasants also by renting them farm tools and draught cattle at exorbitant rates. In order to stop this exploitation, our Party fixed the rate for hiring the machines lower than that for draught cattle though this did not pay for the state. If the state had been calculating and had charged a high rate for the work done by tractors, then, the rich and well-to-do middle peasants could have continued their exploitation in the countryside.

Thanks to this state support and assistance, the economic foundations of the agricultural co-operatives were consolidated and the co-operative farmers' standard of living rose con-

siderably in a brief span of time. It was impossible for the private peasants to compete successfully with the co-operative farmers because they had to buy fertilizer at a high price and pay more tax in kind, and were unable to obtain long-term loans from the state. As the advantages of the co-operative economy became evident, the middle peasants began to join the co-operatives voluntarily.

Our Party also got the rich peasants to join the co-operatives of their own accord. In a certain country they eliminated the rich peasants through expropriation in the period of socialist revolution. However, taking into account the characteristics of our rich peasants and the fact that they had been almost ruined during the war, our Party adopted the policy of restricting and gradually remoulding them instead of eliminating them. Our Party drew into the co-operative economy all the rich peasants who accepted its co-operativization policy and were willing to join the co-operatives, and transformed them into socialist working people. But it applied strict sanctions against those who obstructed the co-operative movement. Most of the rich peasants joined the co-operatives of their own accord in the last stage of the movement when there was no longer anyone for them to exploit. In this way the agricultural co-operative movement in our country was completed without much trouble in a short span of time.

It is very important to fix the size of the agricultural co-operatives correctly, from the point of view of both developing the co-operative economy and increasing agricultural production.

Needless to say, in the light of the essential requirements of the collective socialist economy, it is desirable to have relatively large agricultural co-operatives. Only then can you introduce mechanization and irrigation properly and readjust and level the fields on a large scale. However, you must not just enlarge co-operatives without any prerequisites. If they are excessively large when there is a low level of agricultural mechanization and the peasants have a low ideological consciousness and the co-operative functionaries have a poor

managerial ability, you cannot run them well, nor bring out the full advantages of the co-operative economy.

For these reasons, when we first organized the agricultural co-operatives, our Party saw to it that their size was comparatively small, each embracing 40 to 100 households with the village as the unit. Later, with the consolidation of the material and technical foundations of the rural economy and the improvement of the qualifications of the management personnel, we amalgamated the agricultural co-operatives taking the *ri* as the unit, thus enlarging them to some extent. This enabled us to step up the technical revolution in the rural areas more vigorously by making effective use of the land, farm machines and other means of production and to open up great possibilities for developing the co-operative economy in a many-sided way.

In order to consolidate and improve the agricultural co-operative economy it is very important to constantly improve management and operation.

If you failed to run the agricultural co-operatives properly after setting them up, you would not be able to bring out to the full the excellence of the collective socialist economy. In the early days when we enlarged the agricultural co-operatives somewhat by amalgamating them with the *ri* as the unit, various shortcomings were revealed in the management and operation of some co-operatives. In February 1960, we gave on-the-spot guidance at Chongsan-*ri*, Kangso County. The agricultural co-operative there, too, was not running satisfactorily. Instead of concentrating its efforts on farming, it set up oil-pressing, fish-breeding and stockbreeding workteams and drew off a substantial amount of manpower to put into these secondary activities. Moreover, it did not adequately organize and sum up its work, nor did it correctly apply the socialist principle of distribution. This being the case, some of the farmers were doing their work in a haphazard way and a few others were loafing on the job. These shortcomings cropped up in the management of the agricultural co-operative economy because our functionaries' leadership level was not rising at the same rapid rate as the situation was developing.

So, after the guidance at Chongsan-ri, our Party waged a dynamic struggle to raise our cadres' qualifications and improve their method of work. Through the struggle to generalize the experience gained when we gave guidance at Chongsan-ri and to carry through the Chongsan-ri method, the level of our cadres was considerably raised and an epoch-making change took place in the management and operation of the co-operative farms.

While raising the qualifications of our leadership personnel in order to improve the work of management in the agricultural co-operatives, our Party introduced the sub-workteam management system. Experience shows that this is an effective method for getting the co-operative farmers to participate in the collective work with a full sense of responsibility and for improving the management and operation of the co-operative economy.

The technical revolution should be carried out in the rural areas in order to strengthen the socialist agricultural co-operative economy and make ours a prosperous and modern socialist countryside equipped with up-to-date technology.

Our Party got down to the rural technical revolution while pushing the agricultural co-operative movement. The important thing in carrying out the technical revolution in the rural areas is precisely to determine its content and order of priorities. Our Party defined irrigation, mechanization, electrification and chemicalization as the basic tasks of this revolution and gave top priority to irrigation.

Rice growing is our chief farming activity and our country suffers severe floods and droughts almost every year. That is why our Party gave priority to irrigation, in order to prevent flood and drought damage and ensure large, stable harvests.

Once our agriculture was co-operativized, our Party organized a mass campaign for irrigation. The September 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee adopted a resolution to launch a nation-wide, all-people movement for irrigating one million *chongbo* of fields and roused all the people to implement it. Upholding the resolution of the plenary meeting our workers, farmers, students, office workers, soldiers and indeed

everyone else turned out to work on irrigation projects in the rural areas. As a result, several thousand reservoirs and a great many pumping stations were built.

Along with this dynamic campaign for irrigation, our Party also actively pushed ahead with the mechanization, electrification and chemicalization of agriculture.

In order to consolidate and develop the agricultural co-operative economy, it is important to get the co-operative farmers to participate conscientiously in collective labour.

To this end, our Party saw to it that they were given small plots of land for private kitchen gardens. In order to eliminate the selfishness remaining in their minds, it is most important to strengthen their ideological education. This is true. But ideological education alone is not enough to do away with selfishness. To eliminate selfishness we must not create material conditions which might foster it, while strengthening the ideological education. If co-operative farmers are given large kitchen gardens, they may be interested only in them instead of taking an active part in the co-operative farm work and their selfishness will grow. Therefore, we intentionally allotted small private kitchen gardens to our farmers so that they might rid themselves of egoism and small proprietor mentality, develop the collectivist spirit and whole-heartedly participate in collective labour on the co-operative farms.

To stimulate the co-operative farmers' zeal for production and guarantee their whole-hearted participation in collective labour, it is also necessary to carry out correctly the price and procurement policy for agricultural produce.

Our Party's price and procurement policy has never infringed upon the farmers' interests. It has always aimed at raising the workers' and farmers' living standards evenly.

The state allows co-operative farmers to keep enough of their grain crop for their own provisions and purchases the surplus at a high price. We pay 60 *chon* per kilogramme of rice to the co-operative farmers and supply it to factory and office workers for eight *chon* per kilogramme.

Why then does the state buy rice from the co-operative

farmers at such a high price? It is to improve their living standards and, at the same time, to encourage them to be more earnest in running the collective economy with the consciousness that they will be well-off only when they develop this economy. If the state procurement price is too low for the grain the farmers have grown collectively, their cash income will be small. If they get a small income from the collective economy, they will be inclined to get more from the private sideline economy.

Our farmers now have little interest in private sidelines because it is more profitable for them to work on the co-operative farm than in sidelines. They are more concerned with the collective economy than their sidelines, and they try to get in as many man-days as possible on the co-operative farm. This, I may say, is due to our Party's correct ideological education among the farmers and to its correct price and procurement policy with regard to farm produce.

3. ON THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF PRIVATE TRADE AND INDUSTRY

If socialist relations of production are to hold sway in town and country, it is necessary to transform private trade and industry along socialist lines, while co-operativizing agriculture.

It is no easy task to do this. In our country, however, thanks to the Party's correct policy it was accomplished as quickly and smoothly as in the case of agricultural co-operativization.

Private trade and industry were successfully transformed along socialist lines primarily because our Party seized the right moment when conditions were favourable and made the best use of them.

In the postwar period, the socialist transformation of private trade and industry posed itself as the most urgent demand. Small and weak from the outset, our private merchants and

manufacturers had their factories and enterprises destroyed during the war by the indiscriminate bombing of the U.S. imperialists. Therefore, private trade and industry were on the brink of total bankruptcy and quite a few entrepreneurs and merchants were reduced to the level of handicraftsmen and petty traders.

Moreover, as the process of agricultural co-operativization was accelerated and the role of the state-run industry and the socialist trade enhanced, the business activities of the private merchants and manufacturers were greatly restricted. Before agricultural co-operativization they could buy rice, fruit, meat and so on from the peasants in the countryside and process them to sell. However, after the co-operativization of the individual peasant economy and the establishment of the centralized state system for the procurement of agricultural produce, they could not get raw and other materials as they wished. With state-run industry and socialist trade growing rapidly, they even lost their markets. In a word, since the socialist economic sector reigned supreme in agriculture and all other fields of the national economy, they found themselves unable to run their businesses and improve their living conditions unless they relied on the state.

Our Party promptly understood their situation and advanced the policy of co-operativizing them. When our Party proposed the policy of transforming private merchants and manufacturers on socialist lines some people opposed it and put forward the absurd argument that it would be more beneficial to make use of them. But we could not accept this.

If our Party had missed this chance when conditions were favourable for the socialist transformation of private trade and industry, and had not carried it out until they accumulated some assets, we would have taken a long time and have faced a lot of problems. Furthermore, our revolution and construction would have been greatly impeded if we had left them to carry on their enterprises and trade as they wished instead of transforming them on socialist lines. At the time, some of them were doing considerable harm by stealing state-owned materials and

equipment because they had no source of raw and other materials. In addition there were undesirable practices in which private tradesmen secretly bought agricultural produce in the countryside and some co-operative farmers sold it to them at high prices instead of to the state. Therefore, without transforming private trade and industry along socialist lines it was impossible to consolidate and advance the newly-organized co-operatives in the countryside or successfully step up the building of socialism. In this situation our Party could not just leave them alone, and there was no need to restore and utilize their ruined economy.

Strictly observing the voluntary principle, our Party saw to it that they joined in various forms of co-operatives in order to transform them along socialist lines.

An important question in their socialist transformation is how to draw those who lacked the will to work into productive labour and transform them into members of the working class. Taking into account the characteristic features of the entrepreneurs and merchants, we got the entrepreneurs and handicraftsmen together in producers' co-operatives and the merchants in marketing co-operatives. Then we gradually turned the latter into producing-marketing co-operatives in which the members themselves produced goods for sale, and we later reorganized them into producers' co-operatives engaged solely in production. From the outset we also organized some private tradesmen into producing-marketing co-operatives so that they themselves could produce goods for sale. Step by step we increased the proportion of production in the producing-marketing co-operatives until they were finally transformed into producers' co-operatives engaged solely in production.

Increasing the leading role of state-run industry and socialist trade was decisive to transforming the producing-marketing co-operatives engaged both in production and sale into producers' co-operatives engaged only in production. Our Party ensured that the state produced large quantities of daily necessities for the people on the one hand, and on the other, greatly expanded the state trading network. Now that the state-run

shops were set up everywhere and plenty of goods were supplied, the producing-marketing co-operatives could only sell their products through the state wholesale agencies. Thus, as a natural process, their selling function gradually dwindled and they became producers' co-operatives engaged only in production.

In the period of the socialist transformation of the relations of production, private trade and industry became impotent since the co-operative movement was being pushed ahead in our countryside and the role of large-scale state-owned industry and the socialist trade strengthened. Consequently their socialist transformation proceeded with comparative smoothness.

* * *

We have done a lot of work, indeed, in a short span of time, in less than 25 years since liberation. Our Party has led the people in transforming our country, a once colonial, semi-feudal society, into a strong, advanced socialist state with a sound independent national economy and a splendid national culture. In the course of the struggle to bring about these great socio-economic changes, our Party has accumulated a wealth of valuable experience in different fields.

However, some evil persons who were once engaged in Party ideological work did not widely propagate the great exploits and successes achieved by our people, nor did they pass on to our cadres and Party members the rich and valuable experience of our Party in the struggle. It is true that since the 15th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee, we have actively conducted the work of propagating our Party's experiences and exploits in its struggle and of arming our Party members and working people with the Party's lines and policies. But we cannot yet say that Party propaganda work is satisfactory.

At present, our cadres do not have a systematic and profound knowledge of the Party's lines and policies because the

Party's propaganda work and ideological education have not been done properly. The young cadres, in particular, who never experienced the democratic and socialist revolutions, are not clear on the policies our Party adopted during the agrarian reform and how the class struggle was conducted then, what difficulties we faced in organizing and developing the agricultural co-operatives, how we transformed the private traders and manufacturers along socialist lines, how more than 120 universities and colleges came into being in the northern half of the Republic where there was none before, how a huge army of our own cadres was trained, and so forth. This lack of clear understanding greatly hampers our functionaries in implementing Party lines and policies.

Since the cadres in the field of Party propaganda work did not do a good job, we do not have a book which systematizes the rich experience our Party has accumulated in its revolutionary struggle and work of construction.

We must correct these shortcomings in the Party's ideological work as soon as possible and do a good job of educating our cadres and Party members in our revolutionary experience. Only then can we establish the Party's monolithic ideological system more firmly among them and lead them in carrying the Party's lines and policies through to the end.

In order to inculcate our revolutionary experience in our cadres and Party members, we should first publish good books which synthesize and systematize the lines and policies set forth by our Party in each stage of the revolution and construction as well as the achievements scored and experience gained in the struggle for their implementation.

These books should be compiled according to the different experiences accumulated by our Party in various fields during the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and in the course of building socialism. They should deal with our experience in all spheres of revolution and construction: the enforcement of the agrarian reform, the nationalization of industries and the labour law, the agricultural co-operative movement and the socialist transformation of private trade and in-

dustry, the implementation of the line of giving priority to the development of heavy industry while at the same time developing light industry and agriculture, the simultaneous development of central and local industries, the building of socialist culture, the solution of the question of religion, the arming of all the people, the fortification of the entire country, etc. They should also fully expatiate our Party's *Juche* idea.

In systematizing the experience our Party gained in struggle, we should not just refer to general principles, but should describe in detail Party lines and the measures taken to implement them. Suppose we are going to write about our experience in the agrarian reform. We must explain with specific data the policies our Party adopted, the way they were executed and what measures we took after it was carried out. If we publish books on these subjects, they will be very helpful to our cadres in their study and work, and also useful for educating our Party members and the working people.

I hope you will establish the habit of study and acquire a profound knowledge of the experience our Party has accumulated in struggle so that you will achieve greater successes in your efforts to arm yourselves firmly with the Party's monolithic ideology and to carry through its lines and policies.

**LET US DEVELOP LOCAL INDUSTRY AND
BRING ABOUT A FRESH UPSWING
IN THE PRODUCTION OF MASS
CONSUMER GOODS**

**Speech at the National Conference
of Workers in Local Industry**
February 27, 1970

In the name of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, I would first like to extend my warm thanks to you comrades and all workers in local industry, who have striven to develop it.

I want to talk to you about expanding local industry in order to bring about a great improvement in the production of consumer goods.

**I. ON QUICKLY BRINGING LIGHT INDUSTRY
ABREAST OF THE DEVELOPED
HEAVY INDUSTRY**

Because of Japanese imperialist colonial rule in the past, our country's economy remained very backward and indescribably lop-sided. The Japanese imperialists hampered the development of our heavy industry in every way, with the aim of subordinating our country economically and turning it into

a permanent colony. If there was, any heavy industry at all, it consisted of only a few extraction industries plundering our country's rich natural resources and primary industries turning out semi-finished products.

Before liberation in our country not only was heavy industry in a very poor state, but light industry was even more insignificant. In order to exploit the Korean people, the Japanese imperialists obstructed the development of our light industry in many ways. They took away from our country enormous amounts of raw materials for light industry and sold here daily necessities, which were all produced in their country. These colonial rulers also prevented the Koreans from learning skills and technique for developing light industry. That was why our production of consumer goods was very backward and even traditional handicrafts were completely destroyed. We were not in a position to make even pencils, pens or combs on our own. If we had any light industry at all in the period of Japanese imperialist rule, it consisted only of small-scale rubber shoe factories and paper mills not worth mentioning. As for the production of textiles, a key branch of light industry, our country had only one mill in Sariwon that could be called comparatively big. The annual output of this mill was no more than several hundred thousand metres. Today the output of one of our local textile mills far surpasses that figure. This fact alone is enough to show how negligible our light industry was before liberation.

We inherited such a backward and lop-sided colonial economy from the old society that after liberation, we had to start building heavy and light industry. This was a very difficult and complicated task to lay these industrial bases from scratch. But we had to carry it out at any cost, no matter how many obstacles and difficulties there were. We put up the slogan: Those with strength dedicate their strength; those with technique contribute technique; those with money offer money; those with knowledge devote knowledge; and all of us unite and build a new country! Under this slogan we energetically organized and mobilized the entire people to create an in-

dependent and sovereign state, which is prosperous and powerful.

In order to lay the foundations of an independent national economy and build socialism priority must be given to the development of heavy industry. The establishment of its own powerful heavy industry is indispensable for a country's industrialization, and the laying of the material and technical base of socialism is impossible without industrialization. Only when heavy industry is expanded can both light industry and agriculture be developed. It stands to reason that in socialist economic construction heavy industry has to have priority. This is particularly urgent since our country is divided and we are building socialism in direct confrontation with U.S. imperialism.

Light industry must be developed along with heavy industry. This alone will make it possible to increase the production of consumer goods and raise the people's standard of living. Our people groaned in the grip of poverty and famine in the days of Japanese imperialist rule, and they were bereft of their means of livelihood in the three-year war. Therefore, in order to secure their livelihood and ensure them a decent life at the earliest possible date, it was imperative for us to develop light industry rapidly.

It was from this objective demand that, immediately after the armistice, our Party put forward a line for economic construction which gave priority to heavy industry while at the same time ensuring the development of light industry and agriculture. Our Party's economic line was a new one, differing from policies adopted in other countries. Capitalist states developed light industry first and thus obtained funds to build heavy industry, and some socialist countries first concentrated on heavy industry for a certain period before developing light industry. But the factionalists who had wormed their way into the Party opposed this line, raving that no country had ever adopted such a policy for economic construction. Some people slandered the line by saying that machines could not provide food nor could the people live on them. However, we

smashed all their slanders and lies and persisted in a resolute struggle to carry through the Party's basic line for economic construction.

Life has clearly shown that our Party's line of giving priority to heavy industry while simultaneously developing light industry and agriculture was an extremely wise line, correctly reflecting the economic laws of socialism and the objective conditions in our country. Thanks to our energetic struggle to implement this line, we have gained great successes in the development of both heavy and light industry. In particular, a radical change took place in the production of consumer goods as a result of the widespread struggle to develop local industry through an all-people movement following the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee which called for building more than one local factory in every city or county. If we had not taken this step, we would have had to spend a huge amount of foreign currency on importing necessary consumer goods. We are now producing on our own all consumer goods needed in our people's daily life. Our people wear home-produced clothes and footwear and use daily necessities we have made ourselves. This is a great achievement we have scored in the course of building a new society. We are justly proud of it.

But we must not rest content with this. Our industrial base in general now places our country on the level of an industrial state. But the people's standard of living is not yet high. Light industry is lagging behind heavy industry. This year heavy industry is expected to produce 2.2 million tons of steel, 1.5 million tons of chemical fertilizer and 16,000 million kwh of electricity. This shows the relatively high level reached by our heavy industry, but the rate of light industrial development is not keeping pace.

As you all know, the most important thing in socialist economic construction is to maintain a proper balance between accumulation and consumption and between the production of the means of production and of consumer goods. Poor co-ordination will not ensure a steady expanded reproduction nor

raise the people's living standards systematically. Therefore, when working out a national economic plan, we must always correctly balance the proportions between accumulation and consumption and between the production of the means of production and of consumer goods.

It is on this principle that we draw up the national economic plan every year. However, because of our functionaries' poor organizational work in increasing the production of consumer goods rapidly through the effective use of the existing light industrial base and by mobilizing all reserves and potentials, light industry is not keeping pace with heavy industry and the living standards of the people are not as high as our economic base would permit.

In our light industry, at present, quality, relatively speaking, lags behind quantity in the production of major consumer goods such as fabrics and footwear. In other words, the production base in this domain has been laid to a large extent and major consumer goods such as fabrics and footwear are produced in large quantities, but fall short of the people's demands because of their poor quality.

Take the textile industry, for example. It can be said that we have established firm foundations, capable of turning out a wide variety of good-quality fabrics required by our people. Our country has many big modern textile mills which have reached world standards, such as the Pyongyang, Kusong, Kaesong, and Sariwon Textile Mills, the Hamhung Woolen Textile Mill and the Hyesan Linen Mill. There are also a considerable number of locally-run textile mills, all of which are several times bigger than those owned by the capitalists in the period of Japanese imperialist rule. Since firm foundations of the textile industry have thus been established, we are able to top 400 million metres of fabrics this year. This will bring our textile output to more than 30 metres per person. But our fabrics are still not of high quality.

As far as daily necessities industry is concerned, manufactured goods are not only of low quality but their variety and output volume are still insufficient. It is said that the

consumer goods necessary for the daily life of the people comprise tens of thousands of varieties. But the variety of our consumer goods is limited, and even these fall short of the people's demands.

Why, then, are our consumer goods of low quality, poor variety and small quantity?

The reason lies first in the fact that our light industry has a short history.

Because of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, it could not advance before liberation. Moreover, we went through a war not long after liberation. It was not until the armistice that our light industry started to be developed full scale.

Japan, for instance, has a one-hundred-year history of modern industrial development, reckoned from the days of the Meiji Restoration. Britain's modern industry has a history of some hundred years. In the Soviet Union and China, too, light industry has long been developed to a certain extent. But our modern light industry has a history of a little over ten years.

We channelled much energy into the creation of a modern light industrial base and epochal success was achieved. But being so young, it lacks a number of things to be fully equipped, and though we have built many fine factories we still do not operate them properly because we lack experience in modern factory management. We are unable to produce high-quality consumer goods in quantity commensurate with the industrial base we have already laid. This is inevitable because of the short history of our industrial development.

Another reason that our light industry lags behind is failure to supply the necessary equipment and materials for its development. Only a little more attention would have made it possible to supply as much equipment and materials as was needed, but formerly the State Planning Commission and other state economic agencies did not pay enough attention to this. So in many cases they did not include the equipment and materials demanded by light industry in state plans, regarding them as of minor importance, and earmarked less foreign

currency for them. They saw only the big, thick branches of the tree while ignoring the small, slender twigs, so to speak.

Another reason for the backwardness of our light industry is that no effective guidance was given in this field.

The production of consumer goods has not attained a higher level not because the state made too little investment in light industry, nor because we have not maintained an adequate balance between accumulation and consumption, in accordance with the requirements of the economic laws of socialism. It is true, of course, that the development of light industry has been hampered to some extent by the defence industry to which we have directed much effort during the last few years. The Party Conference in 1966 put forward the line of simultaneously building up the economy and defences to deal with the objective situation. Consequently a large additional investment was made to effect the policy to fortify the whole country, arm the entire people, and turn the army into an army of cadres and modernize it from top to bottom. But we cannot say that this is the sole reason for the failure to boost the production of consumer goods. The point is that the leading personnel in this field were not successful in their guidance and organizational work, and this prevented the existing light industrial base from realizing its potentialities to the full.

In many cases in the past, leading personnel in light industry worked in a bureaucratic and subjective manner. More often than not they changed the production index at factories, even several times a month in an extreme case. This prevented factories from carrying on production properly.

Let me take the Sariwon Towel Mill as an example. This mill was known for its fine towels. Nevertheless, officials of the Ministry of Textile and Paper-making Industries went to the mill and arbitrarily gave instructions that it should switch to weaving mosquito-netting instead of towels. This switch-over required the installation of new equipment and a mastery of different technique. Therefore, it would have been better to build a new mill for this purpose or to have local indus-

tries, which were not up to turning out high-quality fabrics, undertake this job. Why then did they dictate that a mill weaving towels, some of which were exported to other countries, should turn to producing mosquito-netting?

When there are signs of improvement in the quality of specialized products, leading functionaries give instructions to make other products. Because they issue random directives, factories can neither boost production nor improve the quality of products however hard they try. This is like a traffic man giving signals which throw a driver into confusion. If the traffic man points his baton in all directions, the driver, however skilled, cannot drive his car in the right direction.

In particular, a big defect in the guidance given in light industry is that sufficient conditions were not provided for the localities to bring their creativity into full play. The central authorities exercised too much control over local industry in the past, working on the idea of tightening the state's centralized control of the economy. We set up the Ministry of the Food and Daily-Necessities Industries for the purpose of rapidly developing the food and daily-necessities industries. This was, of course, a correct measure. But since too many factories were placed under the ministry, it was unable to lead and supervise them properly. In the past, functionaries in this field merged one factory with another at random, in a subjective way, without taking the specific conditions into consideration on the pretext of specialized production. As a result, many locally-run factories disappeared and the variety of goods was considerably cut. If the local government functionaries who were thoroughly familiar with the actual situation had guided local industries, such a thing would never have happened.

The three points mentioned above, I think, are the main reasons why our light industry lags behind. Therefore, in order to bring light industry abreast of the developed heavy industry, we must first quickly raise the technical levels of backward sections of light industry by intensifying the technical revolution; second, we must ensure sufficient supplies of the

necessary equipment and materials; and third, we must give better guidance in light industry so that the localities are provided with every condition for bringing their creativity in the production of consumer goods into full play.

II. THE TASK OF DEVELOPING LOCAL INDUSTRY AND BRINGING ABOUT A FRESH UPSWING IN THE PRODUCTION OF CONSUMER GOODS FOR THE PEOPLE

If we only develop central light industry it will be impossible to boost light industry rapidly and bring about a fresh upswing in the production of consumer goods. This would take us too long to increase the production of consumer goods. Therefore, we should develop local industry on a wide scale along with central industry for the production of consumer goods. The key to the radical expansion of the daily necessities and food-processing industries and to satisfying the working people's demands for consumer goods to a greater extent is to stick firmly to the policy of simultaneously developing large-scale central industry and medium and small-scale local industry and further bring out and organize the creativity and wisdom of the local masses while using the might of central industry to the full.

Local factories can be built easily by using local raw and other materials and untapped labour resources, and equipment can be assembled without much difficulty. If housewives are drawn into production you have no need to build housing for employees. Therefore, the expansion of local industry will mean the construction of many factories in a short space of time without spending much state funds and will speedily increase the production of consumer goods.

Building many local industries brings production centres closer to raw-material resources and to the consumer. This will

assure production and supply more satisfactorily and eliminate the wastage of social labour. The construction of local industry will enable us to spread industries evenly across the country, develop the local economy in an all-round way and prevent the concentration of population in the urban areas as has happened in capitalist society.

The expansion of local industry plays a great part in strengthening the ties between industry and agriculture and narrowing the distinctions between town and country. Locally-run factories purchase and process various agricultural and sideline products. This will greatly help to boost the income of the farmers, of those in the mountain regions in particular, and will stimulate the development of agricultural and sideline production, thereby accelerating growth in agriculture.

Introducing an innovation in the production of consumer goods through the large-scale expansion of local industry is also of great significance in freeing women from the heavy burden of cooking and other household chores. The women of our country have long been liberated from feudal and capitalist exploitation and oppression, but they are not yet completely freed from the heavy burden of household chores, including cooking. In the daytime they are on the job, and back home in the evening they have to prepare meals and do the washing and other domestic jobs. They shoulder dual burdens, so to speak. If we mass-produce washing machines and various kitchen utensils by developing the daily necessities industry and process different kinds of non-staple foods by expanding the food-processing industry, the women's burden will be greatly lightened. If housewives take up a job at local industries, per-household income will be increased, the living standards of factory and office workers raised substantially and the work of revolutionizing and working-classing women stepped up.

The expansion of local industry is also very important from the standpoint of national defence. If all regions in the country are covered with a close network of medium and small-scale factories, we can carry on production without in-

terruption in wartime to secure munitions and ensure that the people in local areas produce a satisfactory supply of daily necessities on their own, even when big factories in the urban areas are destroyed.

As you see, the development of local industry acquires great importance in the political, economic and military aspects. Therefore, we should develop our local industry by a vigorous mass movement so as to raise it to a higher stage and bring about a new turn in the production of consumer goods.

1. ON MARKEDLY INCREASING THE VARIETY AND QUANTITY OF CONSUMER GOODS

In order to increase the variety and quantity of consumer goods we must first raise the production capacity of the existing light industry factories and make the best use of it. We must re-examine the space in existing factory buildings, and install additional equipment and rationalize production processes so as to increase the capacity of consumer goods production to the maximum. Conditions should be fully provided for production to be placed on a regular basis in all factories.

But there is a certain limit to raising the production capacity of existing factories. Many new locally-run factories will have to be built to increase the variety and quantity of consumer goods rapidly.

As you have pointed out in your speeches at this meeting, there are still plenty of reserves and potentialities for building up new local industries. We should launch a vigorous mass movement to build a few more factories in each county by fully tapping these reserves and potentialities.

If you functionaries tackle your work determinedly, use your brains and bring into play the creativity and wisdom of the masses, you will be able to secure enough manpower, equipment and raw materials needed for building more factories in your own localities.

Today, all counties in our country have state institutions

and most of them have a few big enterprises. We cannot say that all able-bodied members of factory and office workers' families are employed in state institutions or factories. Quite a few housewives still do not go out to work. If we mechanize or automate production processes in the existing local industry factories we will be able to obtain no small amount of additional manpower. The local areas have big reserves of manpower for setting up new factories.

Raw materials are not a big problem. Close investigation will show that any county has plenty of good sources of raw material to exploit.

In an area where there is a big metal plant you can build a factory using its by-products to manufacture various articles of daily use for the working people. If the factory does its work well, it can produce refrigerators for home use.

In the areas near mountains different articles for daily use and foodstuffs can be made from natural raw materials in the mountains. You can produce articles and furniture from bush clover and willow and different foodstuffs from wild fruits.

In the coastal areas also, different foodstuffs and daily necessities can be made from fish, shellfish and other seafoods.

If a fur-tanning factory is set up in each county, you can get as much raw materials as you need. If local industry factories promptly procure rabbits raised by school children and others and produce canned and other foods, fur caps, children's overcoats, women's shawls and the like in large numbers, this will be a great help to the people's lives. The skins of rabbits and other domestic animals produced by state-run agricultural and livestock farms and co-operative farms and those of wild animals caught by the inhabitants will also serve to produce plenty of high-quality daily necessities. Widespread processing of furs by local industry is of great significance not only in improving the present living conditions of the people but in making full preparations for a satisfactory solution to the problem of clothing in case of emergency in the future.

There are many other local sources of raw material that

can be tapped and utilized. Therefore, if the state just supplies some necessary supplementary materials, local industries can be operated well by exploiting these latent resources.

I think the problem of machinery and equipment for new locally-run factories can be solved if they are given a little assistance by the central industrial enterprises in that locality and by existing local factories with adequate foundations.

Factory buildings can also be built by the localities themselves. This problem can be solved by adapting existing buildings or constructing new ones. Where stones are abundant, they can be used for buildings and where trees are abundant it is preferable to use these.

As for the funds for building new local factories they had better be granted by the state in the form of long-term credit.

If the problems of manpower, raw material, machinery, equipment and funds are solved in this way, we will be able to construct a few more new factories in every county.

What goods should be produced in the new factories must be decided according to the specific conditions of the localities concerned. Anything must be manufactured if it can be produced in the locality and is demanded by the people. The more variety of goods made, the better.

We do not mean that new local factories must necessarily produce only a new kind of goods. By tapping local reserves they may also manufacture what other factories are already turning out. It would be a good idea to set up many factories producing the same goods in different areas. This step is essential both to increase the quantity of consumer goods and improve their quality.

Until only a few years ago, the footwear factory in Sinuiju had to meet most of the country's needs. This being the case, when the factory mishandled its work and failed to fulfil its plan, the whole country ran out of footwear and this caused the people much inconvenience. This was also the cause of its failure to improve quality rapidly. If there had been many footwear factories, they would have made positive efforts to improve the quality of their products because they would have

been competing with one another. However, since shoe-making was concentrated in one factory, it did not bother about quality. In order to eliminate this situation, our Party decided a few years ago to set up a footwear factory in every province. Since then, we have witnessed not only an increase in output volume but substantial improvement in quality.

At present we have only one big electric bulb factory. Therefore, if an accident happens at this factory or it fails to reach the output target because of mismanagement, supplies will be exhausted throughout the country. We should launch a drive to establish one or two factories of this sort in each province, as is the case with footwear.

Glass bottle factories should also be set up in many different places. Without mass-producing glass bottles the food industry cannot advance. Only if we have glass bottles can we put out different foodstuffs needed in the people's daily life, such as cider, beer, fruit juice, mineral water, carbonated water and other bottled produce. Glass bottles are urgently required not only for the food industry but also for the chemical industry and in other industrial fields, and they are widely used in the people's daily life as well. As you see, the demand for glass bottles is very great, but at present in this country the Nampo Glass Factory is the one and only factory which specializes in their production. It is quite impossible to satisfy demand with those produced in this factory alone. In order to satisfy the demand fully we must build many similar factories in different places. It is not so hard to set up a glass bottle factory. If our functionaries smash the idea that there is some mystery about glass making and boldly buckle down to the job, glass bottles can be made anywhere. Where there is sand and sodium carbonate, they can be turned out without installing very complicated equipment.

More pencil factories should also be set up in different places.

In our country today there is only one pencil factory. Needless to say, it is doing good work. Significant results have come from mechanization and recently it has made a fine invention--

pencils without wood. We can say that almost all the knotty technical problems in pencil production have now been solved. Even while turning out cheap products as it is now, the output value per worker at this factory is very high, and this can be credited to the high standard of mechanization.

We have directed really tremendous efforts over the past 25 years to attaining the present high level of pencil production. You must be clear on how much effort our Party has made to solve the pencil problem ever since the first days of liberation. When we were waging armed struggle against the vicious Japanese imperialists, we did not expect such a thing as pencil production to come up as an acute problem after liberation. However, when we liberated the country and seized power, one of the first things we faced was the pencil problem. Food, work and study—these are indispensable to man's life, and we need pencils for study. Particularly right after liberation, we needed them very badly in order to rid many people of illiteracy. But we had no pencil factory. Therefore, after the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea was organized, we dealt with the pencil problem on the agenda of its first session and decided to make pencils ourselves. Upholding this decision, our workers and technicians devoted all their efforts and, at last, succeeded in making our first pencil, shaped like a candle, by mixing graphite with mud and gypsum. This is how our first pencil came into being. Thanks to our Party's constant and close attention and strenuous effort on the part of our workers, we have been able to produce good pencils such as we use today.

The task now facing us is to set up more pencil factories and provide students and the working people with plenty of various kinds of high-quality pencils. No matter how well the existing pencil factory may be equipped and do its work, we cannot rely on it alone. Since we have now found a new method of manufacturing good-quality pencils and graphite is to be found everywhere in our country, we can build pencil factories in many places without difficulty. We should carefully study the different conditions and construct these factories in suit-

able places so that there will be a marked increase in pencil production in the next few years.

In addition, we should build a good number of local factories everywhere producing different goods, so as to rapidly increase the variety and quantity of consumer goods.

2. ON IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF CONSUMER GOODS

Today, improving the quality of consumer goods is no less important than increasing their variety and quantity.

When consumer goods failed to meet the demand of the working people, it was more urgent to produce them in large quantities than to raise quality. But the situation is different now. The general living standards of our working people have been considerably improved and they want consumer goods of higher quality. Poor-quality commodities in shops do not sell. The time is already past when such commodities made by locally-run factories sold well. Now is the time to raise the quality of all consumer goods to a higher level.

To do this light industry factories should be put on a more modern basis and production processes perfected.

The reason why our consumer goods are of poor quality is largely because these factories have not yet been equipped to undertake all necessary production processes. Take textile mills, for example. The production of good-quality fabrics requires both the before- and after-treatment processes. But some mills are not equipped to undertake the after-treatment process; so their products are not close. Others have no equipment for dyeing. No product can be of good quality unless it goes through any one of the necessary processes. Efforts should be made to perfect production processes in factories as soon as possible. Experimental or after-treatment processes should be introduced where necessary. Equipment needed to perfect production processes should be supplied from domestic sources if possible or even bought from foreign countries if we are unable to manufacture them ourselves.

In this way all factories will be able to perfect their necessary production processes and turn out good-quality products.

At present light industry factories are unable to improve the quality of consumer goods partly because the state planning agencies fix unreasonable production targets.

When they give production assignments to a factory, they should take into full account its production capacity and set a suitable target on this basis. But they often do not. For example, a state planning agency sets a quota of 1.2 million pairs of shoes for a factory which only has the capacity for one million; so the factory is obliged to manufacture them in a slipshod manner to fulfil this heavy assignment. This results in lowered quality.

From now on the state planning agencies should do away with such rule-of-thumb methods of work and make a correct calculation of the production capacity of factories so as to give them suitable assignments. When the production capacity of a factory is too low to satisfy state demand, a higher target should be set after measures are taken to boost its capacity. Only then can the factory produce better-quality goods while carrying out its planned assignment.

Most important in improving quality is to get the functionaries concerned to have a firm resolve to turn out good-quality consumer goods in large quantities for the betterment of the people's living conditions.

Some factories are neither fully equipped to undertake the necessary production processes nor turn out good-quality products on account of their technically backward equipment. In the final analysis, this is also because the functionaries do not zealously endeavour to improve quality. In some places they have taken no measures even when a little attention would have made it possible to improve quality considerably with only a small outlay in funds and manpower.

The lack of mechanization and automation in the production of sweets and cookies in local industries is also entirely due to the fact that our functionaries are indifferent to the people's lives and work half-heartedly. If food factories

are provided with a little more equipment, their production can be mechanized and automated and quality, too, markedly improved. But at present in a number of food factories, no one gives a thought to the renovation of equipment and they merely stick to handicraft methods of production. This is also true of food factories located near big machine-building factories equipped with hundreds of machine tools.

The functionaries in light industry are responsible for this. But no less responsible are the functionaries in the machine-building industry. If they showed even a little concern, it would be quite easy to turn out at least one or two pieces of food-processing equipment in big factories which manufacture thousands of large and intricate machines, such as trucks and tractors every year. The trouble is that the managers or chief engineers of machinery plants are quite indifferent about the failure to turn out good-quality sweets and cookies for nursery and kindergarten children and for the people, and they do not behave like masters responsible for the country's economic life and the people's livelihood.

If we are to improve the quality of consumer goods, we should begin by launching an ideological struggle to enhance the spirit of service to the people and the working class among the functionaries in light industry. We should see to it that they work with a high degree of revolutionary consciousness to serve the people and the working class wholeheartedly and acquire a sense of responsibility for their livelihood.

If all workers in light industry have fresh resolve as one man to renovate equipment, introduce new production processes and raise their technical and skill levels, and if they put their heart and soul into every product, they will be able to improve the quality of all consumer goods markedly in the next few years.

We should raise the quality of all our consumer goods to international standards through a struggle to improve quality in light industry. All the people then will be supplied with fine clothes, overcoats, footwear and furniture.

We must raise the quality of consumer goods to world standards as soon as possible so that light industrial products can become a big source of foreign currency.

In the past we could not buy as much equipment and raw materials as we wanted because our overseas markets were limited, but things are different today. We now have trade relations not only with socialist countries but also with newly independent states and capitalist countries. So we can import whatever we need if we have foreign currency.

We have abundant sources of foreign currency and if we do good organizational work, we can acquire a large amount of it. While building many factories specializing in producing goods for export, we should strive to put out more than one kind of product for export in all local factories. Along with this, the factories specializing in exports should make efforts to increase quantity through the mechanization and automation of the production processes.

Under a ten-year programme starting from this year, we should strive to ensure at least a 10 per cent annual increase in the output of exportable consumer goods, thus bringing the quality level of all light industrial goods up to that of exports. As a tentative measure, we should try to increase their production by over 50 per cent by 1975.

Considering our country's short history of light industry it is, of course, a very difficult task for us to bring our manufactures into line with those of the advanced countries. However, this is something worth trying, and if we tackle it with determination, we will be able to manufacture good-quality consumer goods at low prices and in large quantities no less than other countries.

We should not spare foreign currency in our efforts to improve the quality of consumer goods.

I am told that in the past the State Planning Commission did not include in the plan the import of raw materials and equipment for light industry, and for local industry factories in particular, on the pretext of the lack of foreign currency. This practice should be stopped. Of course, it is an-

other question if valuable foreign currency is asked for to import what we can make ourselves, but we should import what we do not have or what we cannot make right now by our own efforts. Suppose we are still unable to manufacture some equipment for consumer goods production or obtain some raw materials indispensable for high-quality goods, we must import them although it might cost us a certain amount of foreign currency.

In order to guarantee an adequate supply of imported raw materials and equipment necessary for local industry, we should establish a system under which the State Planning Commission does not meddle in the use of 10 per cent of the foreign currency earned by local industry but transfers it to the foreign trade authorities and has them assume the responsibility for buying equipment and materials needed by local factories. Suppose a local factory gets foreign currency equivalent to one million *won*. Of this sum, 100,000 *won* should be allotted to the import of equipment and materials ordered by the factory.

In order to do this work well, I think it necessary to institute an import-export trading agency in each province. It is too heavy a burden for the Ministry of Foreign Trade to handle all trade affairs with other countries, and it may arbitrarily turn down what local factories have ordered. An import-export trading agency in each province empowered to carry out foreign trade would do away with such a practice. These agencies should deal only with the consumer goods produced by local factories and their establishment of contacts with foreign countries is subjected to Cabinet approval.

Building model factories is necessary for increasing the production of consumer goods and improving quality. If we build a good model factory in every branch of consumer goods production and popularize it throughout the country, we will be able to raise the food-processing and daily necessities industries to a higher stage very quickly.

3. ON ALL BRANCHES OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY ACTIVELY SUPPORTING LOCAL INDUSTRY

It is a huge and difficult task to increase the quantity and variety of consumer goods and improve their quality through the widespread development of local industry. This is not possible through the efforts of workers in local industry alone. Success in this task requires the concern of the entire nation and the support of the whole of society.

A characteristic feature inherent in the communist method of work is that advanced persons help the backward to come up into the front ranks and that advanced sectors help and push backward ones forward so that all may advance together.

A principle in socialist society is that the working class leads the peasantry, industry assists agriculture and the town supports the countryside. This principle should also be applied to the field of industry: heavy industry assists light industry, central industry helps local industry and a big factory assists a small one. Moreover, all branches are duty bound to support local industry because bringing about innovations in the production of consumer goods is a great task for raising the living standards of the entire people.

Today, central industry, heavy industry in particular, has much work to do to assist local industry. Ever since its inception our local industry has made big strides. But compared with central industry its material and technical foundations are weak, the workers' technical and skill levels are low and it has quite a few shortcomings in management as well.

To begin with, a struggle should be waged in heavy industry to make machinery and equipment needed by local industry.

It is good for machine-building factories to turn out daily necessities but it is more important for them to supply local industries with machine tools such as presses, table lathes, table boring machines and various single-purpose equipment.

The machine-building industry should help build up a machinery-producing base for local industry. Only when local industry has its own machine-building base can it add to the technical equipment of daily necessities and food factories and produce various kinds of single-purpose equipment and accessories needed for increasing the production of consumer goods. Machinery plants should launch a vigorous movement to set up small shops and multiply various types of machine tools so as to help each province establish one machine-building factory for local industry.

At the same time, we should use machinery and equipment lying idle in factories to help local industries. All cities and counties now have several factories and enterprises, including large-scale centrally-controlled industrial enterprises. So extra machines and equipment such as electric motors and boring machines should be sought out to reinforce the newly-erected local factories well.

The metal industry must help set up small-scale metal plants in the localities. Thus, we should see to it that the provinces instead of counting only on central industry for the supply of iron products as they do now, produce iron and do cold rolling themselves, and make their own white iron plates and other metal items.

The chemical industry must produce larger quantities of sodium carbonate, bleaching powder, vinyl chloride and other products used in local factories. Along with this, chemical plants must undertake the job of setting up chemical materials workshops for local industry so that it can turn out its own chemicals and materials. Such a large-scale factory as the Pongung Chemical Plant should undertake to build at least ten of these workshops.

The building-materials industry must help establish local building-materials production bases in each province to ensure a satisfactory supply of building materials needed for the construction of local industry. It is also necessary to allot a definite area of timber to local factories so that they will get the timber they need. When they cut trees down, local factories must do

reafforestation by planting many fast-growing trees such as poplars and planes.

In addition, ministries, bureaus, factories, enterprises and scientific research institutes must give positive technical assistance to the development of local industry. Ministries, central industrial enterprises and scientific research institutes are now staffed with many technicians and research workers. If they are correctly set into motion, it will be possible to untie all kinds of knotty technical problems arising in the advancement of local industry. At present, we are not properly mobilizing and utilizing this huge army of scientists and technicians. As a result, quite a few technicians and research workers idle their time away with no definite research assignments. Technicians working in ministries and bureaus, workers in scientific establishments and research institutes, professors at universities and colleges, technicians in big factories and enterprises—all should be mobilized to give technical assistance, each taking on one local factory for a certain period of time. If they go to local factories and give assistance in raising the workers' technique and skill, solving knotty technical problems, perfecting technical processes and improving raw materials supplies, they will contribute greatly to raising local industry to a higher plane.

The field of transport, too, should actively assist local industry. It is said that at present goods needed by local industry suffer transport delays. Measures should be taken to put this right.

4. ON IMPROVING GUIDANCE AND SUPERVISION OF LOCAL INDUSTRY

In order to develop local industry, we should establish a well-organized system of guidance and improve its direction and supervision.

First of all, we must increase the functions and role of the local industry management bureau under the provincial people's committee.

Some comrades have suggested that a general bureau of local industry, independent of the provincial people's committee, should be instituted in each province, as was done in the past. But I think there is no need for this. If such bureaus were set up, their functionaries might give no heed to the opinions of the people's government body concerned and act in an arbitrary manner. Our experience shows that only when the apparatus guiding local industry is under the jurisdiction of the provincial people's committee can we develop local industry to satisfy the people's needs and, at the same time, find timely solutions to problems arising in local industry by tapping local reserves. Therefore, local industry must be managed and operated under the guidance of the provincial people's committee.

The most important task of the local industry management bureaus is to supply in a responsible way the goods needed for local industry factories through the materials supply agencies. At the same time, they should give effective technical guidance to local factories and positively help the regional planning commissions to ensure proper local industry planning.

It would be a good idea for cities and counties to set up a specialized apparatus for materials supply to local factories. The city and county people's committees now have local industry sections. But these are occupied mainly with materials supply work in addition to a little statistical work, since they are not capable of giving technical guidance to local factories. Under these conditions, it may be more rational to replace the local industry sections by branches of the materials supply agencies. If the local industry sections of the city and county people's committees are left intact and a branch of the materials supply agency is set up in each county by reason of giving more guidance to local industry, the result will be that the local industry sections have nothing to do and administrative staffs will needlessly increase.

In some cities and counties where local factories producing the same kind of daily necessities, including ironware, are concentrated, it is also necessary, I think, to set up a body especially for co-ordinating the business activities of these factories. In

Kimchaek there are now many local factories manufacturing various kinds of ironware. In such a place it is advisable to set up an agency or office which will undertake supply and sale services for the ironware factories in a co-ordinated way. Such a setup can well be instituted in Nampo, Kangso County, etc.

We must see to it that local factories are managed by as small a staff as possible, and that the manager and the Party secretary in a small factory directly participate in production. If a small factory with 30 to 40 employees has many full-time management personnel, there will be only a few people left to work. Of course, the managers and Party secretaries of small factories should now and then work in their offices for a few hours to check management activities. Therefore, they may well take part in productive labour for four or five hours a day.

We should also establish a proper system by which the central authority gives guidance to local industry. Since the local industry management bureaus under the provincial people's committees give direct guidance to local factories, the ministries concerned should concentrate their efforts on giving technical guidance to local industry. I think we had better establish a new department under the Cabinet for giving guidance to local industry, which will exercise day-to-day supervision and control over the management and operation of local industry, seeing whether planning is being done properly, materials supply work is being carried out well and production is being organized rationally, and will thus solve knotty problems promptly.

We should strive to establish this well-organized system and improve guidance to local industry.

In guiding local industry, it is important to give full play to local initiative. Our country now has several thousand local factories. It is impossible for the central authority to guide and supervise so many. In the past many local factories were turned over to central industry in order to put them under the direct guidance of the central authority. But results were no better than when they were under the direction of the provinces. Our local industry achieved its highest output value when it was

under provincial guidance before and after the Changsong joint conference. There was a sudden decrease in output value after it was put under the direction of the ministries.

This experience suggests that we should provide every possible condition for the regions to guide local industry by themselves and pay close attention to bringing their initiative into full play in the development of local industry. In particular, the practice of shutting down new local factories at random even before they are put into full operation must stop. Local factories should not be reduced in number on the grounds that there are too many but instead, proper assistance be given to them so as to continue to reinforce them.

In order to give full scope to local initiative in developing local industry, it is important to fix the standards and prices of the products turned out by local factories correctly and without delay. It is said that at present the State Commission for Science and Technology and the Price Assessment Commission do not fix standards and prices for new varieties of local products in good time, thereby causing obstacles to management. Such a bureaucratic attitude must be rectified as soon as possible.

If local industry is to be operated well, we should train many technicians and management personnel. Because of the shortage of technicians in light industry and the poor qualifications of its management personnel, we are now unable to achieve the expected results in the production of consumer goods. In order to boost local industry and increase the production of consumer goods, it is essential to build up sound cadre ranks.

We need to reinforce colleges and specialized schools for light industry. We should establish more schools specializing in food-processing and daily necessities industries so as to markedly increase the numbers of engineers and assistant engineers in light industry. In addition, the short course cadre training institutes should concentrate more on training management personnel for local industry.

While training large numbers of new technical and management workers, keen attention should be devoted to retaining

the technicians and highly skilled workers already employed in local factories. Technicians and highly skilled workers who are not suitably placed should be transferred to local factories.

Local industry is faced with a very weighty task in helping light industry catch up with our more developed heavy industry and in improving the people's living standards in accordance with the industrial foundations already laid. Marked improvement in the living standards of our people in the next few years depends largely on the efforts of you comrades in local industry.

In order to improve the people's material and cultural levels markedly, the Party intends to increase the wages of factory and office workers as a whole by 30-35 per cent this year, thereby raising their average wage to more than 60 *won*. Moreover, we are planning to increase the average wage of factory and office workers to at least 85-90 *won* in the next few years, while considerably reducing the prices of popular consumption goods. This requires innovations in local industry as well as in central industry so that the output value per worker is increased to at least the 10,000 *won* mark and the production of consumer goods increased two or three times over the present level.

Of course this is no easy task. But it is completely feasible if workers in local industry uphold the Party's call and launch another vigorous mass movement to increase production and improve quality in the same spirit that they built local factories in all parts of the country after the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee.

What is important here is that the functionaries do not become passive but think boldly, and in line with our Party's revolutionary method of work, firmly rely on the masses and organize them well and draw on their strength and wisdom.

No work can be successful unless we firmly rely on the strength of the masses. The 40-odd years of experience we gained in the national-liberation struggle, the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and the building of socialism clearly show that we emerge victorious in the struggle when

we organize the masses properly and draw on their strength and wisdom and that, in contrast, we will end in failure when we do not organize and mobilize them properly. "A general without an army is no general," and we cannot accomplish a great task single-handedly. But nothing is impossible if we firmly rely on the working class and the masses.

If we are to give full scope to the inexhaustible strength and wisdom of the masses, we must combat passivity and conservatism.

The radical changes effected by our Party in local industry in 1958 were due to the fact that it smashed passivity and conservatism to smithereens and boldly pushed ahead with a mass movement to build local industry. Our Party put forward the policy of building, through a nation-wide movement, one local factory in every county to produce consumer goods by tapping latent local reserves and potentials. Our Party members and working people warmly supported this policy and strove to implement it. But some functionaries, who were passive and conservative, did not readily accept the Party's policy. Although we had even indicated concrete ways and means on the spot, some leading officials in North Pyongan Province did not implement the Party's policy in real earnest, alleging that they were capable of building only one or two local factories at the most in their province. Criticizing their conservative attitude, we personally did political work among the working people and roused the masses to action in constructing local factories. This sparked off a vigorous mass movement to set up local factories in all other parts of the country as well as in North Pyongan Province. More than 1,000 local factories were built in a few months.

At that time, we visited Kaechon County, South Pyongan Province. We saw housewives there weaving cloth in a small room installed with five or six looms. In a paper mill set up in Mundok County, housewives were seen using a few jars to make window paper.

Our local factories looked shabby at first. But the proverb goes, "Well begun is half done." In a year or two after they had

started production their material and technical foundations had been gradually consolidated and production increased. Today, after ten years, they have all become modern factories. North Pyongan Province alone, which once claimed that it could only build one or two local factories, has now nearly 200 of them. And even in a remote mountainous county of Changsong there are seven factories. Changsong County, which was once financed by the state, now not only meets all its expenditures, including the wages of factory and office workers, from its own earnings, but contributes a considerable amount of money to the state.

If we had fallen captive to passivity and conservatism and had only complained about the lack of consumer goods, we might even now be unable to make a drinking glass, and the people's standard of living would have remained low.

The sharp increase in the production of chickens, eggs and vegetables in the last year or two is also due to the fact that we boldly set about things and pushed work ahead in a revolutionary way to solve the problem of non-staple foods for the people.

As experience shows, when we set our hearts on something and are bold enough to push ahead, there are no walls that can stop us. Our Party is now going to increase the production of consumer goods several times within a few years so as to improve the people's living conditions considerably. This task can be fully accomplished when all functionaries tackle it in a revolutionary way.

Our present situation is fundamentally different from 1958 when we set about things with a few hand looms. We have the foundations of a powerful heavy industry and a large-scale light industry which are capable of giving all kinds of assistance to the advancement of local industry. Moreover, we possess the valuable experience of building from scratch through a mass movement the powerful local industry we see today. We also have the masses of the people, above all the working class, who are boundlessly loyal to the Party, with their inexhaustible talents and wisdom. When our functionaries do correct political

and organizational work among the working people to bring their wisdom and talents into full play, we can produce everything needed in life—from medical apparatus and building materials to kitchen utensils and toys—and raise their quality to world levels.

Today our working people have great political enthusiasm. They have a high degree of revolutionary willingness to carry out any difficult task by every means if it is demanded by the Party. At the beginning of January, the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee discussed the question of building local industries on a wide scale through another all-people movement and making more innovations in the production of consumer goods in order radically to raise the people's standard of living, and we called on the provinces to go all out in doing this job. In a little over one month, more than 300 local factories, including ironware factories, chemical plants, food-processing factories, textile mills and electrical appliance factories, have come into being in all parts of the country. Take a glance at each province separately and you will find some are moving at a faster pace while others are slow. But in general their spirit is very high and the mass innovation movement is already in an upsurge, as the Party wished.

To build more local industrial factories we must keep the revolutionary spirit of the masses surging and fire the mass innovation movement among the working people. In this way, we will markedly increase the variety and quantity of consumer goods in the next few years, while raising the quality of products to a higher level in all light industry factories and enterprises.

I am absolutely confident that you comrades will strenuously lead the mass innovation movement and thus fulfil with credit the militant task set forth by the Party at this conference.

ON FURTHER DEVELOPING THE POULTRY INDUSTRY

Address to the National Meeting of Poultrymen

March 31, 1970

Comrades,

We have been deeply impressed by the report and the speeches of many comrades at this meeting which is being held to discuss the question of developing the poultry industry.

To begin with, on behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, I would like to extend warm thanks to all workers, technicians and office workers in the poultry industry who have devoted all their energy and talents to the struggle to develop the poultry industry in our country, and to all the working people who have actively helped in the construction of chicken plants.

As you all know, before liberation our country had no foundation for livestock and poultry breeding. It was only after liberation that this began to be organized in accordance with the correct policy of the Party. Since then, our Party has continued to pay close attention to its development, and has taken a variety of measures to solve the question of non-staple foods for the people. As a result, the definite foundations of livestock and poultry breeding have now been laid.

In particular, a big success has been achieved in the development of the poultry industry. During the last few years a large number of modern chicken plants have gone up in our towns and workers' districts. As you know, we have built them

on a very large scale. Few countries in the world have such large and modern chicken plants. The biggest in a certain developed capitalist country is said to have an annual production capacity of 30 million eggs. But our Mangyongdae Chicken Plant has a yearly capacity of 100 million eggs. The Kangso Chicken Plant is no less productive. We can rate these chicken plants as modern and first-class by world standards in both their egg producing capacity and the technical level of their equipment. In addition to chicken plants, we have erected many modern assorted poultry feed mills. We can now say with assurance that we have prepared firm foundations on which the poultry industry can make great leaps using modern technology.

This successful advancement of our poultry industry was by no means easy to gain. We had to overcome many obstacles and difficulties before we laid the present foundations for poultry raising. We lacked experience in poultry farming, technicians in this field were few, and we did not have any good breeds because of the degeneration of pedigrees. So, at first no visible success was achieved in poultry farming in spite of all the measures our Party took.

Our Party strove to develop poultry farming even under the difficult conditions of the Fatherland Liberation War, and it saw to it that duck and chicken farms were built in many places right after the war. However, in some localities where poultry farms were set up, people failed to run them properly. As a result, poultry farming made little progress.

Take duck farms for example. Those in Pyongyang, in South Pyongan and North Pyongan Provinces and in some other regions failed to produce any big results worth mentioning because of poor management. Not only duck farms but also chicken farms underwent repeated management failure. To supply Pyongyang citizens with eggs, we built a big chicken farm in Pyongyang right after the ceasefire and sent technicians to a foreign country to learn advanced breeding methods. The workers on the farm, however, tried out advanced breeding methods for only a short time and then gave them up on the

plea that they did not pay and returned to the old, backward methods. Thus, with its meagre output of eggs, the farm failed to supply enough for the Pyongyang population.

It was by no means the fault of Party policy that poultry farming made such a poor show in the past. Our Party always put forward a correct policy, set a well-defined orientation and proposed ways for improving poultry raising. The responsibility for the poor show in the past lies entirely with workers engaged in poultry raising who lacked boldness and confidence in their work and did not struggle tirelessly to carry the Party's policy through to the end.

Despite repeated failures in the struggle to develop poultry farming, our Party did not waver in the least but continued to make great efforts to attain its goal.

In developing livestock and poultry breeding, our Party has laid special emphasis on poultry raising, because chicken plants are more profitable in many ways than stock farms. Chickens breed and grow faster and eat less than pigs or other domestic animals. Chicken raising is comparatively easy, and it can be done intensively. So it is possible to produce a large amount of eggs and chickens with a small work force. Besides, chicken tastes better than pork and it is nutritious. The world trend in livestock and poultry breeding, as seen in many countries, is to emphasize the development of the poultry industry to produce large quantities of chickens and eggs.

Taking all these factors into account, our Party saw that one of the most efficient ways of meeting the people's requirements for non-staple foods was the speedy development of a poultry industry, and it concentrated great efforts on it. In particular, at the 17th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee, our Party made a radical decision to build many modern chicken plants. After the plenary meeting, a vigorous mass campaign was launched throughout the country to set up modern chicken plants, and the state put forth considerable effort to the work. As a result, great changes have taken place in poultry raising in our country over the last few years and we have had amazing successes.

If we had not built modern chicken plants on a large scale, but had merely expected chickens and eggs to be produced in the countryside, we would even now be unable to provide the people with them. Our countryside cannot supply eggs and chickens in large quantities, for private production by farmers constitutes a weak basis. That is why eggs were scarce in the shops a few years ago and some were sold at high prices in the peasant markets. But now that many modern chicken plants have been built in recent years, chickens and eggs are being turned out in large quantities in our country and people can get them at low prices at any time. Today eggs and chickens are well stocked in every store in our towns and workers' districts.

We have gained a wealth of knowledge about poultry farming and accumulated valuable experience in the course of building and running the modern chicken plants.

All our successes provide a strong basis for raising the poultry industry to a new and higher stage, and the numerous modern chicken plants we have set up constitute a valuable asset to be handed down to posterity. Indeed, over the last few years we have done much splendid work in poultry farming of which we can boast to the world. I think it natural that at this meeting today you should proudly sum up your remarkable achievements in the development of the poultry industry in recent years.

Comrades,

Today we are confronted with the honourable task of raising our poultry industry to a higher level on the basis of the successes so far achieved.

The most important task in the poultry industry is to regularize production and lower costs at the chicken plants we have already built.

Regularizing production and drastically cutting costs is essential if we are to supply the people with more chickens and eggs at low prices. Some functionaries do not contemplate regularizing production and lowering costs at the existing chicken plants, but only suggest constructing new ones. They

are wrong. It is not because our production capacity is small that we are unable to supply the people with a large amount of chickens and eggs at lower prices. The production capacity of the chicken plants we have already built is by no means small. The question is not that the production capacity is small but that it is not being used to the full and, especially, that the costs of production are high.

Production costs are low at the Mangyongdae, Haeju and March 8th Chicken Plants and a few others at present. But they are still generally high at other chicken plants. This prevents the reduction of the price of eggs even in Pyongyang, Haeju and Songrim, although it is feasible in these cities. If egg prices were cut in these places alone, the practice of reselling might appear because obsolete thinking still remains in the minds of people. In order to cut egg prices, chicken plants throughout the country must regularize production and lower production costs.

The first thing the chicken plants must do to achieve this is to lower the standard of feed consumption and get ample supplies of good-quality feed.

At present, the Chunghwa Chicken Plant has achieved the lowest level of feed consumption. There, 160 grammes of feed are consumed per egg produced. This is a sharp drop. In countries where poultry raising is highly developed, the standard of feed consumption per egg is generally between 120 and 150 grammes. But feed consumption at the chicken plants in our country is now higher than this, and so they are wasting much feed. Despite the strain on the country's grain supplies, our Party sees to it that grain is supplied to the chicken plants as feed so as to provide the people with eggs. In view of this, feed must not be wasted. You poultry men and women must launch an energetic struggle to lower the standard of feed consumption and thus economize on feed to the maximum.

In order to lower the standard of feed consumption at the chicken plants the system of feeding should be improved. At present, chickens are fed all day long at the plants. That won't do. A hen will not lay more eggs even if it is fed all

day long. If it is fed that much, it cannot digest everything. At chicken plants the flocks should be fed at proper intervals to suit the birds' physiological characteristics.

At the same time, good-quality feed should be used. Since they are raised collectively in the sheds of the chicken plants, the birds should be fed with various well-assorted nutrients. Only then can they become highly resistant to disease, grow fast and lay many eggs. A few days ago we visited the Chung-hwa Chicken Plant, where each hen lays 260-270 eggs a year. This high rate is due to proper feeding suited to the birds' physiological characteristics. In the future, chicken plants should be supplied with a sufficient quantity of various nutrients, so that their flocks are fed scientifically.

First, plenty of protein feed should be supplied. The meat and eggs of domestic fowls such as chickens and ducks consist mostly of protein, so they should be given much protein feed. It is no use, therefore, feeding chickens and ducks on other kinds of feed, no matter how much, without giving them protein feed. I have heard that at one time the Kwangpo Duck Farm fed the ducks only on maize, as protein feed had run out, and the result was that the ducks neither grew well nor laid many eggs. This shows that it is essential for domestic fowls such as chickens and ducks to eat plenty of protein feed. The state must unfailingly produce and supply the beans required at the chicken plants as protein feed and, if it happens that home production falls short, it should even provide them with imported beans. In the meantime, chicken plants should make determined efforts to secure protein feed for themselves instead of just turning to the state.

Different kinds of feed such as vitamins, antibiotics, microelements and dicalcium phosphate should also be supplied in quantity. Plenty of such feed should be fed to the fowls of the chicken plants since they cannot get much sunlight or enough fresh air. The Sopo Chicken Plant once introduced the cage method, but gave it up halfway precisely because the plant failed to secure enough of such feed. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry must see to it that large quantities of feed

such as vitamins, antibiotics, microelements and dicalcium phosphate are produced and supplied to the chicken plants.

Fish-meal should also be produced in abundance and supplied to the chicken plants. Only by feeding fish-meal regularly to the birds can we make them grow fast and lay many eggs. If chicken plants feed their flocks on fish-meal only from time to time when it is available, they cannot increase the production of eggs and chickens. The State Planning Commission and the Ministry of the Fishing Industry should work out good plans and organize the specialized production of fish-meal, so that it is supplied to the chicken plants in sufficient quantities.

If a chicken plant is to regularize production and reduce production costs, it must raise the survival rate of the birds.

If the chicken plants are to reduce production costs and speedily increase the output of chickens and eggs, as I have urged at this meeting, they must raise the survival rate of the birds to at least 85-90 per cent. At present, however, it stands at 80 per cent or less at many chicken plants. The chicken plants should boost the survival rate decisively through improved poultry care.

The most important thing in this connection is to get the poultry men and women to play a bigger role. They should be given good education so that they look after the birds with a high sense of responsibility, honour and pride in their job.

If poultry men and women want to do a good job, they must be very well versed in poultry care. Because of their limited knowledge, they are unable to use scientific and technical methods suited to the physiological characteristics of the birds. In order to improve their knowledge of poultry care, manuals and pamphlets on chicken raising which are easy for anyone to understand should be printed for them in large quantities, and technical studies should be widely organized among them.

To raise the survival rate of their flocks, the chicken plants

should improve sanitary and anti-epizootic work and protect the birds against disease.

Chicken plants raise tens of thousands of birds collectively, and so an epizootic disease, once it breaks out, is likely to bring about irretrievably serious consequences. That is why we emphasized when the chicken plants were under construction that sanitary and anti-epizootic work should be the first consideration at the plants and that no birds other than the breed supplied by the state should be taken in. Also, we told these plants to restrict visits as far as possible and allow no one to raise chickens within four kilometres of the plants.

Nevertheless, some chicken plants did not meticulously observe the sanitary and anti-epizootic regulations. The Kusong and Hamhung Chicken Plants and some others have taken in different breeds of chickens from various places along with the state-supplied ones, in violation of the regulations. This is precisely what accounts for the lower survival rate of their flocks at present than at other chicken plants. The chicken plants should take care to see that such a thing does not happen again. Strict discipline should be enforced to forbid unnecessary access to the chicken plants. In cases where people are allowed to enter, they must be thoroughly disinfected and given white gowns to put on.

At the same time, you must thoroughly establish a nationwide system of sanitary and anti-epizootic measures to prevent poultry diseases.

Chicken plague has almost disappeared from our country as a result of the tireless sanitary and anti-epizootic work in the past. But some other kinds of poultry disease still exist in the countryside.

By thoroughly establishing the system of sanitary and anti-epizootic measures across the country in the future, we must ensure that not a single hen catches a disease. In all places where chickens are raised, as well as in chicken plants, sanitary regulations should be strictly observed under the slogan: "Sanitation first, sanitation second, and sanitation third." All sick fowls in the countryside should be destroyed.

The chicken plants should also unhesitatingly do away with chickens when they contract a disease. A good information system should be established and information should be sent out promptly when a chicken disease breaks out, so that exhaustive measures can be taken to counter it.

The customs house should make absolutely sure that no sick animals enter our country from abroad, and should never allow disease-carriers to come in.

Along with this, the pharmaceutical industry must be developed to increase by a big margin the production of antibiotics, disinfectants and various veterinary drugs.

To regularize production and reduce production costs is for the chicken plants to raise the level of mechanization.

This is essential to enable one worker to tend a large flock of chickens, and it will make it possible to save manpower. Those chicken plants at a low level of mechanization should perfect mechanization as soon as possible, and those which are fully mechanized should gradually go over to automation. The chicken plants should thus mechanize all operations from feeding the birds to packing eggs.

Good repair shops should be built for the chicken plants.

Unless these shops are sound it is impossible for the chicken plants to ensure timely repairs and proper maintenance of machinery and equipment, and consequently, to regularize production. In Pyongyang, there is now a factory specializing in the manufacture of chicken plant equipment and its spare parts. In the future we must build a similar factory in both the east and west coastal areas, and see to it that, in due course, every chicken plant has a repair shop. Needless to say, we cannot possibly set up repair shops at all the chicken plants throughout the country in a year or two. If every one of them is to be provided with a repair shop there have to be a great many machine tools. Suppose we gave only ten machine tools to each, we would need hundreds. At present we are not in a position to supply so many machine tools at one time. So the chicken plants should set up their own repair shops step by step as circumstances permit.

Until the chicken plants are equipped with repair shops of their own, nearby factories and enterprises should undertake to repair their machinery and equipment. The machinery and equipment of the Kangso Chicken Plant, for example, should be entrusted to the Kiyang Tractor Factory and the Kangson Steel Plant for repairs. In other words, the repair and maintenance shops of these factories must serve as repair centres for the Kangso Chicken Plant.

It is no problem at all for big factories and enterprises to undertake the repair of machinery and equipment for the nearby chicken plants. All they have to do is to repair some motors or make some bolts and nuts and simple machine parts for them. At present some chicken plants do not get their machinery and equipment repaired promptly. This is because leading personnel do not carefully arrange matters to enlist the help of neighbouring factories and enterprises. The Cabinet and the provincial Party organizations should assign certain factories and enterprises the responsibility for repairing the chicken plants' machinery and equipment. Then, the chicken plants will be able to get their machinery and equipment repaired promptly and operate them to capacity. Consequently, they will be able to regularize egg production.

While the existing chicken plants are more efficiently operated, new ones should be built so that more eggs and chickens are produced.

First of all, we must increase the capacity of egg production.

The chicken plants now have a capacity of 800 million eggs, and we are going to bring it up to the 1,000 million mark during the Six-Year Plan. To this end, we must construct more chicken plants devoted to egg production.

Those planned for the future should not be overlarge.

A lot of labour and time is required for constructing a large chicken plant with all the diverse facilities for hatching, rearing breeds, keeping young hens, and for isolation. But if we build a small chicken plant without all these facilities, we will be able to complete it with less outlay of labour and more

quickly. We have already built many big chicken plants. So if we furnish them with a few more hatcheries and use them as bases for the small plants we build, we will be able to produce large quantities of eggs. Therefore, we should not build over-large chicken plants but small ones in different places, with an annual capacity of 10 or 5 million eggs or less. That being the case, egg production can be increased by adopting the simple system of big chicken plants supplying the small ones with chicks to raise as laying hens.

The capacity for producing chickens should be increased.

Demand for table birds is very high among our people. We should construct many chicken plants devoted to chicken production and thus considerably increase the proportion of chickens in comparison with other meat. I have found that the draft prospective plan of the General Bureau of Poultry set the target for chicken production too low. When people want chickens, they should be supplied with it. They should not be supplied with other kinds of meat. Ducks or eggs are no substitute for chickens.

In the past we did not build many chicken-packing plants, because we did not have enough facilities for killing and freezing the birds. At present, however, we have considerable facilities. So, during the Six-Year Plan, we must build a chicken-packing plant in every big city, such as Hamhung and Chongjin and in each of provincial seats, towns and workers' districts so that more chickens are produced.

In order to turn out large quantities of eggs and chickens, we must solve the feed problem efficiently.

No matter how many chicken plants are built, they will be useless so long as the problem of feed is not solved. We are not able to turn out good feed in quantity, for we still do not have enough assorted poultry feed mills. As the production of eggs and chickens will increase in the future, we must build more feed mills and produce large quantities of good feed. For the present, one mill should be built in each province and, in the coming years, several more up-to-date ones should be erected in every province.

Next, an all-people movement should be launched to raise chickens in large numbers.

With their egg production alone, the state-owned chicken plants cannot satisfy the ever-increasing demand of the working people nor, in particular, can they provide enough eggs for the farmers.

Along with the collective raising of chickens at the state-owned chicken plants, we should organize an all-people movement to raise chickens everywhere, so that more chickens and eggs are supplied to the rural population as well as to urban dwellers.

If chickens are raised everywhere, they can get enough ultraviolet rays and fresh air and varied microelements. This makes them very healthy. Moreover, if we introduce widespread chicken raising we will have no need to build chicken plants which require an enormous outlay of materials, funds and manpower or install special equipment. Also, at chicken plants the laying stock must be renewed from year to year because their rate of laying falls in their second laying year. But birds bred in the villages go on laying for two or three years.

In the future a mass movement should be launched to raise large numbers of chickens. To this end all possibilities should be turned to account. At the end of the Six-Year Plan, 2,000 million eggs should be produced annually through widespread chicken raising.

To begin with, all farm households should participate in the chicken-raising campaign.

If all families in the countryside raise chickens, it will be possible to produce plenty of eggs with a small outlay of effort.

Let me give an example.

An elderly woman belonging to the third field-team of the Changsuwon Co-operative Farm, Samsok District, Pyongyang, is producing a large number of eggs every year by raising chickens. She began with ten birds, and now her flock is 15, which gives her an average of 8 eggs daily. She does not give

much feed to the birds. Though a chicken plant consumes over 160 grammes of feed per egg, she uses 50 grammes or less. According to her account, when the chickens are given a lot of feed in the morning, they do not go out but only sleep on their perches. So they must not be fed in the morning, but should be given a little feed only when they return after pecking around outside. Only then will they readily fly up to the nests and lay eggs. As you see, this elderly woman is well versed in the chicken's habits, and is raising them well.

Another woman of the Changsuwon Co-operative Farm is also a good chicken raiser. Every month she gets an average of 23-24 eggs per hen. If a hen lays 24 eggs a month, its yearly output will be 288 eggs. This means that it produces more than a layer at a state-run chicken plant.

If all farm households raise chickens in this way, the rural population will be able to have a constant supply of eggs. Hence, a wide movement to raise chickens should be launched among not only farming families but also the families of factory and office workers, People's Army officers and all others in the countryside who can do so. I suggest that a drive be conducted to have every family keep seven birds on an average, while more can be raised by families that include old people. I do not think it will be so difficult for a family to keep seven birds. The Women's Union organizations should vigorously press the drive for keeping chickens in addition to raising silkworms.

A large number of chickens should also be kept at rice-cleaning mills.

Every county now has a state-owned rice-cleaning mill, and every *ri*, too, has one owned by the co-operative farm. Around rice-cleaning mills there is abundance of chicken feed, such as rice bran and grass seed. In preparation for this meeting, I visited a rice-cleaning mill in the township of Chunghwa a few days ago together with cadres in the poultry industry, and we found plenty of feed for chickens there. When we asked how many birds could be raised at the mill, a worker answered that at least some 50 could be kept. Perhaps a state-owned rice-cleaning mill would be able to keep a great many more.

In the future, state-owned rice-cleaning mills should raise some 1,000 chickens each, and co-operative farm mills about 50. It would be reasonable, too, for chicken plants to set up branches at state-owned rice-cleaning mills, but the co-operative farms should directly take care of the chickens at their mills.

It is also possible to raise large flocks of chickens on the co-operative farm threshing grounds.

Threshing grounds are littered with grain, both in the waste-straw and on the ground. When I visited the third field-team of the Changsuwon Co-operative Farm in the Samsok District of Pyongyang last year, I found plenty of chicken feed on its threshing ground. I told the workers to keep about 30 chickens there, so that each of the children in its creche and kindergarten could be given an egg every day. That field-team is now raising 30 chickens, as we suggested. A few days ago I visited Myongwol-ri in Chunghwa County and asked the farmers how many chickens they could raise on their threshing ground. They answered 50 or 60.

In the future, a widespread campaign should be undertaken to keep more than 50 birds on every co-op farm threshing ground. If 50 birds are raised there, their eggs alone will suffice to provide the children in their creches and kindergartens with eggs all the time.

Large numbers of chickens should be raised at granaries, too. This is possible because a lot of grain lies scattered about the granary yards.

In order to raise large numbers of chickens through the all-people movement, the factories must aid the countryside and the working class must help the peasantry. State-run chicken plants should hatch many chicks and supply them cheaply to every household, rice-cleaning mill and threshing ground in the rural area. The General Bureau of Poultry should introduce a system by which each chicken plant takes charge of a certain county and helps it. Therefore, the Bureau should allot the counties to the chicken plants appropriately.

Good technical guidance on poultry raising must be given

if chickens are to be raised through an all-people movement. At present there is no official in the livestock and poultry breeding section of the county co-operative farm management committee specifically in charge of this work. This makes it impossible to give correct technical guidance on poultry raising. It is advisable to place one or two instructors on the county co-operative farm management committee to attend to poultry farming. At the same time, the know-how of chicken raising should be popularized through the widespread use of TV, radio and the press, and technical courses and the like should be given frequently to teach people how to raise poultry.

Furthermore, the training of personnel and the scientific research work in the poultry industry should be stepped up.

In order to operate the existing chicken plants efficiently and develop the poultry industry further, we must definitively improve the training of personnel in this field and turn out competent technicians and specialists in larger numbers.

In the past, students of agricultural colleges were given practically no courses on chicken raising, though they were taught how to raise other domestic animals. In the future we must set up poultry farming departments in the agricultural colleges and add the subject to the curriculum of higher agro-technical schools to teach the students the biological characteristics of chickens, methods of tending them and veterinary and anti-epizootic knowledge. The Science and Education Department of the Party Central Committee and the Cabinet should do organizational work efficiently to improve the system of personnel training in this field.

Along with the training of technical personnel, scientific research in the poultry industry should be strengthened.

The most important thing in scientific research in this field is to do effective work on breeding. The poultry industry personnel are at present only interested in purchasing breeding stock from abroad instead of planning to secure good stock of our own by doing good work in breeding. They ought not to do this. Scientific and technical workers in the poultry industry should intensify their research to produce good breeding stock

that grow rapidly and lay well yet consume a small amount of feed.

Research into feed should also be carried on unremittingly.

A large amount of protein feed is needed to raise chickens on a large scale. But at present we are failing to produce enough ourselves. Beans contain much protein. But since the cultivated land is limited and the bean yield is low in our country, we cannot produce beans in large quantities. On top of this, we must make bean paste and soy sauce for the people with the small amount of beans produced. This makes it impossible for us to allocate a large amount for chicken feed. But it does not justify our continued dependence on other countries for protein feed. We must find a solution to the problem of protein feed by our own efforts, at any cost.

At present, workers in the poultry industry only look to the state to supply beans instead of doing research to make protein feed of their own. They think it indispensable to feed the birds on bean cake as is done in other countries. They are mistaken.

Scientific and technical workers in the field of the poultry industry should boldly start out on intensive research on making protein feed from crops which grow well in our country.

Research into yeast should also be actively pushed ahead. The commissariat departments of the People's Army are getting good results in chicken raising by using yeast as feed. Research into this should be completed quickly.

Next, we should have good commercial organization to distribute eggs.

Otherwise, the people cannot get an equitable supply of eggs which cost us much efforts to produce and, moreover, many of the eggs may spoil or crack. As egg production increases, commerce workers must organize their work better to supply eggs to the people more efficiently.

First, every condition should be adequately provided for the safe shipment of eggs.

Today, in some localities, a great many eggs are cracked

because they are shipped carelessly in wooden boxes for lack of egg-holder plates. This is really a grievous state of affairs. Vinyl plastic egg-holder plates are neither difficult to produce nor require much vinyl plastic. If the officials have a little concern, they can produce any amount of egg-holder plates. Cadres in commerce must see to it that enough egg holders and boxes are supplied so that not even a single egg is broken in shipment.

Along with this, a good system of egg procurement and supply should be established.

Some commerce workers now sell eggs when their stores receive a delivery but, otherwise, they sit back with folded arms. They ought not to do this. As the commerce workers are directly responsible for the people's daily life, they must work actively as faithful servants of the people. When the stores run out of eggs, they should immediately inform the producing organizations and get in a stock to ensure an equitable supply to the people. At present the Ministry of Procurement and Food Administration is responsible for the procurement of eggs. But we think it preferable that the Ministry of Commerce should undertake it as it does other foodstuffs. Only then can eggs be brought to the stores in larger quantities and more quickly and supplied to the people more smoothly.

Good egg-processing facilities should be installed. Needless to say, our present output of eggs is not large, so there is no dead stock of eggs in the stores. But in the future when large numbers of eggs are produced through a nation-wide, all-people movement, there may be times when they are left unsold. Necessary facilities, therefore, should be prepared from now on so that in such cases eggs may be processed and supplied to the people.

Furthermore, in order to procure and supply chicken properly, facilities for killing them, refrigeration plants and refrigeration cars should be produced in greater numbers, and cold storage and refrigerated counters should be set up in the stores. This organizational work is another important task and should be done well.

Comrades, the development of a large-scale poultry industry is an honourable task for supplying eggs and chickens to our people who lived in poverty in the past, and it is very useful work for bringing up our little ones, successors to our revolution, healthy and strong. All workers engaged in poultry raising should have a high sense of honour and pride in their work and come out as one in the struggle to develop the poultry industry. Not only workers in this field but also those in other branches of the national economy should fully understand that the struggle to develop the poultry industry is an important revolutionary task to improve our people's welfare, and should make a greater contribution to it.

We must regularize production in the existing chicken plants, build more plants and raise chickens extensively through an all-people movement, so that chickens and eggs are supplied in abundance to the rural population as well as to urban dwellers. True, this is not an easy task. But if all the people put their shoulders to the wheel, the task can certainly be carried out, since we have already laid the firm foundations for the development of the poultry industry and have accumulated rich experience.

I firmly believe that you will bring about a new upswing in developing our poultry industry by putting the above-mentioned tasks into effect without fail.

REPORT TO THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF
THE WORKERS' PARTY OF KOREA
ON THE WORK OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

November 2, 1970

Comrades,

Nine years have elapsed since the Fourth Congress of our Party, at which a magnificent programme of socialist construction was drawn up. This has been a period of harsh trial, in which very complex and difficult circumstances were created in our revolution and construction, but it has also been a proud period, in which revolutionary events of great historic significance have occurred in our people's advance toward socialism and communism.

During the period under review, audaciously breaking through manifold hardships and obstacles, our Party opportunely convened a Conference and plenary meetings in order to take stock of the changes in the situation and presented unique strategic and tactical policies for successfully promoting the Korean revolution as a whole and skilfully organized and mobilized the masses of the people for their implementation.

Thanks to the wise leadership of the Party, great victories and achievements have been obtained on all fronts of socialist construction, and the revolutionary base of the northern half of the Republic has been consolidated as firmly as a rock.

The impact of our brilliant successes in socialist construc-

tion in the northern half of the Republic has given added momentum to the revolutionary advance of the broad masses of the people—the workers, peasants, student youth and intellectuals—in south Korea and the colonial rule there of the U.S. imperialists has been shaken to the core.

During the years we are reviewing our Party has waged a dynamic struggle, holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle, and thereby enhanced our country's international prestige still further and contributed greatly to the general advance of the revolutionary movement all over the world.

In the course of its arduous struggle for the revolution and construction, our Party has developed into a militant party capable of weathering any storm, into an invincible revolutionary party all of whose members are closely united with one idea and purpose around the Party's Central Committee and maintain ties of kinship with the masses.

Today we are to greet the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea, the organizer and inspirer of all the victories of our people, with deep conviction in the justness of our cause and with great pride and self-respect in the tremendous achievements attained by our people under the leadership of the Party. All our Party members and working people, our overseas compatriots and our close friends in other lands, warmly congratulate us on this Congress and wish us success in our work.

This Congress will mark another milestone in our Party's struggle to consolidate and develop the socialist system in our country, give powerful support to the revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people, achieve the independent reunification of our homeland and cement solidarity for our revolution all over the world. It will powerfully encourage and inspire our Party members and the entire Korean people to new and greater victories.

I. GREAT RESULTS

Comrades,

The Fourth Congress of our Party reviewed our historic victory in building the foundations of socialism and adopted a magnificent Seven-Year Plan, the main tasks of which were to carry out all-round technological reconstruction and a cultural revolution and to radically improve the people's standard of living, relying on our firmly established socialist system; and it forcefully roused our entire people to the struggle for its realization.

All our Party members and working people, hopefully confident of their bright future, rose in the struggle to implement the new, militant programme set forth at the Party Congress and successfully carried the great Seven-Year Plan into effect, coming up with fresh innovations and miraculous achievements every day.

However, our revolution and construction have been faced with great difficulties and hardships during the past few years, as the aggressive manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists have become more and more blatant and as a complex situation has developed in the international communist movement. This state of affairs urgently required our Party to arm all our people firmly with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism and, in particular, to lead them to make thoroughgoing politico-ideological preparations for coping with war. At the same time it also demanded that the Party direct tremendous additional efforts to strengthening our nation's defences, even if this should mean a readjustment of the rate of development of the national economy, so that we would possess a strong national defence that would guarantee the security of our country and people.

The Party held a historic Conference in October 1966 at

which it took steps to build up our revolutionary ranks politically and ideologically and to reorganize all the work of socialist construction in line with the requirements of the prevailing situation; it also advanced a new revolutionary line of simultaneously carrying on economic and defence construction in order to strengthen our defence capabilities in the light of the intensified aggressive machinations of the enemy. In view of this, it was decided to extend the Seven-Year Plan for three years.

Ensuing developments have clearly shown that the measures taken by the Party suited the fundamental interests of our revolution extremely well and that they were daring, active and intelligent measures for dealing with the changing situation. All our Party members and working people, true to the new revolutionary line put forward by the Party, have waged a heroic fight on the two fronts of economic and defence construction, fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan creditably, achieving firm politico-ideological unity throughout our society and turning our entire country into a mighty fortress that can stand up against any surprise attack by the enemy.

1. CONVERSION OF OUR COUNTRY INTO A SOCIALIST INDUSTRIAL STATE

Comrades,

Our greatest achievement in socialist construction during the period under review is that the country has been converted into a socialist industrial state as a result of our splendid fulfilment of the historic task of socialist industrialization.

Socialist industrialization was vital to reinforcing our socialist system and furthering socialist construction in the northern half of the Republic. And it was the cardinal task of the Seven-Year Plan.

Relying on the foundations of an independent national industry and the material base laid for introducing modern technology in all branches of the national economy during the

period of the Five-Year Plan, our Party saw to it that a powerful struggle was waged under the Seven-Year Plan to create a comprehensively-developed, independent modern industry with a solid raw material base of its own and the latest techniques, and to effect the overall technological reconstruction of our national economy.

In accord with the correct policy of the Party, our industry developed very rapidly, and its outlook changed radically under the Seven-Year Plan.

Thanks to the successful implementation of the Seven-Year Plan in the field of industry, the value of our gross industrial output this year will be 11.6 times that of 1956—13.3 times as much in the manufacture of the means of production and 9.3 times as much in consumer goods. This means that industrial production has made a great annual increase of 19.1 per cent, averaged over the entire period of industrialization from 1957 to 1970. Today our industry makes as many industrial products in just 12 days as were turned out in the preliberation year of 1944.

Industry as a whole has developed rapidly, and this is especially true of heavy industry.

In the period of the Seven-Year Plan our Party made sure that emphasis was laid primarily on the improvement and reinforcement of the key branches of heavy industry, while, at the same time, extensive work was carried out to expand and consolidate our heavy industry bases. As a result of this policy, our heavy industry became fully equipped, with its own powerful machine-building industry at the core, and its strength was increased beyond compare during the period we are reviewing.

The greatest success achieved in the growth of heavy industry was precisely the establishment of our own machine-building industry, the basis for the development of our national economy and technological progress.

Owing to the great efforts directed by the Party to the development of the machine-building industry under the Seven-Year Plan, our country—which could not even make simple

farm implements properly before liberation—is now in a position to manufacture such large machines as 6,000-ton power presses, heavy-duty trucks, large tractors, excavators, bulldozers, electric and diesel locomotives, vessels of the 5,000-ton class, and precision machines; it can also produce not only individual machine units and pieces of equipment but also complete sets of equipment for outfitting modern factories. Under the Seven-Year Plan alone, our machine-building industry produced and supplied aggregate plants for more than 100 modern factories, including power stations and metallurgical and chemical plants.

The power bases of the country, too, have been further consolidated to meet the demands of our rapid industrial development and overall technical revolution. Giant hydro- and thermo-power plants were built during the Seven-Year Plan, with the result that the total generating capacity of our country has grown considerably, the one-sidedness of the electric power industry—which had relied exclusively upon hydraulic power—has been eliminated and the nation's power bases have been consolidated qualitatively.

Rapid development of the ferrous metallurgical industry was one of the key tasks in achieving overall industrialization. Under the Seven-Year Plan our iron-producing bases were expanded and a new iron works was built in the western region. This resulted in an increase in our pig and granulated iron production capacity, the strengthening of an independent iron industry, rapid progress in the production of steel—particularly rolled steel—and the setting up of a number of new second-stage metal-processing branches. Our country's ferrous metallurgical industry, equipped with perfect production processes for everything from pig iron to steel, rolled steel and goods of second-stage metal processing, has become a powerful branch, and it can now satisfy all our demands for different metals needed to develop our national economy.

The look of the chemical industry, as well, has undergone a fundamental change. During the period of industrialization, the bases of our chemical-fertilizer production were reinforced

and a new branch producing agricultural chemicals and other branches producing vinalon and other synthetic fibres and synthetic resins were created. Thus, powerful bases for both an organic and an inorganic chemical industry have been laid in our country, enabling us to further step up the use of chemicals in our national economy.

Rapid progress has also been made in the coal industry, mining industry, building-materials industry and in other branches of heavy industry.

This year our heavy industry will turn out 16,500 million kwh of electricity, 27.5 million tons of coal, 2.2 million tons of steel, 1.5 million tons of chemical fertilizers and 4 million tons of cement.

Our heavy industry, with a powerful machine-building industry at its core, is a guarantee of the country's political and economic independence. In addition, as the solid material foundation for the accelerated development of our national economy, it plays a great role in developing light industry and agriculture and in bettering our nation's defences.

Great headway has also been made in the development of light industry. The Party, firmly maintaining its policy of concurrently developing large-scale nationally-controlled industries and medium- and small-scale local industries for the production of consumption goods, saw to it that modern factories of centrally-run light industry were established under the Seven-Year Plan while, at the same time, many local industry factories were set up with local reserves and the technological reconstruction of this industry was actively pushed ahead along with the development of heavy industry. As a result our country now has all sectors of light industry production, including a textile industry with an annual capacity of more than 400 million metres of high-quality fabric, a food industry and industry for daily necessities. Moreover, up-to-date light industry bases have been set up which can fully meet our working people's demand for consumer goods ranging from draperies to products for cultural use.

With its rapid advance and great expansion, industry came

to play a more decisive role in the production of gross national product and national income. Industry's share in the value of our total industrial and agricultural output rose from 34 per cent in 1956 to 74 per cent in 1969, and its share in our national income from industrial and agricultural production increased from 25 to 65 per cent during the same period.

Furthermore, there has been a marked rise in the per capita output of basic manufactured goods, an important index to a nation's economic strength and level of industrial development. This year the per capita output of our country will be 1,184 kwh of electricity, 1,975 kilogrammes of coal, 158 kilogrammes of steel, 108 kilogrammes of chemical fertilizers and 287 kilogrammes of cement. This proves that our country has caught up with the advanced industrial countries in the per capita output of major industrial products and surpassed them in some items.

The task of effecting an overall technical revolution has also been successful in every field of the national economy, thanks to our powerful heavy industry bases. With the development of our machine-building and other heavy industries, the technical equipment available for use in all fields of our national economy has been radically improved. Moreover, electrification and automation have been introduced on a large scale throughout our national economy.

Powerfully supported by heavy industry, we have also realized the technological reconstruction of our rural economy successfully.

The Party has directed great efforts to this technological reorganization, following the policy set forth at its Fourth Congress, particularly, along the path indicated by *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* adopted at the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party in 1964, and it has achieved brilliant successes in this field.

The most noteworthy success attained in the rural technical revolution during the period under review is the completion of all our irrigation projects.

We pushed work ahead on large-scale irrigation projects while, at the same time, making maximum use of the existing facilities, thereby completing the irrigation of our paddyfields and irrigating many non-paddyfields, as well. Great efforts had also been made by the state on drainage projects over the past few years; consequently the major rice-producing areas of our country are now completely freed of the harmful effects of stagnant water. Large numbers of river improvement projects, dyke projects for controlling tidewater and reforestation works were undertaken all over the country, and paddy and dry fields and crops have been better protected against natural disasters. In short, during the period we are reviewing a perfect irrigation system has been established in our country, ensuring rich, stable harvests every year, regardless of the weather, be it flood or drought.

The Party singled out mechanization as the principal task in the rural technical revolution under the Seven-Year Plan and worked hard to carry it out. During the period under review, the number of farm-machine stations, the bases of rural mechanization, increased considerably, and they were set up in every city and county throughout our country. Also, countless new farm machines were introduced in the rural areas. The number of tractors serving the rural economy was multiplied by 3.3—and trucks, by 6.4—between 1961 and 1969, and several kinds of new farm machines were devised and manufactured so that more of our farm work could be done with the help of machines.

The task of electrification in the countryside was also admirably carried out under the Seven-Year Plan. An all-out campaign was waged to guarantee that not one *ri* or farmhouse was left without electricity and, as a result, every *ri* in our country now has electricity and every farmhouse has electric lights. In the countryside electricity is used extensively not only in the home life of the farmers but also as a source of power for machines and of heat in agricultural production. Annual consumption of electricity in the countryside today amounts to 1,000 million kwh, most of which is used in pro-

duction. The proportion of our total electric power output that is consumed in rural areas is considerable, and our country already compares favourably with the advanced countries in the field of rural electrification.

We have also made great progress in the use of chemicals in agriculture. There was 3.2 times as much chemical fertilizer applied per *chongbo* of paddy and dry fields last year as in 1960, and the qualitative composition of these fertilizers was markedly improved. In addition, an increase in the use of chemical sprays meant that crops were better protected against blights and harmful insects and the countryside had large supplies of highly effective herbicides.

All branches of agricultural production made rapid progress as the rural technical revolution gathered headway.

Despite some fluctuations in agricultural production caused by unusually severe natural disasters which hit our country repeatedly during the past few years, we reaped a good harvest every year, and this year we have also brought in a bumper crop. Our food problem has now been completely solved, and a firm basis of grain production has been laid which will allow us to develop all other fronts of our rural economy more rapidly. Having laid the solid material and technical foundations for stockbreeding, our country's animal husbandry has entered a new phase of development based on modern techniques. The poultry industry has experienced an especially noteworthy advance in the past few years, and now, by using industrial methods we can produce over 700 million eggs and large numbers of chickens every year.

The electrification of our railways is one of many major achievements wrought in the technological reconstruction of our national economy. Under the Seven-Year Plan 850 kilometres of railway have been switched over to electric traction so that the electrification of the major trunk lines has been substantially completed.

All this shows that the historic task of socialist industrialization has been carried out successfully in our country and that a once colonial agrarian land far removed from modern,

technical civilization has now been turned into a socialist industrial state with modern industry and highly developed agriculture.

Comrades,

The implementation of the Party's line of industrialization was far from an easy task; there were many obstacles and hardships that had to be overcome by our people who turned out to create a modern industry and effect the technological reconstruction of our national economy.

What industry we inherited from the former, colonial society was negligible, and even that was almost entirely destroyed in the war unleashed by the U.S. imperialist aggressors. During the postwar Three-Year Plan we successfully rebuilt our war-ravaged national economy, but the colonial lop-sidedness of industry was not fully eradicated and the foundations of our heavy industry were extremely weak. We had limited funds, insufficient raw and other materials and only a small technical force. Moreover, we had to wage our struggle to achieve the industrialization and the technological reconstruction of our national economy in the midst of the highly complicated internal and external conditions faced by our revolution, outstanding of which is the strained situation caused by the ever intensified manoeuvrings of the U.S. imperialist occupying forces and their lackeys in south Korea, who are trying to provoke another war.

In spite of these difficulties, our Party carried through the line of socialist industrialization without the slightest vacillation, correctly leading our people to a tremendous display of revolutionary self-reliance, as a result of which they solved all the difficult and intricate problems that arose in the course of creating a modern industry and achieving the technological reconstruction of our national economy without recourse to outside aid.

All of our working people, upholding the Party's line, joined in the struggle for the socialist industrialization of our country and the technological reconstruction of the national economy. Responding to the Party's call, "Let us rush forward

at the speed of Chollima!" our heroic working class and the rest of the working people waged an untiring battle to implement the Party's line of industrialization, smashing any passivism and conservatism that stood in the way and overcoming all hardships and difficulties.

Thanks to both the accuracy of the Party's line of industrialization and its wise leadership in carrying this line out, and to the heroic and devoted struggle of our people in their work, the difficult and complex task of industrialization—which took the capitalist countries a full century or even a few centuries—has been creditably accomplished in our country, in a short time, in only 14 years.

The conversion of our country into a socialist industrial state is an event of great historic significance in the struggle to accelerate the building of socialism and communism in our country and attain a nation-wide victory for the Korean revolution.

With the accomplishment of socialist industrialization our country has been provided with the firm material and technical foundations for socialism and is now capable of meeting all the demands of its economic and defence construction as well as the people's needs for industrial products and agricultural produce. The conversion of our country into an industrial state as a result of industrialization turned our revolutionary base into an impregnable fortress and provided us with a solid asset for powerfully supporting the revolutionary struggle of our compatriots in south Korea and securing the reunification of our homeland and its future prosperity.

With the founding of an independent, modern industry and the introduction of modern technology in all the branches of the national economy, including agriculture, our country has finally done away with the economic and technical backwardness it inherited from the old society and has joined the ranks of the advanced countries of the world as a full-fledged member. Our people, never again to suffer all those insults and contempts because of their backward economy, can now proudly enter the international arena as a mighty and advanced

nation on an equal basis with all the other nations of the world, large and small.

2. ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Comrades,

The cultural revolution was a matter of tremendous importance in our country, formerly a backward colonial, semi-feudal state. The Party has always given the most careful attention to combatting the cultural backwardness that was our legacy from the old society and to developing, as rapidly as possible, a new, socialist national culture, and it has worked especially hard in this regard during the period covered by the Seven-Year Plan.

In its work to bring about the cultural revolution, the Party attached primary importance to public education and the training of our own cadres, giving top priority to these tasks. It took a series of radical measures aimed at training the younger generation to be able builders of socialism and communism and at creating large numbers of technicians and specialists, in keeping with the swift pace of the technical revolution.

The most important success achieved in the work of public education during the period under review was the introduction of universal compulsory nine-year technical education. Based on the further consolidation of successes achieved under the compulsory secondary education system which had been introduced earlier, this system of universal compulsory nine-year technical education was put into practice by our Party from 1967. As a result, all children and young people in our country from the ages of 7 to 16 receive free, compulsory technical education at regular schools. This compulsory nine-year technical education, a full embodiment of the Marxist-Leninist theory on education, is the most advanced educational system that blends general studies with basic technical training, education with productive labour.

While putting compulsory nine-year technical education into effect, we have paid close attention to improving the content and methods of our teaching. In line with the correct educational policy of the Party, our socialist science of teaching has been further perfected, *Juche* and the working-class line have been fully integrated in our school education and the quality of our scientific and theoretical training has been raised even higher.

Benefiting from the compulsory nine-year technical education, the members of our younger generation today are all reliably growing into a new communist type of man with all-round capabilities, able builders of a new society who are firmly armed with the *Juche* idea of our Party and have a wide general knowledge and a mastery of the fundamentals of modern science and technology. With members of the younger generation who have completed their compulsory technical education now starting to join all fronts of socialist construction in large numbers, the ranks of our educated working people are steadily increasing and the general technical and cultural levels of our society are being raised.

The introduction of compulsory nine-year technical education is a great victory for the educational policy of our Party, marking another milestone in our country's cultural revolution.

The realities of rapid socialist construction called for more technicians and specialists. In view of the practical requirements of socialist construction, our Party continued to exert great efforts to train technicians and specialists and achieved many successes in this field, as well. During the period we are reviewing the number of institutions of higher education increased from 78 to 129, and 376 higher technical schools were newly established to train technicians and specialists in large numbers. Paralleling our regular system of higher education, various plans offering higher education for those who are on the job have also made progress.

Today more than 497,000 engineers, assistant engineers and specialists—4.3 times as many as in 1960—are working in

the various fields of our national economy, excellently managing and operating state and economic organizations, scientific and cultural institutions, modern factories and enterprises and co-operative farms with their own talents and efforts.

In line with our Party's correct educational policy, comprehensive bases for training cadres have been firmly established all over the country. At present, we have at least one higher technical school or higher school in every county, higher technical schools and colleges in the factories in our major industrial districts, and agricultural colleges, schools of medicine, normal colleges, teachers' training institutes, colleges for kindergarten teachers, communist colleges and various other colleges in all the provinces. Thus, all local areas are excellently training the technical personnel, Party officials and state administrative personnel they need, in line with their specific conditions.

As they have come to basically meet their demands for cadres, our localities have eliminated their previous dependence on the central authorities for cadres and are now in a position to tackle their tasks in socialist construction more satisfactorily through their own efforts. The establishment of the comprehensive bases for training cadres in the local areas is of great significance, as well, in raising the cultural levels of all parts of the country to a uniform high. These colleges and higher technical schools, distributed throughout the provincial and county seats and other localities, are the bases of the cultural revolution. They have contributed greatly to introducing modern technical civilization in the local areas and raising the cultural and technical levels of the working people. This shows that our work in education and in training cadres for the nation has attained a very high level, and that a solid foundation has been laid for training greater numbers of technical personnel and specialists in the future.

Socialism and communism cannot be built with the knowledge of a few people alone; they can be successfully built only by arming the broad masses of the working people with a vast knowledge of nature and society. Over the past period our

Party has gone all out to raise the general cultural and technical levels of the working people while simultaneously pushing ahead with the training of technical personnel. Thanks to the strengthening of adult education and the improvement of our radio propaganda and press coverage and circulation, the general cultural and technical levels of the working people have been raised appreciably, and the Party's policy of having every working man and woman master at least one technical skill is bearing good fruit. As a result, all our working people are now taking part, purposefully and with a definite degree of knowledge and techniques, in the dedicated struggle to remake nature and society.

During the period under review, great advances have also been made in the field of science. Upholding the Party's policy of firmly establishing *Juche* in scientific research, our scientists succeeded in solving a number of pressing scientific and technical problems by directing their efforts to research aimed at further increasing the independence of our national economy, thus making a great contribution to socialist construction in our country.

Our socialist literature and art are in their heyday. Thanks to the successful implementation of the Party's policy in this area, all revisionist elements and restorationist tendencies have been removed. Our writers and artists are all busy creating revolutionary literature and art works thoroughly based on the working-class line; and workers, farmers and broad sections of other working people are actively participating in literary and artistic activities. Our literature and art have become the literature and art of the Party, of the revolution and of the people in the truest sense of the term and are becoming a powerful means in educating our working people along communist lines.

Having successfully fulfilled the tasks of the cultural revolution, our country has now become a land where all the people, young and old, are studying, a land where science and socialist literature and art are developing and flowering on every hand. The cultural backwardness which we inherited

from the old society has been overcome, and the centuries-old desire of our people to lead a cultured, happy life is being fully realized in the era of the Workers' Party.

3. CONSOLIDATION OF THE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL UNITY OF ALL THE PEOPLE

Comrades,

During the period under review, our Party has made strenuous effort to educate and transform the masses of our people, rallying them closely around the Party and further strengthening our revolutionary ranks.

The policy invariably followed by our Party in building up the revolutionary ranks and cementing the politico-ideological unity of society was that of pushing ahead energetically with the work of revolutionizing and working-classizing the working people, while strengthening the dictatorship over the hostile elements through a proper combination of the class and mass lines. This correct combination of dictatorship with democracy, of class struggle with the work of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the people, along with the winning over of broad masses while isolating a tiny handful of hostile elements, is a fundamental requirement of the revolution and a basic work method of the Communists. The Party has put a lot of energy into strengthening its revolutionary ranks politically and ideologically, guarding against both the "Leftist" tendency to ignore the unity and solidarity of the working class, co-operative farmers and labouring intellectuals—which constitutes the basis of our social relations—and to lay undue emphasis on the class struggle, distrusting and shunning people for no reason at all, and the Rightist tendency to neglect the class struggle against hostile elements and the survivals of outmoded ideologies and focus all attention on the unity and cohesion of the masses of the people.

It is essential that we isolate and put down all hostile elements in order to be able to reinforce our revolutionary ranks

and ensure the success of our revolutionary struggle and work of construction. Our Party has opportunely smashed all attempts to weaken the class struggle and has wielded proletarian dictatorship as an effective weapon in that struggle.

In the recent past some of our people, following this ideological trend toward Rightist capitulationism which appeared in the international communist movement, asserted that the class struggle came to an end with the establishment of a socialist system and there was no need to exercise a dictatorship over the remnants of the overthrown exploiting classes. We made a powerful attack on these dangerous revisionist ideas promptly and utterly routed them.

Our Party stood firm by the principle of educating the broad masses, actively drawing them in the struggle against counterrevolution and bringing them to a class awakening through struggle against the enemy. Under the Party's correct guidance we fought energetically against the counterrevolutionary elements as an all-Party, all-people movement smashing the conspiratorial manoeuvrings of our class enemy before it was too late and completely isolating the handful of hostile elements, firmly safeguarding the gains of our revolution and further solidifying its class position.

During the period we are reviewing, our Party vigorously pushed ahead with the work of revolutionizing and working-classing the whole of society, while increasing the dictatorship over the hostile elements.

This work is a requirement of the law that guides the construction of socialism and communism, and is one of the most important responsibilities of the dictatorship of the proletariat after the establishment of the socialist system. In the period of the socialist transformation of production relations the task of liquidating the exploiting classes and turning all the working people into socialist working people is of paramount importance. However, the principal task after the establishment of the socialist system is that of re-educating all the working people as members of the working class from the point of view of both their socio-economic status and their

ideological and moral qualities, thus gradually doing away with class distinctions and turning them into true builders of socialism and communism.

In carrying through the policy of revolutionization and working-classization of the whole of society, our Party has firmly maintained the principle of steadily enhancing the leadership role of the working class and of educating and remoulding the farmers and intellectuals on the pattern of the working class.

In this strengthening of the leading role of the working class in the building of socialism and communism so that it may carry out its historic mission, it is imperative that its ideological and cultural levels be raised and its organization increased and that it temper itself in all aspects in a more revolutionary manner. Ours is a young working class with a number of characteristic features in its development. The ranks of our working class which had not been very large, registered a sharp rise in a short period of time as industry developed by leaps and bounds following liberation, and our workers were joined by a large number of erstwhile peasants, small traders, handicraftsmen and members of the younger generation who had had no revolutionary training.

Our Party therefore waged a powerful struggle to revolutionize the working class. The Party stepped up its politico-ideological work among the workers in order to increase their class consciousness and lead them to steel themselves perseveringly in productive activities, and went all out to strengthen the ranks of the working class organizationally and ideologically. As a result, the vanguard role of the working class in revolution and construction and its revolutionary influence on the working people have grown. Our working class is now fulfilling its honourable mission creditably as the leading class in the Korean revolution.

Working-classizing and revolutionizing the farmers, a main detachment of our revolution, is one of the basic prerequisites for creating a classless society and assuring the victory of the cause of socialism and communism.

As there have never been many hired farm hands in our country, our rural population consists mainly of former poor and middle peasants. A small proprietor's mentality, egoism and other obsolete ideas are thus deeply rooted in their minds. Our farmers not only lag behind the working class technically and culturally; they are far behind ideologically, as well. The socialist revolution has wrought a radical change in the socio-economic position of the farmers and also effected a great change in their ideological awareness, but the lag of the farmers behind the advanced working class in ideology remains a major contributing factor to the class distinctions that still exist between our working class and farmers even after the establishment of the socialist system.

During the period under review, our Party has paid special attention to intensifying the ideological revolution as well as the technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside. The strengthening of our farmers' ideological education and organized life as well as their training through socialist collective labour all led to a marked rise in their level of ideological awareness and a further promotion of their collectivist spirit and organization. As the technical and cultural revolutions progressed successfully in the countryside, the technological and cultural levels of our farmers rose ever higher, and their socio-economic position approximated that of the working class. Today our farmers, reliable allies of the working class and genuine masters of socialist construction, are staunchly defending the rural outposts of socialism.

Our Party has all along devoted much effort to including our intellectuals, as well as our workers and farmers, in the revolutionizing, working-classing process.

One major task facing a Marxist-Leninist Party which has assumed power is how to correctly solve the problem of the old intellectuals who served the old society, while at the same time training new intellectuals. Fundamentally speaking, the intelligentsia, as a social stratum, has a dual nature: it can serve not only the exploiting classes, but the working class as well. Most of the old intellectuals in our country came from wealthy

families and served the exploiter society in the past. But, as intellectuals of a colonial and semi-feudal society, they were subjected to racial oppression and discrimination by the Japanese imperialists and, therefore, the majority of them had anti-imperialist leanings and a democratic, revolutionary spirit. In view of these characteristic features of the old intellectuals, our Party adopted a policy of active transformation and patiently educated them, while, at the same time, training large numbers of new intellectuals from among the working people. Now, in the stage of socialist construction, the question of the dual nature of the old intellectuals, that is, who they serve, has been solved, and there remains only the question of how best they may serve the working class and other working people.

During the period of socialist construction, when an all-out battle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas is the order of the day, our Party has devoted special attention to the revolutionization and working-classization of the intellectuals, who harbour the most hangovers of obsolete ideologies and have the least opportunity to temper themselves. The Party has energetically tried to turn them into true intellectuals of the working class who will serve our homeland and the people more faithfully. Thanks to the Party's steady work of ideological education and to revolutionary organizational life, a campaign against individualism and egoism was promoted among the intellectuals, tendencies to flunkeyism and dogmatism that remained in their minds were successfully overcome, and all our intellectuals have been more tempered politically and ideologically. Our experience shows that it is possible not only to enlist the services of the old intellectuals but also educate and remould them into true builders of socialism and communism. Today our intellectuals, as socialist working intellectuals, are confidently advancing along the road indicated by the Party and serving our revolution and construction well. This is a shining victory for our Party's policy with respect to the intelligentsia and one of our greatest achievements in the revolutionary transformation of the whole of society.

Revolutionizing and working-classizing all of society is a class struggle to root out all manner of retrogressive ideas and nonworking-class elements from every sphere of social life. And, precisely as a question of re-educating the working people themselves, who are striving to build socialism and communism ever faster and better, it is a duty that should be tackled in leading all the working people to communist society. Our Party, therefore, has conducted its work of revolutionizing and working-classizing the working people by means of explanation and persuasion, putting the main stress on ideological education. We have worked unceasingly to revolutionize and working-classize the masses of all strata on the principle of boldly trusting any person who wants to follow our Party and winning him over to the revolutionary cause even though his origin, environment and social and political backgrounds are problematic.

Revolutionary struggle and the work of construction can be fully carried out only with the conscious efforts of the masses. Our Party found the key to a successful revolutionization and working-classization of the society as a whole in the voluntary activity of the masses, and stepped up its organizational and political work among the working people, infusing them with enthusiasm for revolutionary training. We combined practical activities closely with education and reformation, using the proper mixture of general and individual education, with emphasis on eliminating negative phenomena through positive examples, and the masses themselves took on the task of revolutionization and working-classization.

One thing of vital importance in expanding the struggle for the revolutionization and working-classization of the working people is the Chollima Workteam Movement. More than a collective innovation movement in production, it is also an excellent vehicle for educating and remoulding the working people in a communist way and a mass movement to speed up the revolutionization and working-classization of all society. We increased the depth and scope of the Chollima Workteam Movement, thereby also stepping up our efforts in educating

and transforming the working people in line with the building of a socialist economy and culture. Thus, the re-education of the people was pushed forward vigorously in all fields and in all units as a movement of all the masses, along with a constant struggle for the successful fulfilment of our Seven-Year National Economic Plan.

Through the struggle for the revolutionization and working-classization of all the working people, we have overcome all manner of opportunism, flunkeyism, dogmatism and factionalism; we have armed them firmly with the revolutionary ideas of our Party and actively aroused their revolutionary enthusiasm, thereby achieving a great victory in socialist construction.

Today, as a result of the successful implementation of the Party's policy of revolutionizing and working-classizing all of society, the ideological and moral qualities of our people have undergone a radical change, and our society has been consolidated as never before. Our working people are now imbued with the fine spirit of fighting devotedly for society and the collective, for socialism and communism, and all society lives and works as a revolutionary whole. The unity of our working-class, co-operative farmers and working intellectuals has been further cemented, with all of society now constituting a Red family whose members advance in solid politico-ideological unity, helping each other and leading each other forward; our revolutionary ranks have been turned into an invincible force.

4. ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ALL-PEOPLE, NATION-WIDE DEFENCE SYSTEM

Comrades,

Increasing the nation's defence capacity is both one of the most important tasks facing a Marxist-Leninist Party that has taken power and a vital issue for the building of socialism and communism in a world in which imperialism is still extant.

Strengthening the defences of our country has been a matter of particular importance for us, who are building socialism with our territory partitioned and in frontal confrontation with the aggressors of U.S. imperialism, the ringleader of world reaction.

This is why our Party has always devoted special attention to the work of national defence, correctly combining the building of defences with the work of economic construction. During the period under review, in particular, we took a number of radical steps to boost our nation's defence capabilities, in view of the U.S. imperialists' stepping up their aggressive manoeuvres and war provocations and the resultant increase in tension. Carrying out our Party's policy, we did a tremendous work to strengthen the People's Army, arm all the people and fortify the entire country, thus creating our own defence power strong enough to guarantee the security of our homeland against enemy invasion.

Our Party began by waging an untiring campaign of politico-ideological education among the officers and men of the People's Army, in order to maximize its political and moral superiority as a revolutionary armed force. Carefully guarding against the tendency to neglect political work and cling only to military-technical affairs in the army, we have held fast to the principle of increasing the political and ideological awareness of our soldiers, combining it correctly with military-technical work. Today the morale of the officers and men of our People's Army is high, and they are well prepared ideologically. The ranks of our People's Army are filled with great political enthusiasm and staunch revolutionary will to serve our Party and the revolution and fight for our socialist homeland and people, come what may; they exhibit the fraternal unity between officers and men and bonds of kinship with the people that have been a tradition with us. Due to the splendid implementation of the Party's policy of turning the entire army into an army of cadres and modernizing it from top to bottom, our People's Army has become an army of cadres—each of our men being the equal of a hundred ene-

mies—further steeled politically, ideologically, and in military techniques; it has grown into an invincible revolutionary armed force, fully equipped with powerful means of attack and defence.

One of the most significant achievements made in strengthening our defence capacity during the period under review was the arming of all our people and the fortifying of our entire country. All of our people know how to fire guns and carry arms with them. Furthermore, we have built impregnable defences throughout the country and have even fortified all of our major production installations. This is the most powerful system of defence, one that can be established only in our socialist society in which monolithic politico-ideological unity of all the people has been attained and a solid independent economic system established.

Great success has also been registered in the development of our national defence industry. Formerly, our country had but an insignificant munitions industry which was confined to the production of a limited number of rifles. Now, however, thanks to the establishment of firm bases for an independent national defence industry, we are in a position to manufacture various types of up-to-date weapons and all the combat and technological equipment needed for the defence of our homeland.

This increase in our national defence capacity has been obtained at a very great price, however. Frankly speaking, our spendings on national defence have been too heavy a burden for us, in the light of the small size of our country and its population. Had we been able to divert even a part of our nation's defence spendings to economic construction, our national economy would have developed more rapidly and the standard of living of our people been raised markedly. But the situation never allowed us to do so. We could not throw the fundamental interests of the revolution to the winds in seeking temporary comfort, nor did we want to once more become a people without a country. Therefore, we devoted our great efforts to increasing our defence capacity to perfect the de-

fences of our homeland even though this meant delaying our economic development and the raising of our people's standard of living.

That is why we were able firmly to safeguard the security of our homeland even in the face of frenzied activity by the imperialists; the enemy did not even dare to provoke us. Things were extremely tense in our country at the time of the U.S. imperialist armed spy ship *Pueblo* incident in 1968 and again when the huge *EC-121* spy plane incident occurred last year. The U.S. imperialist gangsters massed armed forces at the very doorstep of our country and brazenly attempted an armed invasion of the northern half of the Republic. The situation was really serious. The whole world waited on developments and expressed its deep concern. However, thanks to our powerful all-people, nation-wide defence system, with the People's Army at the core, we were not scared in the slightest, and we took a strong stand, stating that we would retaliate for the "retaliation" of the enemy and wage all-out war against all-out war, and finally we forced the aggressors to their knees. Our enemies are still running amuck, trying daily to set off a new war of aggression in our country. But we are sure that we are able to knock down any and all aggressors, thanks to the wise leadership of our Marxist-Leninist Party, the boundless strength of our people, united closely around the Party, our powerful, independent economy, our invincible revolutionary army, our armed citizenry, and our fortified territory.

5. THOROUGH ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Comrades,

In order to take the fullest advantages of the socialist economic system and build socialism and communism successfully after the socialist reorganization of production relations

has been effected, we must work constantly to improve the guidance and management of our national economy.

The circumstances under which we brought about the socialist transformation of production relations and pushed over-all technological reconstruction in our country urgently demanded a new solution for the question of guidance and management of our national economy. Although we had established a unitary rule for the advanced, large-scale, socialist sector of our economy with the creditable fulfilment of our historical task of laying the foundations of socialism, the system and methods of guidance for our national economy as a whole had not yet been adapted to it, and the qualifications and ability of our officials also failed to measure up. These deficiencies, brought out by the new historical circumstances, would have to be overcome before we could make any more rapid advances in socialist economic construction.

These requirements brought out by the new circumstances could only be met by establishing a thoroughgoing socialist system of management in industry, agriculture and all other fields of our national economy.

Setting up and perfecting a new socialist system of economic management is an extremely hard and complex revolutionary task, as it implies making drastic changes in the old system and methods of work, which are rooted deep in tradition and order built up through a long historical process.

However, our Party, basing itself on all the experiences gained in the socialist construction of our country and creatively developing Marxist-Leninist principles, scientifically worked out an original orientation and specific methods for socialist economic management, thus laying the groundwork for solving this urgent question in practice.

Our guidance at Chongsan-ri in February 1960 marked a qualitative change in improving our system and methods of work and in establishing a socialist system of economic management, in line with changing conditions. In the course of generalizing the Chongsan-ri spirit and Chongsan-ri method, which were an embodiment of the traditional, revolutionary mass

line of our Party in the actual socialist construction, new changes were effected in the work of the state and economic organizations.

Following this guidance our Party took radical steps to establish the Tae'an work system of industrial management, so as to facilitate putting the Chongsan-ri spirit and Chongsan-ri method into practice in the guidance and management of the national economy.

The Tae'an work system is a system of economic management admirably suited to the nature of a socialist system, for it stipulates that the factories and enterprises conduct all their management activities under the collective leadership of Party committees and carry out their economic tasks by giving precedence to political work, infusing the producing masses with an enthusiasm for work; that superiors do everything they can to help their subordinates and that the economy be managed and operated in a scientific and rational way.

Our Party put an end to one-man management by directors, the outmoded method of enterprise management; defined the Party committee as the highest leadership authority at every economic unit; and set up a system of collective leadership by the Party committee in enterprise management. Thus, the Party committee steers economic activities by discussing orientations collectively, deciding on the ways and means for settling important questions that arise in the economic work in each period and directing and supervising their implementation. In addition it scrupulously attends to Party organizational work and ideological education, thus actively organizing and mobilizing all the working people for carrying out revolutionary tasks. The use of this system has made it possible for us to eliminate the subjectivity and arbitrariness of individuals in enterprise management and to enlist collective wisdom in managing and operating our large-scale, modern, socialist economy efficiently. Moreover, it has also made the broad masses creative and active in production with the attitude of masters.

In addition to this, our Party established a well-organized system under which the officials of ministries, bureaus and

other higher organizations and the management personnel of enterprises actually go to the production sites to solve their knotty problems in good time, and under which the higher, more centralized units responsibly provide their branches with all the equipment, materials and other goods needed for production. Thus, the old autocratic, bureaucratic methods used in the guidance of our economy are on the way out at last.

Moreover, in order to rationally manage and operate the economy the Party has introduced a system of unified, concentrated guidance in production. This did away with the irrationality—caused by independent, unrelated systems of planning, technical guidance and production guidance—that had made it impossible for us to direct production efficiently in the past, and it enabled us to co-ordinate productive and technical guidance and carry it out effectively and, especially, strengthen technical guidance.

The Taean work system is, indeed, a new socialist form of economic management which fully embodies the mass line and scientific principles in enterprise management and has completely done away with all hangovers from the outmoded, capitalist method of economic management. The Taean work system is also a form of industrial management materializing communist principles in a large measure. Here superior and subordinate personnel as well as producers learn from one another, help one another as comrades and work together as one, and the economy is managed on the basis of the great revolutionary enthusiasm of the producer masses.

Our Party has also striven to improve the guidance and management of the rural economy.

The Party transferred the direction of the rural economy from the county people's committees to the newly established county co-operative farm management committees, placing all the agro-technicians and state enterprises directly engaged in agriculture under their authority. The county co-operative farm management committees were thus charged with the task of giving direct guidance to the co-operative farms

and providing material and technical assistance from the state to the rural economy. While organizing the county co-operative farm management committees, our Party also established provincial rural economy committees and reorganized the Ministry of Agriculture—now the Agricultural Commission—so as to strengthen the scientific and technical guidance of agriculture.

The introduction of this new system of agricultural guidance with the county co-operative farm management committee as the basic unit has enabled us to direct agriculture by industrial rather than old administrative methods. As a result, it has become possible to approximate the methods of agricultural management and operation more closely to the advanced methods of industrial enterprise management, to plan and organize all management activities better and to increase technical guidance in agricultural production. The establishment of the new system of agricultural guidance has also made it possible to organically link co-operative ownership with ownership by all the people and to create closer productive ties between industry and agriculture. This increases the leading role of all-people ownership in the development of agricultural production and greatly accelerates the process of turning co-operative ownership into ownership by all the people.

After establishing these systems of industrial and agricultural management, our Party saw to it that unified and detailed systems of planning were effected in order to strengthen the democratic-centralist discipline in overall economic management and develop our economy in more planned and balanced way.

For unified planning, the Party has set up regional planning commissions and state planning departments in the cities (or districts), counties, factories and enterprises, both under the direct control of the State Planning Commission. Moreover, the planning departments for all the sectors of our national economy—including those of the ministries and organizations of the national level—were subordinated, with regard to plan-

ning, both to the State Planning Commission and to their respective enterprise or organization. Thus, a unified system of planning was established which co-ordinates all the planning of our national economy, from the work of the central management bodies to that of the individual localities, factories, and enterprises.

Thanks to this new, unified system of planning, Party and state policies reach all the planning units promptly and are accurately carried out as all the work of planning done at the various localities and enterprises has been placed in the hands of personnel from planning bodies who have a thorough understanding of the intentions of the Party and the needs of the state. This has enabled us to do away with localism and departmentalism, thoroughly subordinate the plans of ministries, administrative bureaus, provincial organizations and all factories and enterprises to the national strategic plan, and work out mobilizing and active plans. The new system has also enabled us to eliminate subjectivism and bureaucracy from the state planning bodies and fully ensure the objectivity and feasibility of plans by having the planners personally work with the producer masses, actively enlisting their creative initiative and familiarizing themselves with the specific conditions at each production site.

The new system of detailed planning, along with that of unified planning, is an important guarantee for the most scientific planning possible of our national economy.

Detailed planning makes it possible for the state planning agencies to closely co-ordinate general economic development with the management activities of every factory and enterprise and to draw up plans to suit the actual conditions in all the branches of our national economy, localities and enterprises, so that everything—even down to the smallest detail—will dovetail. The introduction of detailed planning has enabled us to develop our nation's economy rapidly without a hitch by totally eliminating the factors of imbalance and spontaneity in economic development and by ably reflecting the laws of a well-planned, proportionately developed economy.

From our own experience we can say with great pride that the socialist system of economic management established in all spheres of our country fully accords with the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and with the specific conditions of our country and that it constitutes the best economic management method for further consolidating and developing our socialist economic system and for giving great impetus to the development of our productive forces.

The overall introduction of the new economic management system has enabled us to more than meet the requirements of the economic laws of socialism, properly combining political and moral incentives with material incentives, and centralism with democracy in economic management. In particular, it has enabled us to completely overcome both the "Leftist" deviation of ignoring the transitional character of socialist society in economic management and the **Rightist inclination** toward decentralization in economic guidance and liberalization of enterprise management, that is, putting all the emphasis on material rather than political or moral incentives.

Comrades, thanks to our successful implementation of the lines set forth at the Fourth Congress of the Party and the Party Conference, we have achieved great victories and successes in socialist construction.

The historic task of turning our country into a socialist industrial state has been splendidly carried out, and the independent national economy built by our people in a spirit of self-reliance during the course of a hard-fought struggle has grown mightier. The newly established socialist system of economic management is forcefully promoting the development of our nation's productive forces. Culture and art are flourishing, and beautiful new towns and villages are going up all over everyday. Our revolutionary forces have become invincible and now we have a stronger national defence. Our people have made giant strides in their battle to scale the high peak of socialism and are leading happy, worth-while lives in our prospering socialist homeland.

We may state with confidence that we have amassed

strength enough to ensure the complete victory of socialism and to attain the reunification of our homeland and the nationwide victory of the revolution.

On behalf of this Party Congress, I would like to warmly thank all our Party members, workers, farmers and the rest of the working people who have performed brilliant exploits on every front of socialist construction, upholding the lines and policies of our Party.

II. ON THE CONSOLIDATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COUNTRY'S SOCIALIST SYSTEM

Comrades,

Today our Party and people are faced with the urgent task of further consolidating and developing our country's socialist system and hastening the complete victory of socialism on the basis of the achievements already gained in revolution and construction.

In order to strengthen the socialist system and attain the complete victory of socialism, we must carry on a powerful struggle to capture the material and ideological fortresses, which must be seized without fail on our way to communism.

We must develop our productive forces continuously by carrying the technical revolution to a higher stage. We must bring about a further development and efflorescence of socialist national culture by speeding up cultural construction. We must vigorously push ahead with the revolutionization and working-classization of all of society by giving priority to the ideological revolution.

1. CENTRAL TASKS OF SOCIALIST ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

Comrades,

During the Seven-Year Plan we have founded a modern industry, self-supporting in structure, and put all branches of the national economy mostly on a modern technical footing by vigorously accelerating the socialist industrialization of the country and the all-round technological reconstruction of the national economy.

However, we still have much work to do in the field of economic construction if we are to lay the solid material and technical foundations for socialism. We must bring the might of our modern industry into full play by equipping it better and strengthening its independence. We must develop the nation's productive forces still faster by steadily introducing technical progress in all fields of the national economy.

The basic task of the Six-Year Plan in the field of socialist economic construction is to cement the material and technical foundations of socialism and free the working people from heavy labour in all fields of the national economy, by consolidating and developing the successes gained in industrialization and advancing the technical revolution onto a new, higher plane.

During the period of the new prospective plan we should, above all, perfect the inner-structures of the industrial branches and further strengthen the *Juche* character of our industry.

With socialist industrialization now a fact, our industry is a well-balanced structure, equipped with new techniques, and one with enormous potentialities, relying mainly on domestic raw material resources. Our industry, however, does not take full advantage of its strength, since some of its branches have not yet been perfected and some minor, secondary sections and production processes are not in good shape. In particular, we still depend on foreign countries for some raw

materials, and this inevitably affects the secure and normal development of our industry to a certain degree.

We should continue with the work of improving all branches of industry, reinforcing weak sections and creating new branches so as to perfect our industry quickly. At the same time, we should wage a dynamic struggle to base its expansion entirely on the raw materials available in our own country. In this way we can bring the power of our industry into full play and base all our industrial branches on *Juche* so firmly that they will be, at least, 60 to 70 per cent self-reliant in regard to raw materials.

Great efforts should also be directed to strengthening the independence of our iron and steel industry.

Our country has rich iron-ore resources and very bright prospects for the development of this industry. However, we are now meeting the iron industry's demand for coking coal through trade with fraternal countries, because it has not yet been found in our country. Such co-operation, of course, is very valuable to us, and in the future, we shall continue to promote economic co-operation with other countries on the principle of satisfying each other's needs. But we cannot afford to import all the vast amount of coking coal we need for our iron production, which is expanding rapidly in keeping with the demands of our developing national economy.

While intensifying the struggle to increase pig-iron output with the least possible expense of coke, we must actively develop the iron industry by using home-produced fuel. During the period of the new prospective plan we must increase the production of granulated iron and semi-steel and industrialize the production of sponge iron and reduced pellets as soon as possible. We must also continue our research in electric iron-manufacturing.

The variety and quality of steel should be increased; the variety and standards of rolled steel should be expanded sharply and the production of second-stage metal-processing goods should be developed rapidly, so that we may have an adequate supply of the different ferrous materials required for the de-

velopment of the national economy and the technical revolution.

The nonferrous metallurgical industry should be rapidly developed so as to effectively exploit and utilize nonferrous metal resources abundant in our country. We should produce the light metals essential to technical progress and to the improvement of our people's living standards, especially aluminum.

The development of the chemical industry is of very great significance in expanding the raw-material bases for industry and increasing our economic independence. Relying on the existing foundations of the chemical industry, we must continue to develop the inorganic and organic chemical industries and to establish new branches in order to diversify our chemical industry.

In order to realize full-scale chemicalization of agriculture, the production of chemical fertilizers, herbicides and insecticides should be increased.

The expansion and consolidation of the raw-material bases for light industry is an important task of the chemical industry. We must enlarge existing production bases for chemical fibres and synthetic resins and, at the same time, make great efforts in the Six-Year Plan period to build new and large bases for a petroleum chemical industry so that we ourselves can produce more than 70 per cent of the fibres needed for light industry. The production of synthetic resins should also be increased quickly.

In addition, we should rapidly build up bases for synthetic rubber production to meet the domestic demand for rubber, and should intensify our attempts to produce and supply our own chemical materials for light industry.

The question of advancing the technical revolution to a new height and increasing the nation's productive forces as a whole depends largely on the growth of the engineering industry. In the Six-Year Plan period, big efforts should be continuously made to develop this industry so that it can turn out larger quantities of more efficient and economic machinery

and equipment, needed for our gigantic nature-transforming projects and for the various sectors of the national economy.

Bases for the production of heavy machinery should be expanded and reinforced to manufacture heavy equipment on a large scale: large equipment needed by the metallurgical, cement and chemical industries; turbines and generators, boilers and other big-capacity generating equipment; the same goes for 25-ton heavy-duty trucks, 300-h.p. bulldozers, big excavators and other kinds of large-size equipment needed for the extractive industries and our huge nature-remaking projects.

The development of the fishing industry and water transport system demands a speedy growth of the ship-building industry. Under the Six-Year Plan, we should build more big vessels, including 5,000-ton refrigerator-transporters and freighters. We should even build our own factory mother-ships and freighters of 10,000 tons and over.

The extensive introduction of semi-automation and automation in all spheres of the national economy has placed before the engineering industry the important task of developing the electronics and automation industries. Electronics and automation industry bases should be reinforced to produce different automation elements, instruments and gauges in large quantities. All the varieties of rare and pure metal materials needed in the electronics and automation industries should also be manufactured and supplied in sufficient quantity.

One of the important problems to be solved in the engineering industry is to mass-produce different kinds of single-purpose equipment needed for the production of consumer goods. During the period of the new prospective plan, we should set up many single-purpose equipment factories to rapidly increase the production of these machines in demand by the foodstuffs and daily-necessities industries.

The tremendous tasks confronting the engineering industry call for stepped-up production of machine tools. The output of machine tools should be boosted rapidly and, especially, special machine tools, automatic and semi-automatic machine

tools, large-size and efficient single-purpose machine tools should be produced in quantity.

Active exploitation of the rich natural resources in our country's subsoil is very important not only in accelerating the nation's economic construction but also in promoting trade with foreign countries. We should expand the bases of magnesia clinker production and the capacities of our cement factories; at the same time, we should build many new medium- and small-size local cement factories, so as to achieve a sharp rise in the output of magnesia clinker and cement.

The major task to be tackled in light industry is to quickly shore up the daily-necessities industry. The articles of daily use put out in our country still lack variety and quality. We should exert great efforts to develop this industry and, especially, strive to tap local reserves in order to bring about a new increase in the production of daily necessities in the next few years.

The central task facing the rural economy is to make agriculture highly intensive.

Above all, two-crop acreage should be expanded through the extensive introduction of irrigation in dry fields. When non-paddy irrigation is effected, dry-field farming will be freed forever from crop failure as is the case with rice farming, and the per *chongbo* yield of dry-field crops can be increased considerably. During the period of the new prospective plan a vigorous struggle should be waged to introduce irrigation, including water sprinkling, in 300,000 *chongbo* of dry fields with main emphasis on the areas suitable for two-crop cultivation. This can be done by properly readjusting and effectively utilizing the already-existing irrigation facilities.

At the same time, the chemicalization of agriculture should be pushed ahead. In the period of the Six-Year Plan, we should increase to one ton or more the amount of chemical fertilizers applied per *chongbo* of cultivated land; their qualitative composition should be improved and microelement fertilizers suitable to the soil and the peculiarities of the crops of our country should be produced and supplied in larger quantities. Along

with the increased application of chemical fertilizers, their effect should be heightened to the utmost through the establishment of a scientific manuring system. Insecticides and other agricultural chemicals should be used on an extensive scale so that crops may be completely protected from all kinds of blights and harmful insects.

A great possibility for raising the per *chongbo* yield of crops lies in strengthening biological research and extensively applying its results to agricultural production. All varieties of crops should be replaced by new superior strains by improving seed selection and increasing the production of high-yielding choice seeds fitted to the climatic and soil conditions of our country.

Tideland reclamation should also be undertaken on a large scale to obtain new land. In the Six-Year Plan period we should obtain plenty of new fertile land by concentrating our efforts, first of all, on those areas with favourable natural and geographical conditions, that can be reclaimed comparatively quickly.

One of the very urgent tasks confronting us today is to eliminate the waste and loss of agricultural and industrial products while rapidly increasing their output.

Although our country produces an enormous amount of fruit and vegetables and catches hundreds of thousands of tons of fish every year, a lot of these products spoil. This is because measures have not been taken to facilitate their keeping and to industrialize and streamline their processing. Frequently, careless packing spoils precious agricultural and industrial products.

Decisive steps should be taken to improve the storage, processing and packing of agricultural and industrial products to stop this waste completely. We should launch a mass movement to build fruit storages in areas of production and consumption, so that more fresh fruit can be kept. We should also build many factories to process fruit, vegetables and fish everywhere and process them in time, using industrial methods, without a bit of waste. Kraft paper, cardboard and other high-

quality packing materials should be turned out in great quantities for the radical improvement of the packing of manufactured and agricultural products.

Easing the strain on transport is a very urgent question at present in accelerating the overall economic construction of the country. We should make big efforts to develop transport service to fully meet the fast-growing demands of our country.

At present our country has only one railway line linking the east with the west, and this constitutes the main factor in the strain on railway transport. We should speed up the Ichon-Sepo railway construction now under way so as to hasten the opening of another railway line connecting the east and west coasts, and push forward actively the construction of a new railway between Kanggye, Hyesan and Musan to connect the east and west portions of the northern inland region.

We should, at the same time, continue to electrify some overworked branch lines in the eastern and inland areas which have steep gradients and heavy freight traffic. Diesel traction should be introduced on the non-electrified lines and the traction-load and the operation speed of the locomotives should be increased in order to raise railway transport capacity.

Water transport should be further developed with a view to ensuring the efficiency of the rapidly increasing cargo shipment for foreign trade and to easing the strain on railway transport. We should energetically open up new routes to expand the network of coastwise and river shipping, develop joint railway-water transport and increase the use of our vessels in foreign trade. We should also develop motor transport to a greater extent on a par with the advancement of the automobile industry.

Comrades,

To continue to push ahead vigorously with the technical revolution is an important task for us to liberate the working people from backbreaking labour. The technical revolution is also essential to ease the present labour shortage.

Our working people have been notably relieved from

heavy, backbreaking labour by the full-scale technological reconstruction carried out in all fields of the national economy during the Seven-Year Plan. But there is still the contrast between heavy and light labour and we have not yet eliminated work in excessive heat or under other harmful conditions. There remains a big disparity between industrial and agricultural labour and the women, who account for one half of the population, have not yet been completely freed from household drudgery.

We have to launch a widespread technical renovation movement in industry and agriculture and all other branches of the national economy so that we will narrow down to a considerable extent the distinction between heavy and light labour, between agricultural and industrial work and free women from the heavy burden of household chores. These are precisely the three major tasks of the technical revolution which we should aim to fulfil in the next few years.

In the first place, a great effort should be exerted to narrow the differences between heavy and light labour, to eliminate heat-affected and other harmful labour and to introduce on a broad scale both semi- and full-scale automation in all fields of the national economy.

The foremost task should be the launching of a widespread movement to introduce advanced technology into the mining industry where, more than in any other branch, arduous, labour-consuming jobs remain. The aim should be to make work in this field easier, safer and highly productive.

Ore and bituminous coal mines should introduce comprehensive mechanization and gradually go over to semi- and full-scale automation. A radical upswing should be brought about in mechanization at the anthracite mines which are responsible for the overwhelming proportion of coal produced in our country and where the degree of mechanization is still low.

The degree of mechanization should be raised in every phase of the lumber industry. The fishing industry should provide itself with large, modern all-purpose boats that would allow for the comprehensive mechanization of fishing.

Capital construction, like the mining industry, is also characterized by the prevalence of excessively heavy labour. Efficient construction machinery should be supplied in a greater quantity and the proportion of prefabricated construction should be increased still more to radically raise the degree of mechanization in the construction field.

The mechanization of loading and discharging operations is a vital necessity if we are to eliminate excessively heavy labour. These operations have not yet been fully mechanized on the railways, at wharves, on construction sites and in other branches of our economy. Not only does this mean that many people are engaged in tough work but also that the rapidity of operations is not ensured. This is one of the reasons why we have failed to utilize our means of transportation more efficiently. During the period of the new long-term plan we should manufacture and introduce different types of efficient loading and discharging machines in larger quantities and thus speed up the mechanization of these operations.

A technical renovation movement should be vigorously unfolded in industry to eliminate work in excessive heat or under other harmful conditions.

Production processes should be completely automated to eliminate heat-affected labour once and for all in the iron and steel, chemical and cement industries as well as in all other industries where work is done in excessive heat. We should begin with the branches of industry where there is exposure to high temperatures and switch over to remote control step by step.

The health of workers and production itself are still affected to a certain extent by gas, dust and other noxious matter emitted in the course of production in the chemical, nonferrous metallurgical, mining and building-materials industries and in a number of other fields. We should facilitate technological reconstruction in these branches to do away with these harmful conditions as soon as possible.

By taking these measures, we can convert harmful working conditions into harmless ones and thoroughly prevent the

health of workers and production itself from being negatively affected by heat, gas, dust or humidity in every branch of industry and every work place.

The promotion of the rural technical revolution represents an urgent task for us at the present time. Overall mechanization and chemicalization of agriculture in the Six-Year Plan period should be introduced to drastically narrow down the distinction between agricultural and industrial labour and considerably cut down on the labour force in the countryside.

We should make more effective use of the existing farm machinery, design and manufacture diverse types of modern farm machinery in greater quantities, particularly those efficient kinds suited to the topographical conditions of our country, thereby introducing mechanization into agriculture on a comprehensive scale. During the period of the new prospective plan we should first introduce it in the two-crop dry fields under irrigation and the paddyfield where rice is sown directly and then gradually generalize its success so that a nationwide movement will be undertaken to materialize the comprehensive mechanization completely in the near future.

Extensive levelling of fields and readjustment of their boundaries is an urgent task if all-round mechanization of agriculture is to be realized at the present stage.

It is mainly because the fields have not been readjusted and levelled adequately that we have failed to impel mechanization of agriculture at a more rapid pace, although we now have a considerable number of tractors, trucks and up-to-date farm machines of diverse types. Such land improvement should be launched as a mass movement with the aim of enlarging and evening the borders of the fields and terracing the sloping ground so that machines can work effectively in both rice paddy and other fields.

Machines alone cannot replace all the manual labour used in the rural economy. Therefore, farm work which cannot be performed by machines should be done with the help of chemistry. Weeding, one of the most painstaking and labour-con-

suming chores in the countryside, should be accomplished by chemicals through the wide application of different highly-effective herbicides.

By bringing about substantial advances in the rural technical revolution we should, in the near future, be able to reduce the labour power expended on a *chongbo* of rice paddy to a level of 60 to 80 man-days on an average and on a *chongbo* of dry-farming land to a level of 20 to 30 man-days. Therefore, a single farmer will be cultivating at least five to six *chongbo* of rice paddy or eight to ten *chongbo* of dry-farming land. The eight-hour work day could thus be gradually introduced in the co-operative farms, as in the factories and other enterprises, and the difference between town and country as regards working conditions would be markedly reduced.

One of the vital tasks in the technical revolution is that of freeing women from the burden of kitchen and household work.

Our Party has not only brought about the social emancipation of the women but it has also made untiring efforts to provide better conditions for them so that they can participate widely in public life. Due to the profound interest of our Party, our women, as proud masters of the country along with the men, are now making an active contribution to the revolutionary struggle and constructive work.

But our women still have to devote a great deal of time to household work even though they are engaged in public activities side by side with men. Therefore, they bear a double burden, that of public activities and that of housework. We should interest ourselves very seriously with the technical revolution as a means for freeing the women from household chores and for increasing still more their role in revolution and construction.

The most important thing we can do to lighten the women's kitchen chores is to introduce innovations into the food industry. The processing of different kinds of complementary food products should be developed on a large scale, as well as that of the basic food items. Thus all the foodstuffs will be

processed by industrial methods so that women can prepare meals quickly and easily at home.

At the same time as we develop the food industry, we should manufacture large quantities of refrigerators, washing machines, electric cooking pots and other kitchen utensils so that women need not spend so much time in the kitchen and in doing general household chores.

When all these tasks, vital to the technical revolution, are carried out successfully, all our working people will be free from backbreaking, labour-consuming and inefficient work. Their labour will not only be safe and easy but will have attained a high level of productivity, and they will be much better off materially.

2. THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST CULTURE

Comrades,

Socialism and communism not only require highly developed productive forces. They also demand working people with a high cultural level. Only when the cultural revolution, along with the technical revolution, is continuously and vigorously pushed forward can we hasten the complete victory of socialism and satisfy the essential requirements of a socialist and communist society.

One of the most important tasks in building a national, socialist culture today is the struggle against cultural penetration by imperialism.

The fight against the outmoded culture of the exploiter society and reactionary capitalist culture responds to the laws that guide the building of a national, socialist culture. Especially, under the present conditions when the imperialists are maliciously scheming to spread reactionary bourgeois culture among us, the struggle against every expression of reactionary culture is imperative.

Cultural penetration, one of the principal methods used by the imperialists to carry out their neo-colonialist policy,

paves the way for their foreign aggression. Through cultural penetration the imperialists, led by U.S. imperialism, manoeuvre to destroy the national culture of other countries, dull the people's revolutionary spirit and their consciousness about national independence, demoralize and corrupt them. An outstanding example of this is the ideological and cultural penetration by the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese militarists in south Korea. As a result of the policy to obliterate our national culture, pursued by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and their stooges, it is wantonly trampled on today, and degenerate "Yankee culture" and Japanese fashions and way of life predominate in south Korea, corroding the spiritual life of the people. The U.S. imperialists try unscrupulously to implant their reactionary culture not only in south Korea but also in the northern half of the Republic, employing every means at their disposal including radio, printed matter, literature and art.

Unless such cultural penetration by imperialism is thoroughly checked, we will be unable either to develop a healthy national, socialist culture or firmly defend our socialist gains. From historical experience, we know that if imperialist cultural penetration is not energetically blocked and if reactionary bourgeois elements are tolerated to the slightest degree in the development of a new culture, national culture is gradually eaten away; the people develop illusions about imperialism, and suffer ideological confusion; and the revolution and construction face grave difficulty and crisis.

Therefore, the principal target of the cultural revolution is cultural penetration by the imperialists. We must vigilantly prevent the infiltration into our ranks of any manifestation of corrupt bourgeois culture or life style promoted by the imperialists. However trivial, bourgeois elements in the construction of culture should never be tolerated.

If a national, socialist culture is to develop on a sound basis, we must also resolutely oppose the tendency toward restorationism.

Restorationism is an anti-Marxist current in ideology

which advocates the uncritical restoration and glorification of anything old while ignoring the needs of the times and class outlook. If restorationism is permitted in the field of cultural construction, every variety of the old, pernicious culture will rise again and reactionary bourgeois concepts, feudal-Confucian ideas, and other outmoded ways of thinking will breed in the minds of the people.

A relentless struggle must be waged against this tendency to blindly copy antiquated and reactionary examples from the past and embellish them on the pretext of reclaiming our national cultural heritage. We must discard what is backward and reactionary in our cultural inheritance and critically assimilate and develop what is progressive and popular in accordance with the socialist reality of today.

We have to develop all spheres of socialist culture including education, science, literature and art more speedily and on a sound foundation. To do so, we must block imperialist cultural penetration completely and overcome the trend toward restorationism through a vigorous ideological campaign in the area of cultural construction.

The main task facing education is that of forming large contingents of technicians and specialists, the nation's huge army of intellectuals.

The productive forces of our country today have reached a very high stage of development and the economy has grown markedly. Unless we train more technicians and specialists, we can neither properly run the national economy, equipped with up-to-date technology, nor successfully carry out the aims of the technical revolution.

We must train technicians and specialists on a large scale to meet the practical demands of socialist construction. Thus, during the period of the new long-term plan, the number of engineers, assistant engineers and specialists from colleges and higher technical schools should reach more than 10 per cent of the labour force at all factories, enterprises and co-operative farms. Within the next few years, the total number of technicians and specialists should exceed one million.

In order to train a large number of technicians and specialists, the work should be improved and enrolment increased at existing colleges and higher technical schools. We should build more colleges in both the capital and the provinces after making a correct assessment of the demands for technical personnel in every branch of the national economy. There should also be a significant increase in the number of factory colleges and higher technical schools as well as a further improvement in the work of night schools and correspondence courses.

Along with the training of a large army of intellectuals, we must energetically continue our struggle to raise the level of the working people's general and technical knowledge.

As a result of the new system of universal compulsory nine-year technical education, all children in our country today receive technical training before going out into the world. Consequently, an important way to raise the general cultural and technical levels of the working people is to improve the quality of this compulsory technical education. The material assets of schools should be enlarged, the ranks of teachers should be strengthened and education should be constantly improved in terms of both content and methodology.

In order to raise the general technical and cultural levels of the working people, we must continue the work of educating the adults who never had an opportunity to learn under the exploiter society of the past. We must guarantee all working people a place in some branch of our educational system so they can study on a regular basis in the future as well.

With the aim of raising the working people's cultural and technical levels, the distribution of publications and propaganda by radio should increase and improve. Particularly necessary in this respect would be the broadening of our television network to cover the whole country as soon as it is feasible.

The work of bringing up children under state and public care should be developed. This is an important task in the cultural revolution and in building a socialist society.

Bringing up children by society is both an important com-

munist policy and a communist pedagogical method. Man's character and thinking are formed from childhood; accordingly, a proper education and the cultivation of good habits from the earliest years exert a powerful influence on a child's future development. Raising children under public care trains them to be organized and disciplined, fosters in them the spirit of collectivism and a communist character and accustoms them to organizational life from childhood. Their schooling and social education, therefore, can be more effective when they are older.

We have to enlarge the capacity of our existing nurseries and kindergartens and build many modern ones to provide the best facilities for the education of our little children all over the country. All our preschool children must be brought up in nursery schools and kindergartens at state and public expense.

The gigantic tasks we face today in socialist construction—especially the new goals of the technical revolution—require a radical improvement in our scientific research. Main efforts in the natural sciences should be directed toward solving scientific and technological problems which relate to the more effective use of our present economic base, the strengthening of the *Juche* character of our industry and the development of the technical revolution to a higher stage. At the same time, new areas in science and technology should be actively explored. In the social sciences, it is necessary to make theoretical generalizations about the achievements and rich experiences of our people in their revolutionary struggle and work of construction and demonstrate in a more profound way the correctness of our Party's lines and policies.

Literature and art play an important role in the communist education of the working people and in the revolutionization and working-classization of the entire society.

Our central task here is to create more revolutionary works of literature and art which will arm the working people with a communist world outlook. Writers and artists should produce more works that are based on our glorious revolution-

ary traditions—the deep roots of our Party and revolution, and that depict the heroic feats of the soldiers of the People's Army and the people who carried forward the brilliant revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and fought bravely during the Fatherland Liberation War. They should also vividly portray the epic reality and the full life of our people today in which, like a hurricane, mounted on Chollima, our people drive ahead filled with revolutionary zeal. The struggle of the south Korean revolutionaries and the patriotic people who are valiantly fighting for the revolution in south Korea and for the reunification of the country needs to be skilfully represented. In order to produce numerous revolutionary works that will have an emotional impact on our people and inspire them in their march forward, writers and artists should delve more deeply into reality, seriously study life and make an admirable use of socialist realism in their creative activity.

It is the popular masses who make socialist culture. Literature and art in our society can advance rapidly only with the broad participation of the working people. We have to strictly guard against professionalism in literary and artistic activities, destroy the mystification of creative work and develop literature and art on a broad popular basis.

Language is one of the characteristics common to a nation. It is a powerful weapon for scientific and technological progress and a major ingredient in determining specifically national forms of culture. Therefore, a national, socialist culture cannot be successfully built without developing the national language.

Our language, a priceless treasure and the pride of our people, is undergoing grave crisis in south Korea today. Under the U.S. imperialists' policy of destroying our national language, it is gradually losing its purity and degenerating into a hodgepodge of many languages. This gives rise to serious concern among all Koreans. For the development and flowering of a brilliant national, socialist culture, for the everlasting prosperity of our nation, we must organize a vigorous nation-wide

campaign to defend our mother tongue from the attempts of U.S. imperialism and its stooges to adulterate it. Meanwhile, we should energetically strive to bring into common usage pure Korean words, developing them to conform to present-day needs.

The strength and health of the working people are vital to the revolutionary struggle and the building of a rich and powerful society. We must popularize physical training and sports and extensively improve our physical preparation for national defence. This will further increase the physical strength of all the working people and firmly prepare the entire people for work and defence. *Juche* must be thoroughly applied in physical training and sports, and the science and techniques of physical culture must be rapidly developed.

We must turn our culture into a true people's culture at the service of our socialist working people—a militant and revolutionary culture actively contributing to the revolutionary struggle and construction work. The way we can do this is by successfully carrying out all these tasks of the cultural revolution.

3. IDEOLOGICAL REVOLUTION, REVOLUTIONIZATION AND WORKING-CLASSIZATION OF THE ENTIRE SOCIETY

Comrades,

The ideological revolution represents a sharp class struggle for the final liquidation of capitalism including the domain of man's consciousness. It is a vital revolutionary task that must be fulfilled in order to completely free the entire working people from the fetters of all obsolete ideologies and to arm them with progressive working-class ideas, with the ideas of communism. Whether or not to carry out the ideological revolution thoroughly is tantamount to whether or not the revolution will be carried to its final conclusion. Accordingly, this is one of the fundamental determinants for the success of the construction of socialism and communism. A Marxist-Leninist

Party which has seized power can only triumph in the revolutionary cause of the working class when it repudiates all deviations and solves this crucial question correctly. Historical experience has proved that if a Marxist-Leninist Party does not continually raise the class awareness of the masses and strengthen the ideological revolution among them, the influence of bourgeois ideas increases and the revolutionary consciousness of the working people becomes paralysed. As a consequence, not only is there difficulty in consolidating and developing the socialist system but, even more, the achievements of the revolution are put in jeopardy. On the basis of the consistent line of the Party, we must continue to energetically drive forward the ideological revolution and give it definite precedence in all our work.

To realize the working-classization of all of society while steadily revolutionizing the working people by giving priority to the ideological revolution is a vital task that must be fulfilled in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Only by working-classizing all the members of society, is it possible to obliterate class distinctions, build a classless society and win complete victory for socialism. However, even after the whole of society has been working-classized and the tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism have been carried out successfully, there still remain some survivals of outworn ideologies in the minds of people and, it cannot be claimed as yet that all working people have become real Communists. Even after the complete victory of socialism the Marxist-Leninist Party should continue the struggle to revolutionize all the working people, consolidating the success made in working-classizing them. Only in this way, can the ideological fortress of communism be conquered completely.

During the period under review we have vigorously carried through the Party's line of revolutionizing and working-classizing the entire society. We have registered no little success in this endeavour. This is only the beginning, however. We have just started to work. On the basis of our successes and experiences we must develop the revolutionization and

working-classization of the working people in a more profound way.

The working-classization and revolutionization of the entire society requires, first of all, the intensification of ideological education among the working people.

We must continue to vigorously conduct communist education among the working people.

What is fundamental to communist education is class education. There can be no communist doctrine apart from the revolutionary doctrine of the working class, nor can there be communist education apart from class education. The class consciousness of the working class forms the kernel of communist ideology. Therefore, only when the working people are firmly armed with proletarian class consciousness can they be transformed into real Communists. We should imbue all the working people with a working-class outlook so that they will learn to hate the class enemies and fight relentlessly against imperialism and the system of exploitation. In particular, the hatred of the working people for U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism, the main objects of our struggle, should be further deepened. We must give solid ideological preparation to the entire people so that they are ready at any time to staunchly fight to force the U.S. imperialists out of south Korea and carry the revolutionary cause of national reunification to its final conclusion.

Collectivism is one of the intrinsic characteristics of the working class. It is the basis of social life in socialist and communist societies where the working people are closely united and strive to attain common goals. We should continue to pay profound attention to strengthening the education of the working people in collectivism. In order to equip our people with this idea it is most important to step up the struggle against individualism and egoism. Educational work should be intensified among the working people with the aim of cultivating in them the revolutionary idea of cherishing the collective and organization and devotedly working, any time and anywhere, for the benefit of the society and the people, and

the Party and the revolution, as opposed to a preoccupation with an easy and gay life for oneself. In this way all the working people will learn to work, study and live in consonance with the communist spirit of "One for all and all for one."

The fostering of a communist attitude towards work holds an important place in communist education. We should educate the working people to esteem labour, regarding it as the most honourable activity, display voluntary enthusiasm and creativity in their work and sincerely participate in communal labour for the good of the collective and society.

Education in socialist patriotism should also be emphasized among the working people. Socialist patriotism means love for the socialist homeland whose revolutionary achievements are the power of the proletarian dictatorship, the socialist system and an independent national economy. It is only when the working people are firmly armed with the idea of socialist patriotism, that they can resolutely fight for the prosperity and progress of our homeland and for the victory of the revolution. We should fully convince the working people of the revolutionary essence of the power of proletarian dictatorship, the true superiority of the socialist system and the might of our independent national economy. They will then have great pride and sense of honour living in their socialist country, they will supremely treasure the socialist gains won and guaranteed by our people at the cost of their blood and sweat and they will work harder for the consolidation and development of these achievements. We should patiently educate all the working men and women to value and protect the property of the country and the people, conscious of the fact that they are the masters of the nation's economic life, and to strive with all their wisdom, talent and energy to make greater contributions to the building of a rich and strong socialist homeland.

The communist education of the working people must necessarily be conducted in close combination with education in revolutionary traditions.

Our revolutionary traditions were formed in the course of creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory to suit the spe-

cific conditions of the Korean revolution and thoroughly combining revolutionary theory and practice. They are a priceless revolutionary heritage grown out of the flames of unprecedentedly arduous and sanguinary anti-Japanese armed struggle. Experience shows that communist education, when linked up with education in our revolutionary traditions, has a decisive influence and an unlimited power to move people. Education in revolutionary traditions is necessary for everyone, but it is most essential for the younger generation who have not undergone the ordeals of revolutionary struggle. The revolution continues and one generation inexorably replaces another. Only if the new generation is educated in the revolutionary traditions will it be possible to form them into genuine continuators of our revolution, who carry it on.

The education of the working people in revolutionary traditions must be made more profound. We should fully acquaint everyone with the historical roots of our Party and our revolution and imbue them with their forerunners' infinite fidelity to the cause of revolution, with their indefatigable fighting will and revolutionary optimism; the working people should also assimilate the experience of the revolutionary struggle and the communist method and style of work acquired during the period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

Our Party's lines and policies are a creative application and development of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism in accord with the specific realities of our country. They guide all our action, being the most accurate strategy and tactics for the successful accomplishment of our revolution. Only when Party members and the working people in general are firmly armed with the revolutionary ideas, the lines and policies of our Party, will they become true revolutionaries, loyal to the Party and the revolution. Only then will they correctly carry out the revolutionary tasks assigned to them. We have to intensify the education of Party members and the working people in the policies of the Party so as to clearly understand their quintessence, fully grasp their correctness and make them a sturdy faith. Therefore, everyone must firmly arm himself

with the monolithic ideology of our Party and make its lines and policies an integral part of himself, working in strict conformity to these policies at all times and everywhere, resolutely striving to defend them and carry them through under any difficult conditions.

Revolutionary practice is a powerful instrument for remoulding ideological consciousness. It is in the course of the arduous and complex practical struggle for transforming nature and society that people are tempered at all times and formed into revolutionaries. We should link the ideological work of educating and remoulding the working people closely with the revolutionary struggle and practical activities for the building of socialism and communism. They will thus steel themselves ideologically and cultivate in themselves a strong revolutionary will in the course of performing their revolutionary tasks. The intellectuals in particular who are not directly connected to practical productive activities should constantly be made to enter into the midst of the actual socialist construction, not only to consolidate their book knowledge and meet with new scientific and technical problems but also to learn from the sense of organization and militancy of the working class and its loyalty to the Party and the revolution.

An essential means of revolutionizing and working-classing people is to strengthen their revolutionary organizational life.

A major criterion of a Communist is his strong sense of revolutionary organization. To be called a true Communist one must possess this attribute as well as sublime ideology, pervaded with a communist revolutionary spirit. The sense of revolutionary organization of the Communist is formed and strengthened through a revolutionary organizational life.

Organizational life is a furnace for ideological training and a school for revolutionary education. Only through a disciplined organizational life, can one be steeled revolutionarily and formed into a real revolutionary, loyal to the revolutionary cause of the working class. We should wage a vigorous struggle to strengthen the organizational life of the working

people. Every person should be encouraged to take an active part in organizational life, observe organizational discipline of their own accord, faithfully carry out what is entrusted to them by their organizations, live under the guidance and supervision of their organizations and attend constantly to their revolutionary education.

What is most important in the development of organizational life is the intensification of criticism. Ideological struggle by means of criticism and education and remoulding through ideological struggle—this is the policy consistently followed by our Party in revolutionizing people. All organizations must strengthen criticism and conduct a strong ideological battle against unsound ideological elements of every description.

In this regard it is necessary to fight resolutely, first and foremost, against an incorrect approach to criticism. People must be taught to take a principled attitude toward it. Under all circumstances criticism should be aimed at saving comrades and cementing unity; it should on no account be criticism for criticism's sake. In making criticisms, one must not try to shift the responsibility for one's own faults onto others, take vengeance after being criticized, frivolously mark others with political stigmas or reprimand those criticized in a peremptory manner. Furthermore, criticism should be conducted patiently and on a regular basis, not in a shock campaign. We must educate all our people in this spirit of principled criticism, thus creating a favourable atmosphere for revolutionary criticism and tempering everyone through it. In this way we will ensure the people's timely and uncompromising struggle against errors, in the course of which they will be constantly educated, transformed and revolutionized.

A vital question posed in carrying out the task of revolutionizing and working-classing society is that of sweeping away what is left of the old way of life in all spheres and establishing a new socialist way of life throughout society.

The socialist way of life means the way people act in a socialist society. Therefore, to establish this way of life means seeing to it that everyone conducts his activities in all spheres—

political, economic, cultural and moral—in accordance with socialist standards of social life and behaviour.

Many successes have already been scored in the work of instituting a new socialist way of life. However, the way of life inherited from the old society still lingers on to a considerable degree in every sphere ranging from state activity to private life. This represents an obstacle to the building of socialism and to the work of educating and remoulding the working people.

We must eliminate the old way of life and thoroughly introduce the socialist way of life in all fields so that everyone lives and behaves in keeping with the intrinsic nature of our society which is based on collectivism. Capitalistic administrative rules and regulations must be done away with in all spheres of state activity; new socialist administrative rules and regulations must be perfected, and particular emphasis should be placed on fully introducing socialist order into our economic work. Socialist order should be fully established in a way that leaves no room for outworn ideas in any of the functions of economic management and administration, from registering, itemizing, maintaining and managing the property of the country and the people to utilizing and handling common property. It is also necessary to establish appropriate order in socialist community life as regards the daily social life of the people and constantly develop norms of culture and morality commensurate with socialist and communist society. Educational work should be intensified in order to obliterate outdated moral standards existent among the working people. At the same time, models of a new morality must be developed and popularized systematically through a social movement and the norms of communist morality must be gradually perfected.

All our Party members and the working people in general—the working class, co-operative farmers and working intellectuals—should uphold the Party's line of revolutionization and working-classization and continue the dynamic struggle to carry it through. Our Party members and working people

must strive to remake themselves along communist lines and revolutionize their families. Especially the leading functionaries, before anybody else, must revolutionize themselves and their families. We should begin revolutionizing our families, and then the sub-workteams, workteams and people's neighbourhood units passing to the work centres and the *ri* and gradually revolutionizing and working-classing the entire society by creating models and generalizing the experiences. All our working people will thus become ardent revolutionaries, true builders of socialism and communism. All of society will have become firmly united with a single ideology, the monolithic ideology of our Party, and will vibrate with revolutionary enthusiasm and creative zeal. All this will bring closer the day of ultimate victory for our revolution.

4. THE STRENGTHENING OF THE NATION'S DEFENCE CAPABILITIES

Comrades,

The situation in our country is still critical and tense. The aggressive manoeuvrings of the U.S. imperialists are being intensified and their plots to provoke another war are becoming more undisguised. Under the wing of U.S. imperialism, the Japanese militarists are again stepping up their aggressive manoeuvres against Korea. The puppet clique of south Korea, the stooges of both U.S. and Japanese reactionaries, are running about recklessly in an endeavour to execute the war policies of their masters. In our country the danger of war is augmenting with every passing day.

To cope with the prevailing situation we must speed up our socialist construction to the maximum and simultaneously build up our national defence capabilities. We should continue to hold fast to the line already put forth by the Party, that of arming all the people, turning the entire country into a fortress, converting the entire army into an army of cadres and modernizing it from top to bottom. Furthermore, we

should implement more thoroughly the principle of self-defence in guarding the nation.

The most important thing in increasing the defence capabilities of the country is to arm the entire people more perfectly. Everyone should learn military science in earnest and take a more active part in military training. The workers, farmers and all other working people should continually keep themselves in readiness to annihilate the aggressors anywhere they may attack, at the same time that they should accelerate socialist construction, with a hammer or sickle in one hand and a rifle in the other. When all the people are under arms, when all the people learn to hate the enemy, when all the people join in fighting against the aggressors, it will be possible to defeat any enemy.

Our People's Army is entrusted with the honourable mission of protecting our magnificent socialist achievements and the freedom and happiness of the people from the encroachment of the enemy. The People's Army should keep itself fully ready at all times to rapidly deal the aggressors crushing blows and annihilate them even in the case of a surprise attack by the enemy.

The important task to be fulfilled for strengthening the combat power of the People's Army is that of solidly arming the soldiers politically and ideologically and, on this basis, having them continually study and perfect the art of war suitable to the actual conditions of our country, thus modernizing the army.

Ours is a country with many mountains and rivers and long coast lines. If we make a good use of such topographical conditions, skilfully employing mountain warfare and night actions and properly combining large-unit and small-unit operations and regular-army warfare with guerrilla warfare, we will be fully able to destroy an enemy, even if he is armed to the teeth with the latest military hardware. This was proved by the experiences of our Fatherland Liberation War, as it is today by those of the war in Viet Nam.

Therefore, we have to base ourselves strictly upon our

own specific conditions in modernizing the People's Army and developing military science and technology. If instead, we try to mechanically copy or dogmatically bring in foreign art of war, foreign weapons and other military hardware on the pretext of modernizing the People's Army, it may mean a serious setback to our nation's defence construction.

We must perfect our art of war in such a way as to make up for defects in the People's Army, reinforce its weak links and develop its strong points in line with the requirements of the Party's military strategic thought based on a full consideration of the concrete conditions of our country and the experience of the Fatherland Liberation War. On this basis, we must advance our military science and technique and constantly improve the weapons and other military hardware of the People's Army. We must adhere always to the principle of producing many weapons suitable to the specific conditions of our country and modernizing our military equipment in line with the level of our industrial capacity. The combat training of the People's Army soldiers should also be conducted in such a way that they master the art of war best suited to the actual conditions of our country and fully develop our own military science and technique.

Ours is a small and newly-developed country. Frankly speaking, we are not in a position to compete with developed countries in military technical equipment, nor are we required to do so. The destiny of war is by no means decided by modern weapons or military technology. Although the imperialists have a military technical preponderance, our People's Army has politico-ideological superiority. The lofty mission and revolutionary spirit of fighting for the freedom and liberation of our homeland and people, and noble traits such as comradeship between officers and men, conscious military discipline and bonds of kinship with the people, are characteristic features of our People's Army which no imperialist armed forces of aggression can ever possess. Precisely because of this politico-ideological superiority our People's Army can readily defeat an enemy who is technically preponderant.

In order to reinforce our nation's defence capabilities the whole Party and the entire people should also buckle down to the job of further accelerating war preparations. The Party members and the working people in general must combat indolence and laxity and constantly maintain keen revolutionary vigilance. They should be on the ready, alert to fight and repel the enemy without the slightest perturbation no matter when the surprise attack may come. We must never become victims of a pacifistic mood and, in particular, we must strictly guard ourselves against the revisionist ideological current of warphobia and prevent it from penetrating into our ranks.

The outcome of a war depends largely on whether or not the manpower and material requirements of the front and the rear are fully met over the long run. We should guarantee ample reserves of the necessary materials by intensifying the struggle for increased production and economization in all fields of the national economy, develop the munitions industry, reorganize the economy as the situation demands and prepare ourselves in advance so as to be able to continue producing even during a war. In this way, we will build up a firm material base for the more thorough implementation of the principle of self-defence in safeguarding the nation.

Comrades, our national defence capability is literally of defensive nature and is designed to defend the security of our country and our people against imperialist aggression. We have no intention to threaten or carry out aggression against anybody. Threats and aggression against others have nothing to do with the policies of our Party. Our country is a peace-loving socialist country, and our people is one that ardently loves peace. Our consistent advocacy of peace stems from the inherent nature of our state and social system. We are doing all we can to preserve and consolidate peace. No one should, however, take our desires and persevering efforts for peace as a sign of weakness. Our people have no interest in provoking others but they will never allow anyone to toy with them. We are striving to prevent war, but we are not afraid of it.

If the imperialist aggressors lunge at us with their armies, we will destroy them to a man and not one will return home alive. We will strengthen the nation's defence capabilities and decisively smash any surprise attack by the enemy, firmly safeguard our socialist achievements and indomitably defend the eastern outpost of socialism.

5. BALANCED IMPROVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S LIVING STANDARDS

Comrades,

Our Party's activities are governed by the supreme principle of systematic promotion of the welfare of the people. After all, our struggle to build socialism and communism is aimed at bringing a more abundant life to all people and making them equally well-off. As in the past, so also in the future, our Party will continue to direct endless concern to systematically improving the people's living conditions.

We have already made great strides in socialist construction and our economic gains are enormous. If we could devote them all to raising living standards, our people would be much better off than they are now and able to live as well as others. But we are still carrying on the revolution. Under present conditions, with the U.S. imperialists occupying one half of our territory and incessantly perpetrating provocations against the northern half of the Republic and with the reunification of our homeland not yet achieved, it is unthinkable that we live in luxury and extravagance. Our way of life must be frugal, befitting a people in this age of revolution. We must save and economize wherever possible, giving priority to war preparations against every type of enemy invasion and to material accumulation for meeting the great revolutionary event of national reunification with full readiness. At the same time, we must strive to make the working people's lives free of inconvenience and improve their living standards on the basis of equality for all.

At present the most important task we must confront in order to better the lives of the people is to rapidly eliminate distinctions between workers and farmers in living standards and between urban and rural inhabitants in living conditions. Indeed, during the period under review, our Party changed the appearance of the countryside, rapidly improved the living conditions of the farmers and did a great deal of work to build the socialist countryside by strengthening working-class leadership among them and by boosting industry's assistance to agriculture and urban support for the countryside. But the rural villages of our country were so backward in the past that they are still behind the towns economically and culturally; and our peasants were so badly off before that their living standards are still not as high as those of the workers. We must pay close attention to solving this matter, finally rid the countryside of its backwardness as soon as possible and raise the living standards of the farmers up to those of the workers.

The most important thing for the improvement of peasant life is to build up the counties and enhance their role.

The county is the lowest unit of administrative leadership, which gives direct guidance to the rural areas and is in direct contact with the life of the farming population, and it is the base for linking the towns with the countryside in all political, economic and cultural spheres. Therefore, the development of the countryside and the betterment of the farmers' lives depend largely on the role of the counties. We should develop the counties correctly and enhance their role, and thus further accelerate construction of the socialist countryside and rapidly improve the living conditions of the rural population. Development of the role of the county as a supply base for the rural villages should be given top priority. It is necessary to build refrigeration plants, fruit- and vegetable-processing factories, meat-processing factories, and to provide many mobile processing facilities for every county so that meat, fruits, vegetables and other agricultural produce from the farmers may be purchased and processed in good time.

Meanwhile, the work of supplying the countryside with processed foodstuffs and a variety of manufactured goods should be further improved by building a strong county supply base and rationally distributing the rural network of stores. If the county's purchase of farm produce and its supply of commodities to the countryside works smoothly, the farmers' incomes will increase more rapidly and they can buy what they need in the countryside as readily as in the towns.

One of the urgent problems in eliminating the difference in living conditions between urban and rural inhabitants is to introduce bus service in every rural *ri*. The opening of bus service to the rural *ri* will not only free the rural working people from inconveniences in travel, but strengthen the ties between town and country in all political, economic and cultural spheres. This will be a great help to speedily ridding the countryside of its backwardness. In the next few years we should improve the roads interlinking counties and *ri* and open bus service to all rural *ri* where it is not yet available.

Water service is of great importance in bettering the living conditions of the rural population. We should lay water lines in all rural villages as well as in those county seats which have no water service yet, so that rural women need not carry water jars on their heads and so that all rural dwellers may live more hygienic and modern life.

While placing primary emphasis on enhancing the living standards of the farmers and improving the conditions of modern life for the rural population, we should take a series of measures to ensure a better life for all working people.

We should continue building many houses to solve people's living problems adequately. We will launch a general mass movement to build 100,000 family units in towns and 150,000-200,000 in the countryside every year in order to cover the present housing shortage and fill future housing demands for our growing population. As a matter of course, great concern should be given to building comfortable, convenient, modern and sanitary dwellings. At the same time, central heating

systems should be installed in Pyongyang and other major cities so that working people enjoy a more convenient and pleasant life.

In the next few years, we should raise the wages of factory and office workers as a whole and, in particular, sharply increase the wages of the factory and office workers in the low-wage category. Prices of all consumer goods should be cut drastically in keeping with an increased production of daily necessities and various other consumer goods, and prices of mass consumer goods which are in great demand should be reduced by more than 50 per cent.

We should further develop the public health service so as to better protect and promote the health of the working people. We should build more hospitals, increase the number of medical workers and produce and supply more medicines and medical instruments of various kinds to further improve both preventive and curative medical care for the working people. In particular, we should build up the county hospitals, improve maternity facilities for the rural women, develop the clinics in rural *ri* into hospitals, and set up children's wards in all *ri*, so that medical services for the rural inhabitants are improved radically.

We should thus improve and equalize living standards for all workers and farmers and ensure all the working people of our country a better life.

III. FOR THE SOUTH KOREAN REVOLUTION AND THE REUNIFICATION OF OUR COUNTRY

Comrades,

The south Korean revolution is a component part of the Korean revolution as a whole. To achieve the victory of the Korean revolution on a nation-wide scale, it is essential to push forcefully ahead with socialist construction in the northern

half of the Republic and, at the same time, further advance the revolutionary struggle in south Korea.

The period under review has witnessed tremendous changes in the south Korean situation. The U.S. imperialists have more completely reduced south Korea to a military base of aggression, their military appendage, and pushed their policies of aggression and war harder than ever through a fascist military dictatorship. On the other hand, national and class contradictions have become more acute in south Korea and the revolutionary advance of the workers, peasants and other broad sectors of the people has been stepped up. As a consequence U.S. imperialism's colonial rule has gone into a deeper crisis. These are the main developments which occurred in south Korea over the past period.

The south Korean revolution is a national-liberation revolution against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and, at the same time, a people's democratic revolution against the stooges of U.S. imperialism—the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats—and their fascist rule. The basic task of this revolution is to drive the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression out of south Korea, get rid of their colonial domination, and overthrow the fascist military dictatorship in order to establish a progressive social system, thus developing south Korean society democratically.

The U.S. imperialists are the real rulers who have seized all power in south Korea. They are the first target of the south Korean revolutionary struggle. The occupation of south Korea by U.S. imperialism and its colonial rule is the basic cause of all the misery and pains the south Korean people are suffering. Until the U.S. imperialist aggressors are forced out of south Korea and their colonial rule is smashed, the south Korean people cannot escape their present wretched plight. The tiny handful of landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats in south Korea faithfully execute the aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists and, under their patronage, cruelly oppress and exploit the people.

The motive power of the south Korean revolution is the

working class and its dependable ally, the peasantry, and the progressive student youth, intellectuals, patriotic-minded soldiers and some patriotic national capitalists and petty bourgeoisie who are opposed to U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

The revolutionary struggle in south Korea is a just struggle of these and other sectors of the people against the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression and their accomplices—the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats.

From liberation to the present, the south Korean people have kept up an unflagging revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism and its underlings.

The revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people has gradually entered a new stage of development, especially in the postwar years, and hewed its way, despite harsh trials, to greater successes. After the war the south Korean people—inspired by the achievements in socialist revolution and construction in the northern half—fought on staunchly against U.S. imperialism and its stooges, for political freedom, democratic rights and the reunification of the country.

In the course of this struggle, the south Korean revolutionaries and the people have shed much blood and suffered a number of heart-rending setbacks. But their sacrifices and failures have not been in vain. This has gradually made them grasp a valuable truth of revolutionary struggle: the ferocious enemy can be defeated only with an organized force.

The south Korean revolutionaries keenly felt the need to build a party to unite the revolutionary forces into one solid block and to give co-ordinated leadership to the struggle, and they strove to make that materialize. As a result of their untiring struggle and as a reflection of the essential requirements of the development of the south Korean revolutionary movement, the Progressive Party, a legal political party of the south Korean revolutionaries, came into being in December 1955.

The Progressive Party put forward a fighting programme with anti-imperialism, anti-fascism and peaceful reunification as its key points and launched an active struggle to rally pa-

triotic democratic forces in various strata, opposing the policies of national division and fascistization pursued by U.S. imperialism and its henchmen. The Progressive Party acquired increased prestige among broad segments of the south Korean people and the peaceful reunification programme advanced by the Party especially enjoyed strong support from the south Korean public. This was unquestionably testified during the puppet presidential "election" in 1956, when the Progressive Party "candidate" won more than 2 million votes, or slightly less than what was raked up by Syngman Rhee, loyal ball-carrier for U.S. imperialism—and this despite the outrageous repression, fraud and swindling on the part of U.S. imperialism and its stooges. This graphically showed that the south Korean people were against the fascist colonial rule of U.S. imperialism and its policy of national division and fervently desired the peaceful reunification of our country and democratic social development. The U.S. imperialists and their henchmen were so terrified by the rapidly expanding and increasing influence of the Progressive Party among the south Korean people that they launched bloody repression, perpetrating the bestial barbarity of arresting and imprisoning numerous members of the Progressive Party and slaying its leader Mr. Cho Bong Am. They forcibly dissolved the Party and it ceased to exist in January 1958. Though the Progressive Party failed to transform the fighting spirit of the south Korean people into a mass revolutionary movement against the enemy and even to take effective action to preserve its own revolutionary forces, it gave a considerable impetus to the trend toward national reunification in south Korea and to the development of the anti-U.S., anti-dictatorship struggle of the people.

After the dissolution of the Progressive Party the U.S. imperialists and their stooges further stepped up their repression of the south Korean patriots. In spite of all hardships and trials, however, the dynamic revolutionary struggle of the people went on without letup and the revolutionary forces grew steadily in south Korea.

The Popular Uprising of April 1960 marked a new turn-

ing point in the advancement of the south Korean revolutionary movement. The April Popular Uprising was an explosion of the enmity and resentment of the south Korean people which had long been pent up under the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. It was a mass resistance struggle against the U.S. and for national salvation, involving millions of the broad masses throughout south Korea. The puppet government of Syngman Rhee, veteran lackey of U.S. imperialism, was finally overthrown by the heroic struggle of the masses of the south Korean people including student youth and intellectuals. This was the first victory won after the war by the south Korean people in their anti-U.S. national-salvation struggle. The April Popular Uprising clearly demonstrated the heroic mettle of the south Korean people and proved that if the masses pool their strength and rise in a struggle against the oppressors, they can certainly crush any enemy stronghold. With the April 19 Uprising the crisis of the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism deepened in south Korea, and the situation turned in favour of the revolution.

Following the April Popular Uprising, the revolutionary advance of the patriots and the masses of south Korea intensified with each passing day and progressive political forces appeared on the scene, and in this process the Socialist Mass Party came into being. Under the guidance of the south Korean revolutionaries the Socialist Mass Party set forth, as its immediate task, the founding of a unified democratic state based on the line of national independence, and conducted brisk organizational and political activities aimed at leading a massive advance of the people in a national-salvation movement for the independent reunification of our country. The Party formed the "Central Council for Independent National Reunification," a united-front coalition of the broad democratic forces, and organized and directed the joint struggle of all strata of the people against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. Under the leadership of the Socialist Mass Party the fierce flames of struggle enveloped the whole of south Korea and the student youth and people there waged a heroic fight to tear down the

barrier between north and south, with slogans like "Reunification is the only way out," "Let's go north, come south, let's meet at Panmunjom!"

The Socialist Mass Party, however, was not able to develop the revolutionary advance of the student youth into a struggle that would end the occupation of south Korea by U.S. imperialism, smash its colonial ruling machine and establish a democratic government; nor could it organize the workers, peasants and other sectors of the broad masses, and mobilize them in the struggle. When the U.S. imperialists instigated the reactionary military gangsters to stage a counterrevolutionary "military coup" and make a fascist attack on the revolutionary forces, the Socialist Mass Party failed to deal a resolute counterstroke, and the struggle of the students was suppressed in the end.

After the May 16 "military coup" the U.S. imperialists and their stooges launched into naked fascist military rule in south Korea. They trampled on even the elementary democratic freedoms and rights of the south Korean people and forcibly dissolved all progressive political parties and social organizations, closed down organs of the press and perpetrated such barbarities as the wholesale arrest, imprisonment and slaughter of hundreds of thousands of revolutionaries and patriotic people. The Socialist Mass Party was thus destroyed by brutal repression on the part of the enemy, and the revolutionary forces of south Korea suffered heavy losses.

But the revolutionaries and patriotic people of south Korea were further awakened and acquired many valuable lessons and precious experience in this postwar process of struggle. The historical experience of the south Korean revolutionary movement has clearly proved that there can be no peaceful transition in the struggle for power and that no revolution can be led to victory by a mass movement alone. Under the patronage of U.S. imperialism, the successive reactionary rulers of south Korea cold-bloodedly slaughtered progressive figures backed by the people when there appeared even the slightest likelihood of their assumption of power. Every mass move-

ment of the people for national reunification against U.S. imperialist colonial rule was answered with barbarous repression. The Progressive Party was crushed as soon as it gained popularity in the elections with its slogan of national reunification, and the Socialist Mass Party was also forcibly dissolved when it led the broad masses in the national-salvation struggle for the reunification of our country and won high prestige among the people. It is usual for the enemy to resort to terrorism against those who are inclined to take a revolutionary stand for the sake of their country and nation. Shortly after liberation, the enemy assassinated Mr. Ryo Un Hyong simply because he had advocated the peaceful reunification of the country. They also assassinated Mr. Kim Gu when he turned progressive after attending the Joint Conference of Representatives of the North and South Korean Political Parties and Social Organizations. The revolutionaries and patriotic people in south Korea came to realize more keenly that they could win power only through revolutionary struggle, since the reactionary south Korean rulers would not meekly relinquish their ruling power but were desperately resorting to counterrevolutionary violence to stifle the progressive forces. They drew from this the priceless lesson that, in order to win victory for the revolution, they had to be fully prepared to resist the enemy's counterrevolutionary violence with revolutionary violence, while waging an active mass struggle for democratization against fascism.

The April 19 Popular Uprising and subsequent developments, in particular, taught an important lesson: that the people could win their democratic freedoms and rights only through a decisive revolutionary struggle to drive the U.S. imperialist aggressors out of south Korea and overthrow the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism and that this struggle would emerge victorious only when the broad masses of the people, including workers, peasants and student youth, were mobilized under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party, the vanguard detachment of the working class.

Drawing on the valuable experiences and lessons acquired

at the cost of blood in their struggle against the enemy, the south Korean revolutionaries have devoted their all to developing the revolutionary struggle in defiance of cruel repression by the fascist military rulers. In the establishment of a Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class they found the key to overcoming the most serious weaknesses of the previous revolutionary movements in south Korea and to advancing the revolution successfully. They hastened the building of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification in the face of great hardships and difficulties.

As a united Marxist-Leninist Party, a party of the working class, the Revolutionary Party for Reunification was born in the hard revolutionary fight of the south Korean revolutionaries and people against the U.S. imperialists and their stooges. With its emergence, broad masses of the oppressed and exploited people in south Korea have acquired a genuine defender of their class and national interests. The south Korean people today have a reliable political general staff in their revolutionary battle for freedom and liberation.

The political stand and the fighting goals of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification are explicitly stated in its Manifesto and Programme, made public in the name of its Central Committee in Seoul in August of last year.

The Manifesto and the Programme of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification emphasized that the guiding idea of the Party is the Marxist-Leninist idea of *Juche*. They declared that the ultimate objective of the Party is to build socialist and communist society, while its immediate objective is to carry out a people's democratic revolution against U.S. imperialism and fascist rule in south Korea, overthrowing the corrupt colonial and semi-feudal social system and setting up a people's democratic regime on its grave and, further, to fulfil the great cause of reunification of our homeland, the nation's desire and aspiration.

The fighting goal and programme put forth by the Revolutionary Party for Reunification reflect the law of socio-economic development and the unanimous aspirations of the

people of all walks of life in south Korea. As such, they constitute the joint political programme of all the patriotic, democratic forces in south Korea in their fight against the colonial rule of the U.S. imperialist aggressors and for the democratic development of society and the independent peaceful reunification of our country. They constitute the aim of struggle of the entire south Korean people.

The organizations of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification took an active part in the June 3 Uprising of 1964 against the traitorous "ROK-Japan talks," the August Struggle of 1965 to reject the "ROK-Japan agreements," the struggle against the puppet presidential and puppet national assembly "elections" in 1967 and many other struggles, and are now playing a leading role in the revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people. In the course of struggle the Party has undergone steady revolutionary training and has gained the confidence of the south Korean people and increasing influence among them.

Today the south Korean revolutionaries are consolidating the organizations of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification, firmly rallying the patriotic people around it and are launching a heroic anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation: underground, in the mountains, in the prisons and even on the gallows.

Comrades, in order to vanquish the counterrevolution and achieve the victory of the revolution in south Korea, it is necessary to steadily strengthen the revolutionary forces. Only when the forces of the revolution are adequately prepared, can they react in time to repel the enemy's counterrevolutionary offensive and, further, meet the great revolutionary event in full readiness.

What is of paramount importance in preparing the revolutionary forces is to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist Party—the General Staff in the revolution—and rally the workers and peasants closely around it to build a firm central revolutionary force. The south Korean revolutionaries should strive to expand and strengthen Party forces everywhere there are work-

ers, peasants and other revolutionary masses, and root themselves deeply in the masses. To expand and consolidate the mass base of the Party it is necessary to continue to set up mass organizations in various forms among the working people and to solidify them.

All the social groups interested in the revolution must be welded into a single political force at the same time that the main detachment of the revolution is being built up. Only in this way can the counterrevolutionary forces be isolated completely and the overwhelming supremacy of the revolutionary forces be guaranteed. The revolutionary organizations of south Korea should do everything possible to form an anti-U.S. united front for national salvation embracing all patriotic political parties, social organizations, different sectors of the people and individual public figures under the banner of anti-imperialism, anti-fascism and democratization. They should make particularly active efforts to firmly integrate the student youth into the revolutionary ranks and strengthen the organizational ties between them and the workers and peasants who constitute the main force of the revolution.

Only in the course of a widespread mass struggle can the revolutionary forces steadily grow in scope and strength. Only amid the flames of an active revolutionary struggle does the political awakening of the masses become intense; only then is the work of organizing them accelerated; and only then do the activists of the revolution become more numerous and the revolutionary organizations increase their militancy. The more urgent the task of increasing and developing the revolutionary forces in south Korea, the more actively should the mass struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys be organized and unfolded, and correct strategic and tactical guidance for it be ensured. What is important here is to analyse and judge the prevailing situation scientifically, taking due account of the requirements of the development of the revolution and the level of consciousness of the masses and, on this basis, put forth suitable fighting slogans and choose the right forms and methods of struggle, skilfully taking advantage

of all possibilities, including the inner contradictions and weaknesses of the enemy. The south Korean revolutionaries and people should firmly push the revolutionary movement forward by correctly combining diverse forms and methods of struggle—political and economic struggles, legal, semi-legal and illegal struggles, violent and non-violent struggles, large- and small-scale struggles.

An important task facing the south Korean revolutionaries and patriotic people at the present stage is the positive development of the mass struggle for the democratization of society and against the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism and fascist suppression by its henchmen. It is important to organically link the political struggle against U.S. imperialist colonial rule and fascist military dictatorship and for the attainment of democratic rights—including freedoms of speech, the press, assembly, association and demonstration—with the economic struggle of the toiling masses for the right to exist. The struggle of the student youth for political liberty must be made more purposeful and conscious and their democratic movement must be closely combined with the political struggle of the workers and peasants. Revolutionary forces must be built up so as to crush counterrevolutionary violence by revolutionary violence, always answering violence with violence.

If the south Korean revolutionaries and people build a solid political army through struggle and constantly accumulate their revolutionary forces, they will be ready and able to meet the decisive hour of the revolution. In this way they will eventually topple the present reactionary regime and set up a people's democratic regime, thereby definitely achieving the objectives of the south Korean revolution.

True, the south Korean revolution still has a thorny path ahead, before it achieves victory. But neither the enemy's frenzied endeavours nor any number of trials and tribulations can check its triumphant advance and block the path of the south Korean revolutionaries and patriotic people who have risen in a sacred fight for freedom and liberation, deeply convinced of the justness of their cause.

The people in the southern half are not alone in their revolutionary struggle. They have a powerful revolutionary base in the northern half. Needless to say, the south Korean revolution is a struggle of the south Korean people themselves for their liberation from national and class oppression and exploitation by the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their minions. The oppressed and exploited masses can win freedom and emancipation only through their own revolutionary struggle. Therefore, the south Korean revolution must, in all situations, be made by the south Korean people on their own initiative. But it is the obligation and responsibility of the people in the northern half, as a part of the same nation, to actively support the south Korean people in their revolutionary struggle. The general international situation is now changing to the disadvantage of the counterrevolution and in favour of the revolution. The progressive peoples of all continents denounce U.S. imperialism for its aggressive policy on south Korea and strongly support and encourage the south Korean people in their righteous liberation struggle.

The disintegration of U.S. imperialist colonial rule and the triumph of the revolutionary cause of the people in south Korea are certain.

Comrades,

The U.S. imperialist occupation of south Korea has partitioned our territory and split our nation; it has not only visited untold misery and suffering on the south Korean people but brought national calamity to the entire Korean people and laid a great obstacle to the co-ordinated development of Korean society as a whole.

To reunify the divided homeland is the greatest and most pressing national task for the entire Korean people at present. Its solution brooks not a moment's delay.

The whole world knows our Party's policy on national reunification. We have made it clear time and again that if democratic figures with a national conscience come to power in south Korea and demand the withdrawal of U.S. troops, release political prisoners and guarantee democratic freedoms, we are

ready to hold negotiations with them any time and any place on the question of the peaceful reunification of the country. Even after the present south Korean rulers staged the fascist military coup and usurped power, we advanced the most fair and reasonable proposals for the reunification of our homeland and made consistent efforts to realize them. We did this in the hope that they would desist from their treacheries to the country and people and would take a truly national stand. More than once we proposed to the south Korean authorities that after the U.S. imperialist aggression army had been driven out of south Korea, the north and the south should each reduce their armies to 100,000 men or less, conclude an agreement to refrain from using armed force against each other, initiate such measures as economic and cultural exchanges and visits of individuals between north and south and establish a unified, democratic government through a free north-south general election. We proposed that such a general election be held when the basic conditions are provided for reunifying the country peacefully in accordance with the free will of the Korean people; if such a general election were not immediately acceptable to them for some reason or other, a Confederation of north and south Korea would be established first as a transitional step for solving urgent matters of common concern for the nation and hastening the reunification of our homeland.

But the south Korean rulers have been dead set against the independent peaceful reunification of the country, each time ignoring our just proposals which reflect the unanimous aspirations of the whole nation.

The south Korean puppets, under the aegis of the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese militarists, are yelling that the reunification of Korea must be a "reunification by prevailing over communism" and that it is necessary for them to foster their own power for this; they prattle about actions to "protect" south Korea against the fictitious "threat of southward aggression." This is nothing but a smokescreen covering their aggressive design to stifle the south Korean revolution, and

invade the northern half of the Republic by force of arms. With such absurd pretexts, the enemy schemes to perpetuate the occupation of south Korea by the U.S. imperialist aggression army on the one hand, and on the other, reinforces the aggressive armed forces on a large scale, expanding military installations and madly stepping up war preparations in south Korea.

The "reunification by prevailing over communism" vociferously advocated by the south Korean rulers means wiping out communism to attain "reunification." This is no more than a fantastic daydream, a feeble-minded babble. For 25 years now, the people in the northern half of the Republic, using communist ideas as their guiding principle, have been building an independent sovereign state, rich and strong, and creating their new, happy life. Communist ideas have taken firm root in the hearts of the people in the north and have been converted into a great indestructible material force. To reunify the country by excluding the Communists in Korea is, in fact, to reject reunification and leave south Korea forever in the hands of U.S. imperialism, as its colony.

As for the so-called "peaceful reunification programme," much vaunted of late by the south Korean puppets, it is nothing but a strategic bit of political propaganda filled with lies and deceptions from start to finish, devoid of any formula for the settlement of the question of national reunification. The "peaceful reunification programme" and all other clamours of this type is aimed at dampening the ever-increasing trend in south Korea towards independent peaceful reunification, disguising their treachery to the country and nation, and confusing world public opinion, which supports our national reunification programme.

How can we discuss the question of the reunification of the country with traitors to the nation who are blocking its independent, peaceful realization; using bayonets to repress the south Korean people's struggle for it; imploring the U.S. to continue its military occupation of south Korea; ushering into south Korea the aggressor forces of Japanese militarism;

selling their fellow countrymen to foreign countries as slaves; and forcing young and middle-aged south Koreans into the war of aggression in Viet Nam as cannon fodder for the U.S. imperialists?

The peaceful reunification of our country is utterly unthinkable as long as the U.S. imperialist aggression army and the present puppets remain in south Korea.

To achieve national reunification, it is essential to expel from south Korea the U.S. imperialist aggressors who are its main obstacle and liquidate their colonial rule, overthrow the present fascist military dictatorship and win the victory of the revolution. When a true people's regime is thus established in south Korea, the reunification of our homeland will be achieved easily by the united efforts of the socialist forces in the northern half of the Republic and the patriotic, democratic forces in south Korea.

No amount of frantic manoeuvring by the U.S. imperialists and their minions can break the staunch fighting will of the Korean people to reunify the country. The entire people of north and south Korea will closely unite and vigorously fight the U.S. imperialists and their stooges to frustrate the insidious machinations of the enemy to perpetuate this national split. Thus, we will definitely achieve the reunification of our homeland.

IV. FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES OF THE WORLD

Comrades,

During the period under review our Party has made a timely and correct appraisal of the changing, complex international situation, applied a just foreign policy and done a great deal of work in the field of international relations. Our

Party's independent and principled foreign policy has won the support of many fraternal parties and countries, numerous revolutionary organizations and people of the world and has further consolidated our country's international position. We have come to have a large number of revolutionary comrades and friends internationally and our revolution's international solidarity is being steadily cemented. This is a result of the serious efforts our Party has made for solidarity with the revolutionary forces of other countries and conclusive proof of the correctness of our Party's foreign policy.

The international environment in which our revolution exists still remains complex and strained today. But the general trend of developments is turning in favour of the people who fight for peace and democracy, national independence and socialism and against the forces of imperialism and reaction. The main feature of the present international situation is that whereas the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people is gaining momentum with each passing day, the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism are further stepping up their policies of aggression and war.

Everything that has happened on the international scene in recent years glaringly shows the aggressive and predatory nature of imperialism and above all of U.S. imperialism. The aggressive ambition of U.S. imperialism knows no bounds. With the constant aim of dominating the whole world, U.S. imperialism is stretching out its crooked hands of aggression to all continents, all regions and all countries of the world—Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, Europe, Oceania, large and small countries—and is maliciously challenging the cause of peace and democracy, national independence and socialism. Because it is on the decline and hard pressed, U.S. imperialism resorts ever more desperately to policies of aggression and war.

While overtly pursuing a "policy of strength," the U.S. imperialists raise fake banners of "peace," "negotiation," "exchange," etc., ballyhooing what they call their "peace strategy." This is an old deceptive manoeuvre simply designed to conceal

their true nature and distract the world's attention from their aggression. The "peace strategy" of U.S. imperialism is precisely the other side of their war strategy. It is under the very cloak of "peace" that the U.S. imperialists carry out barbarous wars of aggression against the progressive peoples and it is also under the cloak of "peace" that they intensify their manoeuvrings to soften up other countries ideologically and politically.

U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious and shameless aggressor and plunderer of modern times and the principal enemy of all progressive peoples of the world.

There is no more pressing task on the international scene today than fighting the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. Only through a relentless struggle against the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism can world peace be safeguarded, and can victory be attained in the struggle for national liberation and independence and for democracy and socialism.

Today the struggle of the people against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war has become a trend of the times that cannot be held in check. The flames of the anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggle of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples are flaring up furiously; the working-class movement is growing in intensity in capitalist countries; and more peace-loving people are joining the struggle against the aggression and war policies of imperialism led by the U.S. The people's anti-war movement has assumed a mass character in the United States itself. U.S. imperialism is being battered in all parts of the world, driven into dead ends internally and externally.

In order to check and frustrate the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, the anti-U.S. struggle should be unfolded more actively and more extensively in every part of the world—Asia, Europe, Africa, Latin America—and in all countries, big and small. A powerful anti-war movement should be waged on a world-wide scale, first of all against U.S. imperialism's criminal aggression in Viet Nam. The anti-imperi-

alist forces should provide more active support to the peoples of Indo-China and of other fighting countries. Meanwhile, all the peace-loving countries and progressive peoples of the world should fight more resolutely against the aggressive manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists in the divided countries. To successfully foil the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and preserve and consolidate world peace and security, the fierce flames of revolutionary anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. fight must be kindled everywhere U.S. imperialism sets its foot, and all the anti-imperialist forces must strongly support and encourage the people's revolutionary struggle.

Comrades, today Asia has become the fiercest battle front, the main arena of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. The U.S. imperialists are directing the spearhead of aggression against Asia precisely because in this area there are many revolutionary countries, fighting countries, and the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement is going ahead with great strength there and the imperialists' foothold is shaken to its very foundation.

The U.S. imperialists are making all sorts of desperate efforts to check the rapid growth of the revolutionary forces and prop up their colonial rule in Asia. They are working to destroy, one by one, by force of arms, those Asian countries which are carrying on the revolution, while trying, by intensified ideological and cultural infiltration, to subvert those countries which are ideologically weak and whose anti-imperialist stand is wobbly.

The U.S. imperialists, openly displaying their burglarious nature, are continuing their criminal war of aggression against the Vietnamese people and are intensifying their armed intervention in Laos. Recently they launched their armed forces of aggression and mercenaries from the satellite countries in a naked armed invasion of Cambodia. As a result, war has spread all over Indo-China. Everyday the U.S. imperialists perpetrate provocative acts with the aim of igniting another aggressive war in Korea. They continue to occupy Taiwan, an inalienable territory of the People's Republic of China, and

are incessantly stepping up their aggressive acts against the Chinese people.

In an effort to cover up their policy of Asian aggression, the present U.S. rulers are making quite a fuss about a change of policy. But there has been, and can be, no change in the aggressive policy pursued by the U.S. imperialists in Asia. If anything, their aggressiveness and craftiness have increased. While stepping up aggression by mobilizing their own armed forces, the U.S. imperialists are pursuing the more sinister aim of realizing their aggressive designs on Asia the easy way, "making Asians fight Asians." For this purpose, they are mobilizing Japanese militarism and other satellite countries and puppets in Asia in accordance with their notorious "New Asia Policy." Such aggressive manoeuvres on the part of the U.S. imperialists have created an extremely tense situation everywhere in Asia, and world peace as a whole is gravely endangered.

All the peace-loving countries and progressive peoples of the world cannot sit with folded arms while the U.S. imperialists expand the war to the whole of Indo-China and intensify aggressive manoeuvres in all parts of Asia; they should rise as one in a determined struggle to frustrate U.S. imperialism's war policy and its aggressive manoeuvres. In this, there can be neither vacillation nor passivity.

U.S. imperialism is the mastermind of Asian aggression and therefore the peace and security of Asia cannot be maintained and consolidated without fighting the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

In order to thwart U.S. imperialist aggression in Asia, it is particularly important to cement the militant solidarity of the peoples of the revolutionary Asian countries.

The peoples of the Asian countries have a long and brilliant tradition of victoriously fighting hand in hand against imperialism and for the revolution. The Korean and Chinese peoples joined in fighting against Japanese imperialism and also fought together to victory against U.S. imperialism. The peoples of Indo-China victoriously fought side by side against

the French and Japanese imperialists and are now unfolding a joint struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression.

Today the aggression of U.S. imperialism unites all the revolutionary Asian countries in a single front against it. The peoples of the revolutionary countries of Asia—particularly those of Korea, China, Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, who are suffering U.S. imperialist aggression directly—must further consolidate the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. united front and wage a vigorous anti-U.S. joint struggle to deal a more powerful collective counterstroke against U.S. imperialist aggression in Asia. Thus the U.S. imperialist aggressors must be driven out of south Korea, Taiwan, South Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia, and everywhere else they have set foot in Asia, and their strategem of making Asians fight Asians must be foiled. The U.S. imperialists are bluffing, but they cannot hold out and will be driven out of Asia in the end when all its revolutionary peoples join in collective action and pressure against them with the support of the world's revolutionary peoples.

The Asian peoples and the progressive peoples of the world are confronted today with the very urgent task of struggling against the revival of Japanese militarism while frustrating the aggression of U.S. imperialism.

Actively instigated by the U.S. imperialists, Japanese militarism has now raised its head again in Asia as an ever-growing menace to world peace and the independence and security of the Asian countries. This cannot but arouse the deep anxiety and apprehension of all those who value the peace of Asia and the world.

Japanese militarism is the sworn enemy of the Asian peoples. Historically, it has invaded other countries with the backing of the big imperialist powers. In collusion with the U.S. and British imperialists and under their patronage, the Japanese militarists occupied Korea, stretched out their talons of aggression to the Asian continent and brought immeasurable suffering and calamity to the Asian peoples. In conspiracy and collaboration with fascist Germany and Italy, they also ignited the Pacific War and were crazy to become the "leader" in

Asia. Japanese militarism fattened on aggression and war, and finally met its ruin in war. The history of crimes committed by the Japanese militarists against the Asian peoples and all humanity is still fresh in the memory of the peoples.

This criminal history of Japanese militarism is being repeated today. The aggressive nature of Japanese militarism remains and will remain unchanged.

With the backing of U.S. imperialism, a revived Japanese militarism is once again overtly stretching out its tentacles of aggression to Korea and other Asian countries and recklessly seeks to realize its old dream of the so-called "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." Armed forces of aggression are now being built up full-scale in Japan to meet the demands of the "New Asia Policy" of the U.S. imperialists and the overseas expansion policy of Japanese militarism. Stepped-up rearmament manoeuvres by the Japanese militarists, in a rapacious plan to dominate Asia, are becoming increasingly dangerous with each passing day. Japan's reactionary ruling circles are spurring on militarization and transforming the internal structures more rapidly along fascist lines, continuously clamouring for Japan to play a "leading role in Asia," claiming it is high time for Japan to have "military power commensurate with her national power."

The reactionary U.S.-Japan alignment for Asian aggression has been strengthened, especially in recent years. The conspiracy and collaboration between the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese militarists constitutes a greater threat because U.S. imperialism is directing the spearhead of aggression toward Asia, using Japan as a base. Further stepping up their policies of aggression and war in Asia, the U.S. imperialists have set out to make more active use of the military and economic potential of Japan—their junior ally and military base of aggression—in the execution of their aggressive policy. At the same time, the Japanese militarists are working to carry out their ambition for overseas expansion, availing themselves of the U.S. imperialists' Asian strategy. The Japanese militarists' frantic manoeuvres to rearm and provoke aggression are

nothing but a direct product of the Asian strategy of the U.S. imperialists.

Japan has again become the hotbed of new aggression and war in Asia, against which the Asian peoples must be ever more vigilant. Our country is Japanese militarism's first target in its foreign aggression. The Japanese militarists have already begun creeping into south Korea. Manipulated by U.S. imperialism, they have worked out the most reckless invasion plans against Korea, openly scheming to send their armed forces of aggression to the Korean front, and even declaring the Democratic People's Republic of Korea a zone of operation.

With the foul design for overseas expansion, the Japanese reactionaries are swaggering about everywhere around the world with impunity, under the cloak of "peace" and "aid"; they are intensifying their economic and cultural infiltration of countries in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America. Pretending to be "friends" of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples, they are craftily manoeuvring to dampen the anti-imperialist struggle and disorganize the anti-imperialist front of the people of these regions.

The struggle against Japanese militarism is a struggle to safeguard peace in Asia and the world and a main link in the chain of the struggle to check and thwart the Asian strategy of the U.S. imperialists. While fighting U.S. imperialism, all the peace-loving peoples of the world must further intensify the struggle against Japanese militarism and, by concerted action, foil its aggressive ambitions.

One must not harbour any illusions about the Japanese reactionary ruling circles or pin any hopes on them. It is an immutable law of imperialism that when monopoly capital expands at home, it takes the course of foreign aggression. Japanese monopoly capital has already swelled to the fullest and re-established its supremacy. The Japanese militarist policy of rearmament and overseas expansion is being carried out precisely on the basis of the revival of Japanese monopoly capital and its hegemony.

To refuse to see the aggressive nature of Japanese milita-

rism and fail to fight against it, or to eulogize Japan's reactionary government and establish intimate relations with it—this is tantamount to further increasing the danger of war in Asia and encouraging its overseas expansion. It will also lead to consolidating the position of U.S. imperialism in Asia and weakening the anti-imperialist struggle as a whole.

The rearmament of Japanese militarism and its manoeuvres for foreign aggression must be curbed decisively and the aggressive U.S.-Japan alignment must definitely be thwarted. Especially must the Japanese militarists be stripped of their cloak of "peace." They must be isolated in the international arena and their manoeuvres to soften up the anti-imperialist front must be fully exposed and shattered.

In order to combat Japanese militarism and smash the aggressive alignment of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries, it is important to support the Japanese people in their struggle and strengthen solidarity with them. The struggle of the Japanese people is dealing telling blows against U.S. imperialist aggression in Asia and the revival of Japanese militarism, and is contributing greatly to the cause of peace in Asia and the world.

The Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people are watching the dangerous developments in Japan very closely. Our Party and people will never tolerate Japanese militarism's new aggression scheme; we will continue to fight resolutely against it. Especially, we will fight to the end in firm unity with the Japanese people and all the other anti-imperialist revolutionary forces in Asia in order to check and frustrate the insidious manoeuvres of the reactionary Japanese government—which is actively collaborating and assisting U.S. imperialism's aggressive manoeuvres against Korea—and abrogate the criminal "ROK-Japan treaty" engineered by the U.S. imperialists.

In collusion with U.S. imperialism, the Japanese militarists are desperately trying to invade Korea and other Asian countries and become the "leader" of Asia. But this is no more than a fantastic daydream.

Asia today is not the backward Asia of yesterday. Gone are the days when the imperialists could lord it over Asia. Hundreds of millions of Asian people, long oppressed and plundered by imperialism, have risen vigorously and are taking their place on the stage of history. The political, economic and military might of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China has been incomparably strengthened; the irresistible flames of the liberation struggle of the heroic Vietnamese and other Indo-Chinese peoples are raging furiously; and the revolutionary awareness of the Japanese people is growing. No imperialist force can conquer the Asian people nor break their united strength. The Asian people have now grown into a great revolutionary force of our times, that is burying imperialism and colonialism. If the Japanese militarists launch another aggressive adventure against Korea and other Asian countries, despite warnings from the Asian people and other progressive people of the world, they will finally meet their end before the great revolutionary force of the Asian people.

In order to defeat imperialism, headed by the United States, solidarity must be strengthened not only among the peoples of the Asian countries engaged in revolution but also among all the other peoples of the revolutionary, fighting countries of the world. More than anything else the U.S. imperialists fear the united strength of the world revolutionary people. Hence their strategy of preventing the revolutionary and fighting countries from pooling their strength and of destroying the revolutionary forces piecemeal by every artifice. This strategy of the U.S. imperialists must be decisively thwarted.

The peoples of revolutionary countries in Asia, the Palestinian people and other fighting Arab peoples, the African and Latin-American peoples fighting for freedom and liberation, and all the other revolutionary peoples of the world should band together to hit and dismember U.S. imperialism. The peoples in the revolutionary, fighting countries should tear U.S. imperialism limb from limb and chop its head off

everywhere in the world. U.S. imperialism will meet its doom when the revolutionary peoples of the world unite, however small their forces may be, and fight the decisive battle against it, dismembering it from all sides.

Comrades, the Korean revolution constitutes a part of the world revolution, and the victory of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people in the revolutionary struggle depends in large measure on strengthened solidarity with other revolutionary forces all over the world as well as on the consolidation and development of the revolutionary forces in north and south Korea. The greater the support and sympathy we win for our revolutionary cause by cementing solidarity with the revolutionary force of other countries, the further we can isolate the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and their stooges, and the more favourable the international environment we can create for the advancement of our revolution. Strengthening solidarity with the revolutionary forces of other countries can be an important factor now in forcing the U.S. imperialist aggressors out of south Korea, winning the national-liberation revolution, reducing tension in Korea and achieving the peaceful reunification of our country. Our Party and people, therefore, should make every effort to promote the revolutionary movement in the world and develop close ties with it, while strengthening and developing our own internal revolutionary forces in every way.

In the future as they have in the past, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people, holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle, will continue to fight staunchly against U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism and for the triumph of the cause of peace, democracy, national independence, socialism and communism in unity with the peoples of the other socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties, the international working class, all the fighting peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and all other peace-loving peoples of the world.

V. FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF PARTY WORK

Comrades,

The great victories and successes we achieved in the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction during the period under review are due to the correct lines and policies of the Workers' Party of Korea and its wise leadership. Taking Marxism-Leninism as its constant guiding principle, our Party mapped out the correct lines and policies best suited to the specific realities of our country in each period of the development of the revolution and effectively organized and mobilized all Party members and working people for their implementation.

In the course of carrying out difficult and intricate revolutionary tasks and through the fierce struggle against internal and external enemies, our Party has been increasingly seasoned and steeled, and it has strengthened itself and developed into an indestructible revolutionary party.

Today a monolithic ideological system has been solidly established within our Party, and the whole Party has attained firm unity and cohesion based on Marxist-Leninist ideas—the *Juche* idea of our Party. This is the most important result of Party work during the period under review; it is the basic factor behind the increase in our Party's fighting capacity.

In these years, the internal and external conditions in which our Party carried out its activities were very difficult and complicated. On a world-wide basis the imperialists prosecuted an unprecedented escalation of their aggressions and manoeuvres to provoke wars, and revisionism appeared in the international communist movement, disturbing its unity and cohesion and causing ideological confusion. In particular, the situation in our country—where we were confronting the U.S. imperialists face to face—was marked by greater complexity

and tension. U.S. imperialism and its stooges rattled their sabres almost every day, threatening the northern half of the Republic and threw many roadblocks in the way of socialist construction in our country.

As the aggressive machinations of the imperialists became more intense and revisionist ideological trends penetrated from without, revisionist elements lurking within the Party did not implement the Party's policies sincerely, resorting to underhanded methods, and intrigued in the open and under cover to resurrect bourgeois and feudal-Confucian ideas.

By rousing its organizations and the rank and file to action, our Party thoroughly exposed and smashed the insidious manoeuvring of the bourgeois and revisionist elements and battled unflinchingly against every single tendency to oppose the lines and policies of the Party and to undermine its unity. We also developed a vigorous ideological struggle to root out the poisonous effects of all the different reactionary and opportunist ideologies which they spread.

While resolutely combatting the bourgeois and revisionist elements and their dangerous ideological influence, our Party struggled untiringly to equip its members and the working people with its revolutionary ideas and to instil in them the spirit of defending and implementing Party lines and policies to the end.

Consequently, today our Party is pervaded throughout with Marxist-Leninist ideology, the revolutionary ideology of our Party, and all Party members and the working people are armed with unshakable faith, so that they admit no other ideas than the revolutionary ideas of our Party. They are capable now of judging anything that comes up according to the standards of Party policies and of waging a principled struggle, without the slightest compromise, against anything incompatible with these policies. With all its members fully equipped with the monolithic ideology of our Party, its unity and militancy have been further strengthened. Every Party organization and member has come to think and act with one mind and one will based on the monolithic ideology of the

Party, and they have been rallied closely around its Central Committee. The Party has turned into an integral living organization like a biological organism—into a revolutionary and militant organization which is capable of withstanding any upheaval.

Today our Party's unity and cohesion have reached a new, higher level—vital and solid as never before. We can say that only today have the Party's unity and cohesion we Communists wanted so much to see been fully realized, on the basis of the monolithic ideological system of *Juche*. This is a splendid fruit of our long, drawn-out efforts and a great victory of historic significance in the construction of our Party.

Comrades, the Marxist-Leninist *Juche* idea constitutes the quintessence of the revolutionary ideas of our Party, the monolithic ideology of the Party, and the monolithic ideological system of our Party is the ideological system of *Juche*.

Closely linked with the battle to establish *Juche* in all domains of revolution and construction, during the period under review, the Party developed a struggle to cement the unity and cohesion of the Party based on the monolithic ideological system. Thus it not only attained unity in its ranks but also ensured the overall victory of the *Juche* idea. This idea has now become the firm and invariable guiding ideology of our Party and the very correct guiding principle in all our revolutionary struggle and the work of construction. This, too, is an extremely notable result of our Party's activities during the period under review.

To establish *Juche* means, in a word, to approach revolution and construction in one's own country with the attitude of a master. This means adhering to the independent stand of rejecting dependence on others and of using one's own brains, believing in one's own strength and displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, thus solving all problems for oneself on one's own responsibility. It also means maintaining the creative stand of opposing dogmatism, and of applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism together with the experiences of other countries to suit the historical conditions

and national peculiarities of one's own country. The *Juche* idea is in full agreement with the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism; it came into being as a reflection of the new stage of development of the international communist movement and its essential requirements.

The question of establishing *Juche* assumed particular importance for us owing to the peculiarities of the historical development of our country, to its geographical environments and conditions, and to the complex and arduous nature of our revolution.

Flunkeyism has a long history in our country. For a long time some of our people held the servile idea of doubting their own strength and blindly worshipping and trailing behind others. Even after liberation, flunkeyism was still a great obstacle to revolution and construction on the one hand and to the consolidation and development of the Party on the other. Coupled with dogmatism, it worked greater harm.

Even when the people became masters of the country and came to have their own state power and Party, those who were infected with flunkeyism and dogmatism did not study our reality but sought to copy foreign things mechanically, continuing to doubt their own strength and looking to others. The harmfulness of these tendencies was glaringly revealed during the war, and it became all the more intolerable as the socialist revolution and socialist construction proceeded full scale after the war. With the trend toward opportunism spreading widely in the international communist movement, the flunkeyists and dogmatists went so far as to import it into our country. Without eradicating flunkeyism and dogmatism and thoroughly establishing *Juche*, it was impossible to conduct the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction successfully in strict adherence to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism. Historical experience shows that when a person turns to flunkeyism he becomes an idiot, when a people takes to flunkeyism their country falls into ruin, and when a party acquires flunkeyism it makes a mess of revolution and construction.

From the beginning of its leadership of the revolution, our Party waged an untiring struggle against flunkeyism and dogmatism and for the establishment of *Juche*, developing it more energetically as the revolution and construction progressed in depth and scope. During the period under review in particular, the struggle to establish *Juche* in the revolution and in construction proceeded on a wider scale and in greater depth than ever before. This process was closely linked to the struggle against opportunism. The Party unrolled a powerful ideological struggle against flunkeyism, dogmatism and opportunism of every kind among cadres and Party members. At the same time, it educated them in the brilliant revolutionary traditions of our Party, patiently teaching them, in particular, to arm themselves firmly with its lines and policies and to solve all problems according to the real conditions of their country and mainly, through their own efforts.

The struggle to establish *Juche* has brought about a fundamental change in the ideological life of the Party membership and the working people and in their way of thinking, and it has resulted in a great leap forward in the revolutionary struggle and work of construction. The practice of blindly despising what is native and swallowing foreign things whole has disappeared among cadres and Party members; their national pride and consciousness of independence have increased further and the revolutionary trait of relying on their own efforts has been thoroughly instilled in them. Now we can say that flunkeyism, national nihilism and dogmatism have been chiefly eliminated as ideological trends from our Party members and our people. The establishment of *Juche* in ideology is a great victory in the realm of the ideological revolution; it has freed our people from the shackles of obsolete ideas which poisoned their consciousness of national independence.

Our Party has endeavoured to embody the *Juche* idea thoroughly in all areas of the revolution and construction as it established *Juche* in ideology. All the lines and policies of our Party stem from the *Juche* idea, and they are permeated with it. Our Party's consistent principle of independence in

politics, self-support in economy and self-defence in guarding the nation is the embodiment of the *Juche* idea in all realms. Under the revolutionary banner of the *Juche* idea our country has turned into a socialist state with complete political sovereignty, a solid independent national economy, strong self-defence power and a brilliant national culture. The establishment of *Juche* has made our contribution to the international revolutionary cause today greater than ever before. All our achievements represent a shining victory for the *Juche* idea of our Party and are fruitful results of the independent line of our Party.

During the period under review our Party has also taken a great step forward in improving its work system and work methods in conformity with the requirements of the developing realities.

We strove, first of all, to thoroughly change Party work into work with people and we established the work system with the primary stress laid on work with people in all Party organizations. The system of working with cadres and the system of guiding the members' Party life were completely established throughout the Party, and we instituted the work system and method of both educating the masses to rally them around the Party and dynamically organizing and mobilizing them to fulfil revolutionary tasks.

In particular, we continued to pay profound attention to fully embodying the Chongsan-ri spirit and Chongsan-ri method in Party work.

In its method and style of work, a ruling party should always guard against the tendency to abuse party authority and practise bureaucratism. After a party has come into power, the danger of putting on airs and violating the mass line increases among some functionaries who are not firmly armed with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. That is why the party should constantly improve its method and style of work in order to implement the mass line and ensure proper leadership for the revolution and construction.

During the period under review, the Party intensified the

ideological battle against bureaucracy among the functionaries and perseveringly strove to enhance their spirit of allegiance to the Party, working class and people and to carry into effect the Chongsan-*ri* spirit and Chongsan-*ri* method in all spheres of Party work. Thus the Party brought about a radical improvement in its style of guidance and method of work and was able to perform Party work with greater profundity. Through the struggle to introduce the Chongsan-*ri* method the outmoded bureaucratic style of work that has blocked the progress of Party work for a long time was basically eliminated, all the functionaries came to possess the revolutionary style and method of work, and democracy was given full scope within the Party. The Party also established a well-organized work system in which the functionaries of higher organs personally go down to lower units to give real material assistance to their subordinates as the Chongsan-*ri* method requires. The national level was made to help the provinces, the provinces to help the counties, and the functionaries of county organs were encouraged to continually go down to the *ri* to untie knotty problems in plenty of time and to help the subordinates in their jobs in a responsible way, working together with them. The Party saw to it that the leading functionaries went out to outlying places and organized many model and demonstration lectures to teach the work method to the lower-unit functionaries by living examples. The Party also made sure that leading functionaries further consolidated the foundations of Party work and actively educated the junior functionaries on the spot by using the new form of the mobile lecture.

An essential requirement of the Chongsan-*ri* method and a revolutionary work method emanating from the very nature of the Communists is to give precedence to political work so as to constantly raise the political awareness of the masses of the people and to lead them to carry out their revolutionary tasks on their own initiative. Our Party strictly adhered to the principle of giving precedence to political work in all activities, and in fulfilling any revolutionary task it made a point of fully explaining and disseminating the relevant Party

policy among all Party members and the masses so that they could join in the struggle to carry it out with a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm. In conducting political work, work with people, the Party maintained the revolutionary work method of putting the whole Party and all the people into action in such a way that one person rouses ten to activity, ten persons a hundred and a hundred persons a thousand. First we properly trained cadres and nuclei to educate and assist Party members; then we enhanced the vanguard role of Party members so that they could educate the broad masses, stimulating them to fulfil revolutionary tasks.

We established the work system under which the upper units help the lower units, functionaries at higher organs go down to the actual work sites to teach their subordinates, and cadres and core elements educate the Party membership and the masses and rouse them to action. As a result, not only has Party work turned into work with men and women, but also the intentions of the Party Central Committee have been instantly brought home to the lower units, and superiors and subordinates have been more closely united and understand each other better. All Party members actively offer their creative suggestions on how to advance Party work, and the Party organizations are now accustomed to listen to members and accept their constructive views with an open mind. In fact, our Party today fully displays the fine communist trait of superiors assisting their subordinates and comrades helping each other, and all the members participate in Party work with the attitude of the master. This is a highly valuable achievement we have made in Party work.

During the period under review the ideological education of Party members has been further intensified, and the habit of studying has been thoroughly implanted in the whole Party.

In line with the Party's correct policy, a well-planned system of education has been set up throughout the Party, and the contents and methods of the education have been further improved. The educational network has been organized in all

areas and in all units and run under the centralized guidance of the Party Central Committee. This network includes all Party members so that they receive regular political and ideological education.

Fast-developing realities urgently demanded that the cadres and Party members improve their political and practical levels. Hence, our Party strove hard to establish the revolutionary trait of studying among cadres and Party members. The Party made it a rule for all cadres and members to study more than two hours a day and for cadres to study collectively every Saturday; the Party also saw to it that lectures were given regularly. In particular, the Party took bold steps to have all active-duty cadres sent to political schools at various levels for one month every year. Studying has now become a very important revolutionary task and an integral part of our Party's regular routine.

With the establishment of the revolutionary trait of studying throughout the Party and with the enhancement of both Party spirit and the political and practical levels of cadres and members, their unity and cohesion have become more conscious and voluntary. Every cadre and member has become more capable of serving the Party and the revolution with a high degree of political awareness.

Comrades,

During the period under review we have registered major achievements in Party work and gained many valuable experiences and lessons.

As important and numerous as they are, our successes and experiences are no more than a basis to strengthen our Party further and to win new victories. We should continue to consolidate and develop the Party organizationally and ideologically and enhance its leading role in the revolution and construction.

The most important thing in strengthening the Party is to establish a monolithic ideological system among its entire membership and, on this basis, continue to ensure the unity and solidarity of the Party ranks.

The identity of ideology and will is the life of a Marxist-Leninist Party and a decisive factor in all victories. If any alien idea incompatible with the monolithic ideology of a party is allowed to infiltrate the party even to the slightest degree or if unity of action is not secured, such a party can, in fact, hardly be called a party. Factions are bound to arise in a party which lacks unity and cohesion based on a single guiding ideology. Consequently, such a party cannot unite the masses around itself and ensure unified leadership in the revolution and construction, and it cannot even properly guarantee its own existence.

We should continue to deepen and develop Party work, being firm in making it our general task to establish the monolithic ideological system more thoroughly in the Party with Marxist-Leninist ideology, our Party's *Juche* idea, as our unshakable guiding doctrine and, on this basis, to strengthen the identity of ideology and will in the Party ranks.

The essence of Party work is work with people. In other words, Party work is precisely the organizational and political work with people needed to arm cadres, Party members and the masses with a single ideology and will so that we can rally them closely around the Party and organize and mobilize them to implement the Party's policies. We should oppose any deviation towards reducing Party work to a technical or professional affair and should always stress our work with people.

The Party organizations should, above all, direct great efforts to the work with cadres.

Cadres constitute the main nuclear force of the Party and the commanding personnel of our revolution who directly organize and guide the execution of the Party's lines and policies. The Party's leadership in revolution and construction is, in the last analysis, carried into effect through cadres, and they are the ones who will solve all problems.

The most urgent task in the work with cadres today is to decisively step up the struggle for raising their political and practical qualifications.

True, all our cadres are good cadres, and, generally speaking, we have built up the ranks of cadres with those faithful to the Party and the revolution. But our cadres are not well enough prepared to keep abreast of the rapidly changing conditions and their qualifications, as a whole, are low when compared with the needs of the Party. This is chiefly because the struggle for revolutionization has not yet been intensified among the cadres. More than a few cadres use the pretext that they are busy with work to avoid hard study and faithful participation in Party life. And among our cadres there are even some who, because they neglect the need to temper themselves in a revolutionary way, try to stand on their prestige once they have been promoted to high posts. They do their work in a slipshod manner, do not even listen to the admonitions of their comrades, and become bureaucratic and arrogant; they try to show off, thinking that they have an inherent right to hold their present positions. As a result, they end up ideologically spoiled and degenerate and go so far as to drop out of the revolutionary ranks.

Our reality is such that socialist construction has developed to a high level and, in particular, the ideological revolution has become more profound; this requires competent cadres now more than ever before. Only when the cadres themselves are thoroughly revolutionized and more firmly prepared politically and technically than anyone else can they properly run an advanced socialist society, guide the ideological revolution correctly, speed up the revolutionization and working-classization of society and be fully prepared to meet the great revolutionary event of national reunification. To elevate the qualifications of the cadres—this is a precondition for the successful solution of all questions that will arise in our revolution and construction in the present period.

We must first of all pay attention to the work of educating the cadres and wage a more powerful Party-wide struggle to revolutionize them and raise their political and practical levels.

To begin with, Party life should be decisively tightened

among the cadres. Experience shows that when cadres, whoever they may be, neglect Party life and get away from Party supervision, they become, without exception, indolent, lax and arrogant and cannot properly perform their revolutionary tasks. We must resolutely combat the tendency among cadres to shun Party life and see that all cadres, without exception, take an active part in Party life and voluntarily observe the organizational discipline of the Party. Our cadres should all make conscious and continuous efforts to rely on the Party organizations in their work and in their life and let themselves be supervised by these organizations and by rank-and-file Party members.

It is particularly important to temper the cadres in the practice of sharp criticism. An atmosphere of principled criticism should be created among the cadres and they should be criticized regularly. All cadres must strive to act like revolutionaries who know both how to criticize themselves on their shortcomings in time and how to frankly accept criticisms made by rank-and-file Party members. The Party organizations should lead cadres to intensify the ideological struggle through the practice of criticism and steadily steel themselves in a revolutionary way amidst a stern ideological struggle.

Also, in order to improve the qualifications of cadres, it is necessary to get them to study hard.

Studying is the first and foremost task for a revolutionary. Without studying one can hardly become a genuine revolutionary or carry on his revolutionary work.

All cadres should study the Party's policies hard in order to firmly arm themselves with the ideas of our Party and become fully acquainted with the Party's policies; they should take them as the standard by which to conduct their work at any time and in any place. The cadres should constantly acquire knowledge on political, economic, cultural, military, and all other activities and should be proficient in the work assigned to them. Every one must study, and especially the cadres in responsible positions must study harder. The Party organizations should strictly supervise the studies of responsible cadres

and direct particular attention to building up the habit of conscious study in them.

We should continue to run the system of one-month training courses properly. The vitality of these courses has been proved in practice, and we should make it compulsory for all cadres to take the training once a year. Also, we should see that in sending people who have not undergone any systematic education to cadre-training institutions for re-education, the preference is given to directors and chief engineers of factories and enterprises, chairmen of co-operative farms and other functionaries who directly organize and guide production. We should also make strenuous efforts to educate and temper cadres through practical work, create examples in all fields and arrange model lectures to generalize these models on a wide-spread scale, so as to keep enhancing the levels of the cadres.

It is of great importance in educating cadres to firmly establish the system of individual education. The Party organizations of all levels should guide the leading personnel to constantly study the cadres they are responsible for and patiently educate them on an individual basis. A well-regulated, Party-wide system of educating cadres should thus be established under which all cadres educate others and are themselves educated at all times; the system should be organized in such a way that cadres at upper units educate the men and women at lower units, and these cadres in turn, educate their subordinates.

The Party organizations, while strengthening the work of raising cadres' qualifications, should continue to pay careful attention to the correct selection and allocation of cadres. In selecting cadres they should strictly adhere to the Party's consistent principle of placing main emphasis on a person's political qualifications while giving adequate consideration to their work qualifications; Party organizations should choose as cadres those workers tested and steered in practical struggle and other people of basic class origin, such as former hired farm hands and poor peasants. The Party organizations should strictly guard against the wrong tendency of going only by

family and social background in selecting cadres, and should, under all circumstances, choose cadres mainly in terms of political and ideological readiness. In this way the ranks of our cadres will be built up on a firmer class and political basis.

In order to consolidate the cadres' ranks and supply the new cadres required by all fields of the revolution and construction, a system of reserve cadre training should be correctly established. The Party organizations should mark out active-duty cadres as reserves for higher positions and train them well; at the same time, they should choose many reserve cadres from among nuclear Party members tried and tested in practical struggle, especially, core workers of factories and enterprises in the key industrial branches, and train them in a systematic way.

What is important in strengthening the training of reserve cadres is to fortify cadre-training institutions and enhance their role. We should conscientiously build up the teaching staff of these institutions at all levels with people qualified politically and technically, base the education on Party policies, closely associating it with practical activities, and further raise the scientific and theoretical levels of our training.

The Party organizations must select, allocate, educate and train cadres on the basis of their Party life. This work should be one of the Party committees' central tasks. In particular, to reinforce cadre ranks they should discard, once and for all, the subjective work attitude of evaluating cadres only in the light of their personal records; they should always test cadres through their Party life and practical activities and systematically study and understand them.

Another important aspect of the Party's responsibilities is to work well with its members, especially, to intensify their life within the Party organization.

The Party is a political organization which unites the mass of Party members. For a Party to be a powerful, active and militant organization, all the members must be sound politically and ideologically and must work actively according to the Party's organizational principles. Party life is the organiza-

tional and political life of its members; it is the activity of discharging their duties as laid out in the Party Rules. The main element in Party work lies in correctly guiding the members' Party life. And the foundation of Party building also lies precisely in strengthening the Party life of all members. Only when Party life is strengthened will the Party spirit of the members be tempered, their vanguard role enhanced in revolution and construction, and our revolutionary tasks carried out with success.

In the first place, to tighten their Party life all members should be encouraged to participate of their own free will. Nothing is more honourable and necessary than such participation. The entire Party membership must strive to rely entirely on the Party organizations and faithfully participate in Party life in accordance with the Party's organizational standards. We must see to it that in Party life democracy is given fuller play and that the weapon of criticism is upheld to firmly establish a revolutionary atmosphere within the Party.

The correct organization and guidance of the Party life of the members is an important guarantee for strengthening Party life. Party organizations should give each member a specific task suited to his particular abilities, check to see whether or not it has been fulfilled in plenty of time, and actively help to implement the task; when the given job has been fulfilled, it should be summed up and a fresh task assigned so that every member always has a new Party task and is active at all times. The Party organizations should regularly sum up the members' Party life in an atmosphere of sharp criticism and organize and hold Party meetings on a high political and ideological level. All Party members should thus become ardent political activists, strong both politically and ideologically, who struggle resolutely to carry out the Party's lines and policies at the head of the masses.

While giving Party members revolutionary education, we should continue to expand the ranks of the Party and improve the quality of its membership. In our country today, members of the new generation who have received a great deal of so-

cialist education since liberation are emerging as reliable masters of the country, and, they are playing an important role in all realms of revolution and construction. The Party organizations should actively admit fine people into the Party from among the new generation which it has brought up, especially from among the working-class youth. In this way, the qualitative composition of the Party ranks should be further improved and its nuclei steadily increased. And our Party should develop into a party which is always alive with revolutionary spirit.

In order to strengthen work with cadres and members, the Party cells should play an ever-increasing role. A Party cell is a combat unit directly executing the Party's policies among the masses. It is the most basic organization of our Party—every member belongs and operates within this unit. We should firmly build up the nuclei of Party cells and steadily enhance their function so that all the cells conduct their work with cadres and members more skilfully.

At the same time, we should bolster the work of the Party committees at all levels. They should set right the system of work with cadres and Party members and make organized efforts to give more effective guidance to their Party life.

With a view to making the Party committees militant general staffs which function vibrantly, the Party committees at all levels should be correctly made up of cadres and core Party members. In particular, large numbers of nuclear Party members who are workers directly engaged in labour at production sites should be enlisted in the Party Central Committee and provincial, city and county Party committees. The proper representation of core workers in the Party committees will not only increase the working-class character of our Party but also render it possible for the Party to strike deeper roots in the masses and closely study and grasp how matters stand at the lower units and take correct and opportune guidance measures. This will also make it possible to educate large numbers of new working-class cadres and enable cadres to learn the working-class viewpoint and the revolutionary spirit and militancy of the working class through Party committees.

It is very important to enhance the role of the organizational departments of the Party committees at all levels in strengthening work with cadres and with Party members. The Party organizational department is a section that takes charge of the Party ranks and directly supervises and leads the Party life of the members. Whether Party organizations are active or not and whether the Party ranks are built up firmly or not depends chiefly upon the role of the Party organizational departments. The Party committees should further improve the work of the organizational departments so that they may give correct guidance to the Party organizations, systematically study and grasp the Party life of the cadres and members and direct and supervise it properly.

To intensify the guidance of the Party life of cadres and members the organizational and the propaganda and agitation department of the Party committee must conduct effective concerted operations. We can say that the organizational department plays the role of a doctor while the propaganda and agitation department plays that of a pharmacist in guiding cadres and members in their Party life. In order to cure a person of a disease the doctor must diagnose the case accurately and the pharmacist prepare medicine in accordance with the diagnosis. Likewise, for the strengthening of the Party life of cadres and members, the organizational department should always understand their Party life, analyse it scientifically and judge both the defects and their causes correctly; then, on this basis, the propaganda and agitation department should conduct the appropriate ideological education to correct these problems.

In this way, we will help all cadres and members to follow the organizational principles of the Party and convert all Party organizations into living militant bodies which correctly carry out their functions.

The Party organizations should further strengthen work with the masses.

The revolution is for the people's good and is the work of the masses of the people themselves. Unless the masses are

organized and mobilized, the revolution cannot emerge victorious, and in the final analysis, the fundamental question which decides the triumph and success of the revolution and the work of construction is whether or not an overwhelming majority of the people are won over. Therefore, a Marxist-Leninist Party, while reinforcing its ranks, must always strive to educate and transform the masses and rally them closely around it.

The line consistently followed by our Party in work with the masses is to correctly combine the class line and the mass line so that the class positions of our revolution are solidified and all people, except a handful of the reactionary class enemies, are educated and remoulded in such a way that they will firmly unite around the Party.

The basic masses are the class foundations our Party relies on. Only by properly educating this basic sector to heighten its class awareness continually can we reinforce the class positions of our revolution and firmly build up its main detachment. The Party organizations should strengthen their work with this sector of the masses to give them solid political and ideological weapons and further enhance their role on all fronts of socialist construction.

Meanwhile, we should properly conduct work with those sectors of the masses whose social and political backgrounds are complex. It is our Party's traditional principle of work with the masses to appraise people case by case attaching first importance to their present conduct, trust them and test and remould them through struggle. By thoroughly establishing the revolutionary mass viewpoint in cadres and Party members and actively working with those people in all walks of life who have complex social and political backgrounds, the Party organizations should accelerate breakdown of classes, exercise dictatorship over reactionary elements, and educate and remould all the people that can be won over, thereby uniting them closely on the side of the revolution.

For strengthening work with the masses the role of the working people's organizations should be further enhanced.

It is a Marxist-Leninist principle in the guidance of the masses to work with them through the working people's organizations. Only by positively rousing these organizations to action can we knit the masses closely around the Party and correctly organize and mobilize them for the revolution and construction.

An important task in the Party's guidance of the working people's organizations is to increase their independence so that they may take the initiative in organizing and carrying out their activities. By strengthening the Party's guidance of the working people's organizations we never imply that the Party should take their work upon itself. The substance of Party guidance of the working people's organizations lies precisely in helping them carry on their activities effectively in an independent and creative manner in accordance with the Party's lines and policies. The Party organizations should induce the functionaries to have the correct viewpoint on the working people's organizations, actively put them in the lead in work with the masses and boldly assign them tasks. The working people's organizations should be provided with proper working conditions and given clear orientations on work to do and ways and means of carrying out their tasks to suit their respective peculiarities, so that they can organize and conduct work with the masses actively and skilfully.

In order to intensify the work of the working people's organizations the ranks of nuclei should be firmly built up among the masses. The Party organizations should steadily expand those nuclear ranks in the working people's organizations and give them positive guidance to reinforce the cadres, which are their basic cores. In this way all the working people's organizations should be able to rouse the nuclei to action, positively educating their members and mobilizing them to fulfil their basic tasks accurately.

The most important task confronting the working people's organizations today is to effectively wage the struggle for revolutionization and working-classization among the working people.

The working people's organizations should intensify ideological education among their members and, in particular, make them all take an active part in organizational life, patiently educating and tempering them. The General Federation of Trade Unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People, the League of Socialist Working Youth and the Democratic Women's Union should always do good work inside their organizations and make all their members Red fighters of the Party, staunch builders of socialism and communism; and they should dynamically organize and mobilize them to implement the Party's policies.

In particular, it is very important to strengthen the work of the League of Socialist Working Youth. The LSWY, as a militant organization of the youth who are heir to our revolution, is a reliable reserve and active second to our Party. The future of the country and the prospects of the revolution depend, after all, on how the youth is brought up. Consequently, to heighten the role of the LSWY is an important matter that concerns the future destinies of the country and the nation.

The LSWY should organize and conduct work with the youth of all strata in a more active way, with main stress on the ideological education of the youth. The LSWY organizations should work hard to thoroughly establish the monolithic ideological system of the Party among the league members, to organize diverse activities suited to the characteristics of the youth and to educate them in a revolutionary way. All the youth should thus be made to acquire great pride and self-respect in their important contribution to the revolutionary struggle, to the cause of building socialism and communism and to the sacred work of transforming nature and society; they should always be made to lead a revolutionary life full of revolutionary optimism for the future, high spirits and vitality. The LSWY organizations should particularly strengthen their work with young people and children in school to bring them up as successors to our revolution with boundless faith in the Party, as versatile builders of socialism and communism who are

knowledgeable, virtuous and healthy. We should see to it that the youth, always upholding the policies of our Party, creditably discharge their honourable duty as the vanguard, as the shock brigade, taking the lead in difficult jobs in national defence and all spheres of economic construction.

One of the important tasks before the Party organizations is to intensify Party ideological work.

Along with Party organizational work, Party ideological work is an important inner-Party task and it is unthinkable that the two could be separated. Only when Party organizational and ideological work are well co-ordinated is it possible to strengthen the Party in these two areas and steadily increase its combat capacity.

The central task before us in the field of Party ideological work is to keep pushing ahead with the thorough establishment of the monolithic ideological system throughout the Party. Party organizations should strengthen education in the Party's policies and revolutionary traditions and step up the struggle against all morbid ideologies such as bourgeois ideas, revisionism, flunkeyism, dogmatism, factionalism, regionalism and nepotism—thereby arming all members and working people more firmly with the monolithic ideology of our Party, its *Juche* idea. At the same time, Party members and working people should be constantly brought to class consciousness and solidly equipped with the spirit of combatting the enemy uncompromisingly as well as with the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

A particularly important task in Party ideological work at present is to intensify ideological education against revisionism among the Party members and the working people.

Revisionism is a trend of counterrevolutionary opportunist ideology aimed at rejecting the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism. The greatest harm of revisionism lies in denying the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat and opposing the class struggle; it obscures the line of demarcation between friend and foe, yields to U.S. imperialism, scared by its policy of nuclear blackmail,

casts sheep's eyes at the imperialists while paying lip service to an anti-imperialist position, gives up the struggle against imperialism and compromises with it, disarms people ideologically by spreading warphobia, bourgeois pacifistic ideas and illusions about imperialism and reaction, and abhors and hinders the revolution of the oppressed peoples. The canker of revisionism also lies in objecting to revolutionary organizational discipline and advocating bourgeois liberalism, in encouraging selfishness and making people indolent, dissolute and afraid of work. Revisionism is, in the final analysis, a dangerous idea that undermines socialism and revives capitalism. Therefore, we can never neglect the struggle against revisionism among Party members and working people. If a Marxist-Leninist Party does not combat revisionism but tolerates the revisionist ideological trend within itself even to the slightest degree, such a party cannot become a fighting party, a militant revolutionary party, and in the long run it will be reduced to an enervated petty-bourgeois party.

We must continue to intensify ideological work against revisionism among the Party members and the working people. While the Party members and working people are closely armed with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, they should be brought to get a clear idea of the essence and harmfulness of revisionism, and a resolute struggle should be waged to prevent the infiltration of the virus of revisionist ideology into the Party.

Revisionism engenders and breeds on the soil of bourgeois ideas and spreads widely by means of such ideas. Revisionism is also the main factor in reviving bourgeois ideas. Therefore, in order to overcome revisionism we should thoroughly uproot the noxious aftereffects of bourgeois ideas. We must further intensify the struggle against all the harmful effects of the obsolete ideologies including bourgeois and feudal-Confucian ideas among the Party members and the working people, and continue to conduct vigorous ideological education so that we leave no room for the revival of old ideologies. In particular, a determined ideological struggle should be waged against all

the forms of unhealthy behaviour that lead individuals to refuse to participate honestly in socialist collective labour and to abuse state and social property.

Our country still remains divided and we are building socialism in direct confrontation with U.S. imperialism, the ringleader of world reaction. By no means can we become self-satisfied, indolent or lax. We must continue to equip Party members and working people thoroughly with the revolutionary ideas of our Party and fill them with the revolutionary militant spirit to fight to the finish for the ultimate triumph of our revolution. We should develop a strong ideological battle among Party members and working people against all sorts of unsound ideas incompatible with revolutionary principles and against all practices unworthy of revolutionaries. And we should meticulously conduct our ideological work so that the revolutionary work habits and life style are built up more solidly in all areas. We should thus see to it that all the Party members and working people always live in a revolutionary way and that our entire revolutionary struggle and work of construction develop on a sound basis.

In order to smoothly carry out the tasks presently facing the Party in ideological work, it is necessary to improve the organizational leadership of the Party bodies in this field. The Party organizations from top to bottom should conduct their ideological work efficiently to conform with the levels and actual conditions of the Party members and in close association with the pressing revolutionary tasks. We must correctly link propaganda work with agitation work and properly co-ordinate their different media, thus organizing an ideological offensive and ensuring its immediacy. The Party organizations should arrange their ideological work in concrete relation to reality, check to see how it is implemented on time, sum up the results, and then organize it again; this is the way to steadily intensify Party ideological work and thus decisively eliminate formalism.

In order to strengthen Party ideological work we must reinforce the ranks of functionaries engaged in this work and

enhance their role; also, we should help all cadres conduct political and ideological work among the Party members and the working people in a responsible way, combining it with their practical activities. All Party workers and functionaries of administrative and economic organs should propagate Party policies widely among the masses in a variety of forms including lectures, talks and explanations everywhere they go; and they should conduct political and ideological work according to a regular routine.

Comrades,

While consolidating the Party organizationally and ideologically and rallying the broad masses of the people closely around it, we must never stop increasing the Party's role in leading the revolution and construction.

The basic task of our Party at the present stage is to strongly stimulate socialist construction in the northern half of the Republic, help the south Korean people accomplish the south Korean revolution, and realize the reunification of our homeland. Our efforts to strengthen the Party in organization and ideology are, after all, aimed at raising its fighting capacity and successfully carrying out this revolutionary task that lies before us.

Our Party is the General Staff in the Korean revolution and the political leader of our people. It bears the whole responsibility for our country's revolution and construction, and our people's destiny. Without Party leadership it would be impossible to advance our revolutionary struggle and work of construction even an inch or hope for our people's bright future.

Experience shows that only under the centralized leadership of the Party can the state, economic and cultural institutions and the working people's organizations be sure of a singleness of action in carrying out the historical mission of the working class and purposefully organize and mobilize all the people to struggle for the building of socialism and communism. Today the internal and external situations of our country are complex, and the revolutionary struggle and work for construction are developing in depth and scope. This reality urgently

calls for the continued growth of the leading role of the Party in all domains of socialist economic and defence construction.

We should strengthen Party leadership in the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction in a way that will conform with the demands of the changing realities and the prevailing situations.

First of all, Party guidance of socialist economic construction should be strengthened.

Important in such guidance is that Party committees be expert at piloting economic activities. The Party's steering includes defining the orientations and suggesting ways to execute the Party's policies, adopting correct decisions on the basis of collective discussion at Party committees, and politically ensuring the correct implementation of these decisions by rousing the Party bodies and members concerned to action. The Party committees should make it a rule to take correct measures through collective discussion on all important questions that come up, do organizational work to mobilize lower-level Party bodies and their members, the working people's organizations, and the masses to struggle to carry out Party policies; then they should check and sum up the implementation of committee assignments and decisions so that they may be carried through correctly. This alone will allow us to do away with the subjectivism and arbitrariness of the individual in economic guidance, enhance the independence and sense of responsibility of functionaries in ministries, management bureaus, economic organs and enterprises, and rectify deviations and shortcomings revealed in their work in good time.

The Party committees should see to it that the state and economic organs run our economy in a more scientific and rational way by constantly improving their guidance and management in line with the requirements of the Tae'an work system and the new system of agricultural guidance—both excellent forms of management of the socialist economy created by our Party—by thoroughly implementing the policy of unified and detailed planning of the national economy, and by systematizing the management of enterprises.

The people's committees at all levels are the most comprehensive transmission belt linking the Party with the masses; they are the executor of our Party's lines and policies and the householder in charge of the people's living conditions.

The Party organizations should try to build up the people's committees at every level with good workers who are firm in their class position, boundlessly loyal to the Party and popular with the people and to enhance their functions in the revolution and construction. Party organizations should both help the people's committees politically to exercise a full degree of state power over all bodies, enterprises and residents in the area under their jurisdiction and lead them to fulfil their role as householder with direct responsibility for protecting the people's livelihood, and state and public property, for managing all economic affairs.

We should strengthen Party leadership over organs having many functions of proletarian dictatorship such as the People's Army, public security organs and judicial and procuratorial bodies.

To intensify the leadership of the Party over the army is a fundamental requirement for the building of revolutionary armed forces. Only under such leadership can the People's Army become strong and grow into an invincible revolutionary armed force that will fulfil its lofty duty.

During the period under review we opportunely overcame the tendencies to weaken the leading role of the Party, slight political work, hinder adequate military training and implant warlord-bureaucratism in the army; we also strengthened the Party's leadership and political work in the army, thus making it possible to increase the combat power of the People's Army.

In the future, as well, we should guarantee that the work of the Party committees in the army is decidedly strengthened and that everything the People's Army does is organized and conducted under the leadership of the Party committees. All military and political affairs in the army should be discussed in the Party committee of each respective unit and decisions should be made collectively. In addition, a work system should

be firmly established under which military personnel engage in military activities, political workers in political work, and logistical personnel in logistic work according to the decisions of the Party committee. These committees should be especially careful to tighten Party control over the military commanders so that they always rely on the Party committees in their work and faithfully participate in Party organizational life.

While strengthening the Party committees, we should elevate the role of the political organs and their workers and, particularly, the political commissars that together directly organize and execute the Party's political work in the People's Army. The political organs and workers should energetically conduct the politico-ideological education of the soldiers and make every effort to ensure both combat and political training and absolute combat readiness of the units, on Party lines and in a political way.

Along with Party leadership in the army, the Party guidance of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards should be strengthened. The Party committees at all levels should lead the Worker-Peasant Red Guards to consolidate its ranks, intensify military and political training among the Red Guardsmen and perfect its combat readiness and commanding system still more.

Party leadership over public security, judicial and procuratorial work should be further strengthened. The Party committees should discuss this work on a regular basis, steer it in the right direction, and thoroughly guide and control all the activities of the public security, judicial and procuratorial organs. These bodies, as political defenders of the Party, should energetically safeguard its policies and supervise their implementation everywhere and, particularly, uncover and thoroughly suppress all spies, subverters and saboteurs who attempt to damage our state and social system. Besides we should struggle to establish strict system and order and strengthen revolutionary discipline in all areas of state and social life.

Thus, we will unfold an active struggle to strength-

en the Party organizationally and ideologically and enhance its leading role in the revolution and construction, thereby increasing the fighting capacity of the Party in every way and pushing our revolutionary struggle and work of construction ahead ever more dynamically under the leadership of our Party.

* * *

Comrades,

During the period we are reviewing our Party has led the masses of the people to achieve great victories and successes in revolution and construction.

Our socialist system has been consolidated more than ever before and is displaying its great superiority. We have laid firm material foundations on which we can rapidly develop the nation's productive forces, steadily promote the welfare of the working people, and give powerful support to the south Korean people in their revolutionary struggle and be completely prepared for the great revolutionary event of the reunification of our homeland. We have also incomparably strengthened our military power. Our society has moved onto a higher stage of development and our country is in a period of unprecedented prosperity.

The whole Party and all of the people are solidly united around the Party Central Committee with one ideology and will, the whole society is permeated with an atmosphere of gaiety and liveliness and everyone is full of revolutionary ardour and optimism.

All this attests to the correctness and indestructible vitality of our Party's policies and demonstrates the inexhaustible might of our people who vigorously march ahead under the leadership of the Party.

Our Party and people have known innumerable difficulties in their fight to progress, and we have undergone many ordeals. Following the Party leadership, however, our people have surmounted all these difficulties and ordeals by battling

untiringly, always deeply convinced of the justness of their cause. They have built our socialist homeland more splendidly than ever before.

Our struggle is now a prouder, more forceful one, and wider prospects are opening before us. When the great programme set forth by the Party Congress is translated into reality, the socialist system in the northern half of the Republic will be greatly strengthened and epoch-making progress will be realized in our people's struggle for socialism and communism. The materialization of this programme will further inspire and encourage the south Korean people in their revolutionary struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their stooges; it will open up a decisive phase in hastening the nationwide victory of the Korean revolution. In order to fulfil the tasks advanced at the Party Congress we should continue to struggle dynamically, ever mobilized and ready, and move forward as rapidly as we can despite the obstacles and hardships along the way.

The revolutionary cause of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people is a just one, and we are sure to triumph. Our people who are fighting for the righteous cause of revolution under the leadership of the Party will always be crowned with victory and glory. No force can ever check the advance of our Party and people.

Let us all unite even more closely around the Party Central Committee and march forward valiantly towards our bright future of socialism and communism, holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the great revolutionary banner of our Party's *Juche* idea.



DS

934

K5

A253

v.5

Kim, Il-song

Selected works



09-AAW-447

